State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria: Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Edited by

Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.
Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D.
Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.
Joshua O. Durojaiye

State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria: Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Edited by
Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.
Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D.
Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.
Joshua O. Durojaiye

PREFACE

This book is the output of our 2nd National Conference held on the 23rd November 2016. Deeply concerned about happenings in our society and in fulfilment of our role as academics, the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, organized a National Conference on the theme 'State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria' in order to brain-storm on the challenges confronting the Nigerian state with regard to governance and insecurity. We believe, in not just identifying the source(s) of challenges but proffering solutions as a step in moving our country forward because the issues that were engaged with at the conference are germane to the corporate survival of the Nigerian state. The conference, which were held on November 23rd, 2016, was declared open by the Vice-Chancellor of University of Ilorin, Professor Abdulganiyu Ambali, OON. He was represented by the Deputy Vice-chancellor (Academic), Professor (Mrs) N. Y. S. Ijaiya who gave the opening remarks. A keynote address was given by the President of Nigerian Political Science Association, NPSA, Professor Shuaibu Ibrahim while the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor B. Salawu, represented by Professor G. T. Arosanyin, gave the welcome address.

In his welcome address, the Acting Head of Department of Political Science, Dr. A. A. Muhammad, noted that the conference was timely considering the series of complexities in Nigeria's governance environment that require attention from both the state and the citizens. The conference thus, drew participants from across the entire nation comprising academics and policy practitioners. Students were not left out and as such, the conference was all-inclusive. The lead paper was delivered by Professor E. Ezeani while keynote papers were delivered by Professors R. Ayo Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu and they all engaged the theme of the conference from different perspectives. Thereafter, the conference broke into panels to discuss different sub themes. The conference came to a close with a communique calling on all stakeholders to be alive to their responsibility.

Several papers were delivered at the conference. However, a few of the papers are published in this edited volume. This is because the papers at the conference went through a phased review process to arrive at the ones

that are published now. First, paper presenters were asked to incorporate observations and comments they received during the presentation of their papers and re-submit them to the organizers. Not all paper presenters re submitted their papers. Thereafter, the papers that were re submitted were sent out for anonymous review by two reviewers for each paper. Those adjudged publishable after the review were sent back to the author(s) to effect corrections. The papers in this book are the ones that were returned by the authors. It is after this that the editors did the editorial work before bringing out this publication.

Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.
Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D.
Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.
Joshua O. Durojaiye
Department of Political Science
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
2nd February, 2017.

DEDICATION

To all staff and students of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin and to all individuals that are committed to the attainment of good governance and security in Nigeria

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process of bringing this project to fruition, God has been wonderful to us as a department. But there are also individuals whose efforts should be acknowledged because without their inputs in one way or the other, this project may not have seen the light of the day. We are grateful to the University administration for their moral and financial support right from the planning stage to the point of execution. These include the Vice-chancellor, Deputy Vice-chancellors, Registrar and other principal officers of the University. We thank the Dean of our faculty, Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor B. Salawu, and other Professors in the faculty for their commitment to the success of this project. Academic and non-academic staff of the Department of Political Science, particularly, Prof. H. A. Saliu and Mr. J. O. Durojaiye who demonstrated uncommon commitment to this project. are also appreciated. We are grateful to other departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences most especially, the Acting Head of Department of Sociology, Dr. (Mrs) D. S. Adekeye. We are also grateful to other departments and units outside our Faculty; Dr. I. A. Jawondo of the Department of History and International studies, Mr. U. A. Saliu of the University Library and Mr. Mohammed of Educational Technology Department, we thank you all for your various roles.

Professors E. Ezeani, R. A. Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu, we shall remain grateful to you for finding time to write your papers and present them as lead and keynote papers respectively. We must thank the President of the Nigerian Political Science Association, NPSA, Professor Shuaib Ibrahim, who gave a keynote address and all other members of the NPSA executive, particularly, the Director of Research, Professor A. M. Okolie, who encouraged and stood by us throughout the conference. To all paper presenters and those who were unable to present papers but attended the conference and made invaluable contributions, we thank you all. We cannot forget our donors – Professor H. A. Saliu;The Chief of Staff to the Kwara State Government, Alhaji Wahab; Permanent Secretary in the Kwara State Ministry of Energy, Alhaji Muhammed Katsina;a Director in the Government House, Ilorin, Alhaji Yusuf Garba; Mr Lateef Ishowo Isiaka and our ex postgraduate student who is now Personal Assistant to Kwara State Governor, Alhaji Rafiu Aliu. One again, we give kudos to all paper

presenters. Your various presentations led to this output. We thank our audience at the conference especially our students for being good listeners and asking thought provoking questions. The assistance of Members of the Press (print and electronic) is well noted. We thank you all.

Lastly, reviewers of the papers and editors of the book must be appreciated for their efforts in reading and proof-reading the manuscripts in order to ensure a qualitative output.

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D.
Acting Head, Department, 2016 - 2018

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Professor H. A. Saliu is a scholar of international repute whose articles have appeared in several local and international outlets. He is a Professor of Political Science of many years standing, with a bias for Foreign Policy. He has been teaching in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin for decades and has taught several undergraduate and postgraduate students. For several years, he has been teaching courses in the field of International Relations and Research Methodology. His students, among whom are Professors, are making waves in their various fields of endeavour. Professor Saliu has served as Dean of Faculty of Business and Social Sciences and as consultant to many national and international organizations. He is the current Vice-President of Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA).

Dr. F. A. Aremu is an Associate Professor in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin. He has been teaching undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Research Methodology and International Relations for several years. He is a well-travelled scholar and consultant to several organizations. His articles have appeared in several local and International outlets.

Dr. A. A. Muhammad is the acting Head of Department and is in the area of comparative politics, with area focus on Nigerian Government and Politics. He has been teaching in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin for several years at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He has published in reputable local and international outlets.

J. O. Durojaiye is a teacher of many years. He has taught and is still teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He is in the area of International Relations with occasional foray into other areas of Political Science.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Professor Emmanuel Onyebuchi Ezeani is a Professor of Political Science. He teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nssuka, Nigeria.

Professor 'Rauf Ayo Dunmoye teaches in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. He is a Professor of Political Science with bias for Political Economy.

Hassan Ajisafe Saliu is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Ilorin where he teaches undergraduate and postgraduate students. Professor Saliu is the current Vice-President of Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA).

Adebola Rafiu Bakare teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Isaac Adegbenga Aladegbola, Ph.D. teaches in the Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria.

Isah Mohammed Abbass, Ph.D. is of the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Oluwashina Moruf Adebiyi teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Fatima Omotayo Aliu is of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Abdulrahman Abubakar is of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Aloysius-Michaels Okolie, Ph.D. is with the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nssuka and also the current director of Research of Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA).

Kelechi Elijah Nnamani is affiliated to the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nssuka.

Tunde Agara, Ph.D. is the Director of Centre for Strategic and Development Studies (CSDS), Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State.

Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor and teaches in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Ehiyamen M. Osezua, Ph.D., is of the Department of Public Administration, University of Ilorin, Nigeria where he is also the Acting Head of Department.

Abdulwaheed Atanda Isiaq teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Opeyemi I. Aluko bagged his Master of Science degree from the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Ruth Abiola Adimula, Ph.D. is of Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

Abdouraman Halirou, Ph.D. teaches in the Département d'Histoire, FALSH Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroun.

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D. teaches in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Olawari Egbe D.J. Ph.D. is of the Department of Political Science, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State. Nigeria.

