Analysis of President Muhammadu Buhari Administration's Fight against Insecurity in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020

Ibrahim Ishola Yahaya

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Alhikmah University, Ilorin   Nigeria

E-mail address: yahayaibro15@gmail.com

&

Kazeem Toyin Raheem

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Alhikmah University, Ilorin   Nigeria

Email address: kazeemraheem13@gmail.com

Abstract

President Muhammadu Buhari assumed office as the fourth Nigerian President in the fourth republic on 29 May, 2015. The administration identified insecurity, corruption

and the economy as its focal points. Two years into its second term in office, it is considered appropriate to assess the performance of the administration. The broad objective of this study is to assess the performance of the administration in fighting insecurity in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020. Specifically, it examined the security challenges confronting Nigeria, identified their causes, examined their effects on Nigeria and assessed the efforts of the administration in resolving the challenges. The study used secondary source to collect data and applied thematic method to analyze them. This study adopts the Structural Conflict theory as its theoretical framework. The study identifies the Boko-Haram insurgency, herdsmen/farmers conflicts and Kidnapping/armed banditry as sources of insecurity in the country. The study reveals that the causes of insecurity include: social exclusion of a segment of the society from the mainstream political economy of the state, failure of the state to address genuine grievances among the people, ethnic bigotry and poverty among others. The study revealed that military, diplomatic, legal and financial resources have been deployed to fighting the menace but to no avail. The effects of the insecurity include loss of lives and properties, perpetual fear of attack in the minds of the people, non-industrialization and general underdevelopment of the country. The study recommends an inclusive government and government paying attention to all genuine grievances, adequate poverty reduction measures and application of technology, political and military solutions to insecurity.

1.1   Introduction/ Background to the Study

President Muhamadu Buhari was inaugurated as the fourth president in Nigeria's fourth republic on the 29th May, 2015. He was the candidate of the then opposition party, the All

Progressives Party (APC) The election was fiercely contested especially by the then ruling party, The People's Democratic Party (PDP). The March 2015 presidential election that ushered-in President Muhammadu Buhari was a unique occurrence in the annals of the Nigerian democratic process. It was at this election that the losing candidate, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan accepted defeat and congratulated the leading candidate before the official declaration of the election results.

The security situation of Nigeria as at the inauguration of the Buhari administration was despicable. The boko haram insurgent has not only killed thousands of innocent citizens and destroyed properties worth millions of naira; it has occupied some territories in North East Nigeria. The political, economic and social condition of Nigeria and Nigerians as at the period of the March, 2015 general elections was barely bearable by Nigerians. Insecurity has reached its peak with the boko-haram insurgents occupying about 17 local government Areas in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states in addition to occasional attacks on the federal capital territory, Abuja, For example, Yanyan, a subub of Abuja the Federal Capital Territory was bombed on October 1, 2010, (Callister, 2015). Economically, the value of the naira has waned such that basic goods and services were not within the reach of the common man. Unemployment especially among youths, increased significantly (Michelle, 2019). Thus, an average Nigeria was tired of the situation and was looking up to any opportunity that could bring in a new government that could turn things around and bring back the good old days to Nigeria and Nigerians.

The inauguration of the Buhari administration was a welcome development based on his pedigree. Many Nigerians believe Buhari is honest and has integrity and the capability to take Nigeria out of the prevailing security problems. His performance as a military ruler between 1984 and 1985 was an harbinger for this optimism. In addition, the administration came up with campaign slogan that hammered on issues that border on Nigeria's major contemporary problems, i.e., bad economy, endemic official corruption and insecurity. President Buhari's zero tolerance for corruption during his short time as the military head of state in Nigeria between 1984 and 1985 gave credence to this belief. His reputation as a disciplinarian endeared him to the electorate at the election. Nigerians believed his military background would assist in the fight insecurity and corruption. For these reasons, his election in 2015 as Nigeria's 4th president in the

fourth republic could not come at a better time. It is within this back ground that this paper was conceived. May 29, 2022 marks the beginning of the fourth year of his second term in office. It is therefore considered appropriate to assess the performance of the administration on the basis of promises he made to Nigerians, specifically on fight against insecurity. This study is divided into five sections. The introduction is the first section. The second Section explains some concepts applied in the work. The third section discusses the theoretical framework of the study. The study adopts the Structural Conflict theory. The fourth Section discusses the Buhari administrations performance in the fight against security challenges facing the country. Section five reveals the findings of the work and the fifth section is the concluding part of the work The work is summarized, conclusions drawn and recommendations were made.

1.2   Objective of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to assess the effort of the President Muhammadu Buhari administration in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020. Other specific objectives of the study include;

to identify the security challenges confronting Nigeria between 2015and 2020,

to identify the causes of the security challenges in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020 ,

to examine the effects of the security challenges on Nigeria and Nigerians between 2015 and

2020

to assess the efforts of the Buhari administration in the fight against the security challenges between 2015and 2020

1.3   Research Questions

In an attempt to guide the study to its focus/objectives, questions considered relevant to the study are raised as follow:

I.   What security challenges confronted Nigeria between 2015 and 2020?

II. What were the causes of these security challenges?

III. How has these security challenges affected Nigeria and Nigerians?

IV. In what ways did the government addressed these security challenges between 2015 and 2020?

1.4   Methodology

This study applies the secondary sources of data collection. The secondary source used includes textbooks, journals, online materials and other periodicals. This method is considered appropriate because of availability in reasonable numbers, relevant research works on the topic.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Structural Conflict Theory

Theories are blocks on which knowledge is built in social science disciplines. The goal of any theory is to explain and describe phenomenon with a view to prescribing and predicting outcome of research work. Scholars develop theories because they see theories as logical tools for identifying and providing solutions to societal problems. Different theories are applicable or adaptable to different problems or phenomena. It is the nature of the research that is to be conducted that determines what theory to apply. The Structural Conflict theory of conflict is considered appropriate for this study; it is therefore applied.

