AN EXAMINATION OF GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY IN KADUNA STATE SINCE 1999

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Abstract

Kaduna State is a heterogenous society with over forty (40) ethnic groups, hence; making it a peculiar State with a lot of security challenges thereby making governance a task. This paper seeks to examine governance and security in Kaduna State, it also discusses the security challenges and the State of governance in Kaduna State. The study adoptsboth primary and secondary sources in the documentation of the outcome of the research work. Primary sources were strictly on interviews conducted while the written sources which comprises of; documents such as; monographs, manuscripts, textbooks, journals, magazines, and otherswere examined, documented, and well-acknowledged. The study helps in the understanding of the State and its dichotomous nature, what governance and security are, and whatconstitutes security challenges in Kaduna State. This research work is coming at a time when governance and security are challenging, hence; it will help the policymakers understand the peculiarity of security challenges in the state and thus; help make policies that will enhance the security of her citizens by providing good governance to the people. The study will help the government to enlighten her citizens on the importance of education, tolerance, true dialogue, and reconciliation among others to serve as tools with which to douse the security challengesfaced by the state which will ensure the peaceful co-existence of members of the different religion's groups and ethics,and thereby promotes harmonious living, restoration of peace, security, growth, and stability, and order in the State.

Keywords: Government, Governance, Security, Insecurity, and Crisis.

Introduction

In recent times, the world has been experiencing a rising spectre of insecurity. Though; the drivers of insecurity in the world today vary from continent to continent and from country to country. Streaming it down to the West African sub-region for instance, the drivers of insecurity range from religious to political and ethnic to economic factors. The said giant of Africa (Nigeria), which is the largest and most populated state

in the continent, had its peculiarities concerning security challenges, it is important to state that, even within Nigeria, different geo-political zones or regions have witnessed different levels of insecurity such as militancy, Bakassi Boys, O'dua Peoples' Congress, Boko Haram insurgency, and many others, all of which occurs/occurring respectively in the Niger Delta area, South-East, South-West and the Northern regions, these social vices are regional security challenges.[1] This mayhem has made citizens across the country to be living under constant fear,following the various degrees and levels of insecurity, which in some cases is debilitating and overwhelming.

This study attempts to help us understand the relationship between governance and the security challenges (rising spate of insecurity) with particular reference to Kaduna state. The World Bank[2] states that governance is concernedwith how power is exercised in the management of a country's (state) economic and social resources for development. Government/governance is the exercise of political authority, and economic and administrative responsibilities, to manage the resources (material and natural) and the affairs of the state. Security on the other hand is the condition of feeling safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection, and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquired values. Security is the survival and condition of human existence; it promotes peace, development, and justice, but its absence creates the condition of conflict and insecurity.[3]David,[4] while elaborating on insecurity, argues that the condition can be characterized by the forced exodus of populations which creates refugee flows, genocide, the rape of women, ethnic cleansing, and organized killing of the unarmed, child soldiering, antipersonnel mining of farmlands among other threats to human wellbeing.

Good governance as a term is defined generally concerning some level of flexibility depending on the context of its usage. The term circumscribes full respect for human rights, the rule of law, effective participation in both governance and political activities, accountability of government/governance, and transparency.[5] Since good governance relates to institutional and political processes in a state, its outcomes are deemed necessary to achieve the goals of development, it can also be said to be 'good' to the level of degree to which it delivers on its promise to the people and respect for human rights which includes; civil/political, social/cultural, economic and environmental rights. The Commission on Human Rights Resolution[6] identified the key attributes of good governance to include: responsibility, transparency, participation, accountability, and responsiveness.

[1]Ukoha, Ukiwo (eds). *Framework For Improving Governance and Security in South East Nigeria*, Cleen Foundation. 2012

[2] World Bank Report. *Sub-Sahara Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, Washington: World Bank, 1989.

[3]David, Francis. *Peace and Conflict Studies*: An Overview of Basic Concepts, in S. G. Best (ed.) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa, Spectrum Book Ltd, Ibadan, 2006.

[4]David, Francis. *Peace and Conflict Studies*: An Overview of Basic Concepts, 2006.

[5]Hyden, G. *Making State Responsive: Rethinking Governance Theory and Practice*. In Goran Hyden and John Samuel (eds). Making the State Responsive: Experience with Democratic Governance Assessments. UNDP, Oslo Governance Centre, 2011.

[6]National Commission for Human Righta, 2000.