Theresa Nfam Odeigah, Ph.D. teaches in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Taiye Adewale Awotunde is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Sunday Orinya teaches Political Science in the Department of Political Science, Federal University, Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page.....i
Preface.....iii
Dedication.....v
Acknowledgements.....vi
About the Editors.....ix
Notes on Contributors.....x
Table of Contents.....xi
Welcome Address by the Acting Head, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.....xiv

Section One: Introduction and Lead/Keynote Papers

Chapter 1: Introduction

Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D., Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D., Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D. & Joshua O. Durojaiye.....1

Chapter 2: State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria
Professor Emmanuel Onyebuchi Ezeani.....14

Chapter 3: Nexus of State, Governance, and Security in Contemporary Nigeria
Professor 'Rauf Ayo Dunmoye.....32

Chapter 4: Nigeria's "To-To-To" Democracy and the Mounting Crisis of Nation-Building
Professor Hassan Ajisafe Saliu.....56

Section Two: Democracy and Good Governance

Chapter 5: An Overview of Nigeria's National Assembly in the Fourth Republic
Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.&Adebola Rafiu Bakare.....79

Chapter 6: Treasury Looting and the Narratives of Poverty under Goodluck Jonathan Administration
Isaac Adegbenga Aladegbola, Ph.D. 107

Chapter 7: The State, Leadership and Governance in Nigeria: A Discourse
Isah Mohammed Abbass, Ph.D. 128

Chapter 8: Hate Speech and National Integration: Nigeria's 2015 General Elections in Perspective
Oluwashina Moruf Adebiyi &Fatima Omotayo Aliu.....148

Chapter 9: Low Voters Turnout in Elections and Democratic Development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic
Oluwashina Moruf Adebiyi &Abdulrahman Abubakar.....170

Section Three: Terrorism and Insecurity

Chapter 10: Reflection on the United States' Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Partnership and Triangulation of Insecurity in Nigeria, 2005-2015
Aloysius-Michaels Okolie, Ph.D.& Kelechi Elijah Nnamani.....194

Chapter 11: A Country Under Siege: A Cursory Look at the State of Insecurity in Nigeria with Special Emphasis on Boko Haram and the Niger Delta Avengers Phenomena
Tunde Agara, Ph.D. 224

SectionFour: Conflict Management

Chapter12: Urban Violence Management in Nigeria
Fatai A. Aremu,Ph.D., Ehiyamen M. Osezua,Ph.D., Abdulwaheed Atanda Isiaq &Opeyemi I. Aluko.....260

Chapter 13: From Insecurity to Insecurity: The Plights of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria.
Ruth Abiola Adimula, Ph.D.&Abdouraman Halirou, Ph.D. 273

Chapter 14: Options for Managing Religious Conflicts in Nigeria
Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D. 301

Section Five: Governance, Conflict, and Terrorism

Chapter 15: State Terrorism as Domestic Policy: Nigeria's Fourth Republic in Focus
Olawari Egbe D.J., Ph.D. 311

Chapter 16: Security and Economic Challenges in the Eastern Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: The Menace of the *Skolombo* Boys and The *Lakasara* Girls
Theresa Nfam Odeigah, Ph.D. 340

Chapter 17: Terrorism and its Implications for Socio-Political Development in Africa
Taiye Adewale Awotunde.....352

Chapter 18: Governance and Rural Banditry in North Central Nigeria
Sunday Orinya.....372

Welcome Address by the Acting Head, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, on the occasion of its Second National Conference Held at the Business Lecture Theatre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Nigeria on the 23rd November, 2016 with the theme: State, Governance and Insecurity in Nigeria.

On behalf of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, I welcome all participants to this conference. This is the Second in the series of our National Conferences. The first, which was held in 2003 was titled 'Nigeria under Democratic Rule'. This Second Conference with the theme of '**State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria**' examines, in a broader context, what democracy has done to Nigeria and vice versa after many years of its practice. No doubt, there are series of complexities in Nigeria's governance environment that require attention both the state and the citizens. This is the vacuum which this conference hopes to fill. By addressing various issues confronting the Nigerian state in their specifics under the broad theme of '**State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria**', scholars and policy makers present at this conference have succeeded in extending the discussion on how to solve the multifarious challenges confronting the Nigerian state. I, therefore, urge us all, to see the opportunity provided by this conference as a way of making our own valuable contributions towards making Nigeria a better state.

At this point, let me thank individuals who have made this day a reality through their assistance and support to us. First is our Vice Chancellor, Professor Abdulganiyu Ambali, OON, who graciously agreed to declare this conference open and give opening remarks. He also sponsored both lunch and cocktail for conference participants, among other assistance he gave to us. The Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor Bashiru Salawu has really been supportive. All staff of the Faculty and sister departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences also contributed in no small measure to the realization of this day. More importantly, efforts and cooperation of all staff and students of our Department cannot be underestimated, especially members of the organizing committee and those among us whom we have christened 'the young shall grow'. It shows that where there is cooperation, the sky is the limit.

We also thank the Chief of Staff to the Governor of Kwara State, Alhaji Abdulwahab Babatunde; Clerk of the Kwara State House of Assembly, Alhaji Muhammad Katsina;the Personal Assistant to the Kwara State Governor, Alhaji Rafiu Olanshile Aliu; a Director in the Government House, Ilorin, Alhaji Garuba Yusuf; our alumni in the Department and a host of others who have provided assistance in one way or the other, we are indeed grateful.

Lastly, I must thank our lead paper presenter, Professor Emmanuel Ezeani and our Keynote Speakers, Professors R. Ayo 'Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu who were all my teachers.I also thank the President of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), Professor Shaibu Ibrahim and other members of the NPSA executive for conceding that we should tap from their wealth of experience by being part of this conference. I also thank all Professors and senior colleagues here present for giving our junior colleagues the opportunity to learn from them

I thank every participant at this conference and wish you all a successful deliberation.Thank you

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D.
Acting Head of Department
23 November, 2016

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

FROM INSECURITY TO INSECURITY: THE PLIGHTS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN NIGERIA

Adimula Ruth Abiola, Ph.D.
Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
adimulabiola@gmail.com

&

Abdouraman Halirou, Ph.D.
Département d'Histoire,
FALSH Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroun.
halirouabd@gmail.com

Introduction

Conflicts around the world leading to insecurity of lives and property have attained a dreadful height and Africa is not excluded from the menace. Oxford dictionary defines "insecurity" as the state of being open to danger or threat, it can also mean lack of protection. In Africa, dangers, threat to lives and lack of protection of lives and property arising from wars, conflicts, and even natural disasters increase by the day and such situations have led to the displacement of huge population characterized by negative effects.

According to Solomon and Mathews (2002), conflicts rage in many regions across the African continent. These conflicts often result in tragic loss of lives, devastation of communities, and displacement of millions of people. Conflicts also undermine economic development and result in further marginalization of Africa within the global political economy. Solomon and Mathews further opined that the majority of these conflicts are intra-state as opposed to inter-state; and also that national governments often play a role in the violent conflicts in African states, thus, compromising the ability of the state to resolve the conflicts.

In recent years, there has been an unprecedented surge in the number

of internally displaced persons in African countries, particularly, Nigeria. These displacements arise from insurgency, militant activities, conflicts, and natural disasters. The emergence and operation of the dreaded Boko Haram extremist group has kept Nigeria in a state of political uncertainty and security catastrophe. At some points, it became difficult for any security apparatus to eradicate or weaken the activities of the insurgents even as they took more territories in the North East of Nigeria, putting the country on the global spotlight for terrorism. With intense and severe attacks spanning over six years as at the time of this study, the effects on Nigeria are largely depressing; ranging from displacement of persons, economic paralysis, loss of human lives and property, infrastructural damage, to tension, to mention a few. All of these emanate from the state of insecurity in the country.