Structural Conflict Theory has two major variants; the radical structural theory represented by the Marxist dialectical school of thought and Liberal structuralism. The radical school is popularized by Mark and Engels and V.I Lenin. The liberal school on the other hand is popularized by the works of Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998) and the Johan Galtung (1990).

The major postulate of the structural conflict theory is that the way a state is structured determines the possibility of conflicts in such societies. The theory opines that resources are scarce and human needs are numerous, thus creating a state of incompatible interest among people. There is therefore stiff competition for the scarce resource and this eventually results conflict (Collier, 2002). The structural conflict theory is focused on identifying the link between the social, political and economic structures of the state and conflict. According to Ross, cited in Shedrack (2008), in a state where there are economic and social discrimination within a weak kinship system, such society is prone to conflict. The ensuing conflict, which Karl Marx describes as clash of thesis and antithesis will results in a synthesis. This means the struggle between proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist epoch will lead to the ruin of both classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie) to create a new epoch (socialism) or the conflicts result in the ruin of either of the two classes. (Samuel, 1955) This is like a utopian expectation in that it appears a difficult task to realize. This is because, unlike the proletariats, the bourgeoisie are large in number, level of their poverty differs and they do not have any rallying point. It is therefore a difficult assignment to coordinate them and mobilize for any form of revolution. It is even more difficult in the contemporary international economic order with globalization and its attendant effects on the developing countries.

Liberal structuralism identifies defects in the structure of the state as a cause of conflict which could be corrected through policy reforms. This variant of structuralism sees competition for limited resources among citizens as a frustrating experience which defines social relationship in such societies. The outcome of such completion is conflict of interest. In the opinion of the proponents of the liberal structural conflict theory what causes conflicts among people in a state varies and they could be many. They listed Social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation among the factors. (Oakland, 2005). They further argue that exploitation and the unjust nature of human society where one class is favoured and the other is disadvantaged breed conflict. In a situation where existing political, economic and social put some people or groups of people in advantageous position and other groups within the state are at disadvantageous position, crisis is inevitable in such societies.

This theory's strength lies in its ability to prove the fact that the structure of a state determines its level of security and insecurity at a particular time. A number of conflicts in Nigeria have been traced to Nigeria's political, religious and economic conditions. This, to a large extent explains the viability of the structural conflict theory in explaining series of security challenges that have happened in Nigeria. However, the theory has been criticized for its emphasize on materialism. Again the theory is also accused of not paying attention to factors of ethnicity, racial and religious discriminations as sources/causes of insecurity. In spite of these criticisms, the structural conflict theory remains a powerful theoretical tool for analyzing security and insecurity in any human society (Folarin, 2016).

1.6 Literature Review

Security and Insecurity have become the most topical issue in Nigeria discourse in recent history. They have been discussed from different perspectives based different interpretations accorded them. The Hornby dictionary (2006) sees security as the act of protecting a country, a building or a person against attack, or danger. Kufour (2010) cited in I. B Bello-Imam (2014) defines security of the individual person as entailing freedom from dire poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, hunger, disease, avoidable mortality of children and nursing mothers, arbitrary governance and environmental degradation among others. In similar vein, Mabogunje, (2010) defines human security as activities that concern safeguarding man from all threats and danger that prevent him from realizing his goal of existence. Insecurity on the other hand is define by Wikipedia as threat to the general peace of the people which may later be considered as low level disorder, large scale violence or even an armed insurgence. Alabi, (2013) conceives insecurity as a state of confusion whereby the lives and properties of the people within a particular community are not protected.

According to I B Bello-Imam, national security is a state where the unity, well-being, values, and beliefs, democratic process, mechanism of governance and welfare of the nation and her people are perpetually improved and secured through military, political and economic resources. From the legions of definitions above and more, we observe that security and insecurity have been conceived variously. However, for the purpose of this work, we align ourselves with the view of I B Bello-Imam. In that respect we see insecurity in Nigeria as a state

where the unity, well-being, values, and beliefs, democratic process, mechanism of governance and welfare of the nation and her people are perpetually unimproved and unsecured despite the adequate availability of military, political and economic resources.

Different scholars globally have offered varying viewpoints on the concept of security. Human security means avoidance of any form of disruption in the daily activities of man anywhere and at any time (UNDP, 1994). Thus, security means is the safety and protection of man and his properties from danger. Protection of man against hunger, disease and repression is another form of security. The Commission on Human Security (2003) sees human security as the promotion of all aspects of human live that leads to enhancement of living condition and enjoyment of his fundamental human rights and fulfillment of his aspirations. Nwagboso (2012)'s argument is that security is a phenomenon that is commonly associated with the absence of threats to the survival of individuals or groups. He equates security with freedom from present and future danger, harm or anxiety. However, this position may not be absolutely correct. Security may not always be the absence of threats but it is the ability to respond to these threats with appropriate skills and expertise.

Security encompasses all approaches towards safeguarding human and material resources and the wellbeing of the people in the state against all forms of aggressions or violence (Otto and Ukpere 2012) Omoyibo and Akpomera (2012) likened Nigeria security challenges to an individual who barricaded his house to prevent any form of intruder but who unfortunately was prevented from escaping fire outbreak from within the house by the barricade. They opine that for Nigeria to know peace, both the government and the governed need to uphold the laws of the land that guarantee equity, fairness and justice to all. It is only when laws are obeyed by everyone that the state could be secured against violence or threats of violent acts. Several studies (empirical and descriptive) have shown that insecurity hinders growth and development of a nation. Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) noted that security avails the states opportunities for economic, political and social development. Ewetan and Urhie (2014) observe that insecurity is antithetical to business activities and it also discourages foreign and local investors. Adegbami (2013) says insecurity is detrimental to general well-being of the people. This because according to him, it has led not only to destruction of business ventures, it has led to destruction of properties, relocation of industries and discouraged further establishment of industries. Udeh

and Ihezie (2013) noted that insecurity challenges Nigeria's effort towards national economic development and consequently its vision 20:2020, and scares the attraction of foreign investment and their contributions to economic development in Nigeria. Achumba, et. al (2013) in their study of insecurity and its implication on Nigeria business investment and sustainable development; find that the menace is complex in nature and of enormous magnitude. They submit that drastic and urgent measures are required to put an end to it. Otto and Ukpere (2012) carried out a study on national security and development in Nigeria. Their study revealed a positive relationship between security and development. They report that insecurity negatively affect economic development of many less developed economies.