Kaduna State is presently going through one of the most critical and difficult periods of its history. The unfortunate situation experienced in the state isthe product of several variables which are traced and revolved around bad governance, in order words, lack of good governance. It is expedient to state that; since the return of civilian rule in Nigeria in 1999, the system and nature of governance have been the subject of debate by scholars, analysts, opinion moulders, and citizens. The current wave of ethno-religious and politico-economic crisis the country is facing and by extension Kaduna state which cannot be discussed in isolation, this state of affairs is raising serious concerns on the question of governance in Nigeria where politics of deprivation, ethnicity, religion, and mismanagement of the state's resources appears to be the order of the day and have overshadowed the principles of accountability, transparency, responsibility, etc. it is on the ground of this misrepresentation that has thrown the state (Kaduna) and Nigeria at large into the situation (security challenges) it has found herself today.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study aims atexamining governance and security in Kaduna State. The study is also aimed at uncovering the way and manner governance is administered, the challenges of and the challenges of securityparticularly in Kaduna State and by extension the entire nation. The study is not aimed at only documentinggovernance and security alone but perhaps; to help in understandingthe peculiarity of governance and security in Kaduna State.

Objectives:

The objectives of the study are as follows:

i. To examine the relationship between the character of governance and security in Kaduna State.
ii. To understand major drivers of insecurity in Kaduna State.
iii. To identify the gaps in governance and securityin Kaduna State.
iv. To recommend remedial measures to strengthen security and good governance in the state.
v. To assess Government's response to insecurity challenges in the state.

Research Method

In carrying out this study, the multi-disciplinary approach was adopted which enhanced and enriched the quality of this work. This becomes necessary because provides the work with the platform for the cross-examination of ideas in other to come up with a coherent and acceptable historical explanation of the issue under study. This study adopted both primary and secondary sources in carrying out the study on the topic under study.

Clarification of Terms

Governance and security are two important concepts that have dominated the arts and social sciences discourse in the last decade,especially in developing countries. The conceptualization of the two key terms/concepts is germane to the progress of this work. Governance and security are

conspicuously the key concepts on which this work is anchored. Interestingly, society today is under civilian rule, in other words; assumed the best form of governance or good governance which is what the society expects to get in return since it is the society that elects who to represent her in governance. It is also known that in the world today, every society is prone to security challenges, this is because of the diversity of interests of members of such society and by extension the absence of good governance. Goodgovernance is possible where there is effective and efficient leadership. Hence; peace is seen as the absence of war and war is also seen as the absence of peace, this assertion is faulty because the true meaning of peace is missing. Ibeanu,[7] approached peace from a sociological perspective to argue that peace is a condition of social harmony in which there are no social antagonisms. Peace, therefore, is a condition in which there is no social conflict, and in which individuals and groups can meet their needs, aspirations, yearnings, and expectations. From the structural-functionalist perspective on peace, they submit that peace can be achieved where existing social structures perform their functions adequately, supported by the requisite culture, norms, and values.

The Concept of Governance

Governance as a concept has continued to attract public attention and becoming a problem in academic and administrative discourse. governance refers to how power is exercised in the overall coordination of a country's economic and social resources for transformation concerningthe standard of life (living) of the citizenry.To Landel-Mill and Sergeldin, governance is the use of political authority and the exercise of control over society, and the management of its resources for social and economic transformation. Governance is also the capacity of a good government to efficiently solve problems and manage conflict.

Odock[8] defines good governance as a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law, due process, accountability of stewardship to the electorates as well as transparency in the operations of government. Fogani,[9] on the other hand, seeks to know if it is possible to have good governance without good leadership. By implication, he thinks that for a state to enjoy good governance, the leadership must be good, otherwise, such a state will be eluded from good governance. George-Gbenyi[10] defines good governance as the hallmark of credible leadership epitomized in today's world by democracy. Gemyi[11] posited that; good governance exists when there is a framework that imposes demands on policymakers (leaders) in their exercise of power which encompasses an effective state that provides an enabling political and legal environment for economic growth and the equitable distribution of goods and services.

[7]Ibeanu, Okechukwu. "Conceptualizing Peace" in Gaya Best S. (ed.) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa, Ibadan, Spectrum Books, 2005.

[8]Odock, C.N. *Democracy and Good Governance*, Lagos: NOUN, 2006

[9]Fogani, P. K. *The Law of Contract*: Simplified Series. Malthouse Press Ltd, 1997.