Insecurity is not new to Nigeria, at different times in the past, the nation has faced one form of insecurity or the other. Some of which were religious violence in the north, militancy in the Niger Delta and political clashes in the South West. Almost every state and geopolitical zone in Nigeria has experienced some levels of insecurity. However, none of them has been so challenging for Nigeria to overcome than Boko Haram insurgency.

Internally Displaced Persons

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is defined in the 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement as:

> Persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

According to (RULAC 2013), IDPs are different from refugees in the following ways:

(i) IDPs are not the subject of a treaty adopted at the universal level, although the Guiding Principles are based on binding international human rights and humanitarian law.

(ii) As opposed to refugees, IDPs have not crossed an international border from their country of origin.

(iii) The definition of IDPs in the Guiding Principles is significantly broader than the refugee definition. IDPs include those displaced by armed conflict, human rights violations and natural disasters, while the refugee definition is restricted to those with a well-founded fear of being persecuted on at least one of the five grounds: race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (RULAC 2013).

According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) (2000), the problem of human displacement in Africa is expanding and becoming increasingly complex. UNHCR, (2016) reported that, 65.3 million people, or one person in 113, were displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution in 2015. Wars and persecution have driven more people away from their homes than any other calamities since UNHCR records began. The report, entitled *Global Trends*, noted that, on the average, 24 people were forced to flee each minute in 2015; four times more than a decade earlier when six people fled every 60 seconds.

According to Global Protection Cluster Working Group Report of 2006, in more than 50 countries around the world, some 26 million individuals were uprooted from their homes and displaced in their own countries as a result of conflict or human rights violations. In addition, natural disasters caused the displacement of 36 million persons worldwide in 2008. They explained that IDPs are part of the broader civilian population that needs protection and assistance because of conflict and human rights abuses or due to natural disasters.

International Organization for Migrtation (IOM) Displacement Tracking Matrix 11 DTM (August, 2016) has shown that, the IDP population in Nigeria is composed of 53 % women and 47% men; 54% of the total IDP population are children of which more than half are up to 5 years old, while 46% are adults, 7% of which are over 60 years. The IDPs come mainly from Borno (69.13%), Adamawa (7.81%) and Yobe (6.47%) 81.3% of IDPs live with host families while 18.7% live in camps.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to highlight insecurity leading to displacement and to show that insecurity exposes displaced persons in camps to dangers. Specific objectives are:

1. to examine different issues leading to conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria;
2. to investigate the causes of Internal Displacement in Nigeria;
3. to highlight insecurity of lives and property faced in IDP camps in Nigeria; and,
4. to profer possible solutions towards mitigating insecurity in the society and IDP camps in Nigeria.

Insecurity in Nigeria

Insecurity in Nigeria is at an alarming rate especially with Boko Haram insurgency in the North. This insecurity is characterized by destruction of lives and property, kidnapping of people for ransom and rising political chaos arising from bad governance. In the discourse of security in Nigeria, Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) cited Okorie (2011), Jega (2002), Salawu (2010), Onyishi (2011), and Lewis (2002)'s identification of several causes of security crisis in Nigeria that pose grave consequences to national development. Chief among them is ethno-religious conflicts that tend to claim many lives in Nigeria. "Ethno-religious" conflict refers to a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such a group in a multiethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion, fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontations (Salawu, 2010:346).

The second factor that causes conflict in Nigeria is the grinding youth unemployment. Youth unemployment seems to have contributed in the rising cases of violent conflict in Nigeria. Unemployment according to the International Labour Organization is where numbers of the economically active populations are without work but available for, and seeking work, including people who have voluntarily left work (World Bank, 1998:63). It constitutes the total number of people that are out of work. Arguably, unemployment seems to be a global trend. However, Nigeria's unemployment situation has become severe due to the state's inability to put in place appropriate mitigating mechanisms to abate or control its spread and impact. For instance, Premium Times (2016) reported

that actual population of people willing, able, and actively looking for work increased by 1.99 per cent, from 76.9 million in the fourth quarter of 2015 to 78.4 million in the first quarter of 2016 (quoting National Bureau of Statistics- NBS-, 2016). It also said that the Bureau, in its latest Unemployment Watch report between December 2015 and March 2016, said that the population of unemployed Nigerians increased by 518,000 to over 1.45 million. Economically active or working age population, according to the NBS, increased from 105.02 million in the fourth quarter of 2015 to 106 million by the end of March 2016. Unemployment has a severe negative implication on the national development of Nigeria as most of its productive force are unemployed. What this means, theoretically, is that poverty and unemployment increase the number of people who are prepared to kill or be killed for a given course at a token benefit (Salawu, 2010). For example, in Nigeria, recruitment exercise by the Immigration Department led to stampede which claimed some lives on March 15th, 2014. Codewit World News, an online medium, quoted in This Day Newspaper (2014), reported as follows:

> The employment test for recruitment into the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) conducted across the country Saturday turned deadly as stampede at three centres claimed the lives of 16 applicants and left scores injured. Eight people were feared dead during a stampede at the National Stadium Abuja, five lives were lost at the Liberation Stadium, Elekahia, Port Harcourt, while three applicants were also feared dead in Minna. However, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) confirmed that seven people lost their lives and 40 were injured in the stampede in Abuja.

The third issue causing conflict in Nigeria is related to politics. Apart from the issue of poor governance and leadership failure, the electoral process appears to have assumed a destructive dimension. A cursory look at electoral politics in Nigeria since 1999 shows a catalogue of election related

assassinations. For instance, on the 23rd of December, 2001, the former Attorney General of the Federation, Chief Bola Ige, was assassinated and on March 5th, 2003, Harry Marshall- the national Vice Chairman for the South-South Zone of All Nigeria Peoples Party was also assassinated (Iduh, 201[illegible]). The former Nigerian Bar Association Chairman, Onitsha Branch in Anambra State, Barnabas Igwe and his wife, were gruesomely murdered on September 1, 2002. Engr. Funsho Williams and Dr. Ayodeji Daramola, former gubernatorial candidates of PDP in Lagos and Ekiti State, suffered the same fate (Iduh, 2011). Also, a serving Senator from Plateau State, Senator Dantong Gyang Daylop, and the majority leader of Plateau State House of Assembly, Honourable Gyang Fulani, were gruesomely murdered while many were left injured by unidentified gunmen (see Sun Newspaper July 9, 2012:2). Hakeem (2015) reported in Naija news online that Samuel Doro, the APC chairman in Barkin Ladi LGA in Plateau state was assassinated by some assailants in 2015. The report said that he was shot at a close range at his residence in Kurra Drong in Jos South local government area of the state. Also, Ugonna Omereonye, the Imo state PDP youth leader, was killed on Friday, April 10th, 2015, a day before the governorship election on his way back from Senator Hope Uzodinma's house where he went to collect mobilization money given to Akatta youths in Oru East of Imo state.

Also systemic and political corruption in Nigeria seems to have added another dimension to the violent conflicts which have eroded national values. Corruption is bad not because money and benefits change things, and not because of the motives of participants, but because it privatizes valuable aspects of public life. It by-passes processes of representation, debate, and choice (Thompson cited in Graflambsdorff, 2001:97).

