INSECURITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND RESOLUTIONS

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Abstract

Since Nigeria got her independence from Britain in 1960, the country’s political structural arrangement has been under one central government called Federal Government (via a Federal Republic) and was blessed with unquantifiable natural, human and material resources. In spite of that, the average Nigerian’s income per capita does not give the real picture due to the high income inequalities in the country. As majority of Nigerians are living in abject poverty, particularly in the Northeastern area. However, under the Federal system arrangement, instead of having a smooth level of interaction among individual ethnic groups, cultures, traditions and religions, there thrives a persistent lack of trust among Nigerians due to fear of domination, marginalization, control and intolerance. This ugly development led to the acquisition of fire arms among ethnic, political, religious and social militia groups. Similarly, with the return of the country to democratic rule, the situation has worsened with the politicians prosecuting their political ambitions. Furthermore, the situation also became more terrible when these groups started fighting government and its agencies. As a result, many people were killed while millions of people were displaced and properties worth millions of naira were also destroyed more especially in the North-east and north central areas. The insecurity situation in the country was alleged to have been attributed to some factors. Among this include poor government policies, corruption, poverty, unemployment, poor leadership, weak judiciary system etc. Consequently, this affected the region economically, socially, politically etc. Finally, recommendations were made and that Government should improve standard of living of the people through the creation of more entrepreneurship centers across the country more especially in the North and North-east in particular. Also, government should intensify more effort in fighting against corruption and this can be done through good legislation and stiff penalties for those found wanting.

Keywords: Insecurity, Corruption, Poverty, Unemployment, Weak Judiciary System

Introduction

Nigeria is a West African country with more than 250 ethnic groups and with an estimated population of about 170,123,740, according to the 2006 census (Akinjide 2013). It is by far the most populated country in the whole of Africa. Although Nigeria’s GDP per capita has been increased through the course of time in nominal US dollar terms, many Nigerians, unfortunately, are still living in abject poverty in spite of huge amount of human and material resources. The average income per capita does not give the real picture due to the high income inequality in the country. However, since Nigeria got her independence from Britain in 1960, the country’s political structural arrangement has been under one central government. This was to maintain some degree of independence and interdependence and as well as create supremacy authority centrally while component states retain a considerable amount of semi autonomy.

Consequently, under this arrangement, the level of interaction between individual ethnic groups, cultures, traditions, religions from different backgrounds was not easy thereby translated into ethnic and political misunderstanding, mistrust, dominations, conflicts and crises as one may not be considerate with one another. As a result, there are fear, suspicions, intolerance, grievances and greed domination among most communities in the country and especially in the North which has so many ethnic minorities.
Furthermore, it also created fear of not getting one’s fair share of scarce commodities (Daily Times, 1984). However, in an attempt to bring this over 250 groups of people under Federal state system, it created more problems than solving due to fear of deprivation.

The North occupies about 70% of the land mass of the country; it also has the highest infant and maternal mortality rates in the country (World Bank 2001). Similarly, it has the lowest rate of child enrolment in schools, highest number of unemployed young people in the country, highest levels of poverty as compared to the other parts of the country. Consequently, the region is faced with challenges of security of lives and property and has remained a major issue today. These problems include inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict, insurgency and terrorism such as the Boko-Haram among others. According to Temple, (2013), the indices that measure human development are by far poorer in the 19 northern states of Nigeria compared with the rest of the country ranging from the girl-child education to the Almajiri system, from women empowerment to the economic viability of states, from an immediate marshan plan-like attempt at addressing the areas in conflict to how to create cooperation between states and groups. He further concluded that as a result of the above, the region was faced with the worst security challenges since independence.

Similarly, other security challenges facing the region include armed robbery and kidnapping, apart from insurgency and terrorism that have spread across the region like a wild fire across the polity, which seriously needs to be given adequate attention by the Government at all levels as pointed out by Salawu (2010). Kidnapping is still young in the north, but is fast developing and penetrating almost every area in the region. Kidnapping means taking a person away against the person’s will, usually for the purpose of ransom. Today, people are getting kidnapped almost on a daily basis across the region, through so many criminal and terrorist activities (Innocent, 2012).

The situation has become so bad that needs not only the attention of joint federal-states government cooperation but also the international community; just the same way attention is being given to the Ukraine versus Russian conflicts, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon versus Hezbollah conflict, Israeli versus Palestinian conflicts, Libya, Egypt, Yemen etc. It is against this backdrop that today, the streets and most areas in different parts of the North and North-east in particular are no longer safe for honest and hardworking for the fear of being killed due to insurgency or terrorist act. Consequently, no part of the North and the Federal Capital of Nigeria Abuja is immune from this insecurity.

