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GOOD GOVERNANCE, BOKO-HARAM INSURGENCY AND COMMUNITY SECURITY IN NORTH -EASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper attempted to establish the nexus between good governance, the Boko Haram insurgency and community security in the North-Eastern Nigeria. The paper adopted a Desk-Review research method in which data were generated for the study using secondary sources from technical reports, journals, academic papers and books, amongst others. Findings from the paper revealed that the failure of governance at the federal, state, and local government levels are the most immediate sources of disconnect between Nigeria and her citizens. The contradiction between the country's abundant wealth and the impoverishment of greater number of her citizens and wrong ideological orientation have largely contributed to the rise of the Boko-Haram insurgency and other deviant groups that reject state authorities and embraces violence in Nigeria. The paper concluded with the fact that the security of many communities in the North-Eastern Nigeria is largely undermined by the Boko-Haram insurgency. The negative scenario is threatening the socio-economic well-being of the North in particular and Nigeria as a whole. It is recommended in this study that Government policies that supply public goods should respect the rights of Nigerians, enthrone credible economic empowerment programme and embrace all-inclusive governance in order to curtail the Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Keywords: *Good governance, Boko-Haram, Insurgency, Community security*

1.0 Introduction

Good Governance has emerged as a key concept in the strategic development framework of the contemporary international community in order to bring about sustainable development and promote international peace and security. Good governance index describes and set the standard codes of managing the rules that guide policy-making and policy implementation in governance. As noted by Cook (2011), the quality of governance, the level of per capital income and the extent of peace and security are highly correlated in any country while also serving as indicators of whether a country is characterized by good or bad governance. Three complementary possibilities suffice for this correlation. One possibility is that better governance could increase the per capital income of an individual to meet at least his basic needs leading to less tension and less conflict in the society. A second possibility is that improvements in governance could promote sound economy base that will generate higher income in order to meet the development aspirations of the citizens which in turn tones down security threat. Yet, a third possibility is that there are other factors apart from good governance, such as natural endowment, that interplay to make countries richer and better governed. However, in cases where higher per capita income fails to result in better service delivery by the government, one possible explanation could be due to bad governance that is characterized by 'state capture', defined as the illicit influence of the elite in shaping the laws, policies and regulations of the state for personal benefits, a scenario that is equated with bad governance. The 'capture' of the state development institutions for personal gains by the ruling elites often make such leaders to benefit from bad governance and thus resist demands for good governance, a development that often generate crisis.

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In Africa, armed conflicts have remained a recurrent reality since the post-cold war era when intra state conflict magnified in contrast to the reduction of inter-state conflicts. From 1960 till date, many African states have been ravaged by one form of conflict or another. Between 1966 and 2014, there had been about 126 officially recorded devastating inter and intra state conflicts in Africa (Human Development Report, 2015). Many of these conflicts are traceable to lack of good governance by the leaders who were elected to steer the affair of African nations. Most African countries have witnessed cases of insurgent acts since their independence owing to numerous socio-economic and political factors which have resulted in widespread despair and disenchantment amongst the populace (Kelman, 2011). The accusations against the leadership range from corruption, insensitivity and gross ineptitude in the art of governance. These grievances ultimately creates tense atmosphere for revolts and insurrection in which some disenchanting groups or opposition leaders capitalize on failed governance in many African countries to organize acts of defiance and other forms of lawlessness. Acts of terrorism perpetrated by insurgent groups like the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and the incessant attacks being currently carried out by the Boko- Haram sect are clear instances of failed governance insurgence-induced crisis in Africa.