The implications of all these setbacks are poor implementation of policies, rising unemployment, hardship, economic and political stagnation that give rise to the present threatening insecurity. All of which seem to be developing beyond the capacity of the state especially with the activities of Boko Haram.Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) reported that Boko Haram is a religious Islamic sect that came into the limelight in 2002 when it was first reported in Kanama (Yobe state) and Gwoza (Borno state). "Boko Haram," which in the local Hausa language means "Western education is forbidden," officially calls itself "Jama"atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda"wati wal Jihad," which

means "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and jihad"(Meehan and Speier 2011: 6). Beyond religious explanations, Boko Haram could arguably be described as a home-grown terrorist group that romances with some desperate politicians in the North. It appears that the sect enjoys effective support from some well-to-do individuals, religious leaders, allies, admirers of their ideology, and highly placed politicians in the North who claim to be Nigerians but are clandestinely working against the state. For instance, Lister, (2012) observed that it is no longer a sect of Islamic fanatics because it has gained the support of disgruntled politicians and their paid thugs (cited in Adagba,Ugwu and Eme, 2012:85). Adagba, Ugwu and Eme (2012) reported that revelations of and security investigations into the activities of the sect affirm that the group is also sponsored from within the country. It added that a serving Senator from the North is on trial for aiding the activities of Boko Haram, while a senior official of Boko Haram allegedly granted an interview detailing how the sect has been on the payroll of a few governors of the North.

Boko Haram has manifested in obvious insecurity of lives and property through its frequent bombing activities, evidenced by the bombing of the Nigeria Police Force Headquarter in Abuja on June 16th, 2011, the United Nations (UN) house in Abuja on August 26th, 2011, two consecutive bombings of Nyanyan motor park on 14th April and 1st May, 2014 respectively and other high profile bombings across some parts of the country. The state of insecurity reached a scaring dimension with the abduction of over 200 girls from Chibok in Borno State in April, 2014, and according to the report of Naijagists.com (2014), this has become a global debate on Nigeria's insensitivity to the security of her people.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts 'social conflict' and 'failed state' theories. Social conflict theory is a Marxist-based theory. Rotberg (2015) argued that individuals and groups (social classes) within society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. Rotberg added that a failed state is a country with a government that cannot or will not deliver essential political goods (public services) to its citizens. Failed state means a political body that has disintegrated to a point where basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government no longer function properly. For proper understanding of these two theories, it is important to discuss, first, conflict theory. This will form the basis for the understanding of the two theories.

Explaining conflict, Boulding (1963:5) stated that it "is a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other". Meaning that conflict results from purposeful interaction between two or more parties in a competitive setting. It refers to overt behavior rather than potentials and to subjective states. According to Deutsch (1973:10), "competition implies an opposition in the goals of interdependent parties such that the probability of goal attainment for one decreases as the probability for the other increases".

Although some theorists, such as Karl Marx, (1883), have claimed that growth and development occur through the conflict between opposing parties, cooperation is also a source of healthy growth. It needs to be determined under which situations, if any, conflict is necessary to produce change, as compared to the situation under which cooperation and harmony lead to the greatest advances. Sheriff (2014) espoused that Marxist theory is an offshoot of the Marxian explanation of society. Society is divided into unequal classes: one is strong, rich and noble and bears the tag of bourgeoisie who controls the instrumentality of state; while the other is deprived, socially deflated, financially infantile and is called the proletariat. There is a constant struggle between the two. Most times, the heat from this struggle leads to insecurity.

Explaining social conflict, Oberschall (1978) stated that it refers to conflict in which the parties are an aggregate of individuals, such as groups, organizations, communities, and crowd, rather than individuals, as in role conflict. Social conflict refers in common usage to interaction in which the means chosen by the parties in the pursuit of their goals are likely to inflict damage, harm or injury, but not necessarily in every case. With this proviso, Coser's definition of social conflict conveys its meaning very well (1967:232). According to the scholar, "social conflict is a struggle over values and claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflict groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals". "Social conflict encompasses a broad range of social phenomena: class, racial, religious, and communal conflicts; riots, rebellions, revolutions; strikes and civil disorders; marches, demonstrations, protest gatherings and the likes".

Furthermore, 123help me.com (2016) described what it tagged the three characteristics of social conflicts as 'inequality'- which refers to the

unequal distribution of money, gender, class, and age; 'social class conflict' - which is often defined as the amount of education, income, and status people have; and 'social change' -which suggests that the inequalities and conflict of social class are leading towards a social change. Thus, the inequalities propel rivalry of social class which culminate in conflicts and insecurity in the society.

Max Weber, one of the proponents of failed state theory revealed that there is no real consensus on the definition of a "failed state"; the subjective nature of indicators that are used to measure state failure have led to an ambiguous understanding of the term, (Oliver 2014). Some scholars focus on the capacity and effectiveness of the government to determine if a state is a failed one or not, (Patrick 2007). Helman & Ratner (1993) were among the first analysts to use the term 'failed state'. They were concerned about 'a disturbing new phenomenon' whereby a state was becoming "utterly incapable of sustaining itself as a member of the international community". They argued that a failed state would "(imperil) their own citizens and (threaten) their neighbors through refugee flow, political instability and random warfare". Michael Ignatieff (2002:118) adopted a Machiavellian/Weberian understanding of state failure when he argued that state failure occurs when "the central government loses the monopoly of the means of violence". For Zartman (1995), state failure occurs when the basic functions of the state are no longer performed. It also refers to a situation where the structure, authority (legitimate power), law, and political order have fallen apart.

Typically, the term failed state means that the state has been rendered ineffective and is not able to enforce its laws uniformly or provide basic goods and services to its citizens because of (variously) high crime rates, extreme political corruption, an impenetrable and ineffective bureaucracy, judicial ineffectiveness, military interference in politics, and cultural situations in which traditional leaders wield more power than the state over a certain area. Other factors of perception may be involved. A concept of "failed cities" derived from failed state has also been launched based on the notion that while a state may function in general, polities at the sub-state level may collapse in terms of infrastructure, economy and social policy. Certain areas or cities may even fall outside state control, becoming a *de facto* ungoverned part of the state (Einar, 2011).

Common characteristics of a failing state include a central government that is so weak or ineffective that it is unable to raise taxes or other support, and has little practical control over much of its territory. Hence there is non-provision of public services. When this happens widespread corruption and criminality, the intervention of non-state actors, the appearance of refugees and the involuntary movement of populations, and sharp economic decline can occur. *Stewart (2007) opined that t*he level of government control required to prevent a state from failing varies considerably amongst authorities. According to Piazza (2008), nations affected by state failure experience and produce more terrorist attacks.

The failed-state literature stressed that there are certain indicators that are necessary (if not sufficient) to categorize a state as 'failed'. Rotberg (2003) identified three important indicators. First, the persistence of political violence is salient in most definitions of 'failed states'. For Rotberg (2003), "failed states are tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous, and bitterly contested by warring factions. In most failed states, government's troops battle armed revolts led by one or more warring factions" Rotberg 2003:5). In his definition of failed state, Rotberg argued that the absolute intensity of violence does not define a failed state. Rather, it is the enduring character of that violence (as in Angola, Burundi and Sudan), the direction of such violence against an existing government or regime, and the vigorous character of the political or geographical demands for shared power or autonomy that rationalizes or justifies the violence as indicating a failed state.

John (2011) stated that a closely related indicator of state failure is the growth of criminal violence. Here the presence of gangs, criminal syndicates, arms and drug-trafficking are the most cited. As a result of the failure of a state to keep away security from the grip of violent non-state actors, people often seek protection from warlords or other armed rivals in the state. A third indicator of failed state concerns government's inability to control their borders and/or significant chunks of their territory. Often, the expression of official power is limited to the capital city and one or more ethnically-specific zones. Indeed, one measure of the extent of state failure is how much of the state's geographical expanse a government genuinely controls.