While every northerner and governments at all levels are concerned about insurgency and terrorism activities like Boko-Haram, ethnic, religious and tribal leaders are also seeking for solutions to end them. Unfortunately efforts were not put or channel to address the root causes of the problem. Example, when the issue of kidnapping started in the Niger Delta areas by the Militants, an average Niger Delta man would believe that it was about resource control. In the word of Joseph (2012) initially, it was the kidnap of expatriates and majority of the other Nigerians and northerners in particular believed that it was a southern affair. Until recently, when the issue of kidnapping became commercialized and was not limited to Niger Delta or Southerners but rather gradually got commercialized and has become a 'lucrative ventures and luring young people and gradually spread across northern Nigeria. Consequently, kidnapping business has changed from being in predominantly in the Niger Delta to the North as well. Such kidnap victims includes parents, grandparents, students etc

The central pillars of Nigerian national security was the safeguarding of the Nigerian sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the State as contained in the 1979 constitution. However, while the state remains nominally a sovereign and fulfils a modicum of the functions of a sovereign government, the central government has become so weak and ineffective and lacks the ability to provide simple basic public and social services. In view of the above, the Nigerian government, in 2013, due to lack of control over much of its territory, led to the seizure of some parts of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states by the Boko-Haram. According to the former Inspector-General of Police, Hafiz Ringim:
The National Security could be regarded as the measures, facilities and systems put in place by a nation to secure its citizens and resources from danger and the risk of infiltration, sabotage, subversion or theft etc.

While according to a group of civil society organizations, the term national security’ implies the absence of threat to life, property and socio-economic well being of the people”. They further stated that: This is contained in line of the Nigerian constitution Section 14(2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution which states that;

the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of any government; and the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

However, in spite of the constitutional provisions which call for the respect to the economic well being of the people, the Constitution has also imposed a duty on the State to guarantee “the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice, and equality of status and opportunity.” To this effect, the State shall direct its policies towards ensuring that unfortunately, the material resources of the nation are not harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good and that “the economic system is not operated in such manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group.

Statement of the Problem

According to Omoyibo and Akpomera (2013), security is a concept that is prior to the state, and the state exists in order to provide that concept. While to Thomas (1996) security is the prime responsibility of the state. The State of insecurity in Nigeria is becoming worrisome and disturbing considering the high rate of killings, bombing, kidnapping, conflicts, wars, and clashes etc which innocent people fall to the guns of criminals in the country today. In the past recent months, no week passes without report of unknown gunmen taking human lives in the streets of northern Nigeria and north-east in particular.

The question is what are the root causes of all these killings? What are the consequences as well as solutions to this? These rhetorical questions may not need answers but it is mind-boggling that despite huge amount of naira voted every year in the name of security by the Government yet Nigeria security situation still remains uncontained. Although whenever there’s a problem there’s always the cause but the case becomes a bigger problem when the cause is not just one or two but an accumulation of national problems. What are the remote and immediate causes of insecurity in Nigerian and how can the situation be resolved? Bad leadership, corruption, illiteracy and many more are all responsible for the state of the country. The leadership of the country has contributed so much to the insecurity Nigeria is facing today.

Consequently, the displaced persons, especially in the north-east and north central where there was high level of ethno/ state of insecurity in the country, has brought about so many negative effects, including millions of internally political crises. This has led to political, social and economic disruptions which in turn lead to slow economic, social, religious and political development. The world now sees Nigeria as a very violent nation and this has destroyed the reputation of Nigerians across the world. There is no doubt that a lot of measures need to be put in place to resolve insecurity in the country. New security policies, thinking and strategies need to be developed; corruption has to be stopped by all means; the government and the people need to develop trust and work together to resolve the insecurity situation for Nigeria to move forward. Insecurity in the country is no longer talked about as a thing that occurs at night. Now, even in broad day light, crimes are committed, killings are perpetrated. Most killings are done in broad day light with the assailants proving difficult to be found. The entire scenario has become a game of shooting at each other without missing. If nothing is done to bring the life threatening situation in the country under control, it will give room to anarchy.In the light of the above which this paper attempt to address.
Conceptual Framework for Analysis

Security could be defined as the relative freedom which individuals, groups and nations enjoy from danger, risk, or threat of harm, injury, or loss to personnel and/or property. The cause, whether deliberately or by accident or for the state of being certain, adverse effects by some agent under defined conditions. It is also seen as the degree of resistance to, or protection from, harm and it applies to any vulnerable and valuable asset, such as a person, dwelling, community, nation, or organization. According to the Institute for Security and Open Methodologies (ISECOM) in the OSSTMM 3, security provides "a form of protection where a separation is created between the assets and the threat." These separations are generically called controls, and sometimes include changes to the asset or the threat. However, if whatever went contrary to the above, this shows that there was insecurity.

