Nigerian Security Architecture and the Challenge of Open Grazing

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Abstract

In most parts of Africa and beyond, open grazing has constituted a major source of threat to the peace and stability of nations. This study conducted an assessment of the challenge of open grazing in Nigeria and how much the security architecture has shown proof of ability to contain such challenges in recent times. Data is obtained from secondary sources which include books, journals, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, the internet, etc. The theory of security Bartholomees (2008) is the theoretical framework while the mode of analysis is content analysis. Results showed that the security outfit has not been able to contain the challenges arising from the open grazing which is widely referred to as the farmer/herder clash. This is evident in the spate of such clashes which have almost consumed the entire country particularly states like- Benue, Taraba, Zamfara, Enugu, Plateau, etc. The paper recommended that government should show more sincerity, seriousness and determination to resolve the issue.

Keywords: *Nigeria, Security architecture, Open grazing, Sincerity, Seriousness.*

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Background to the Study

Globally, a fundamental objective and indeed foremost responsibility of the federal and state governments, is the protection from danger, intimidation, apprehension, the feeling or of safety, peace of mind and absence of fear and the guarantee of the good life or welfare of life and property of the citizenry. The ability of any government to live up to this responsibility, depends on its security architecture. National security revolves around those governmental institutions which seek to ensure the physical protection and safety of their citizens, their equal access to the law and protection from abuse. Two sets of governments systems and institutions are saddled with this responsibility of national security. The first component consists of the traditional instruments of national security, namely; criminal justice system (police, justice and correlational services/prisons), the military and the intelligence community. "The second and more important, relates to the nature of governance, its institutions and rules, norms and values that underpin it, as well as the efficacy thereof" (Thamos, 2008)

Human security is related to the enhancement of livelihoods of all people at risk; the values of the respect of human rights dignity of the individual, respect for diversity, community empowerment, decentralized forms of government, peace and co-existence and the accountability and transparency of actions aimed at the betterment of livelihood (Human Security Report, 2003).

According to Thamos (2008), these values aspire towards the creation of an enabling environment for development of people at risk, a minimum social security net for those in need, clear vision and approach to participation and empowerment and milestones for the achievement of those aspirations. The entire security architecture of Nigeria is faced with myriads of challenges due to the tidal waves of criminal activities and general insecurity that pose serious threats to the corporate existence of the country. Security maintenance is broadly classified into two major management aspects such as direct and indirect matters. They are safety and protection of lives and property and dispute resolution mechanisms. As enshrined in the 1999 constitution (as amended), the issue of security is the principal responsibility of the state which includes the roles of government in the provision of security and protection to lives and properties of its citizens. These cardinal objectives are responded to at various levels by its agencies at (national, state and local government levels). Each of these tiers of government has specific agents and institutions charged with the control and administration of security for its citizens. For instance, the army and its units are meant for the protection of the country from external attacks; the police provide internal security and the maintenance of law and order for the good of the populace.

Nigeria also boasts of other para-military agencies. There are agencies like the Department of Security Service (DSS), the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Customs, the Immigration, the Federal Road Safety Commission, the Security and Civil Defence Corps, the Border Patrol Commission, and at the level of the international

community, there is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU). The Nigerian Civil Defence Corp is one of such agencies invested by the government to provide security and defence for the people's survival.

Statement of the Research Problem

Apparently, Nigeria presents a formidable security outfit. The sustenance of the nation's corporate entity, the ability of the nation to withstand the challenges of the Nigerian civil war and some other national difficulties, may be attributed to the presence of such an architecture which is a success story. However, on the other hand, the presence of some challenges in the form of Boko Haram insurgency in the North East, the threat to peace and national security through the activities of many groups (Niger Delta Avengers, armed robbery, corruption, kidnapping) etc. are clear testimonies of failures on the part of government to live up to its fundamental corporate responsibility of the protection of lives and property of its citizens. Worse still, the persistence and frequency of herder invasion of communities and the wanton killings and destruction of lives and property, is a confirmation of the catalogue of failures and insecurity in the country. Thus, it is evident that while some successes may be recorded, the security outfit in Nigeria is also associated with failures. This is worrisome and constitutes a matter of concern to this study. Hence, this paper seeks to investigate and isolate, the successes and failures associated with the Nigerian security architecture in relation to issues arising from open grazing in the country.