Mubarak, et al (2021) in their published work titled' Fighting Crime and Insecurity in Nigeria: An Intelligent Approach' see the series of security challenges confronting Nigeria as conventional and the government have been adopting tradition solutions to resolving them without result. From their point of view contemporary security challenges in Nigeria have gone beyond the traditional crimes and security challenges. The contemporary security challenges require more contemporary/sophisticated solutions/approaches in place of the traditional approach been adopted by Nigerian government. They recommend adoption of modern technology which obtains in developed world in addressing insecurity in Nigeria.

The review above reveals that insecurity has as a number of negative effects not only on individual citizen of a state, it also negatively affect the economic development of states anywhere in the world. And since development is a major objective of any government, insecurity negatively affects good government in contemporary Nigeria.

1.8   Forms of Insecurity in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020

The birth of the fourth republic in Nigeria heightened spate of insecurity in the Country. New dimensions and sophistication were introduced to criminal activities. These range from illegal oil prospecting, criminal destruction of oil installations in the Niger Delta area, religion and ethnic crises, insurgency and terrorism. Terrorism as epitomized by the Boko Haram insurgency surfaced in Nigeria in 2002 and by 2009 it has become a torn in the skin of Nigeria, wrecking havoc on the lives of people and properties in the north eastern part of the country. .

The group subsists even now. This ubiquitous group has caused death of thousands of Nigerians and non-Nigerians, in addition to destruction of valuable properties. The activities of the group has resulted to displacement of thousands of Nigerians and registered Nigeria as one of the most dangerous countries to travel in the world. This is a smear on the image of the country within the international system.

The boko-haram insurgency is one of the deficits of the Jonathan administration that the Buhari administration inherited in 2015. The President Goodluck Jonathan led administration was accused of a lackadaisical attitude towards this dangerous group at its on set in 2002. (Vanguard, 2018)

Herdsmen and farmers crisis is another form of crisis ravaging Nigeria. The rivalry between the two groups is not new. It has only taken a more veracious and devastating dimension in recent time. It is most common in the middle belt of Nigeria, particularly in Benue, Nasarawa, part of Niger states. Other states in Nigeria also experience the menace but with minimal casualty to what obtain in Benue and Nasarawa state. Several reasons have been advanced for the crisis by scholars, government officials and international organizations. Among these reasons are: climate change, ethnic bigotry among Nigerians, disobedience to laws guiding cattle rearing, disobedience and illegal over take of grazing routes, etc. The crisis has lead to loss of lives and destruction of properties worth billions of Naira. The governor of Benue state was reported to have claimed that the state lost over 95 billion naira worth of assets and properties, while close to 3,000 had lost their lives to the crisis (Vanguard, 2018).

Other forms of criminal activities affecting Nigeria currently include armed banditry, kidnapping for rituals and or ransom, politically motivated protests and demonstrations. Rape, armed robbery, cultism, domestic violence, hooliganism etc., have remained unabated but they are not new forms of crime in Nigeria. Kidnapping was very rampant in the Niger Delta region at the hay days of militancy in that region. During this era, foreign oil workers were kidnapped for ransom before they are released. However, beginning from 2014, kidnapping of students in large number began. The book haram insurgent kidnapped about 300 students of Chibok secondary school in Borno state. Some of these students are still being held captives till date. Again in 2016 another set of about 200 students, from Dapchi secondary school also in Borno state were also

abducted by unknown gun-men. One of them is still in captivity. This is in addition to thousands of other people across the country kidnapped, tortured and even killed. (Nigeria Bulletin, 2016) Armed banditry has assumed a worrisome dimension in the North West part of Nigeria. The verse arable land in this ungoverned or alternatively governed territory provide avenue for these criminals to perpetrate their crimes without the security agents dealing with them. The existence of this territory and inability of the security agents to square it up with them allows them to perpetrate the heinous crime.

Armed robbery is a daily occurrence in most part of Nigeria. The armed robbers now operate in the day light along major roads across Nigeria. The Kaduna-Abuja road has assumed notoriety for being a commonly occupied rout in Nigeria. The Oree-Benni expressway is another rout where armed robbery is rampant. Several policy reports across Nigeria revealled the gory experience of victims in the hands of these dear devil criminals. In Lagos state alone, the Vanguard newspaper (2020) reports that the Lagos Command of the Nigerian Police arrested 486 robbery suspects and 542 stolen vehicles were recovered.

A new twist to insecurity is the case of renewed clamoring for cession from the country by some ethnic nationalities. In recent time, the Yoruba nation agitators are demonstrating in parts of the country asking to be allowed to have their own nation. The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) has also been challenging the Nigeria authority over their right to self-rule. This particular group has attacked several security outfits such as the Nigerian policy and some military formations. The IPOB, is officially proscribed in Nigeria, it is fighting the Nigerian authority, killing security agents and destroying policy and military structure. The leader of the group is currently standing trial for treasonable and other criminal offence in Nigeria.

Insecurity has assumed a worrisome extent in the country never witnessed before. Its negative effects are numerous and devastating. People no longer sleep with their closed. Travelling across the country by road is now a very dangerous thing to do whether at night or during the day. Institutions, including military barracks are not safe. Thus, we can identify the Boko-Haram Insurgency, Herdsmen/Farmers Crisis, Armed Banditry, Armed Robbery, Cultism, Domestic Violence, Ritual Killing, Kidnapping for Ransom, Ethnic protestation as exemplified

by the IPOB and Yoruba Nation agitator and the "ENDSARS" Protest in 2019 as the insecurity challenges confronting the Buhari administration between 2015 and 2020.