Since Boko-Haram insurgency and other terrorist acts took over some parts of Nigeria, particularly the north-east, it gained international attention & recognition and become a major national menace more especially after the kidnapping of Chibok girls from their schools in Borno state. Others include the killings and slaughtering of students in their dormitories in Buni-Yadi and Potiskum all InYobe State and later the kidnapping and abduction of other women and children from their homes and communities. Due to these criminalities and terrorist activities, so many local government areas in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe lost to the Boko-Haram and remained under their control for almost two years from 2013-early to second quarter of 2015.

The question is why is there so much insecurity in our societies today? What are their causes, solutions etc? In an attempt to answer these questions, the researcher used frustration-aggression theory to explain the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. Frustration is the condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference such as unemployment, poverty, corruption, weak judiciary system etc. While aggression could be regarded as an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism the theory believed that social movements occur for example the formation of ethnic militias in the country to fight the federal, state and local government due to their failures to oblige the social contract obligation. As a result, their frustration leads to collective and more often than not lead to aggressive behavior. Frustration has a variety of sources and can take two forms. First, it can be absolute, which happens when people do not have enough to survive, and second, it can be relative, which happen when people have enough to survive but have less than those around them. This explained the true situation of the Nigerian society today. The gap between those “who have and have not” are getting wider and wider day by day.

This hypothesis or theory of aggression was propounded by John Dollard, Neal E. Miller et al. in 1939, and further developed by Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, when a person's efforts to attain a goal failed to achieve the said objective, it causes violence. The researcher adopted this frustration-aggression theory to explain the causes of violence and insecurity. This became apparent when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto innocent targets as currently is being done by the Boko-Haram sect. However, while violence and other related terrorist activities are condemnable in any society and must be fought at all cost, government must address these causes of insecurity or else whatever the success achieved, it is going to be mirage.

Literature Review

Insecurity, in a general term, refers to a state of being subjected to fear, threat, danger, molestation, intimidation, harassment etc in all aspect. For example, insecurity can be conceived as threats to the state which accounted for the race for arms and nuclear weapons to defend the state as opined by Ajidodo-Adebanjoko and Ugwuoke (2014). The state of insecurity became prominently featured during the post-Cold War era as well as post September 11 world trade center bombing when people views and attentions are more centered about security. According to Saliu, Luqman and Abdullahi (2007) human threats of life emanate not only from situation of violent conflicts but also other non-conflict sources. Thus, insecurity is a situation of fear or anything that causes fear, harm, or has the capability to cause fear or harm, injury, destructions to an individual, group or nation.
The Web stairs international dictionary (2000) defined insecurity as being unsure, unstable, shaky, apprehensive, or lacking in self-confidence. This can be anything from upbringing, unsettling circumstances, mistreatment, to individual fears. Perception of security may be poorly mapped to measurable objective security. For example, the fear of armed robbers in the north has been reported to be less common compared to fear of Boko-Haram. The presence of security protections may even be taken for security itself. For example, the presence of security men in the north-east could be interfering with each other and even cancelling each other's effect and became counterproductive yet the civilians still believes s/he is getting double the protection than no presence of security personnel.

This means, insecurity is a critical term employed as a measure primarily aimed at raising subjective security without a genuine or commensurate concern for the effects of that measure on objective security. Perception of security can increase objective security when it affects or deters malicious behavior such as the insurgency and terrorist attacks as with visual signs of security protections as obtained most in developed countries. They include such as video surveillance, alarm systems in a home, or an anti-theft system in a car such as a vehicle tracking system or warning sign. Since some intruders will decide not to attempt to break into such areas or vehicles, there can actually be less damage to windows in addition to protection of valuable objects inside. According to Adebayo, Nadabo (2013:2):

> Today, it is news of a bomb blast. Yesterday, it was a suicide bombing, tomorrow; it may be an assassination and the day after, mass murder. Every day in Nigeria, the news seems to get from bad to worse, as the security situation deteriorates further and further.

Similarly, to Otto and Ukpere (2012), security relates to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis. While to Akin (2008:3), security as any laid down procedures towards the protection of persons and property against hostile persons. He further opined and observed that:

> It is a situation where by a conducive atmosphere is created within which people in the state can go about their normal daily activities without threat to either their lives or properties. Thus, security encompasses all approach toward safeguarding human as well as material resources in the state against all forms of aggression or violent conduct.