The finding of a study by the Cligendael Center for Strategic Studies (*Korteweg & Ehrhardt 2006)* explained why states that are subject to failure

serve as sanctuaries (used to plan, execute, support, and finance activities) for terrorist organizations. When a government does not know about the presence of an organization or if it is not able to weaken or remove the organization, the sanctuary is referred to as a "Terrorist Black Hole". However, next to governmental weakness are "Terrorist Comparative Advantages" present for a region to be considered as a "Terrorist Black Hole". According to the study, social tensions, the legacy from civil conflict, geography, corruption and policy failure, as well as external factors contribute to governmental weakness. The comparative advantages are: religion and ethnicity, the legacy from civil conflict, geography, economic opportunities, economic underdevelopment and regional stimuli. Only the combinations of the two factors (governmental weakness and Terrorist Comparative Advantages) explain what regions terrorists use as sanctuaries. Thus, flowing from the expositions on social conflicts and failed state theories, the indicators have shown clearly that the high level of insecurity in the Nigerian society is a result of social conflicts arising from failed state syndrome of lack of control of a part of the country (North East), generating conflicts, violence and terrorists attacks through the activities of Boko Haram.

Causes of Displacement

Displacement can occur as a result of incidence of natural disaster or by armed conflict. One of the biggest direct consequences of displacement is the creation of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) and camp situations.

In Nigeria, as well as in many other countries of the world, including the United States of America, the year 2012 recorded an unprecedented number of natural disasters leading to many people being displaced from their homes to camps, while some were forced to squat with relations, friends or neighbors, many others lost their lives in the natural disasters. Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2012) reported that, over 400,000 people have been displaced by flood sweeping across West Africa caused by torrential rains in August 2012.

Apart from natural disasters, conflicts can also cause displacement. According to Shah (2011), poverty, high unemployment, global financial crisis, political instability, armed confrontations, among others, can cause conflict. Bashi (2003) said that the worst crisis is armed conflict. It is the

worst in the sense that it is widespread. Its consequences are most devastating and it easily leads to, or escalates into other crises. For example, in armed conflicts, lives and property are lost or destroyed. With the destruction of industries and other production activities, unemployment with its attendant is increasing. Education is brought to a standstill as schools are closed, budgets for education are cut down in favor of the purchase of military hardware, (Bashi 2003).

Communal clashes is another factor contributing to the high number of displaced persons in Nigeria. Mausi (2014) reported that clashes between farmers and herdsmen over grazing lands in states such as Benue, Taraba, Zamfara and parts of Kaduna have left more than 1,000 people dead between 2013 and 2014. According to him, *the violence has been on almost on a daily basis in some places like Benue State.In a few other places, it is almost on a weekly basis.*

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), (2015), estimated that as of April 2015, 1,538,982 people forced to flee their homes in Nigeria were still living in internal displacement camps. This figure includes people displaced as a result of brutal attacks by the Islamist armed group, Boko Haram in North-Eastern Nigeria; the government-led counter-insurgency operations against the group; ongoing inter-communal clashes; and natural hazard-induced disasters.

Pavlish, (2007) made reference to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2000)'s report that said the problem of human displacement in Africa is expanding and becoming increasingly complex. Approximately, 4.6 million refugees reside in African border camps, while about 9.5 million of the world's 20 million internally displaced persons are found in Africa. IDMC reported that in 2014 the total number of people internally displaced by armed conflict and violence worldwide was estimated at 38 million people, the highest figure IDMC has ever recorded. Also, there were 12.5 million IDPs in the 21 sub-Saharan countries as at the end of 2013, which is about a third of the global total, and Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan had the largest populations of IDPs in Africa.

In West Africa, the UNHCR (2012) reported that 280,540 refugees are found in the sub region and approximately 168,000 refugees mainly Ghanaians, Ivorians, Liberians, Mauritanians, and Senegalese, are dispersed in both urban and rural areas in several West African countries. Also,

Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2012) reported that, over 400,000 people have been displaced by flood sweeping (torrential rains) across West Africa in August, 2012.

In Nigeria, conflicts arising from the activities of *Boko Haram* in the North East have resulted in high threats to lives and property, death of many, and displacement of several people. National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA Displacement Tracking Matrix XI DTM August, 2016), put the figure of people that are internally displaced in Nigeria 2,093,030 being 370,389 households. The majority of the IDPs were identified in Borno (1,446,829), followed by Adamawa (163,559) and Yobe (135,442) states. 89.74% of IDPs were displaced by the insurgency alone, while 8.85% were displaced by communal clashes and 1.41% by natural disaster.

Protection of the Rights of IDPs

The rights of IDPs are protected under international law. The United Nations and African Union have put in place some international Agreements. A major international instrument is the UN 1998 Guiding principles on Internal Displacement. Though the 1998 Guiding Principles on IDPs are not binding, they are based on, and consistent with, existing international legal instruments. The provisions include that the national government must ensure that displaced persons (IDPs) enjoy the same rights as other citizens of the same country and protection from arbitrary displacement and violent treatment.

> **Article1 (1)** provides that: "Internally displaced persons shall enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law as do other persons in their country. They shall not be discriminated against in the enjoyment of any rights and freedoms on the ground that they are internally displaced".
>
> **Article 3 (1 & 2)** states that: "National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction. . . and that " Internally displaced persons have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities. They shall not be persecuted or punished for making such a request".

Internally Displaced Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2012) reported that, over 400,000 people have been displaced by flood sweeping (torrential rains) across West Africa in August, 2012.

In Nigeria, conflicts arising from the activities of *Boko Haram* in the North East have resulted in high threats to lives and property, death of many, and displacement of several people. National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA Displacement Tracking Matrix XI DTM August, 2016), put the figure of people that are internally displaced in Nigeria 2,093,030 being 370,389 households. The majority of the IDPs were identified in Borno (1,446,829), followed by Adamawa (163,559) and Yobe (135,442) states. 89.74% of IDPs were displaced by the insurgency alone, while 8.85% were displaced by communal clashes and 1.41% by natural disaster.

Protection of the Rights of IDPs

The rights of IDPs are protected under international law. The United Nations and African Union have put in place some international Agreements. A major international instrument is the UN 1998 Guiding principles on Internal Displacement. Though the 1998 Guiding Principles on IDPs are not binding, they are based on, and consistent with, existing international legal instruments. The provisions include that the national government must ensure that displaced persons (IDPs) enjoy the same rights as other citizens of the same country and protection from arbitrary displacement and violent treatment.

> **Article1 (1)** provides that: "Internally displaced persons shall enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law as do other persons in their country. They shall not be discriminated against in the enjoyment of any rights and freedoms on the ground that they are internally displaced".
>
> **Article 3 (1 & 2)** states that: "National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction. . . and that " Internally displaced persons have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities. They shall not be persecuted or punished for making such a request".

Also, other international agreements which protect the rights of IDPs include Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict 1974, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000, as well as the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), among others, cumulatively made provisions for the protection of IDPs against deprivation; provide assistance during and after conflict; and oblige governments to assess the needs and vulnerabilities of the forcibly displaced, and the host communities, in order to address the plight of people uprooted within their borders.