[10]George-Genyi, M. E. 'Good Governance: Antidote for Peace and Security in Nigeria'. European Journal of Business and Social Sciences 2(2), 2006.

[11]George-Genyi, M. E. 'Good Governance: Antidote for Peace and Security in Nigeria', 2006.

In a nutshell, governance is simply the utilization of power by those in authority. It has been defined by the World Bank as "how power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development".[12] This includes the process by which leaders are selected, monitored, and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

The Concept of Security

Security challenges are not issued a state takes for granted, thus; the nature, character, dimension, and policies of governance affect security. The term 'security' has gone/going through different stages of development and understanding since the end of World War I to date. Security is viewed as the condition of feeling safe from harm or danger, defence, protection, and of the absence of any form of threats that may negatively affect a person or the community.[13] Security is all about survival and the condition of human existence. Aligwara[14] submits that the security of the individual citizen is the most important. He argues that security is for the citizens, and not citizens for security, and so, for citizens to live in peace, the necessities of life such as food, good health, job opportunities, justice, freedom, and all other ingredients of life must be provided.

Security may be of different types but two main types are of immediate concern to this study: first is human security and the second is state security, both of which are related and mutually reinforcing. Human security is a concept that developed more recently in the 1990s andis defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as "safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression", as well as protection from hurtful disruptions in the pattern of in life, jobs, homes, and communities.[15] Human security has evolved as a paradigm shift from security seen largely as a territorial issue, to security as a human affair. Hence, human security has six major dimensions which include: personal, economic, environmental, community, health, and food security. On the other hand, state securityis often viewed as the protection of a state's sovereignty and territory from external attack.[16] The concept of security, including state security, has been changing in response to new ideas and challenges faced by the state today. For instance, while state security has traditionally been viewed as the defence of a state from external attack, experiences where insurgency perpetuated by citizens against the state has posed a considerable threat to state security, calling for a better conceptualization of the state security architecture. This is why Acharya,[17] reminds us why the

[12]World Bank *Report on Economic and Social Resources for Development*. World Bank, 2004.
[13]Terriff, T., et al. *Security Studies Today*, Cambridge Polity, 1999.
[14]Aligwara, P.O. *National Security and the Challenges of the 21st century* in Albert, I.O. Eselebor, W.A. Danjibo, N.D. (eds.) Peace Security and Development in Nigeria, Abuja: Society for Peace Studies and Practice. In Collaboration with John Archers Publishers Ltd., Ibadand, 2009.

[15] United NtionDevelopment Program. *Governance for Peace: Securing the Social Contract*. New York, 2012.
[16]Achaya, A. Changing Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century: Power, Institutions, and Ideas, 2009.
[17]Achaya, A. Changing Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century, 2009.

definitions of the concepts in security change, he recognized six major catalysts of change that help us define security. He (Acharya) submits that security involves; new ideas about international relations, the emergence of new forms of threats and perceptions about such threats, shifts in the distribution of power, and new international leadership. Others are new kinds of warfare (including technological changes that are associated with them), domestic political change, and advocacy by international institutions.

In an interview conducted,[18]the respondent while responding to the question on security, was emphatic on the human perspective of security when he posited that security means much more than the absence of conflict and further stated that lasting peace is an inherent ingredient of security that will encompass areas such as education, health, democracy, and human rights, as well as protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons. This simply implies that there can hardly be security amid hunger/starvation, peacebuilding without palliatives for the citizens, or will there be any form of true freedom built on the foundation of injustice. McNamara[19] defines security as tantamount to development, he further submits this to indicate the relationship between citizenship and security and to illustrate that there can never be development in any state without security.

George-Gbenyiwas of the view that,[20] for effective security, there should be an element of good governance such as; the rule of law, transparency and accountability in the management of resources, political stability as well as the provision of basic needs and services which are sine qua non to a state existence. It is in this context that this study seeks to examine the relationship between governance and security in Kaduna State.

Crisis of Governanceand Security

The transition to civil rule in 1999 provided the citizenry with an important opportunity for democratic participation (participation in governance) and good governance after the over three decades of military rule the country experienced. The transition ushered in a period of regular elections at both the national and state levels, citizens'participation in governance and the electoral process provides them with the opportunity to hold their representatives accountable. Thisis limited by the representative's attitude because once elected into various offices to represent the people, they suddenly become demi-gods and thereby creating a huge crisis of governance between the leaders and the led. Owutu,[21] observed that the crisis of governance in Nigeria is fueled by four related historical factors which include; protracted military authoritarian rule, weak institutions, corruption, and personal rule.