Though Nigeria is richly endowed with enormous resources to promote sustainable development, many of her citizens are extremely poor (Adesanya, 2014). Since the return to civilian rule in 1999, the country has suffered growing governance capacity, legitimacy and security gaps as demonstrated in the declining capacity of her development institutions to deliver public goods thus undermining the achievements of personal and group development aspirations of most Nigerians. The failure of governance, among other reasons, has thus given rise to armed rebellion and insurgency. Since the latter part of her independence, Nigeria's government has continue to face challenges to her authorities and legitimacy from a number of armed groups motivated by regional, ethnic, ideological, and religious grievances. Some of these crises include the Zangon- Kataf and Ife - Modakeke crises, Aguleri - Umulleri and Tiv-Jukun disturbances, the kidnapping incidences in the South-Southern part of Nigeria and the current Boko-Haram insurgency in the North- Eastern part of Nigeria. These deviant groups are mobilized for endogenous developmental aspirations and ideological struggle mainly because the Nigerian state is perceived as being too weak to enthrone good governance and promote better service delivery to the public. Lack of basic amenities, gross unemployment, and corruption in almost all spheres of governance in Nigeria has enthroned conflict between the citizens and the Nigerian state.

The frustration arising from unmet development aspirations has thus led many young energetic and idle Nigerians to engage in acts of illegalities and become a readymade tool for indoctrination into various illegal groups and sects (Drew, 2013). As noted by Hassan (2014), bad governance which mainly sustains economic hardship, rising inequality and social frustration have greatly contributed to the growth of radical extremist groups in Nigeria the most recent being the Boko-Haram sect. The sect activities have enthroned security breach having carried out about 166 officially recorded attacks with 18000 deaths between 2010 and 2015 (Krishi, 2014). Before the advent of the Boko-Haram sect, perhaps the most virulent of the radical Islamic movements crises was the Maitatsine uprising in the 1980s and the Yan Shi'a movement in the 1990s which led to the destruction of over 1000 lives (Krishi, 2014:5). The Boko Haram (otherwise known as the Jama'a Ahl as-Sunna Lida'wa wa-al Jihad) is the latest in a long list of Northern religious fundamentalist movements that has tapped into Muslim revivalism in the Northern part of Nigeria. A major challenge for the region's traditional, religious and political elites is how to curtail the destructive activities of the group in order to bring about sustainable peace and security to the affected communities. This paper attempts to establish the nexus between good governance, the Boko Haram insurgency and its effects on the security of the affected communities in the North-Eastern Nigeria. The paper adopted a Desk-Review research method in which data were generated for the study using secondary sources from technical reports, journals, academic papers and books, amongst others. The following questions suffice for answers in the paper: How did the Boko-Haram originate as a sect? What is the impact of the Boko Haram insurgency on the security of the affected communities in North- Eastern Nigeria? What is the nexus between Good Governance and the Boko-Haram insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria? How can the Boko-Haram insurgency be curtailed in the North-Eastern Nigeria?

1.1 Definition of terms

The following terms are defined to capture the precise meanings assigned to them in this paper.

Governance: This refers to the exercise of power through a country's economic, social, and political institutions which stipulates the rules and routines for the running of government.

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Good governance: It implies the efficient management of state institutions leading to public accountability, transparency in government procedure, upholding rule of law and sound public sector management.

Insurgency: An armed revolution against the established political order. It is a movement with the ultimate goal of challenging the existing authorities for the control of all or a portion of its territory. It relates to forced political concessions in sharing political power.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Issues on Boko-Haram Insurgency

2.1.1 The Boko-Haram Insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria

The most notable security challenges currently ravaging the North-Eastern part of Nigeria is the Boko Haram insurgency. From the outset, the Boko-Haram sect otherwise known as Jama'at Ahlus Sunna Lidda' Awati Wal Jihad (people committed to the prophet's teachings for propagation and jihad) arose as a religious group in the North-Eastern Nigeria. Eventually, the sect enthroned a parallel government with the Nigerian state by seizing some territorial part of the country. The insurgents have several supporting departments that focused on the welfare of its members and the surviving family members of suicide bombers, a medical committee that looks after the health care needs of members and their families and public enlightenment department that is responsible for external communication and propaganda (Okorodudu, 2014). Indeed, the North-Eastern region of Nigeria has hosted many extremist religious groups in the past, and has experienced sectarian religious violence. Such extremist religious sects which have emerged from the region include the Maitatsine sect that caused the Maitatsine riots in Bulunkutu-Maduguri and Jimeta-Yola in 1982 and 1984 respectively along some other Northern cities including Kano, Kaduna and Gombe (Okorodudu, 2014:3).