Although, Nigeria is a signatory to all these international instruments with their laudable provisions, the extent of compliance is still in doubt as IDPs in Nigeria are being discriminated against within the host communities. Besides, lack of welfare provisions for IDPs in camps, issues of gender based violence against them, palpable insecurity of lives and property are the order of the day among IDPs in Nigerian camps. Olawale (2015) noted that the condition of IDP's in Nigeria is poor and that there is a wide gap of commitment to their welfare, security, and rehabilitation from the Federal and State government. The major reason for non compliance is because no penalty is attached to the international agreements and no monitoring authority to ensure compliance. This makes disobedience/non compliance to these international instruments to thrive.

Insecurity in IDP Camps in Nigeria

Nigeria has a high rate of displacement of persons especially with the recent activities of Boko Haram. Though the statistics are not accurate, Boko Haram has driven away more than 2 million of the pre-Boko Haram population from their homes. The conflict has forced millions to leave their homes, work, families, and businesses for other states considered to be more secure. The massive exodus of persons from various locations across the North-East has placed pressure on the government, the international organizations, and the receiving communities. According to the NEMA DTM 2016 report, IDP camps in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states have spread across 224 LGAs and 1,495 wards. However, it is important to note that, IDP camps exist outside the above mentioned states. IDPs camps have been identified also in Abuja, Benin, and Bakassi camps. Not all IDP camps

are recognized by the Nigerian government. A documentary featured on Channels TV by one of its presenters (Victor Matthias, 2016) showed an IDP camp in Adamawa state which is not recognized by the government. However, whether the IDPs live in a camp or not, one common feature is that they have lost traditional support structure, displaced from their homes, and are susceptible to insecurity in different dimensions, some of which are highlighted below.

Poor Health and Malnutrition

Displaced persons face tough problems in their various camps. These underlining problems make it difficult for government to rehabilitate and resettle them to their pre-conflict locations. Hunger and malnutrition, poor healthcare to mention a few, are various experiences IDPs have. This points to another level of insecurity of lives and property in the camps. Punch Newspaper Editorial online, (2016) published on July 19th, 2016, reported that the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has made it known that children are dying daily in Nigeria's IDP camps due to acute malnutrition and that a report by Doctors without Borders revealed that six (6) malnourished children die daily in IDP camps in Bama, Borno state. 188 died of diarrhoea and malnutrition in June 2016 alone, while 1,200 graves were counted of which above 500 were children- (Punch Newspaper 2016).

Shootings, Suicide Bombings and Random Attacks

Living in the camps has not made IDPs immune to shootings, suicide bombings, and random attacks from Boko Haram. This has reflected dread and insecurity in IDP camps. At close intervals, reports of attacks unleashed on IDPs were recorded. Premium Times (2016) reported that "suicide bombing is one of the ways the Boko Haram has caused the death of over 20,000 people in northern Nigeria since 2009". For example NEMA (2016) reported that on the 10th February, 2016, 58 people were killed and 78 others injured after suicide bombers detonated explosives at the IDPs camp in Dikwa, Borno State. The report stated that: "the incidents occurred when the IDPs queued up to collect their morning food ration in a camp which currently accommodates over 50, 000 people displaced by Boko Haram insurgency". Also, on the 11th September 2015, Premium Times reported that suspected Boko Haram terrorists detonated a bomb at Malkohi

camp located in Yola.The bomb was planted inside a tent near the major warehouse of the camp where 200 displaced persons who had just arrived from Madagali Local Government of Borno State camped. According to NEMA, the attack killed 7 and left 20 injured. The bomb exploded at about 10:30am, causing panic as some of the refugees fled the camp. It is sad to note that bombs are planted in food and living areas in IDP camps.When there is detonation of bombs around food queues and tents, then the insecurity affects everyone as they pursue basic necessities of life. In other words, even the kitchen and accommodation facilities are not safe.

Moreover, children, males and females, are used as militants and suicide bombers, attacking people, maiming and terminating innocent lives. It is disturbing to note that, with the massive deployment of security personnel to IDP camps, yet suicide bombers make deadly attacks in and around IDP camps. Ugwuanyi, (2016) reported that a male suicide bomber was shot dead while sneaking into Bakassi IDP camp in Borno. One of the two bombs tied around him exploded immediately he was shot by the vigilant soldiers, while the other was detonated by the soldiers to prevent it from causing havoc in the camp. Also, The News (2016) in its report tagged "Banki IDP camp Nigeria Suicide Bomber" said that two female suicide bombers killed at least eight persons in April 2016 at Banki IDP camp at the edge of Borno state, almost where Nigeria is bordered with Cameroon; "The first one occurred at about 8 a.m. and the second followed few minutes later. Eight people died and 12 were wounded," In addition, Premium Times, (2016) reported that Nigerian security operatives intercepted another suicide bomber who attempted to penetrate a Transit Camp of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) along Muna Garage. The Transit camp is used to check and screen potential displaced people before being allowed into any of the IDP camps in Maiduguri and others in Borno State. Nigeria Monitor News (2016) reported that three female suicide bombers were shot in Monguno, Borno State, while they were getting ready to attack IDPs.

Gender-based Violence (GBV)

Aside brutal attacks faced by IDPs in the camps, incidents like rape, prostitution, and theft are causes of uprising in the camps. An investigative report by the International Centre for Investigative Reporting titled "Grim Tales of Rapes, Child Trafficking in IDPs" revealed how women and children in IDPs camps were abused, raped and trafficked in complicity of

officials (ICIR 2015). Further more, Marama, Yusuf & Ojeme (2015) reported that the IDPs in Boko Haram camps in Nigeria were made to experience "incidents of unwanted pregnancies, rape, child labour/trafficking and sexually transmitted diseases". Also, Human Rights Watch in a press statement titled "Nigeria: Officials Abusing Displaced Women, Girls" also reported Gender-Based Violence unleashed on female IDPs by Nigerian security forces. It read:

> In late July, 2016, Human Rights Watch documented sexual abuse, including rape and exploitation, of 43 women and girls living in seven internally displaced persons (IDP) camps in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital. The victims had been displaced from several Borno towns and villages, including Abadam, Bama, Baga, Damasak, Dikwa, Gamboru Ngala, Gwoza, Kukawa, and Walassa. In some cases, the victims had arrived in the under-served Maiduguri camps, where their movement is severely restricted after spending months in military screening camp (Human Rights Watch online, July 31, 2016).

From all indications, IDPs are not secured in camps. They are faced with various forms of insecurity, from external aggression (Boko Haram) and internal forces (including Nigerian Security Agents). They have moved from insecurity of displacement to insecurity in camps where they ought to have refuge. The insecurity does not only stand as a challenge to the displaced persons alone; but also appears to be a serious problem to Nigeria as a nation. Due to trauma and deplorable experiences, displaced persons have the tendency of becoming security threats themselves if not rehabilitated and resettled at the shortest time. A ready example is the breakout of refugees from Syria into various parts of Europe which exposed the continent to security challenges as the refugees were compelled to survive by any means- robbery and killing inclusive. In other words, if the activities of Boko Haram with its great negative impact is not curtailed or stopped completely and the IDPs gainfully resettled, then there is a danger that the present insecurity in the country will lead to higher levels of insecurity of lives and property from the angered and aggressive victims of Boko Haram.

Corruption of Government Officials in Camps

Mismanagement among government authorities in charge of IDP camps is another issue of insecurity. Welfare items allocated to IDP camps are not secure in the hands of camp managers. Iroegbu (2016) reported that President Muhammadu Buhari ordered the probe of corrupt officials at the IDP camps and the Chairman of Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) has expressed worry about complaints of corruption in IDP camps from International humanitarian organizations and other civil society organizations (CSOs) that are helping the distressed victims of the Boko Haram insurgency in Maiduguri Borno state and beyond. He said: "We want to be sure that there is transparency, accountability and judicious use of the money allocated to internally displaced persons" (Magu, 2016).