The military rule/dictatorship experienced by the citizens is said to have fashioned the country in a manner in which social

[18] Kofi Annan. Ghana Radio, 1998

[19] McNamara, R. *The Essence of Security*, New York, Harper and Row, 1968.

[20]George-Genyi, M. E. 'Good Governance: Antidote for Peace and Security in Nigeria', 2006.

[21]Owutu, I.U. *Politics, Governance and Security: Reflection on the Nigerian State*, Africa News Circle, 2012.

structures and values aremoulded in the fashion of dictatorial.To this end, governance in the fourth republic continues to be conducted in that fashion. The resultant effect of this is that the executive armof government is seen to have been behaving as the sole organ of government, as both the dominant and domineering organ of government. The domineering nature of the executive arm has led to the exclusion of the legislature and the judiciary in most of the business of governance. It is therefore pertinent to state that the domineering nature of the executive arm had gravely weakened and retardedthe growth of constitutional bodies/institutions such as the legislature,judiciary, political parties, civil societies, and others.

The legislature, on the other hand, had no previous experience with the value of law-making that is derived from a representative social order, this is because there were no distinct legislative duties from that of the executive in governance under military rule. Thus, with the return of representative governance (democracy) in 1999, the legislators at all levels in the nation have failed to judiciously perform their constitutional obligation and hold the executive to be accountable. Ironically, it is rather the legislators and not the executive that are working hard to perform executive functions through delivering constituency projects in other to remain relevant amongst their constituents. From a survey carried out,[22] it is important to state that every succeeding election produces almost 50-80%,of newlegislators, thereby retarding the growth in the business of governance and the processes/politics of law-making is continuously been hampered by the high level of legators turnover every election year.

The political economy inherited from the military rule by the fourth republic is such that,the class character of the state's economy is characterized by unearned wealth in the form of corrupt accumulation of the state funds and resources by a few individuals which have tended to manoeuvrepower away from the majority of the people. The role of money in elections has made it easy and possible for a privileged few to skew their way into various elective positions and on the other hand, made it difficult if not merely impossible for a large segment of the citizens to effectively participate in competing for power.

Following the various corrupt practices in the country, especially from the fourth republic, corruption appears to have been democratized, thereby permeating practically every segment of the society and becoming a major lubricant of politics and electoral contestswhich had contributed a lot to the growing rate of poverty, inequality, kidnapping, terrorism, and violence.Corruption in itself is gradually becoming a num which is a huge challenge/problem(s) not only to Kaduna state or Nigeria but any society that condoles, aids, and abides by it.It is salient to state that, corruption in all spheres undermines the accountability of the state,and popular sovereignty and thus; promotes personal rule by the President, Governors, and many others in leadership positions.

Personal rule refers to the fundamental neglect of constitutional and democratic tenets. The act of governance is also faced with several challenges which include; manipulation of various

[22]World Bank. *Nigeria Economic Survey*. University Press, 2014.

ethnic groups, regional identities, religious bigotry, lopsided development/appointment, and many others. Hence, galvanizing national consensus in addressing any major fundamental national issue forms a serious challenge to the state, thereby making virtually every national issue be treated from the prism of ethnicity, religion, region,and its likes.

The State of Governance in Kaduna State

In Kaduna state, the challenges of governance and developmental issues include; disengagement of government staff without compensation, poverty, inequality, exclusion, corruption, youth militancy, and environmental issues form some of the common problems associated with governance and development. While kidnapping, insurgency, communal violence, rural banditry, land disputes, chieftaincy tussle, extra-judicial killings, political violence, and others, are some of the common security challenges in the state.[23]

Malam Tanimu[24] observed that violence, crimes, and other security issues have been on the increase since the return of civil rule (democracy) in 1999. Important in this process of transformation is the historical failure of governance in the state as expressed in the increased poverty, exclusion, corruption, and impunity by security agencies. In an interview conducted a respondent who claims anonymity, posited that citizens actively engage in the electoral process without corresponding gains for their participation, especially in the southern part of the state. It is also submitted by another respondent that; the state government (Kaduna) has alienated itself from the people at all levels (limited access to governance), providing little or no room for accountability. A respondent also posited that, in the state (Kaduna), government decisions are hardly questioned no matter the level of impunity and unpopular the policy is. This situation has compounded the deepening poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and exclusion, thereby increasing the security challenges the state is already confronted with.