There have been different historical accounts regarding the origin of religious insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria. This historical variation does not only reflect in the narratives about the exact date, and who the actual founders of the groups were, but also as to the true source of their religious indoctrinations. For instance, while the popular belief is that the Boko-Haram sect was founded around 2002, Porthuraju (2012) traced the formation date of the sect to as far back as 1995 by linking the establishment of the sect to Lawan Abubakar, who later left for further studies at the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. Under Abubakar, the sect was known as Sahaba (the companion of the prophet). The origin of the Boko-Haram sect was also traced to a religious sermon group formed by some Muslim students at the University of Maiduguri, Borno state who reportedly felt dissatisfied with the immoral contents of Western education in 2002 (Uwanko and Falola, 2012). Though there are different views and opinions about the origin and existence of religious sects in Northern Nigeria, what has been distilled from different historical accounts is that radical sects have existed for a long time, especially in Northern Nigeria, what has merely changed are just their nomenclatures, ideology, modes of operation and leadership. However, the evolution of the name "Boko Haram" was credited to Muhammed Yussuf to whom the formation is now generally ascribed. Yusuf assumed the leadership of the sect after Abubakar's departure to Saudi Arabia for further studies and indoctrinated the sect with his own teachings, which he claimed were based on pure Islamic tenets (Adibe, 2012). Yusuf's notion of purity and teachings were inspired by the works of Ibn Taymiyya, a fourteenth century religious scholar who preached Islamic fundamentalism and who is considered a major influence for radical groups in the Middle East (Johnson, 2011). As noted by Madugu (2015), just as the Boko-Haram sect itself is less concerned about whom to credit for its formation than waging its war against the Nigerian state, the state also is less perturbed with the origin than the threat that the sect poses to Nigeria and the international community.

The combative activities of the Boko- Haram insurgency really came to lime light in 2009 when the sect's members resisted a law in Borno state requiring motorcyclists to wear helmets and the deviant sect members were clamped down by the Nigeria Police. This arrest sparked-off the attacks and burning of Police stations in the state by members of the sect while many criminals detained in the stations were released. This attack marked the beginning of the major insurgent activities of the sect that has spread across the North-Eastern part of Nigeria climaxing into full scale war with the Nigerian state since 1999 after the extra judicial killing of the Boko-Haram leaders, Muhammad Yusuf by the Police. The arrest, detention and killing of the Boko-Haram sect members including their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, by the state Police led to virtual break down of law and order in the North- Eastern Nigeria.

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2.1.2 The Impact of the Boko-Haram Insurgency on Community Security in the North-Eastern Nigeria

There are many impact of the Boko-Haram insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria on the security of the communities that were directly affected one of which is personal insecurity of members of such communities. The Boko-Haram sect has carried out many insurgents activities in the affected areas including bombing, hostage taking, assassinations, armed robbery and murder of many citizens in the affected communities in the North-Eastern parts of Nigeria. The destructive activities of the sect have thus led to loss of lives and property. The loss of relatives including wives, husbands and other relations undermined family security within the community as many orphaned children are rendered homeless with serious threat to their future prosperity. The insurgency has led to economic insecurity in the North-East leading to business lull and less income for many households in the affected communities. The incessant bombings and gun attacks in the region has seriously affected the economic lives of individuals in the areas. For instance, commercial banks have been forced to review their operational hours to begin from 9.00am to 12.00 noon as against the normal operational period of 8.00am to 4.00pm as part of efforts by financial institutions to safeguard their business from security threat. Under this new operational arrangement, bank customers, especially traders, find it very difficult to deposit their daily proceeds in the banks due to the limited banking operational hours that are no longer in their favour. Alternatively, these helpless traders have imbibed the crude culture of hiding their money in their shops and homes (Odo,2015). It is assumed that this is why social evils like shop-breakings and burglaries and general crime rates have increased in the North-East. The growing spate of insecurity in the North-Eastern Nigeria has seriously affected the socio-economic condition of many communities in the North-Eastern Nigeria such that many people including businessmen are fleeing the area to a more peaceful environment in other parts of the country.