1.9   Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria 2015-2020

Causes of insecurity and crime have been explained from various perspectives based on the nature, typology and context of such crimes. Internal and external factors have been identified as incubators of crimes and insecurity in human society. The interdependent nature of the contemporary international system have also been identify as another source of insecurity and crime. It is therefore not out of place to submit that while external factors have great impact on security situations in states, the internal factors play a collaboration role in fettering them.

Nigerian economic development has been hampered by insecurity and other factors. The pre-independent political structure and the colonial administrative system have been blamed for this. However, more than six decades after independence, insecurity has remained pervasive in the country. From legion of literatures available on the subject, several reasons have been identified by scholars for the unending insecurity in Nigeria. In the opinion of Ajala, 2014, politics, democracy and elections are some causes of insecurity in Nigeria. He submits that during the military regimes in Nigeria, like in the colonial era, seeds of various forms of conflicts were planted, but successive military regimes were able to subdue their germination. He said the return to democratic rule in 1999 presented opportunity for political competition among different groups leading to re-opening of hitherto suspended/suppressed ethnic, communal and religious hostilities. Echoing similar position, Brimah, et al (2014), submit that since independence, Nigeria has been bedeviled with ethno-religious crisis. The return to democratic rule in 1999 introduced new waves and dimensions to criminality in the country. Ajala, (2014) and Brimah, et al (2014) cited series of ethnic and religious conflicts that have occurred in Nigeria since 1999. Among them is the continued conflict between the indigene Berom/Anaguta/Afizere group and the Fulani claimant to; right, resources and power in the territory. Similar ethnic crisis that has remained intractable is the Tiv versus Jukun in the middle belt region of the country over indigene/settler dichotomy (Godwin, 2013).

The Nigerian politics in the first republic was essentially ethnocentric. Each political party remained relevant within ethno/regional base of their leaders. The return to democracy in 1999 did not change the pattern of politicking significantly. This is because, though some of the political parties were fairly nationalistic in outlook, voting pattern in most elections took ethnic and religious colouration. This perhaps informs the opinion of Taylor, (2006) cited in Ajala, (2013) that 'democracy has deepened divisions rather than heeled them'. Politics in Nigeria is all about struggle for power for personal/selfish benefit of its wielders and their loyalists. This is why the struggle for political power in Nigeria is described as 'do or die' affairs by no less a person than former Nigeria President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. He made this assertion as the country prepared for the presidential election of 2007 which was adjudged the most flawed elections in the history of Nigeria electoral process in recent time (Nwolise, 2007 & Effanga, 2007). Election has also assumed a satanic dimension in Nigeria to the extent that politically related assassinations have become common place in Nigeria in the fourth republic. Several politically exposed individuals have been assassinated allegedly for political related reasons. Prominent among them are: the former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of the federation, Chief Bola Ige, Chief Harry Marshall, one time National Vice Chairman of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) for South-South region of Nigeria, Ahamed Gulac, a former spokesperson to former president Goodluck Jonathan who decamped to APC. He was on a party assignment in 2020 when he was assassinated in Imo state. This list is inexhaustible. (Brimah, et al, 2014 & Adeolu, 2014) Thus, it is safe to say politics and elections in Nigeria foster conflict and insecurity rather than promote good governance.

Inequality among Nigerians is another cause of insecurity in Nigeria. This created poverty gap among the people leading to wide disparity between the rich and the poor. The structural conflict theory posits that the pattern of political and economic system of a state dispose such state to security or insecurity. Ishaku, (2014) reports Aghalino, (1998) to have said that poverty among the youth was one of the reasons advanced by the youths for engaging in militancy in the Niger Delta regions. The Nigeria state as presently governed appears skewed in favour of a few elite and this has been a harbinger for crisis. In addition, Raji & Abejide, (2014) posit that poverty arising from unemployment, neglect of agriculture, high rate of inflation, glut in international oil market and the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme remains an

important source of insecurity in the country. They accused government of adopting wrong policies towards addressing these movers of insecurity. They opine that the poverty alleviation programmes and policies, especially in the rural areas have only worsened the poverty level of the rural dwellers instead of alleviating their conditions. This, they say is because poverty in Nigeria is of rural character and government policies towards alleviating it are often misdirected, inappropriate and inadequate. Preponderance of poverty leads to lack the basic needs of life by many people who could logically become desperate to meet their basic needs at all costs, even if it requires involvement in criminal acts. Hannatu, (2012) cited in Ishaku, (2014) is of the view that the large population of unemployed graduates in Nigeria is a potential tool for criminality. He argued that some of them are often engaged by politicians as political thugs to attack their opponents. This, she argues is because 'an idle hand is the devil's workshop'.

Youth's unemployment in Nigeria is another cause of insecurity. Scholars have argued that the reasons for youth unemployment in Nigeria include inappropriate education curricular, desire for white collar job and laziness on the part of the youths. In the 11th Convocation lecture of Al-hikmah University, Ilorin-Nigeria delivered by Prof. Adeniyi S. Gbadegesin, on 13th December 2021, the guest lecturer said Nigeria education system is adopting an inappropriate curriculum in her tertiary institutions and this is why the rate of unemployment will continue to rise. He said the country still applies colonial curriculum which was meant to train Nigerians who were to take over from the colonial officers in the post colonial administration. This curriculum, to him is no longer relevant and appropriate now, but unfortunately it is still been used and encouraged. Products of this inappropriate curriculum are neither job creators nor fit in to today's economic needs. After graduation they become burdens not only to their parents but also to the state.(Gbadegesin, 2021) In the absence of any meaningful source of livelihood, they seek for survival at all costs, including criminality, hence adding to source of insecurity in the land.