Objectives of the Study

The broad objectives of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of the Nigerian Security Architecture since independence. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Isolate the successes of the Nigerian security system in addressing the herdsmen invasion of farm communities in Nigeria.
2. Identify the failures of the security architecture in Nigeria in checkmating the herder invasion of communities,

Research Questions

The paper would provide answers to the following questions:

1. What successes are associated with the nation's security architecture in controlling the herder invasion of communities?
2. To what extent has the security architecture failed in living up to the challenge of the herder invasion of farm communities in Nigeria?

Literature Review
Concepts
National Security: For Lasswell (1950), "National security objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectivity, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked". Two elements of national security can be drawn out from the academic debate on its definition. In the first instance, i.e the military context, several academics, Romm (1993), "have highlighted the importance of territorial sovereignty- as monitored

internally within a state's jurisdiction and externally beyond the states' borders". The modern etymology of the phrase dates to the US senate in August 1945 when Navy Secretary James Forestall spoke about military preparedness in the shadow of the Second World War. The other element that presents itself in the academic writings is the protection of democratic constitutional values. National security has been construed so as to include political and economic interests'. Notably, the United Kingdom (2010), "cites national security interests as the primary obligation of government". In all, national security refers to the security of a nation state, including its citizens, economy and institutions, and is regarded as a duty of government.

In his argument, Ray (1987), believes that, "National security is to be understood in terms of the desire and capacity for self-defense". However, Goldstein (1999), believes, National security is closely connected with the preservation of the borders of a state as mainly construed in terms of the power to maintain a government's sovereignty within its territory as well as the avoidance of convicts and the preservation of the lives of people in the society.

Security Architecture: Traditionally, security architecture is a document which specifies which security services are provided, how and where, in a layered model. Originally, the model is typically referred to as OSI layers and specified the security elements or services (IS 7498-2 (superseded by IS 10745) and the mechanisms used to provide them. Information Security Society Switzerland (ISSS) (2008), defines a security architecture as, "a cohesive security design, which addresses the requirements (eg authentication, authorization, etc)- and in particular the risks of a particular environment/scenario, and specifies what security controls are to be applied where".

Invasion: Invasion is a military offensive in which large parts of combatants of one geopolitical entity aggressively enter a territory controlled by another such entity, generally with the objective of either conquering, liberating or re-establishing control or authority over a territory, forcing the partition of a country altering the established government or gaining concessions from said government or a combination thereof. An invasion can be the cause of a war, or it can constitute an entire war in itself. "With invasion came cultural exchanges in government, religion, philosophy, and technology that shaped the development of much of the ancient world" (Bagnall, 1990)

Open Grazing: According to the Livestock Promotion development and regulatory Agency (2016), "open grazing" means the act of pasturing livestock to feed on growing grass shrubs, herbage, farm crops, etc. in open fields without any form of restrictions". It is different and opposite to 'Ranching' which means, "Movement of livestock from one grazing area to another". A 'ranch' according to the agency, means, "a secured tract or land used as animal nurturing farm, particularly for the grazing and rearing of cattle, sheep, goat and any other animal". "Livestock" refers to any farm animal, particularly cattle, goat, sheep or horse and camel kept for use or profit, and includes any animal, which the Governor may by notice in the state Gazette declared to be used in the term "Livestock" for the purpose of this Law.