Attempting to assess the security situation in Nigeria, Omoyibo and Akpomera (2012) further posit that security in Nigeria can be compared to an individual who put iron bars across his or her windows which aimed to protect only turn around to prevent the individual from escaping a fire outbreak. For them, the only condition for the maintenance of peace and the guarantee of security is by upholding law and order. By this, state could be secured against threats which may include low-level civil disorder, crime, organized violence, or even an armed insurgency (El-Rufai, 2012). Agomuo (2013) commented on the nature of insecurity in Nigeria that at different times in the past and observed that: Insecurity has held the Nigerian nation to ransom. For example, Boko-Haram held the region into ransom and reined the nation's security agencies useless at one point or the other. Lamenting the level of security deterioration in the north, Falana (2013) blamed the government for allowing things to get out of control before declaring the state of emergency. He asked the government to "Stop shedding crocodile tears over insecurity". He therefore suggested that:

> the Federal Government should equip the security personnel before getting them deployed to fight against insecurity in the country rather than shedding crocodile tears for the victims of insecurity. He further observed that the conditions of less-equipped policemen and soldiers, who were being deployed to fight terrorists that were armed with more sophisticated weapons is more worrisome. "It is inexcusable to deploy ill-trained, ill-equipped and ill-motivated soldiers and policemen to war zones, armed with only AK 47 rifles without bullet proofs, serviceable vehicles, communication gadgets to fight suicide bombers with more sophisticated weapons;"

Similarly, Temple (2013) stated that the security personnel were not being provided with life insurance and accommodation, adding that their salaries were not paid regularly while the families of those who
lost their lives in battle were not usually informed officially. He suggested that Federal Government should stop risking the lives of soldiers and policemen who are made to fight guerrilla war without any training. Although Williams (2008), who sees security from the socio-political perspective, averred that security involves the capacity to pursue cherished political and social ambitions. That is, security is socio-political in nature as without security there can be no political stability and consequently social activities will be in chaos (Palme, 1992).

In view of the above backdrop, security should be everybody's business; the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, defense, protection and preservation of core values and the absence of threats to acquire values. For David Francis, security is about the survival and conditions of human existence, about peace, development, justice, whose absence create the condition for conflict and insecurity. It is a direct threat to humans as a result of physical and psychological abuses inflicted upon non-combatant individuals, including children, the aged and women in the environment of armed conflicts. The condition above, Bassey (2010) confirmed is characterized by forced exodus of populations, creating refugee flows, genocide, rape of women, ethnic cleansing, organized killing of the unarmed, child soldiering, anti-personal mining of farmlands.

**Thematic Explanation of the Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria**

Many scholars have identified several causes of insecurity in Nigeria. Example, Onyishi, 2011; Jega, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Ali, 2013; Okorie, 2011; Salawu, 2010; Ezeoba, 2011. To them, the crises of insecurity in Nigeria could be traced back to the economic crisis in the early 1980s during the falling commodity prices, OPEC price increases, privatization, economic liberalization, deregulation, currency devaluation, cold war era politics and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). It was against this development that Emeka (2011) opined that the emergence of ethnic and militia groups in Nigeria with most of them termed to be violent and terrorist groups. Among these groups he stated were; the Ogoni Youth, Niger Delta Volunteer Force, (NDVF), Odua People Congress (OPC), Arewa Youth Consultative forum, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MASOP), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Isoko National Youth Movement (INYM) etc. As a result of this, it set the stage for terrorist violence in Nigeria, more especially the militants in the Niger Delta, who adopted terrorist tactics to fight the government, who, they believe, are agents of foreign capital, domination and tools for exploitations.

Similarly, there was also the Tiv-Jukun crisis, Zangon-Kataf, Maitatsine religious crises in Kano in 1980, 1983 in Maiduguri, Yola and Gombe. Today, we see the emergence of the Boko-Haram Movement which started in Borno and Yobe states. The group later, due to their criminality and terrorist activities termed as one of the deadly terrorist organization ever witnessed by the western world and was alleged to be off shot of Al-Qaeda. Gradually, Boko-Haram spread to cover all part of the northeastern states like Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states and they had part of their own fair share of the evil effects of terrorism attacks. This has in the last six years been characterized by insurgency and terrorist activities. Furthermore, Insecurity challenges can also be traced to the early years of military rule as put forward by Olabanji, O. E. (2014:) that:

> When large quantities of arms were imported into the country for the use of the military during and after the Nigerian civil war, some of which got into the hand of the civilians. Soon after the civil war these arms were used by civilians and ex-military men for mischievous purposes such as armed robbery.

He further observed that, during this time, there was also the army of unemployed youths, some of whom lost their jobs during the civil war. The level of insecurity assumed dangerous dimensions in the prolonged years of military rule as well as the return of Nigeria to democratic rule from 1999 to date. It was during this time that politicians procure arms and light weapons for personal defense and political thuggary. As a result, some of these arms and light weapons got into the hands of unemployed youths who used them for deviant purposes.
According to some scholars, Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist activities were alleged to have been attributed to some factors. Among which are corruption, unemployment, poverty, poor government policies, weak judiciary system etc, as pointed out by Nweze (2004). He further identified some factors enhancing insecurity in Nigeria to include among others things: poor leadership, ethno-religious crises, socio-economic inequalities, small arms and ammunition trafficking, rural-urban migration and external influence among others.