Lack of Roadmap for Re-integration

The rehabilitation and resettlement plans of the IDPs by the Nigerian government remain unclear; there is resettlement insecurity as the government is yet to draw a comprehensive roadmap to resettle IDPs in secured communities. One major problem is that there is no comprehensive data of the IDPs in Nigeria.This also affects re-integration plans although international partners have been playing key roles in the welfarism, data collation, health and education of displaced persons. For example, International Organization for Migrants (IOM) has been conducting Biometric Registration of IDPs in camps, camp-like sites and host communities. This helps them create data for each IDP. Through interviews with household heads and data captured, household members, education, displacement history, livelihood, assistance received, return intention, and lots more are recorded, there is still a wide gap between the situation of IDPs and their re-integration plans.

Prolonging the stay of IDPs in camps under hostile environment with daunting security challenges exposes Nigeria to further security threats. Even though displacement is not new to Nigeria, for the first time the nation has witnessed the highest number of displaced persons within a short period. Security challenges are not recorded suddenly, rather they come as a result of mismanagement, hostility, consistent abuse of human rights among others. The government of Nigeria must be proactive and futuristic in her approach to ensuring safety and security of the people of the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study concluded that there is high level of insecurity in the Nigerian society arising from ethno-religious conflicts, unemployment of able adults, militancy, herdsmen and farmers clash, electoral violence, Boko Haram insurgency among others. Also, it highlighted how conflicts and natural disasters caused loss of lives and property and also displacement of huge populations to IDP camps. Furthermore, there is ineffective implementation of international instruments protecting the rights of IDPs.This has made the IDPs vulnerable to Gender Based Violence and insecurity in camps.

Flowing from the findings, the recommendations of this study are that government at all levels should reorganize governance system whereby massive employment, vocational studies and tools of trade will be made available to youths and other able bodied persons in the society to engage them profitably. This will reduce the level of crime leading to insecurity in the society. It is also important for the Federal Government to address issues generating tension in different geo political zones in Nigeria, in order to control the havoc been caused by militancy such as Boko Haram insurgency, sectional and religious violence in the country. Functional laws with penalties against violators should be put in place to serve as punishment and deterrents to others. Also, the security sector should be well funded and armed with the required arms and ammunition to tackle insecurity issues in each geo political zone of the country. This measure will address extensively the social conflicts and failed state syndrome in the country.

Furthermore, there is a need for the government to regulate the activities of IDP camp managers and officials to ensure proper structure and efficient management, whereby welfare items are effectively distributed to IDPs and cases of corruption among camp officials are met with punitive measures. Also, establishment of response mechanism to GBV in IDP camps will go a long way to protect the survivors of such violence.This will give them respite on where to report cases of violation to. Reported cases should also be handled well to ensure that perpetrators of GBV are adequately punished to prevent violation of the rights of IDPs. Legal Practitioners and Human Rights Activists can also help by providing free legal services to IDPs whose rights have been violated.

Moreover, the Federal Government should ensure that international agreements on the protection of IDPs, which Nigeria has been signatory to, are domesticated through the National Assembly. This will give room for efficiency of implementation of laws protecting the rights of IDPs.To improve the welfare conditions of IDPs in camps, International NGOs should support IDPs by coordinating them for economic and social empowerment in trade and vocational training and other benefiting projects. This will enhance their economic viability and independence. This will enable them cater for themselves and their families and reduce their vulnerability especially of women and children. This will give them job and survival security. More importantly, the Federal Government should put in place security apparatus that will ensure peace and safety in communities where conflicts have caused displacement and design a comprehensive road map on the re-integration of IDPs into a secured society.

REFERENCES

Adagba, O.,Ugwu.S. C and Eme. O.I (2012)."Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Problems in Nigeria"**Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review** 1 (9) .

Bashi, M. (2003). Human development: The Effects of Conflicts on Stability, Democracy and
Development in Africa. Retrieved October 27, 2012, from http://www.sudanvisiondaily.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=147.

Boulding (1962). **Games: The Experimental Study of Interpersonal Relations.**USA and UK: Aldine Transactions.

Codewit World News, (2014). Nigeria: 16 feared dead at stampede in immigration job test.
Reported on March 16, 2014. Retrieved on February 4, 2018 at http://www.codewit.org/nigeria-news/17234-nigeria-16-feared-dead-in-stampede-at-immigration-job-test

Coser (1967). Key elements of conflict. Conflict Management. Retrieved on January 5, 2017
from
http://www.cios.org/encyclopedia/conflict/BKeyelements2_interdependence.htm

Deutsch (1973). Key elements of conflict. Conflict Management. Retrieved on January 5, 2017
http://www.cios.org/encyclopedia/conflict/BKeyelements2_interdependence.htm

Einar, B. (2011). *Brazil: Successful country, failed cities?* (NIBR International Blog 24.01.2011).

Global Protection Working Group Report, (200). UNHCR. Retrieved online on February 5, 2018 from

http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html

GrafLamsdorff, J. (2002). Corruption and rent-seeking. Springer. Vol.113, No.1/2 pp. 97-125. Retrieved on January 5, 2017 from https://www.jstor.org/stable/300257756

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998). United Nations Guiding Principle on
Internal Dispalcement. UNHCR OCHA. Retrieved online on February 5, 2018 from http://www.unhcr.org/protection/idps/43ce1cff2/guiding-principles-internal-displacement.html

Hakeem, O. (2015). 10 politicians who were assassinated in 2015 (part I). Retrieved online on February 4, 2018 from https://www.naija.ng/676330-10-politicians-assassinated-part.html#676330

Helman & Ratner (1993). Failed and Weak States in Theory and Practice Retrieved on January 4, 2017 from
http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0119.xml

Human Rights Watch, (2016). Nigeria: Officials Abusing Displaced Women, Girls. Published on October 31, 2016. Retrieved on January 4, 2017 from (https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/10/31/nigeria-officials-abusing displaced-women-girls)

Iduh, S. (2011). The challenges to peace in Nigeria. International Journal of Vocational and
Technical Education Vol. 3, No. 8

Ignatieff, M. (2002), "Intervention and State Failure', *Dissent*, Winter. Retrieved on December 23, 2016 from
http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/web/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/sub-saharan+africa/ari5-2011

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2012).IDP News Alert, 5 September, 2012. Retrieved on February 7, 2013 from http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004D31AA/(httpIDPNewsAlerts)/403789A01C2EDDE3C1257A70004F61A7?OpenDocument

IDMC (2015). Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, May 2015 Publications. Retrieved on October 24, 2016 from http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications?Regions=Global&Theme=Humanitarian

IOM, DTM. (2016). International Organization for Migration's Displacement Tracking Matrix
(DTM) Round 11 Report- August 2016.