Related to unemployment is the government's nepotistic appointment practice into public and political offices which has become a prime source of disaffection and dissatisfaction among the people. Nepotism in public service employments and employments infuriate youths who feel unduly disadvantaged in the affairs of their country or state as the case may be. This mostly explains the surge in ethnic militias across the country in this republic. Example of these militias

include the Niger Delta revolutionary crusaders, Niger delta Avengers, Arewa People's Congress, Igbo People's Congress, Egbesu Boys and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra whose activities have affected the Nigerian economy (Chukwu, 2021). Each ethnic group, especially the minority ethnic groups have accused the majority ethnic groups, i.e., Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa/Fulani of political marginalization and exclusion.

Corruption is another cause of insecurity. It has several connotations depending on the angle from where it is perceived. But generally it perverts a course of action leading to injury to some people and the state. Official corruption is concerned with diverting public fund to private uses at the expense of the masses. It manifest in bribery, illegal acquisition of public goods for personal uses, dishonest behavior and the likes. Corruption In Nigeria has make Nigeria a laughing stock in the world to extent that a world leader has one time describe Nigeria as 'fantastically corrupt'. This is not a good complement but it the truth. (Nnaemeka, et al, 2015) In a goodwill message to the members of Nigeria House of Representative's Committee on anti-corruption at a capacity building workshop organized by the House committee in conjunction with a German Foundation- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, titled: "The role of the legislature in the fight against corruption," the Chairman of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Offences Commission (ICPC) Professor Bolaji Owasanye said Corruption is Nigeria's greatest challenge and a singular push factor of national security challenges. To him corruption breeds crime incubators such as the expansion of poverty, reduction of life expectancy, high mortality rate and the deteriorated livelihood experienced by our citizens. The consequence of all these prone the society to conflict as the affected people are most likely to take to crime for survival. He added that corruption has negatively affected the promotion and standard of democratic practices and the democratic institutions because of absence of accountability. This has also led to creation of unnecessary projects, and difficulty in their funding. (Vanguard, May 6, 2021)

Allegation of Corrupt practice in arms procurement to fight the Boko-Haram insurgents against some former military officer and politicians is demonstration of the 'fantastical' character of corruption in Nigeria. Between 2006 and 2014 humongous amount of money was allocated from the yearly budgetary allocation to fight, insurgency, especially, the book-haram insurgency. (Olumhense, 2014 & Scribd.com, 10 February, 2017) Unfortunately, the Nigeria military has not been able to defeat the terror group. A probe into the finances of the military under the President

Goodluck Jonathan administration by the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari revealed that about $2.1 billion could not be accounted for under the headship of the former NSA. Several of the amount and many more were later discovered by the courts to have been used for political ends. Most of the politicians involved in the scandals have been convicted, made to make refunds or still been prosecuted. (Yahaya & Abejide, 2019) The diversion of this security vote to political purposes enabled the insurgency to be unduly prolonged, leading to loss of innocent lives and properties. In a paper titled: Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria: A Psychosocial Insight, Nnaemeka, et al (2015) employed four theories to explain the relationship between corruption and insecurity. His finding reveal that the economic condition of the Nigerian state where people are exposed to injustice, frustration and man inhumanity to man due to miss application of political power results in series of criminal activities leading to insecurity in the land

Ungoverned or alternatively governed territories that abound across the Nigerian state create avenue for insecurity to persist in the country. Ungoverned or alternatively governed territories refer to massive land territories which abound across the country. They are idle lands that are not occupied and the presence of government is lacking. Criminals covert these verse land into their dens where their victims are kept tortured or even killed. Such territories exist in The Sambisa forests in Borno state of Nigeria, the verse arable lands in remote areas of Niger, Nasarawa, Kaduna, Zamfara, and Katsina states fall within this definition. These territories serve as the den for all these criminal elements to perpetrate their crimes.

The list of causes of insecurity is inexhaustible. Several works have been done in this area and each of them has identified different causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

1.01   Consequences of Insecurity on Nigeria

The consequences of insecurity in a society are often great, enormous and not easily quantified. The consequences usually manifest in economic losses, human losses, destruction of properties, valuable items and even infrastructures, psychological/emotional disturbances, perpetual feeling of losses and fear of armed attacks that could precipitate medical/health challenges now or in the future for the victims. Lives lost to insecurity in Nigeria in the period

2015-2020 are gargantuan in number. According to Kunle, (2021), the Global Conflict Track, (GCT) reports that insurgency in Nigeria resulted to the death of 35,000 people directly from the attacks by the insurgent on the people. In addition the report claims that about 314,000 people died indirectly from the attacks in the three states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe (Kunle, 2021) In another report, the International Crisis Group, in its Africa report N0 252, claims that an estimated 6,461 people died as a result of the herdsmen/ farmers conflict (Oghenekevwe, 2021) This figure has been disputed as fallen far below the actual causalities recorded. In its own report, Global Rights, an International Human Rights Organization reports that between 2019 and 2020, more than 7,744 people lost their lives to kidnapping and other attacks in parts of Nigeria. According to the report the worst affected states are Borno 1176, Kaduna 628, Katsina 501, Zamfara 262 and Niger 254. (Ade, 2021) It should be noted that these are estimate based on recorded cases. Several other deaths may not have been recorded. A consequence of lost of lives is loss of productive human labour that affects current and future productivity and consequently the development of the country.