**Corruption**

Corruption has remained one of the major causes of insecurity in the country due to diversion of public resources to private individuals. This called for the government, non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and all other related agencies to realistically and comprehensively study and address the causes of this problem with a view to planning an action to address these persistent problems today and in future. Although some efforts were attempted to address these problems in the past; according to (Charas, Liberty, Wali 2014), for example, the previous governments, both Military and Democratic had tried to focus attention on good governance, prudence, transparency and accountability through number of ways, such as establishing Code of Conduct Bureau by the Murtala Mohammed administration in 1975, Ethical Revolution by Shehu Aliyu Shagari's civilian administration in 1979, War Against Indiscipline and Corruption by General Muhammadu Buhari's administration in 1984, Mass Mobilization for Self Reliance, Social Justice and Economic Recovery by General Ibrahim Babangida in 1985, Failed Banks Tribunal by General Sani Abatcha in 1994, Anti-Corruption Bill by Olusegun Obasanjo in 2000. Similarly, in 2007, the administration of Umaru Musa Yar’adua has made it a cardinal policy to observe rule of law to enhance public accountability and stamp out corruption in the Nigerian society.

Yet, corruption in Nigeria has become institutionalized thereby translating into wider economic, political and social inequality. Inequality means a concentration of a distribution, whether one is considering income, consumption or some other welfare indicators as observed by Oyekale, Oyekale and Adeoti, (2007). According to him, there was an increase in income disparity after the economic growth which Nigeria experienced between1965-1980s; unfortunately, it later increased the dimension of poverty in the country (Oluwatayo, 2008). These inequalities between the people in rural and urban areas in Nigeria or even between people living within the cities is remarkably high, as even those who living in the cities areas are not a thriving sector in Nigeria. There is no doubt that a lot of measures need to be put in place as suggested by Adebayo; Sani (2013:16) that;

> To solve insecurity in the country, thinking and strategies need to be developed; corruption has to be stopped by all means; the government and the people need to develop trust and work new security policies, together to resolve the insecurity situation for Nigeria to move forward

Therefore weak judicial system also causes corruption and it also translated into insecurity in the country. Most often, judicial systems are weak as a result of greed and lack of patriotism and respect to the laws of the land... In such situations, it is the poor people that suffer the brunt of injustices as the rich especially the politicians always stand a better chance of getting justice over the poor.

**Unemployment**

Unemployment is defined as when people are not engaged in meaningful work and are lacking the basic necessities of life. While we are not oblivious of the fact that there are other reasons why people engage in criminal activities, we cannot rule out the fact that activities resulting from unemployment are indirect consequences of corruption. Corruption leads to unemployment, unemployment to conflicts and conflicts to insecurity. Many Nigerian youths have become preys to terrorists and are easily radicalized. In the Niger Delta region for instance, unemployed youths were the ones employed in the armed conflicts between Multinational Oil Companies and militants while many of such youths are members of the Boko-Haram sect.

Adegbami (2013) opined that, idle mind; they say is the devil workshop so as the rate of unemployment continues to raise, so also the wave of crimes and its attendant effects. The Nigerian Bureau of Statistics
(NBS) cited in Ogah et al., (2011) puts unemployment in Nigeria at about 23.9 per cent and still raising. These unemployed people now employ themselves by engaging in illegal activities such as kidnapping, robbery, bunkering, and other fraudulent activities. This brings attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behavior at the slightest provocation. Nigeria is made up of unemployed youths who are ready to do anything, even engage in criminal activities as a way of engaging themselves if nobody does. As a result, these Jobless youths resort to armed robbery, electoral violence, and assassinations, kidnapping, and rituals, cultism as a way of making a living. This is why according to political activist Odumakin (2012) with 60 million unemployed youths, Nigeria’ll have no peace. The success of Boko-Haram leadership in luring the Youths with money which majority them are unemployed. Although, the job they took is bad, yet they still took it. This is because most of the Boko-Haram members are illiterate and Illiteracy is one of the major causes of insecurity and is a very strong factor leading people against their own country. The name Boko-Haram is no more news in the country. Illiterate northerners came up with the ideology that education is bad. This development has multiplied the number of unemployed youth roaming the street and has become an easy tool for violence. This scenario has not only deepened the existing unemployment rate but also paints a gloomy picture of poverty in the area and Nigeria in general.