Iroegbu, S. (2016). Magu: EFCC to Probe Funds, Corruption at IDP Camps. Reported in This Day Newspaper on June 3, 2016. Retrieved on January 5, 2017 from
http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/06/03/magu-efcc-to-probe-funds-corruption-at-idp-camps/

Jega, I. (2002). "Tackling Ethno-Religious conflicts in Nigeria". **Newsletter of Social Science Academy of Nigeria**, September; 5 (2): 35-38

John, J. (2011). Failed States' in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of the Literature (ARI).
Published by Elcano Royal Institute; strategic and international studies. ARI 5/2011 - 14/1/2011. Retrieved on December 23, from http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/web/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/sub-saharan+africa/ari5-2011

Korteweg, R. and Ehrhardt, D. (2006). ***Terrorist Black Holes: A study into terrorist sanctuaries and governmental weakness. (2nd ed.).*** *Den Haag: Clingendael Centre for Strategic Studies*

Lewis, P. (2002). **Islam, Protest and Conflict in Nigeria.** Washington: Centre for Strategic and
International Studies (CSIS), Africa Notes No.10

Magu, I. (2016). Magu: EFCC to probe funds, corruption at IDP camps. Reported in This Day Newspaper on June 3, 2016. Retrieved online on February 4, 2018 from https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/06/03/magu-efcc-to-probe-funds-corruption-at-idp-camps/

Marama, N., Yusuf, U., & Ojeme, V., (2015). The Vanguard Newspaer 18th February, 2015;
retrieved on July 19, 2015 from

Mathias, V. (2016). Channels Television. IDPs seek government, NGO support for better living conditions. Video.
https://m.youtube.com/watch?v= pnG3pMsVDTg

Mausi, S. (2014).1,000 Dead in Nigeria Communal Clash.Reported Voice of America (2014).
Retrieved on January 20, 2016 from
http://www.voanews.com/content/nigeria- hrw-15apr14/1893929.html

Mechan, P. and Speier, J. (2011). Boko Haram, Threat to the U.S. Homeland Washington: US.
House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Sub committee on counter terrorism and intelligence.

MSF, At Least 24,000 Displaced People in Dire Need in Bama, Borno State
http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/article/nigeria-least-24000-displaced-people-dire-need-bama-borno-state

NaijaGists.com (2014). News, Entertainment and Gists. Jonathan resumes reelection campaign as Chibok girls suffer in Boko Haram den. Retrieved on June 11, 2014 from http://naijagists.com/president-jonathan-resumes-reelection-campaign-as-chibok-girls-lament-in-boko-haram-jail/

National Bureau of Statistics (2016). Nigeria's unemployment crisis worsens; jumps by 518,000in 3 months-NBS. Referred to by Premium Times online May 22, 2016. Retrieved on February, 2018 from https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/203891-nigerias-unemployment-crisis-worsens-rate-jumps-518000-3-months-nbs.html

NEMA (2016). National Emergency Management Agency 2016. 58 killed, 78 injured in suicide bombings at Borno IDP camp. Published in PremiumTimes Newspaper on 10th February, 2016. Rettrieved on December, 28, 2016 from http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/198295-58-killed-78-injured-suicide-bombings-borno-idp-camp.html)

Nigeria Monitor News (2016). Army 'gun down' three female suicide bombers in Borno. Retrieved online on February 5, 2018 from http://www.nigerianmonitor.com/graphic-photos-army-kill-three-female-suicide-bombers-monguno/

Nwanegbo, C.J and Odigbo, J. (2013). "Security and National Development in Nigeria. The Threat of Boko Haram". **International Journal of Humanities and Social Science**, 3 (4): 285-391

Oberschall, A. (1978). Theories of Social Conflict. Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 4: 291-315. Retrieved on December 23, 2016 from http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.so.04.080178.001451?journalCode=soc

Olawale, R. (2015). IDPs in Nigeria and a call for urgent intervention (Article in Prompt News online). Retrieved on January 19, 2016 fromhttp://www.promptnewsonline.com/idps-in-nigeria-and-a-call-for-urgent-intervention-by-olawale-rotimi/

Olivier, N. (2014). "Fragile and Failed States: Critical Perspectives on Conceptual Hybrids", **International Political Science Review** 33 (1): 326-341

Okorie, (2011). "Insecurity" Consequences for Investment and Employment**The Punch,**
Thursday September, 9, pp. 37-38

Patrick, S. (2007). "Failed" States and Global Security: Empirical Questions and Policy
Dilemmas"**International Studies Review**9: 644–662

Pavlish, C. (2007). Narrative inquiry into life experiences of refugee women and men.
International Nursing Review, 54, 28–34. Retrieved on October, 2012, from http://www.arcrelief.org/site/DocServer/inr_510_final.pdf/
Piazza, J. Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?,*International Studies Quarterly*, 2008, 3: 469-488, p.470:

Premium Times (2016). 7 killed in yola idp camp bomb blast. Published in Premium Times
Newspaper on Sepptember 11, 2015. Retrieved on December 28, 2016 from http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/189822-7-killed-in-yola-idp-camp-bomb-blast.html

Premium Times (2016). Another suicide bomber shot dead while targeting IDPs. Published in
Premium Times on November 19, 2016. Retrieved on December 25, 2016 from (http://dailypost.ng/2016/10/30/breaking-suicide-bomber-shot-dead-sneaking-idps-camp/)

Punch Newspaper, (2016). Children Starving to Death in IDP Camps. Published in Punch
Newspaper of July, 19, 2016. Retrieved on September 23, 2016 from http://punchng.com/children-starving-death-idp-camps/

Rotberg, R. (2015). Failed and Weak States in Theory and Practice Retrieved on January 4, 2017 from
http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0119.xml

123helpme.com (2016). Characteristics of Social Conflict Theory. Retrieved on December 23, 2016 from http://www.123helpme.com/view.asp?id=131172

Rotberg, R. (2003).***State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror.*** *Washington DC*: Brookings Institute Press.

RULAC, (2013). Geneva Academy of Humanitarian Law and Human Rights; Rule of Law inArmed Confllict Project. International Refugee Law. Retrieved on October 15, 2016 from http://atlalix.com/project-rulac/applicable-law/international-refugee-law/

Salawu, B. (2010). "Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Casual Analysis and Proposal Strategies"**European Journal of Social Sciences** 13 (3) .

Shah, A. (2011).Conflicts in Africa. Retrieved on August 15, 2015 from, http://www.globalissues.org/issue/83/conflicts-in-africa

Sheriff, F. (2014). Readings in Peace and Conflict Studies. Covenant University. Retrieved on January 5, 2017 from http://covenantuniversity.edu.ng/Profiles/Folarin-Sheriff-F/Readings-in-Peace-and-Conflict-Studies

Solomon, H., & Mathews, S. (2002). Civil Society, the State and Conflicts in Africa. Retrieved from United Nations High Commission for Refugees website: http://www.unhcr.ch/cgibin/texis/vtx/

The News, (2016). **Borno state: Suicide bombers kill 8 at IDP camp. Published in The News onApril 21, 2016. Retrieved on December 25, 2016 from http://thenewsnigeria.com.ng/2016/04/borno-state-suicide-bombers-kill-8-at-idp-camp/**

Ugwuanyi, S. (2016). **Suicide bomber shot dead while sneaking into IDPs camp. Published in Daily Post on** on October 30, 2016. Retrieved on December, 28, from http://dailypost.ng/2016/10/30/breaking-suicide-bomber-shot-dead-

sneaking-idps-camp/

UNHCR, (2012). Populations of Concern to UNHCR-UNHCR Global Appeal 2013 Update.
Retrieved on December 20, 2014 from http://www.unhcr.org/50a9181b27.pdf

UNHCR, (2016). UNHCR Global Trends. Global forced displacement hits record high. Reported by Adrian Edwards on 20 June 2016. Retrieved on October 24, 2016 from http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html

World Bank. (1998). **World Development Indicators** Washington DC: World Bank.

Zartman, W. I. (ed.) (1995). Collapsed states: The disintegration and restoration of legitimate
authority. Retrieved on November 30, 20101, from