One of the dangerous aspects of the insurgency-induced relocation that has not adequately caught the attention of the government is the nature of migration that is currently being experienced in the North-Eastern Nigeria. It is not the southerners alone that are migrating from the region but also the northerners on account of insecurity (United Nations Development Programme,2013). Most of the migrants from the North-East who are in their productive age as farmers or traders, have abandoned their professions leading to the reduction in food production, shortage of essential commodities and high prices of food items and other essential commodities in the North-Eastern Nigeria. Where lives of members were not directly lost to the insurgency, the incessant attacks of the communities by the insurgents have caused all manners of threats to the health security of many inhabitants as they have been diagnosed of hypertension, high blood pressure, heart problem owing to persistent fear of probable attack by the insurgents.

Food security is undermined in many communities in the North-Eastern Nigeria because agriculture is less practiced leading to less food supply. Substantial parts of the land essential for agricultural production have largely been turned into battlefield or occupied territories by the Boko-Haram sect and many people in the affected communities who are mainly farmers have abandoned farming. Thus the North-Eastern Nigeria, a geo-political zone largely known as a major “food basket” of the country has receded in supplying food for the community survival and food security of the country leading to intense hunger in many communities. The environmental security of the affected community is under serious jeopardy as many community lands are laced with dangerous mines by the insurgency which constitutes environmental danger to the immediate communities and passer-by. The education sector is worst hit by the Boko-Haram insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria (Rubenstein, 2013).

Though Western education remains the bedrock of human capital and the overall development of the country, the destructive activities of the Boko Haram sect has truncated the optimal enrolment of pupils and students in schools in the North-Eastern Nigeria because the main struggle of the sect is directly against western education which they considered sinful and an evil tool of corrupting the society. Thus there is fledging security in the education sector in most communities in the North-Eastern part of the country as many schools have been destroyed while about 600 teachers were killed (Terrorism Research,2015). Owing to spate of insecurity, some Community schools in the North-Eastern Nigeria were closed for a year while over 200 secondary school girls were kidnapped in Chibok, Borno state without trace since 2014 (Terrorism Research Network,2015:6). The academic activities in the North-East have largely been jeopardised while many teachers and students live in rabid fear with many relocating to other parts of Nigeria to continue their job career and schooling. The refugee problems within Nigeria and her neighbouring countries and its effects on the environment equally constitutes a great threat to human and community security in the North-Eastern Nigeria. In some instances, some Internally

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Displaced Persons (IDPs) camp have been bombed causing more deaths and more sorrow for the affected communities (World Summit on Terrorism, 2015).

The federal and state governments have adopted different measures in curbing the destructive activities of the Boko Haram sect but with little success. Among these measures are the declaration of a state of emergency on the embattled States of Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe in 2014; the strengthening of anti-terrorism legislation; boosting the capacities of the military and other security agencies. Other strategies of combating terrorism in the North-East include setting up of a Committee in 2011 to explore dialogue option with the insurgents; the deployment of the Joint Task Force (JTF) troops made up of the military, police, and the Department of State Service to combat Boko Haram. All these action were planned and coordinated without the involvement of most communities. Lack of the involvement of the communities in the security planning has left a flank in the community security that the sect exploited to perpetrate their carnages through brainwashing and indoctrination of innocent citizens. Prevention is the most effective action against insurgency. Unfortunately, insurgency prevention usually becomes a hot topic in a community after a dangerous attack had been perpetrated and a lot of lives were lost.

2.1 3 Good Governance and the Boko-Haram Insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria

There is a strong linkage between lack of good governance and the current spate of insurgency in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. This is evident from the fact that leaders entrusted with resources for the benefit of Nigerians as a whole, use these resources largely for the benefit of few people in government and their cronies within and outside the government. It is therefore evident that bad governance is perpetrated by most elected leaders through prebendal and patrimonial politics that focus more on governance of patronage rather than service to the greater majority. Sanusi (2011) corroborated this assertion when he stated that 25 percent of Nigeria's annual budget is allocated to the National Assembly alone. The most immediate source of the disconnection between Nigeria's wealth and its poverty-stricken citizens is the failure of transparent governance at the federal, state and local government levels (Clinton, 2009). Thus, lack of transparency and accountability has eroded the legitimacy of the government and contributed to the rise of groups that embrace violence and reject the authority of the state (Clinton, 2009:1).