Another effect of insecurity is the mass emigration from troubled areas to supposedly settled communities. In addition to loss of lives, insecurity has escalated the growth of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. People who escaped from attacks and have their homes and farmlands destroyed had to relocate to a new place to secure their lives and possibly think of starting a new life. These IDPs do not provide adequately for its residents. They suffer several inadequacies such as food, shelter, water electricity, etc. Figures sourced from statista.com/account/ reveals that between 2015 and 2020, a total of 13,287,000 people have been displaced from their homes in the troubled areas. This same report states that the economic implication of maintaining these IDPs by the state, local and federal governments of Nigeria as well as communities where these IDPs are located and assistance of concerned international organizations is estimated at well over $2.3 billion. They also go through psychological and emotional trauma as a result of discomfort in their new abode. (Sohnen, 2012)

The living condition of Nigerians under these security challenges, to say the least is horrible. Apart from constant fear of attack with its attendant psychological effects, the insecurity has worsened the already battered living condition of Nigerians who are alive. Inflation rate on staple foods has risen by 21.79% with price of rice increasing from #8-9,000 in

2015 to #26,000 in 2020. Thus there is food insecurity as farmers and small and medium industries engaged in food production have abandoned their trade for their dear lives. BusinessDay, (2019) reports that Islamic State West Africa Provision (ISWAP) and a faction of the Boko-haram group have neutralized, the Baga International Fish market, formerly located in Maiduguri. In its place they created two different markets in Chad and Niger Republic. The implication of this is loss of revenue from this market to the Nigeria people and government. Persistent violent attacks on communities led to people fleeing their homes to settle in places considered secured. This results in the establishment of several Internally Displaced Persons camps (IDPC) across Nigeria. Insecurity in Nigeria thus led to increase in the number of internally displaced persons and their camps. Military expenditure deployed to insecurity in Nigeria under the Buhari administration have also revealed mind boggling amount. Figures obtained from multiple sources including that from Temitope, et al., (2020) reveals that from budgetary allocation and other sources Nigeria expended the following amount on the military towards fight against terrorism and insecurity:

2015 amount spent== $2.07 billion

2016 amount spent==$1.72 billion

2917 amount spent==$1.62 billion

2018 amount spent==$2.04 billion

2019 amount spent==$2.15 billion

2020 amount spent==$1.02 billion

It is unfortunate that in spite of the humongous amount of money expended on terrorism and insecurity, the security situation in the country is still dreadful and worrisome..

1.8   Efforts of the Buhari Administration in the Fight against Insecurity

In his acceptance speech at his inauguration in 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari assured Nigerians and promised to tackle the triple problems of insecurity, corruption and the

economy. (Nasiru, 2021) The Buhari administration jump-kicked this determination by ordering the relocation of the military headquarters to Maiduguri, Borno state, the epic Centre of the boko-haram insurgency. Few days after his assumption of office, the president travelled to the neighboring countries of Nigeria; Niger Republic, Cameroon, Benin Republic and Chad. The trips were aimed at raising awareness for the need for joint efforts by these countries and Nigeria to collectively fight the insurgency. In addition to his visit to these West African countries, the president also sought the assistance of the G-7 group of countries and the United States of America for international cooperation for the fight against the insurgency (Olakunle, 2017). In addition, the President also championed the establishment of the Multi-national Joint Task force (MNJTF) which is composed of 8,700 standing army officers drawn from member countries of the lake Chad Basin Commission. President Buhari released $21 million to establish the MNJTF headquarters in N'Djamena in addition to other financial supports facilitated for the force (Vanguard, 2015).   This gesture is a demonstration of the administration's commitment to fighting insurgency in the country.

Other steps taken by the Buhari government to fight insecurity in Nigeria include;

Increase in the budget of the military and approval of release of fund for purchase of arms for the security forces

probe of military expenditure of the previous administration and this revealed a lot of misappropriation and diversion of funds meant for military equipment to satisfy political ends

Set up a powerful committee headed by the Vice Predisent, Professor Yemi Osibajo on the farmers/herdsmen crisis in parts of Nigeria.

In 2018, President Buhari approved the withdrawal of $462 million from the excess crude account (ECA) for payment to the USA for procurement of 12 Super Tucano aircraft to fight insurgency

The President also approved additional $1 billion for procurement of more military hard wears in the same year

The yearly budgetary allocation remained consistently high since the assumption of the present administration

Established a new battalion of Nigeria Army and new Policy Area Command in Brini Gwari local Government of Kaduna state to scale up security measures

Established a 1000 capacity Special Military Intervention Force to rapidly respond to security challenges in the North Central and North West regions of Nigeria

The administration was also well disposed to negotiations with bandits and other criminal elements, including paying ransom, though this is often denied by government officials.

Local and international training for members of the Nigerian armed forces on handling of new military hardware (Uche, 2020)

All these are in addition to several other measures taken by the president. He has also issued several orders to the police and the military towards ending insecurity in the land. (See Vanguard, November 27, 2021)

Conclusions

This work attempts an assessment of the President Muhammadu Buhari administration in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020. The basis of the assessment was the campaign promise of the administration towards the 2015 general elections that the administration would put an end to insecurity, especially the boko-haram insurgency in no distance future. The study adopted secondary source of data collection. The study also adopted the Structural Conflict theory as the theoretical framework of the study. The finding of the work reveals that the Buhari administration has committed large sum of money, substantial human and material resources and enormous military and diplomatic resources into fighting the insecurity in Nigeria. However, the result has been more insecurity than hitherto. Currently Nigerians live in perpetual fear of bandit attack, continued herdsmen/farmers clashes in the middle belt region, kidnapping for rituals and ransom and the sporadic book-haram attacks. People no longer feel safe travelling on Nigerian roads in the Northern and middle belt region of the country for fear of armed banditry.

Kidnapping for ransom is a common occurrence in parts of the country. The failure of the administration to curb insecurity in spite of enormous financial and human resources committed to the fight is of great concern. The security situation is unprecedentedly appalling. Crime wave has continued to increase in volume and fatality. The insecurity in the land contributes to the economic predicament of the people.

Recommendations

No doubt, Nigeria is going through a traumatizing experience as a result of grave insecurity that envelops the country. The first step is for the government to identify causes of the insecurity as identified by scholars, security agents and other stakeholders in the Nigerian project. A thorough understanding of the causes will serve as a good basis for finding solution to the problems. It is a common saying that a problem identified is a problem half solved. Based on the findings of this work, the following recommendations are put forward as panaceas to some of the causes of insecurity identified in this work.