Poverty

Another cause of insecurity is the poverty, which is a multidimensional phenomenon. The World Development Report 2000/2001 (World Bank, 2001) summarizes the various dimensions as a lack of opportunity, lack of empowerment and lack of security. The window of opportunity remains closed to the poor masses, and this makes them practically inactive in the society. Their lack of empowerment limits their choices in almost everything and their lack of security makes them vulnerable to diseases, violence and so on. Similarly, according to a United Nations statement, in Nigeria, widespread and severe poverty is a reality. It is a reality that depicts a lack of food, clothes, education and other basic amenities. Severely poor people lack the most basic necessities of life to a degree that it can be wondered how they manage to survive says:

Consequently, due to poverty, many youths particularly so in the North-east have been denied choices and opportunities to go to better schools, hospitals, houses, basic social life as well as participate actively in the society. Impliedly means, poverty is characterized by lack of enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. In view of these they may join any violence groups as majority of them are ill informed politically, socially, religiously, economically etc. As a result, most of the arm robbers, terrorist groups, Boko-Haram Members particularly so the foot soldiers came from poor masses; Ford (2007) quoted by Adebayo (2014:19) stated that;

Poverty has been linked to high crime rates, especially in the Niger Delta region where there is a sharp contrast between the rich and the poor. The masses cause social unrest because the wealth gotten from their territory does not get to them. In the Nigerian society, the best way to acquire wealth is to enter the political sphere. Most of the time political success is tied to criminal activities. He ends the article by stating that the link between economic and political power must me broken for progress to be made.

Government Policy

The responsibility for internal security of life and property is supposed to generally rest on the Government. The state’s internal security is supposed to be maintained by either the ordinary police or law enforcement agencies or more militarized police forces. Other specialized internal security agencies exist to augment these main forces, such as border guards, special police units, or aspects of the state. However, the Nigerian security agencies in the fight against insecurity especially in the North have fallen short of their diligent responsibilities. Unfortunately, some states, especially in the Northeast where insurgency and terrorist activities are so high, the internal security tasked responsibility of providing
secret police service, the level of authorized force used by agencies and forces responsible for maintaining internal security range from unarmed police to the fully armed Para-military organizations, or some level of less-lethal weaponry in between.

Consequently, in some violent situations, like the Boko-Haram, these internal security forces many a times do not even identify who is a real officer or not. As a result, the terrorist take advantage of this and perpetuate criminal acts and go away free. Some of the threats to the general peace range from low-level of civil disorder, large scale violence, or even an armed insurgency. Threats to internal security may be directed at either the state's citizens, or the organs and infrastructure of the state itself, and may range from petty crime, serious organized crime, political or industrial unrest, or even domestic terrorism. It was against this development that Okereke, (2012:27) observed and concluded that:

It seem that government policies are built on sand and not on a solid foundation because many of those issues that led to the Nigerian Civil wars are still prevalent more than fifty years after the war ended. We cannot afford reinforcing a mistake! It’s high time we redefined and re-negotiated the terms and conditions of our existence perhaps through a National Conference or a no-holds-barred constitutional amendment.

Poor Leadership

They say that leaders are born, not made while, it is true that some people are born leaders; some leaders are born in the midst of adversity. Often, simple people who have never had a leadership role will stand up and take the lead position when a situation they care about requires it. Although you can still learn the techniques of true leadership and Influence and build the confidence it takes to take the lead. The more experience you have acting as a genuine leader, the easier it will be for you. It is never easy to take the lead, as you will need to make decisions and face challenges, but it can become natural and rewarding.

As such, the definitions of leadership varied across times and culture According to Linda (2011) philosophers, political scientists and psychologists have produced extensive literature on leaders and leadership, but despite that, there is still no comprehensive consensus as to why and under what circumstances some people emerge and become good leaders and others remain followers. It is against this development that Plato believed that only a few selected with superior wisdom should be leaders. While, Machiavelli felt that those who had the ability to organize power and knowledge in defence of the state should be followed. He believed that people are weak and dishonest; therefore, manipulation is acceptable to achieve one’s goals when the end justifies the means.

Then, the concept of leadership was more limited to kings and rulers. While, in our contemporary time, a leader is referred to as one who leads a group of individuals for the purpose of achieving organizational goals and objectives. In the words of Machiavelli (1963) cited in Encyclopedia of Sociology (2001), the definition of leadership later came to include managers in the organizations as leaders. While leadership to Varma (1975), should be understood in the context of responsibility and authority. The Nigeria’s democratic rule short life has been parked with successions of different type of leadership crises alleged to have been caused by diversity and complexities of ethno-cultural, social and religious background. Consequently, incorporating several of these ethnic groups into a single political system as pointed out by AbdurLasheed (2007), Victor, (2008) means bringing together all these basic problems of ethnic, religious, tribal, regional together. Group loyalties dividing such societies can, and do, undermine a common identity, national culture and consensus on democratic values. These he concluded, added more injuries to the little existing peace in the country.