Bad governance and the Boko-Haram insurgency were co-terminus variables of the Nigerian state especially during the Goodluck Jonathan's Administration when the country almost became a fragile state. A country is fragile as opposed to a collapsed or a failed country when she is distressed and overwhelmed by governance challenges without sufficient capacity for adequate response to those challenges (Porthuraju, 2012:5). As a fragile state under the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, Nigeria was characterised by largely ineffective capacity to counter insurgency in the North-East and inability to exercise effective jurisdiction over Nigeria's territory leading to the usurpation of some territorial parts of the country in the North-East as non-legitimately 'governed territories'. Bad governance in Nigeria has equally led to violent contestation for state power, perennial challenges to the validity and viability of the state, massive loss of lives and exit of citizens from their immediate communities through internal displacement, refugee flows, separatist agitation, and insurgency in the North-Eastern Nigeria along terrorism in the South-South region of the country. Lack of good governance in Nigeria has also promoted a fragmented population that is largely characterized by a torn social fabric, minimum social control, and pervasive strife that encourage exit from rather than loyalty to the state as demonstrated by the Boko-Haram insurgency.

Owing to bad governance, Nigeria is largely characterized by underdeveloped conflict management and counter insurgency institutions including weak judicial and security structures, which pave the way for recourse to conflict-ridden, non-systemic and extra-constitutional ways of articulating grievances and seeking redress. Bad governance in Nigeria has promoted corruption in the polity leading to low level economic growth, underdevelopment, poverty and pervasive hunger that some time bred violence and insurgent group. Such weak governance profile in Nigeria has led to lack of optimal fiscal capacity of the government to discharge basic functions of statehood, including obligations to citizens of being protected from basic threats to human security, especially in the area of food and community security. The fragile nature of the Nigeria state as a result of bad governance clearly established a link between the failure of governance and the emergence and dynamics of insurgent groups including the Boko Haram sect in Northern Nigeria.

Literature abound relating closely to the nexus between the Boko-Haram insurgency and good governance in North- Eastern Nigeria. Danielsen (2015) while analyzing the relationship between governance

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and the Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria posited that virtually all the countries that have become economically strong and stable did not achieve the fit under an insecure environment as been experienced in Nigeria currently. The scholar opined that Nigerian leaders and Nigerians need to be concerned about the low level of performance by governments at the national, state and local levels and make concerted efforts towards arresting the downward trend in order to bring about substantial peace and security in the country. Danielsen (2015:2) posited that the Boko-Haram insurgents along with other criminalities such as armed robbery, assassination, and kidnapping arising from bad governance which has reduced the country's growth and development should be tackled by blocking different sources of funding, and weapon supply network of the sect. Lukman, (2014) opined that the provision of qualitative religious and western education for the right indoctrination of youths that are prone to insurgency could curtail the menace.

Ajayi and Nwogwugwu (2013) conducted a study on the Boko-Haram insurgency and the crisis of Governance in Nigeria and brought to fore the fact that the political leadership in the country has been abysmal in their approach to governance. According to the authors, bad governance has translated into high rate of poverty in a country that is the seventh largest exporter of crude oil in the world while past and present leaders have failed to utilize enormous public resources for the development of the country, as most of them have engaged in wanton looting and mismanagement of public funds. Hassan (2014) depicts the Boko Haram sect as a manifestation of governance crisis in Nigeria. The author argued that the current spate of insecurity in Nigeria is a direct consequence of the failure of the state to discharge its primary responsibility of securing the governance environment for sustainable development. Thus, the persistent phenomenon of bloodshed and wanton destruction of lives and properties, the unrestrained kidnapping (both for ransom and ritual), armed robbery in different parts of the country and other security threats portray Nigeria as one of the most unsecured territory in the globe.