Idada and Uhunmwuangho[25] opined that: "Indigenous leaders are responsible for a perverse alienation of her people, the delinking of leaders from followers, a weak sense of national identity and perception of the government as a hostile force". This explains why the citizens of the state have not been able to reap dividends from the leaders that have governed the state over the years, especially with the emergence of the fourth republic. Be it democratic or military, the case of bad leadership has remained the same despite promises made by each successive leader(s) to be better. This, however, has made the masses increasingly apathetic towards governance as the political system continues to get bad, regime after regime.

In a political system such as that of Nigeria, especially in a state practisinga multi-party system, political parties are formed to articulate programs of interest to the population. An elected government must formulate policies and enacts laws

[23]United Nations Development Program. *Human Development Report*. New York: Oxford., 1994.

[24]Interview: Malam Tanimu, Civil Servant, Aged 55. 12th December, 2023.

[25]Idada W. and S.O. Uhunmwuangho. "Problems of Democratic Governance in Nigeria: The Way Forward". Journal of Sociology and Anthropology 3(1);2012.

that will determine how the state's policies and programs are to be administered. The involvement of the citizens in this process is known as politics. Easton in 1957 defines politics as the authoritative allocation of wealth while Laswell in 1930, defines it as; "who gets what, when and how". This definition by the duo, explains the widely held notion of politics as a contest for power and the distribution of resources in the state and Nigeria at large. The Greek definition of politics refers to a process through which men debate on matters concerning the 'polis' that is, the community/society. To the Marxist, politics is an ideological struggle for power for the acquisition and distribution of resources. The Marxists further identify class differentiation in the political process. Mao Zedong in 1965 interestingly defines politics as war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed. Unfortunately, enough, Mao Zedong was short-lived to see that his definition of politics is the order in Nigeria where politics is war with bloodshed and not war without bloodshed.

Governance and Security in Kaduna State

The level at which Kaduna State is confronted with security challenges is alarming and it is becoming a ghost of itself.There is a need for us to understand that poor leadership leads to security challenges that metamorphose into insecurity. The quality of good governance is central to any state's ability to maintain order and bring peace to its territory. The challenges faced by the state (Kaduna) are traced to the accumulation of failed policies and programs, poor leadership style, and short-sightedness byleaders over the years.[26] The security situation in Kaduna state has worsened with lives lost on daily bases, kidnapping has become the order of the day and now a lucrative business, to mention just but a few. Regrettably, aspiring leaders every after four years makes promises but situations keep deteriorating with the masses at the receiving end.[27]

In Nigeria's history, the nation hasexperienced both military and civilian rule at different stages of its national development, each of these governments has its unique way of maintaining security and Kaduna state is not an exception. Whatever form of government a state adopts, governance and security cannot be shied away from, hence; there is always a meeting point between governance and security. The leadership of a state is expected to exhibit some elements of good governance for the security system to be effective and fully operational.[28] In the world today, good governance is a hallmark of responsible and credible government/leadership, the practice of democracy in a state as a system of government is to ensure that the people of the state enjoy good governance and effective representation. Hence, it is important to state that; while democracy is expected to be associated with good governance which is aimed at meeting the aspirations and yearnings of the people, in the context of Nigeria and particularly Kaduna state, these facts have eluded the people both at the state and national level,especially since the return of democracy in 1999 (fourth

[26]Interview: Mr. Yunana, A., Teacher, Adult. 2th January, 2023.
[27]Interview: Mr. Yunana, A., Teacher, Adult. 2th January, 2023.
[28]George-Genyi, M. E. *Good Governance: Antidote for Peace and Security in Nigeria*, 2006.

republic). It is disheartening to state that, several scholars and other bodies have posited that Nigeria's democracy is characterized by conflict, unemployment, political assassination/thuggery, ethnicity, religious fanatism, acrimony, and bitterness, among others, hence; this is the real situation of the Kaduna government/polity.