Therefore, to take responsibility of giving out leadership direction in such community or societies in a multi-ethnic and religious society like Nigeria is an enormous task, given the present scenario of the democratic politics in which the country has found itself. To this end, it may not be an over statement to assume that poor leadership, have added more challenges to the instability and causes of insecurity not only in the north but also Nigeria in general. Since the coming of third and forth republics in 1999 and 2009 respectively, which was just barely a decade ago after the military intervention in the previous times, according to Charas, Mbaya and Liberty (2014), came in with a series of culture of violence such
as thuggery, indiscipline, corruption, kidnapping, bombing etc. The development to Antony (2008:25) may be attributed to;

Primitive accumulation of wealth and exploitative tendencies as lamented by “along with demographic and multifarious other reassures, greatly increased government indebtedness and reinforced a spiral of decline in the delivery of public services and of the economy generally”.

While to Adebayo Adedeji (2004) quoted in Alli (2012:39) “the Role of Nigerian Regional Security Policy” observed that:

No country that is confronted with a long period of political instability, stagnation and regression, and is reputed to be one of the most corrupt societies in the world, has a moral basis to lead others. If it tries to, it will be resisted.

Therefore, recent Boko-Haram insurgency and terrorist activities that took over most parts of the local government areas in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe throughout 2014 may have also been caused by this problem of poor leadership and lack of political will to fight the insurgency. Similarly, even within the Military hierarchy, the leadership as well as most of the rank and file is so glaring. It was alleged that most of the security personnel are only there to make money and to protect themselves and some few selected individuals. Similarly, most of them are not pro-active in responding to distressed calls. This is all due to corruption, indiscipline and poor fighting equipment as well as intentional collaboration to undermine the Military was so opened to the ordinary common man to notice. Find below is the summary of crimes committed in Borno state alone during the periods under review.

Weak Judiciary

Legal systems, as Cooter (1996) puts it, in rule-of-law states establish the rules of the game and the mechanisms individuals may resort to enforce their rights. While, Hay, Shleifer and Vishny, (1996) opines that the rule of law means, in part, that people use the legal system to address people’s behavior activities and resolve disputes. This includes learning what the legal rules say, structuring their political, social, economic etc. transactions using these rules, seeking to punish or obtain compensation from those who break the rules, and turning to the public officials, such as the courts and the police, to enforce these rules. Interestingly, as opined by Yahaya (2012), the general expectation has always been that the judiciary should function in such a manner as to mitigate, if not eliminate the problem; unfortunately, this is becoming one huge forlorn hope for judges to make money especially during election tribunals.

Similarly, the getting rich quick syndrome of “cash and carry” by some judges as pointed out Emmanuel, O. E. (2011) that, it was as a result of their poor salaries. Example, between 1980-2001 as rightly observed by the former Chief Justice of the Federation, Justice Mohammed Uwais (2002) about his parlous salary. However, in spite of drastic increase in the Judge’s salaries and condition of service, yet some of the judges still compromise their integrity in favor of corruption and impunity. Since the idea of punishment is to serve as a deterrent, many of the criminals find their way and thereby continue their criminalities and other terrorist activities. In any society, the rule of law is essential for the creation, preservation and advancement of a civilized society. When judges responsively punish wrongs instead to protect the rights and resolve discord by thoughtful, independent and unbiased application of laws, the justice system secures the freedoms, tranquility and equality that foster a social environment. Thus, wherein man’s highest aspirations and evolution can be realized unfortunately reverse is the case. The Nigerian legal process which is supposed to achieve and provide. In view of the above development, Jang (2012:44) stated that;

In this age when insecurity and corruption are threatening the very existence of the state, we need men and women of proven integrity and honor in the judiciary which is described as the last hope of the common man to ensure that there is justice.
Jang (ibid) observed that the increasing impunity and dare devilry of sundry criminals particularly terrorists and thieves especially of public funds are enhanced by the weakness of Nigeria’s legal system. Justice and the rule of law do not just depend on the law that is our customs, statutes and the constitution among others, but on the impartiality, astuteness and nobility of the judicial officers who have taken the oath to do justice. In view of the above development, therefore, we can conclude that Nigerian judicial system is weak and encourages criminality as many of the criminals could find their way home even after being arrested and prosecuted. Presented below is a summary of theft, kidnappings, assignations as well as fraud perpetrated in Borno State within the period under review:

Table 1. Summary of Insecurity in the Borno State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Theft</th>
<th>Armed robbery</th>
<th>Kidnapping</th>
<th>Assignations</th>
<th>Fraud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>9127</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6796</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>5231</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>3124</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>7289</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>6111</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1082</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3927</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>3702</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>9774</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2254</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64,045</td>
<td>2,282</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>3,422</td>
<td>3,916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled From Field Work, 2015

Consequences of Insecurity in Nigeria

According to Ali (2013), the fear of insecurity in Nigeria is on the increase and this has been compounded by the rising waves of terrorism. Since the country returned to democratic rule in 1999, violent crimes in Nigeria, especially in the Northeast, and the emergence of Boko-Haram insurgency in the region was alleged to have been caused by the politicians buying arms for Youths to suppress or intimidate their opponents. This had led to the dramatic twist on the wave, dynamics and sophistication of insecurity in the area. In view of the above, Boko-Haram and terrorist activities which used to be one of the lowest concerns in the region has now assumed alarming proportion and has also taken the centre stage not only in the region but also across the globe.