Doucey (2015) posited that the military approach to tackling the Boko Haram insurgency in the country has failed not for lack of professional competence and capability on the part of the Nigerian security forces per se but because the military approach for managing the insurgency was a wrong security prescription. The military option has mainly addressed the symptoms of insurgency in Nigeria rather than the root causes. Doucey (2015:3) posited that the permanent solution to the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria lies in the domestication of true democracy and good governance that will address the socio-economic and political roots on which extremist ideologies thrive such as absolute and dehumanizing standard of living, high corruption; bad leadership; electoral fraud; social injustice; inequality, amongst others. What has been distilled from the above review is that the spate of insecurity in Nigeria is the outcome of a complex governance crises which breeds lack of opportunity, religious extremism, proliferation of ethnic militias and separatist groups. Although, different authors have worked on the nexus between good governance and the Boko-Haram insurgency there are few works on the impact of the insurgency on the community security in the North- Eastern Nigeria. This paper attempts to fill this gap.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the Basic human need theory in explaining the nexus between Good Governance, the Boko-Haram insurgency and community security in the North- Eastern Nigeria. Basic human need theory holds that in order to live well, people need certain essentials, the denial of which could cause conflict. Burton (1996) has been closely identified with the theory of basic human needs. Although, Burton did not invent the theory, he gave it a compressive understanding. The theory which was popularized by Burton in 1996 posits that the existence of certain universal needs must be satisfied if destructive conflicts are to be prevented in the society. Human needs theorists argue that violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. Violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not have the opportunity to meet their needs in the area of food shelter, housing, health and education, among others. Rosenberg states that violence is a tragic expression of unmet human needs, implying that all actions undertaken by human beings are attempts to satisfy their needs. If people are able to meet their needs and promote the survival needs of others, violence and destruction would largely be avoided.

In relating this theory to the study, it can be observed that the Nigerian government have failed to avail certain basic needs to the people and this has made certain groups like the Boko-Haram to stand and challenge the legitimacy of the Nigerian state. The failure of the state has also made it possible for many armed rebellious groups to gain sympathy from the citizens sometimes to the extent of enlisting as members. Some of the members of Boko- Haram sect are unemployed young school leavers. According to Marker (2009), many young

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men without much hope of securing jobs in the modern sector, joins the insurgent community which offers a pseudo solution. On joining this group, members become radicalised to fight the state in exchange for welfare and warfare.

3.0 Conclusion

The study established the nexus between good governance, the Boko-Haram insurgency and community security in the North-Eastern parts of Nigeria and concluded that good governance is lacking in the country and this is largely responsible for the emergence of the Boko-Haram insurgency in the North-Eastern part of the country. The failure of credible governance at the federal, state, and local government levels are the most immediate sources of disconnect between Nigeria and her citizens. The contradiction between the country's abundant wealth and the impoverishment of greater number of her citizens as well as wrong ideological orientation have largely contributed to the rise of deviant groups that reject state authorities and embraces violence in Nigeria. The Boko-Haram insurgency has seriously undermined the security of the communities in the affected area including its devastating effects on personal, environmental, health, political and food security. The negative scenario is threatening the socio-economic well-being of the North in particular and Nigeria as a whole. The study concluded that the policies that supply public goods must uphold the principles of respect for fundamental human rights of Nigerians. Government at all levels should enthrone credible economic empowerment programme, all-inclusive governance, transparency and accountability and respect for the rule of law to promote Good Governance in Nigeria in order to curtail the Boko-Haram insurgency in the country.

Community security outfits should be established to complement the efforts of the regular security forces in order to curtail the insurgency and other crimes in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. There is the need to establish special Commission by the federal and state governments to rebuild the communities that have been destroyed by the insurgency and resettle the displaced persons. Community Development Association (CDA) should be established as a platform to promoting good governance among communities, especially in the Northern part of Nigeria. CDA serves as a creative problem solving approach which deals with the foundation of the community. It is a programmatic good governance approach that integrates security and development interventions. It brings together a wide range of state and civil society actors to identify the causes of bad governance and insecurity and thus develop a coordinated response to them at the community level. The CDA emphasizes participatory assessments, planning and accountability to improve service delivery and reduce social exclusion, enhance relations between social groups and strengthen democratic governance at community level. The enrolment of the above recommendations could promote good governance and reduce the Boko-Haram insurgency in North-Eastern Nigeria.

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