The Literature

There are studies on security intervention on open grazing in Nigeria. Oluwafunmilayo, and Hoomlong (2012), carried out a critical investigation into the Role of Security Sector Agencies in the Jos Conflict. Issues and strategies for institutional/security sector Reform. The study investigated the roles played by security agencies, specifically the Special Task Force, in carrying out the mandate to restore law and order in the wake of ethno-religious conflict in Jos since 2010. The study employed a combined quantitative and qualitative research strategy to explore the perspectives of residents in five local governments areas considered as the epicenter of violence. The LGAs selected were Barkin Ladi, Jos East, Jos North, Jos south and Riyom. Security sector reform theory provided by theoretical frame of analysis, albeit with suggested modifications to such peculiarities of Nigerian socio-political contexts. Findings from the research underscore critical areas requiring security sector reform including institutional capacity building for the Nigeria Police Force, and effective grievance and complaints channels accessible to citizens to ensure accountability on the part of security agents.

Ebohon and Ifeadi (2012) conducted a study titled, "Managing the problems of public order and internal security in Nigeria". The paper observed that the maintenance of public order and internal security in the face of rising threats to life emanating from civil strife, armed robbery, resource competition, tensions in the Niger Delta, ethnic based militant groups, corrupt security personnel, and waring state capacity constitute the major security challenges of the Nigerian state. The paper discussed the threats and argued that state culpability in terms of the centralization of security apparatuses in a federal system and the involvement of security personnel in threats related to anti-state violent activities pose the major security dilemmas of the Nigerian state. To minimize the rising public disorder, the following were suggested- a shift from state-centric to human security paradigm, from an elite centered to a people centered security management approach, overhaul the security institutions to reflect international standards of best practices, evaluate and investigate the personnel records of officers in the security institutions, involve civil society in the state security project, and adopt pillar two of the 2006 "responsibility to protect" (R2P) norm.

Uthman (2016) investigated the role of Nigerian Civil Defense Corps in security administration in Nigeria and the challenges for the 21st century. The central focus of the paper was to examine the major roles of civil defense corps in security administration in Nigeria and the challenges facing the social order, peace and stability of the people as we are in the threshold of the millennium in the 21st century. The paper underscores the fact that the entire security architecture of Nigeria is faced with myriads of challenges due to the tidal waves of criminal activities and general insecurity that pose serious threats to the corporate existence of the country. These challenges and the incapacitation of the extant security outfits necessitated the conception and delivery of the child of necessity named Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps in 2003 under President Olusegun Obasanjo to supplement the efforts of other security outfits. The paper found that the corps is inhibited by factors like dearth of manpower, corruption, illiteracy among others based

on the foregoing, the corps lacks the necessary weapons and gadgets to check the rising wave of crime in the society especially with the emergence of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria and militants in the Niger Delta.

Theoretical Framework
The theory of National security (Bartholomees, 2008). This theory is underpinned with the major assumption that national security is premised upon the inevitability of war in the human society which calls for strategic war plans. Packaged by Bartholomees in 2008, it draws heavily from the writings of the Prussian Philosopher, Clausewitz based on the experiences about the French revolution. For Clausewitz (1986), the people greatly complicated the formulation and implementation of strategy by adding "Primordial violence, hatred and enmity, which are to be regarded as a binding force to form with the army and government what he termed remarkable trinity.

Government

Military   People

The Remarkable Trinity
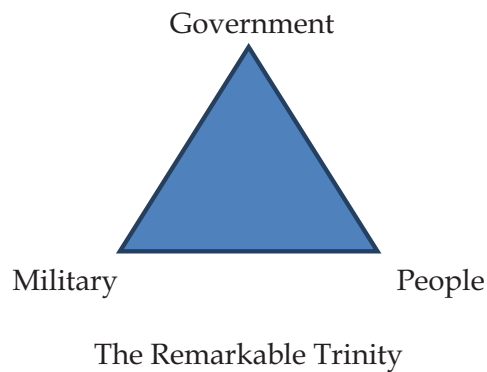
Clausewitz saw the army as a "creative spirit" streaming freely within "the play of chance and probability", but always bound to the government, the third element in, "subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone"
On his death in 1831, technology was added to the military element of the trinity. Thus, technology was recognized as of the essence in national security.