Politics, elections and Nigeria's democratic practice needs an overhaul. It is true that there is no perfect democracy in the world. Every country designs its own democratic practice to suit its culture and needs. The current democratic practice in Nigeria is played in such a way that it clearly excludes the masses and limited practitioners to the few elite. The elite use this political power to further alienate the masses and thereby creating gap between the leaders and followers. This cleavage brings distrust and in the followers against their leaders. The 'do-or- die' nature of the Nigeria election process also needs to be addressed and reversed. Election should be free, fair, transparent and credible. If electing people to political office is service to the people, there is no need for the politicians to see it as 'do-or die' affairs. The 'lucrative' nature of the Nigerian public office is the reason for the do-or-die posture of our politicians. To address this, public offices should be made less lucrative by placing political office holders on salaries and sitting allowances. Entry qualifications into these offices in terms of education, age and work experience should be reviewed to accommodate educated, experienced and maturity individuals.

Another recommendation that derives from the findings of this work is the need to breach the gap between the 'haves and the have-nots', i.e. the rich and the poor. According to Karl Marx

in his popular work, '*The Communist Manifesto*', all capitalist states are made up of two classes, the proletariats and the bourgeoisie who are in ruinous clashes. The Nigerian economy is tilting towards capitalism but the democratic practice is anti people and divisive. There is plethora of wealthy political office holders, serving and former amidst millions of poverty ravaged electorate. All poverty alleviation programmes of the current and previous administrations have failed to alleviate the suffering of the mass of the people. To reverse this situation, this work recommends a review of the various poverty alleviation programme of the administration. The government should genuinely encourage farming/agriculture production at the grassroots and encourage establishment of agro-based small and medium scale industries. The current effort of government in this direction is mere sloganeering and playing to the gallery. The real farmers and youths in rural areas are not benefiting from the schemes. Countries that became economically developed today started their journeys to economic prosperity from agricultural revolution to industrial revolution. The United states of America, China are typical examples.

Ungoverned territories or spaces are defined as zones considered lying beyond the reach of government and that poses significant threat to security and stability of the country (Uche, 2021). They are often perceived as fertile grounds within which terrorist organizations settle and strategize to attack their targets. In Nigeria such territories exist in Sambisa forest in Borno state, verse arable lands in parts of Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara, Niger, Nasarawa and Sokoto states. Terrorist groups, particularly, the dreaded boko-haram as well as kidnappers, armed bandits use these territories as their 'save heavens' to perpetrate their heinous crimes. It is recommended that these fallow lands be developed for human occupation. Most of them are arable lands that can be put to good and beneficial agricultural use. They belong to a state and local government. The authority under whose control these territories are located should convert them to productive land. Converting these territories in to habitable zone would reduce insecurity because hideouts would have been reduced. They could also be developed into industrial hobs that would generate employment putting an end to insecurity.

Corruption is a misbehavior whose consequences have impacted negatively on Nigeria. It has been identified as a potential killer of Nigeria, such that if we fail to kill it, it is going to kill us. Its effect has been identified as enormous and disastrous on both the individuals and the nation at larger. Opinions have been offered by scholars and commentators on how to put an end

to this menace in Nigeria. Professor Femi Odekunle, a professor of Criminology suggests that corrupt public officers should not be killed; rather they should be jailed for thirty years (30) with hard labour. To him, this is the only way they could account for their corrupt practices. The former Nigeria Labour Congress, (NLC) comrade Ayuba Waba supports the idea of death penalty for corrupt public officers. He believes that if some countries in the world adopt capital punishment to deal with their corrupt public officers, Nigeria could do same. (The Guardian, 8 October, 2015), Some East Asian and middle East countries are known to apply capital punishment (Death Penalty) for corruption and other related offences. Such countries include China, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Morocco (Cathrine, 2017). The position of this work, based on the effect of corruption identified in the fight against the Boko-Haram insurgency is that corrupt officers are entitled to death penalty because they have been responsible for death of many innocent people. In addition to death penalty, the study recommends recovery of the looted funds and forfeiture of these proceeds of corruption to government who in turn disposes them to public good or services.

To address the problem of nepotism in employment and public service, it recommended that good governance principle should be encouraged. Government should strictly stick to the rule of law, especially in the service to the citizens. Equity, justice and equal rights by all citizens should be the yardstick for employment into public service. Nepotism has caused great damage to the development of this country. Again, politics should also be devoid of sectionalism and ethnicism. The basic principles of democracy that preaches freedom of choice, association etc., should be imbibed in Nigeria. This will ensure that the best candidates are nominated for political offices by their political parties and consequently the best of them would emerge as leaders. By this merit which drives the election of public officers will guide employment into public offices.

Application of modern technology such as finger-printing, internet devices to track criminal activities with a view to arresting culprit is another means of minimizing insecurity in the country. This may be fairly difficult to implement in view of absence of technological know-how and penchant of Nigerians to pervert normal course of doing things. However, with determination, the right political will and leadership application of this approach will minimize insecurity in the country.

If these recommendations are adopted, it is believed that the Buhari administration would be able to reduce substantially the current level of insecurity in the land. This would also translate to the administration been able to fulfill her campaign promise of eliminating insecurity in the country.

References:

Abdullai, M. Y and Danjuma (2019) Assessment of Value Based Leadership Style of President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2018): Research Journal of Humanities, Legal Studies & International Development: vol.3, N01, July

Adeleke, (2013) Insecurity: A threat to Human Existence and Economic Development in Nigeria. Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol. 3, N0:6 (Online) www.iiste.org/

Adeolu, D. (2014) Political Assassination and Nigeria's 4th Republic: 1999-2007 Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review, Vol.3, N0 11, July Pp235-242

Alabi, A. (2013) Ethnic Militias and National Security in (ed) I. B. Bello-Imam, National Security and Development in Contemporary Nigeria, Vol. 2 Ibadan, College Press

Brimah, A. N, Bolaji, I.A, & Ibikunle, O. H (2014) Tackling Nigeria's Security Challenges And Social Administration: An Agenda for Socio-Economic Transformation in (ed) B. Bello-Imam, National Security and Development in Contemporary Nigeria Vol.2 Ibadan, College Press

Catherine, G. (2017) Which Countries Impose Death Penalty for Corruption?