Consequent upon that, the impact of insecurity and terrorism activities could be summarized as follows: economic factor, due to the fear of the unknown, insurgency and terrorist activities, the security situation more especially in the north-east had led to the migration of people from the affected areas to the other safer states thereby created economic depression in the area. As a result, most commercial activities have almost been paralyzed. Inflation had gone so high in the area due to few commercial activities operated. For example, Banks and other financial institutions operated in fewer hours. Food stuff, wearing materials, car spare parts and many more are not only in limited supply but also costlier. Furthermore, due to the insecurity, government revenue remained unachievable as most revenue generation areas of these states have either remained closed or partially operated.

Social activities in the area are also very poor due to the fear of the unknown. Most schools, whether private of public especially in some parts of Adamawa, Borno, and Gombe and Yobe states remained closed for a long time. As a result, students in these states were left behind in terms of teaching, learning and research. Majority of the staff particularly those coming from the southern part of the country had fled whether teachings or non teaching. While those around were rendered unproductive. The situation is not limited to primary and secondary school teachers rather even university of Maiduguri was affected as...
many senior Professors had fled the university. The situation had affected most of the students in the areas of teaching, learning and research.

Similarly, some of the vibrant Youth have been either been kidnapped, abducted and killed while others were either forcefully lured into the Boko-Haram terrorist organization. It was estimated according to Charas, Wall and Sambo (2015) that almost about 30% of the Youths especially in Borno and Yobe have been killed or missing. Others includes, kidnapped young girls and women have either been raped or impregnated by the Sect members. While those rescued were stigmatized with HIV/Aids various. Religious factor; most of the place of worships either mosques or churches became a soft target centre for killings and bombing. As a result, people no longer feel free to worship in the worshiping centers. Similarly, at a point, those with bear who left them as a religious symbol more especially the Muslims got harassed by the Military on suspicious of being a Boko-Haram member. Many innocent people got detained and some even killed on fault suspicion. The civilians were left in the centre between the Boko-Haram and the Military forces.

Political factor: some people, politicians and government officials also took advantage of the insecurity situation to either killed, harassed or intimidate their political opponents under the disguise of the Boko-Haram. While some government officials also use the insecurity situation as an opportunity to steal government money. Due to this Boko-Haram insurgency, Nigeria was listed as one of the terrorist countries in West Africa and Africa as a whole. Nigerian citizens especially the northerners are no longer finding it easy to secure travelling visa abroad.

Conclusion

Insecurity is a product of poverty, unemployment, corruption, inequality, poor government policies, and weak judicial system and so on. As such, the emergence of ethnic militias across the country (such as the Ogoni Youth, Niger Delta Volunteer Force, [NDVF], Odua People Congress [OPC], Arewa Youth Consultative forum, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra [MASSOB], Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MASOP), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Isoko National Youth Movement (INYM), the Tiv-Jukun crisis, Zangon-Kataf, Maitatsine religious crises in Kano in 1980, 1983 in Maiduguri, Yola and Gombe. Today let to the emergence of the Boko-Haram terrorist organization. This is attributed the failure of Nigerian government in honoring its contractual agreement to respect and sustain its social contract with the Nigerian people. As a result, this brought about total collapse of social security and consequently encourages insecurity. If the government fight against insecurity is to succeed, she must sit up to address the above problems or else the fight is going to be a mirage.

Recommendations

There is no doubt that a lot of measures need to be put in place to resolve insecurity in the country. New security policies, thinking and strategies need to be developed; corruption has to be stopped by all means; the government and the people need to develop trust and work together to resolve the insecurity situation for Nigeria to move forward. The following is therefore recommended:

1. Government should improvement standard of living of the people through creation of more entrepreneurship centers across the country, most especially in the North and North-east.
2. Government should therefore intensify fight against corruption through good legislation and stiff penalties for those found wanting.
3. The Nigerian judicial system should be strengthened through routine independent checking mechanism. Judges should be monitored closely while dispensing cases to ensure that laws are applied to all in a fair, reasonable and understandable manner.
4. Government should promote good governance, transparency, accountability through the use of print and electronic media as well as enlighten the public through workshop, seminars and NGOs.
5. Government should establish or create more employment centers through the establishment of entrepreneurship skill acquisition programs. This will make more youths to be self sustained
6. School curriculum should be redesigned to include Peace and conflict resolutions studies as well as entrepreneurship courses to be taught right from secondary schools.
7. Politicians who use thuggary should be barred from politics for 5 years.

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