Figure 1

Government

Technology

Military   People

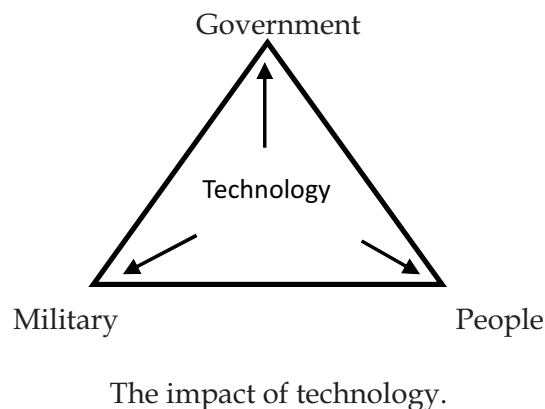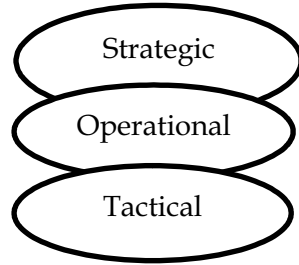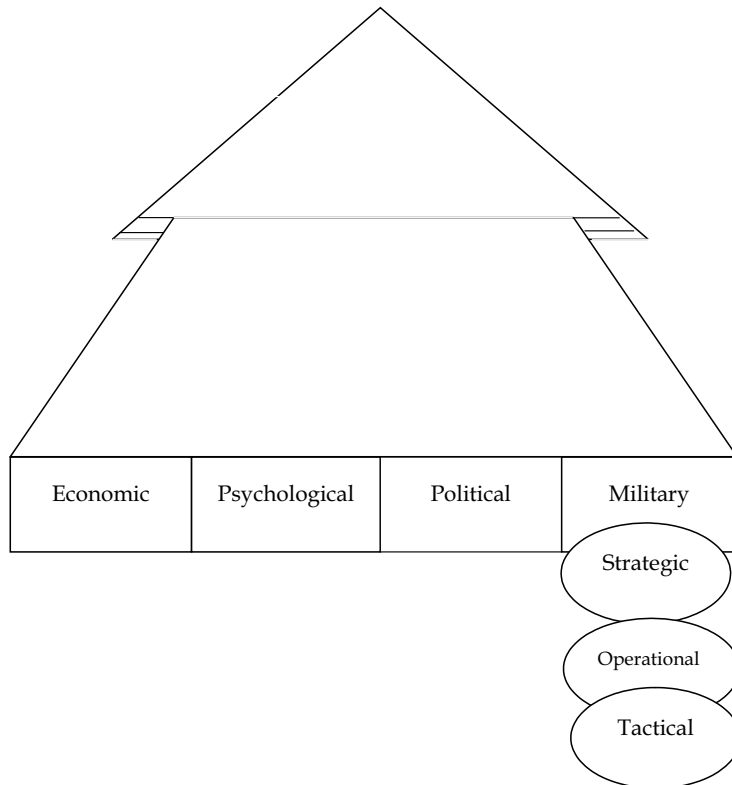The impact of technology.

Figure 2

The continuum of war

The theory holds that war remains a perpetual phenomenon so long as the human society exists. Thus, national security is synonymous with national strategy which incorporates- economic, psychological, political and military.

Figure 3

Sources: National strategy and the vertical continuum of war.

Sources and Analyses: By means of content analyses, data obtained from secondary materials are synthesized in the following sequence.

Research Question One (1): What successes have been recorded by the Nigerian security Architecture in addressing the challenges of herder-farmer crisis occasioned by open grazing in the country?