Callister, K.O (2015) Challenges of Insecurity and Terrorism in Nigeria: Implications for National Development, International Journal of Sustainable Development 08: 02

Chukwu, C. J (2021) Ethnic Militias in Nigeria: Implication on National Security, Uzu Journal, N0 8 Vol.1, August, pp 225-239

Commission on Human Security (2003) "Human Security Now" New York: Commission on Human Security

Effanga, O. (2007) The Nation Newspaper, July 4, 2007

El-Rufai, N. (2012) "The Challenge of National Security and Implication for National Development Being a Lecture Delivered at the National Conference of the Obafemi Awolowo University Muslim Graduates Association (UNIFEMGA) on 19th May, 2012.

Godwin, A. V (2013) "Indigenes" Or Settlers"? The Geo-politics of the Tiv-Jukun Conflicts 1976-2003 in (ed) Terhemba, W & Elijah, T I The Military Invasion of Zaki-Biam, Makurdi, Aboki Publishers

Gbadegesin, A. S(2021) Enterprenural Education and Sustainable Human Development: A Priority for Nigerian Private Universities, 11th Convocation Lecture of Al-hikmah University, Ilorin Held at the University Auditorium on 3rd December, 2021

Hornby, A.S. (2010). Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: International student's edition (New 8th Ed.) Oxford: Oxford University press

I B. Bello-Imam (2014) National Security and Development in Contemporary Nigeria Ibadan, College Press

Ishaku, I (2014) The Family and Enhancement of National Security in (ed) I B. Bello-Imam, National Security and Development in Contemporary Nigeria Vol.2 Ibadan, College Press

Jibril, & Idayat (2013) Nigeria Political Parties: From Failed Opposition Electoral Alliance to Merger: The March Towa.rds the 2015 General Elections, Centre For Democracy and Development

Kunle, S. (2021) Boko- Haram: 350, 000 Dead, Premium Times, June 28

Michelle, G. (2019) The Post- Presidential Legacy of Nigeria's Goodluck Jonathan: Foreign Affairs News Letter: Council on Foreign Relations

Mubarak, A Umar, et al (2021) 'Fighting Crime and Insecurity in Nigeria: An intelligent Approach' Journal of Computer Engineering in Research Trends, 8(1) pp.6-14 January

Mobogunje, A. L (2010) Perspectives on the Concept of Human Security, in (ed) I. B. Bello-Imam: National Security and Development in Contemporary Nigeria, Vol.1

Nwagboso, C. I. (2012). "Security Challenges and Economy of the Nigerian State (2007-2011)" American *International Journal of Contemporary Research* 2(6) 244-258.

Nwanegbo, C.J & Odigbo, J. (2013) Security and National Development in Nigeria: The threat of Boko Haram. Retrieved 22.07.2014 from www.ijhssnet.com/.../vol.../29.pdf

Nwolise, O. B. C (2007) Electoral Violence and Nigeria's 2007 Elections. Journal of African Election Vol.6, N0 2

Oghenekevwe, C. (2021) Amnesty International Report on Herdsmen/Farmers Crisis

Olakunle, O. (2017) Mid Term Report of President Muhammadu Buhari's Foreign Policy. Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society, Vol. 9, Number 2

Omoyibo, K. U. and Akpomera, E. (2012) "Insecurity Mantra: The Paradox of Nigerian Growth and Development" European *Scientific Journal* 8(15), 132-142.

Otto, G., & Ukpere, U.I. (2012) "National Security and Development in Nigeria" *African Journal Management* 6(23), 6765-6770

Temitope, F.A, Adepoju, A.A, Anthony, I.N (2020) Defence Budget and Military Spending on War Against Terrorism and Insecurity in Nigeria: Implications for State Politics, Economy and National Security. International Journal of Advanced Academic Research (Social and Management Sciences)   Vol. 6 Issue 7

Taylor, J (2006) Worse than Iraq? The Atlantic Monthly, April, hhtp://www.theatlantic.com/doc/20064/Nigeria

UNDP (1994) "*Human Development Report"* New York: Oxford University press.

Uche, I (2020) Understanding Nigeria's Economic and Security Challenges Under President Buhari Blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2020/10/6/understanding-nigerias-economic-and-security-challenges-under-president-buhari/

William, P. D. (2008). "Security Studies: An Introduction*".* New York: Rutledge.

World Bank, (2002) helping Countries Combat Corruption: Problems of Corruption in Nigeria

Yahaya I I & Abejide, T.S (2019) Corruption and National Development: Implication of "Dasukigate" on Nigeria's fight "Boko-Haram" Insurgence between 2009 & 2019, in Al-hikmah Journal of History and International Relations (AJHIR) Vol.6, N0 1, December

Newspapers

Business Day Februar1, 2019
Premium Times, February 4, 2021
Thisday Newspaper, 16 October, 2016
ThisdayNewspaper 12 December 2018
Thisday Newspaper, 10 May 2017
Transparency International, 2020
Thisday, May 22, 2018
The Guardian, 8 October, 2015
Leadership Newspaper, 16 July 2017
Nigerian Bulletin, 2016
Nigeria News, 4 December, 2019
Vanguard Newspaper 4 May, 2017
Vanguard Newspaper 25 May, 2018
Vanguard Newspaper 2 April, 2015

Vanguard Newspaper, 23 June, 2016
Vanguard Newspaper, May 6, 2021
Vanguard Newspaper, November 27, 2021
Buhari Administration Factsheet, 2020
EFCC, 2004 act, Section 46
m.guardian.ng, 29 May, 2021
https://studies.aljazeera.news/en/reports/2015/09/.
https://www.stearsng.com/article/the-economy-under-president-buhari
https://dailytrust.com/5-years-of-buhari-administration-economic-performance-ratings.
http://www.worldbank.org/en/country.

https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatise/2020

.