An analysis of herder-farmer conflict provides a novel insight into the security challenges in Nigeria. Nigeria's farming population is predominantly farmers with only a few engaging on non-farm means of livelihood. "In recent decades, agricultural resilience has emerged to offer a direct and serious challenge to rural farmer's vulnerability and wider security threats" (World Bank, 2012). According to UNHCR (2016) "there have been at least 370 clashes involving herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria in the last five years, compared to 20 in 15 years before that".

Nigeria boasts of a robust security architecture comprising of the military (Air Fire, Army, navy, police, customs, and lately the Civil Defense Corps. The corps is reported in Daily Trust (April 22, 2018) to have trained "1500 personnel to tackle herdsmen/farmers crisis". Their impact is yet to be felt. The crisis in Benue State has persisted and the incidence is still widespread Hence, it is difficult to locate any success story on the part of the nation's security outfit to stem the tide of herder-farmer clash.

Research Question Two (2): To what extent has the security architecture failed in steming the tide of herder-farmer clash associated with open grazing in Nigeria?

It is common knowledge that as democracy returned in 1999, transforming the farmer became an issue of increasing concern as the security threats posed by herdsmen re-surfaced in the form of crucial and seemingly persistent attacks in parts of northern Nigeria, the Middle Belt and Eastern Nigeria respectively. The chronicle runs thus:

> March 2016 saw the Agatu people in Benue experience one of the most recent devastating attacks as this region in Benue came face-to-face with the reality of an invasion by Fulani herdsmen heavily armed with AK-47 riffles. "Several villages and farm settlements were invaded in broad daylight, gunning down children, women, men and the elderly alike" (Mayah, 2016). About 300 villagers were reportedly massacred in communities like Agila, Okokolo, Akwu, Adagbo, Odugbehon and Odejo, extending from Aila to Obagaji, Akwu to Odejo extending from Aila to Odejo, houses, churches and Police Posts were burnt down. "Human corpses were littered everywhere" (Mayah, 2016)

In Nassarawa-Benue borderline linking to Agatu, such perennial rural violence was also experienced. Mayah (2016) reports that, "between 2011 and 2014, suspected herdsmen attacked dozens of communities in the four local government areas of Guma, Gwer-East, Buruku and Gwer West: some more than once. The hometown of the late Tor Tiv IV, Alfred Akaw Torkula, in Guma was razed. Similarly, houses, food barns and farmlands were burnt and scores killed in communities like Tse-Aderogo, Tse-Akenyi, Umenger, Angyom, Aondona, Anyiase, Adaka, Gbajimba, Tyoughtee, Gbaange, Chembe, Abeda,

Mbachoon, Tongov and Mbapuu. "In May 2015, over 100 farmers and family members were massacred in villages and refugee camps located at Ukura, Per, Gafa and Tse-Gusa in Logo Local Government Area of the State" (Mayah, 2015).

"In July 2015, Adeke, a community on the fringes of Makurdi was attacked" (Mayah, 2016). December, 2015 six persons were killed at Idele village in Ojo Local Government Area. A reprisal attack by youths in Ojo Local Government Area left three Fulani herdsmen dead and be- headed. "This was followed by an attack at Ucha Nyiev village, near the Federal University of Agriculture, Makurdi" (Mayah, 2016). These re-occurring conflicts present the perverse vulnerability and insecurity of the rural areas.

The Eastern states, present a similar scenario with Enugu, Umuahia in Abia experiencing a good dose of the Fulani farmer crisis. In Enugu for instance, several rural communities have experienced desertification and overgrazing as little incidence of rainfall attracts the herdsmen to the area. From Benue to Kogi down to Enugu, these herdsmen created routes down to UzoUwani Local government Area of Enugu state. Several adjoining rural communities have been vulnerable such as Nimbo which had earlier been attacked through the kogi route. In the early morning hours of August 2016, suspected Fulani herdsmen numbering over fifty, armed with guns, matchets, and bows, attacked Ndiagu, Attakwu and Akegbe-Ugwu communities in Nkanu-West Local Government Area of Enugu state. The chronicle is endless. The ease with which these herdsmen unleash these attacks on communities across the country without arrests and prosecution, the destruction of lives and property, and the implications for the nation's food security have not been able to compel the security operatives to rise to the challenge. Thus, despite the robust security architecture presented by Nigeria, the country is unable to provide any meaningful measure of security to its citizen. This failure is backed up by empirical evidence.

Empirical evidence support the fact that the security apparatus in Nigeria has been a failure along the lines of stemming the tide of open gazing and the incessant herder-farmer crisis. For instance, Kasali (2012), in analyzing the evolution of private security Guards and their limitations to security management in Nigeria, posits that, "the origin of the proliferation of private security (guards) in Nigeria, is traceable to the systemic failure and inefficiency that adorn the public security sector, which exhibits blatant inability to meet the security needs of the people resulting from her age-long anti-people posture, among other factors. Also, Amadi and Anokwuru (2017), in their study of security vulnerability and agricultural resilience from the perspective of Herder-farmer conflict in Nigeria, observed the vulnerability of farmers which constitutes palpable security threats in parts of the country.

Findings
Startling revelations are recorded from the analyses in this study. They include:
1. The national security architecture runs from the president, National security adviser, the chief of Defense Staff, Inspector General of Police, the Director-

Generals of the Civilian intelligence services (NIA, SSS), the chief of Army, Navy and Air Force, heads of departments of A, B, C, D, E, & F, the National Security Council, state commissioners of police, the intelligence coordinating committee, the joint intelligence board, Heads of paramilitary services (ie Customs, immigration, state directors of national security agencies)

2. Inspite of the robust feature of the security architecture, it has not only been unable to rise to the challenge of herder-farmer conflict in the country, but has been a colossal failure in this regard.

3. Between 2011 and 2015, at least 370 herder-farmer clashes have been reported (UNHCR,(2016).

4. The above is a clear indication of the failure of the security architecture to be on top of the security situation in the country

5. Benue state is the worst hit with the menace as a good number of its villages had been attacked severally e.g. Agatu, Adagbo, Odejo, Odugbehon, Akwu, Aila, Obagaji, etc.

6. The incessant attacks on Benue communities has obvious negative implications on the nation's quest for food security.

7. The introduction of the Civil Defense Corps into the national security architecture has not helped the security situation in Nigeria.

8. The Fulani herdsmen are often adequately armed with sophisticated weapons as they are seen brandishing AK-47 riffles on different theatres. The ease with which these herdsmen acquire these weapons constitutes an obvious threat to the security of other citizens and reveals the failure of the customs department to rise to its statutory responsibility.

Conclusion

It is impossible for any nation to survive in the absence of an effective security outfit to ensure any meaningful livelihood for its citizens. Apart from ensuring the protection of lives and property, there is always the need to provide for the protection of the means of such livelihood. Farming, cattle rearing, commerce, etc. constitute aspects of the various means by which people may lead their lives. Open grazing is also an aspect of cattle-rearing which often poses great challenge to farming communities as it results to clashes. No farmer can fold his/her hands and watch his crops lost to open grazing. The prevention and resolution of such clashes, is the constitutional obligation of a nation's security operatives. Thus, this paper approaches the assessment of challenges of open grazing vis-à-vis the interventions of the clashes resulting from them. Against this background, this study examined the roles and successes of the security architecture in Nigeria. It found that the security architecture has failed to provide security for the farming community.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this investigation, the paper makes the following recommendations:

1. The security architecture is too broad to make for effectiveness and control. It should be pruned.
2. Reforms in the security outfit should be introduced to ensure successful operations by the relevant agencies.
3. The legal framework and the anti-grazing law passed by the state should be harmonized by the laws of other states to give rise to a national law on anti-grazing.
4. Benue state is the food basket of the nation. The federal government should show greater commitment and sincerity in addressing the menace as its implications for the nation's quest for food security is negative.
5. The introduction of the Civil Defense Corps should be sustained. The Corps should be adequately equipped to discharge its constitutional responsibility

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