Though; from the 1980s to date, Kaduna State has experienced different security challenges ranging from; ethnic, election violence, armed banditry, religious violence, farmers/herders clashes, and others. With the return of democracy in Nigeria, the security challenge worsened which characterizes the reality Nigeria is confronted with and particularly in Kaduna state.[29] These security challenges of recent times are characterized by: political assignation and thuggery, terrorist activities and militia group operations, banditry, kidnapping, etc. which are associated with the style of leadership which includes; unpopular government policies, ethnic/religious discrimination, unguarded speeches by government officials, regional political appointments, unequal distribution of state resources, and many others. In a group interview conducted, the respondents posited that crime and security challenges executed in the state and the various communities within the state took various dimensions based on the topography of the area. The most pressing amongst these security challenges the state is faced with today as identified by the interviewee were terrorism, kidnappings, ethno-religious violence, ethnic cleansing, and the activities perpetuated by what is generally termed today as 'unknown gunmen'.[30]

Major Drivers of Security Challenges in Kaduna

Based on an interview conducted at various times, days, dates, and places, the interviewees submitted that the basic or primary factors fueling security challenges in Kaduna state stem from religion, ethnicity, politics, unemployment, and poverty. Though; there are other salient drivers to security challenges in the State which have become a menace to the state, it is pertinent to note that, the crux of the security challenge in Kaduna State is clothed in the garment of religion and ethnicity.

Religion and ethnic politics[31] have become a great obstacle to the establishment of social order in the nation in general and particularly Kaduna state,these have led to a rapid decrease in trust and an increase in hatred among the citizens of the state, and thus; between the citizens and the government. Most associations and unions, social clubs, religious bodies/groups, and political participants in the state tend to rally around ethnic identities with religious colouration.[32] Religion and ethnicity have continuedto be used by the rulers and elites as violent and poisonous instruments of competition for leadership or wealth accumulation among the masses. Some recorded messages via the media of preachers in public have also been inflammatory. religious doctrines which are propagated in a way that is

[29] Interview: Rev. Dogo, Cleric (Retired). Adult, 27th December, 2022

[30] Group interview on Security, 30th December, 2022

[31] Interview: Malam Ango, Farmer. Aged 67, 30th December, 2022

[32] Bassey Ate and Akindele (eds.) *Beyond Conflict Resolution: Managing African Conflict in the 21st Century*, NIIA Lagos: Vintage Publish, 2001.

provocative and inciting, have contributed to causing more serious divisions among the people of the state.

Causes of Security Challenges in Kaduna State

Several reasons have been promulgated as the causes of insecurity in Nigeria which perhaps may not be too far from that of Kaduna state. But it is worth mentioning that, in as much as there are generally known causes of insecurity, especially in the African continent and Nigeria particularly There is, as well peculiarities in some areas in Nigeria with Kaduna State as a critical example which is the crux of this study. In discussing the causes of security challenges in Kaduna State, this work is interested in the issues that characterized the security challenges in the state which include the following:

a. **Cultural Differences/Minority Agitation**:[33] The disposition of the people of the state especially in the southern part of the state in terms of their culture contribute to insecurity with each ethnic group willing to claim cultural superiority over the others and in so doing, it further makes effort towards dominating the political space or arena of a community. The other ethnicities are neglected, making the people resort to violence to get their voice heard by those in governance whenever they perceive any unjust policies or government decisions that do not favour them. This is worsened when such government is not accessible to the masses and there is no effective mechanism for seeking redress.

b. **Grazing Farmland**:[34] There are several disputes between local farming communities and Fulani herdsmen over grazing lands in some areas within the state, especially in the southern part of the state which has left hundreds of people displaced. Following the return of democracy in 1999 in the country, there had been several clashes in virtually most of the local government areas in the southern part of the state which is perceived to be good for grazing by the Fulani. Some of these local governments that have had this bitter experience include Kachia, ZangonKataf, Kaura, Jema'a, and Sanga, among others. It is expedient to note that, some of the areas mentioned above are still confronted with this menace and the state seems not to be doing much to curb the situation. Fulani herdsmen are being fingered for the mayhem perpetuated by moving from village to village, killing and burning houses.[35]

c. **Religious Intolerance/Fanatism**: Religious intolerance is a negative attitude towards religious beliefs and practices that are contrary to one's cherished beliefs and practices.[36]Such negative

[33]Interview: Malam Ayuba Danladi, Civil Servant, Aged 59. 22th December, 2022

[34]Interview: Mr. Ali Shedrack, Retired Civil Servant, Aged 67. 30th December, 2022

[35]Interview: Mr. BityockBulus, Farmer, Aged 61. 30th January, 2023.

[36]Campbell, J. 'Mapping Violence in Nigeria', Daily Trust July 21,, 2011.

attitudes constantly manifest themselves in violent outbursts. The inability to recognize and accommodate views and opinions of other religious beliefs is, therefore, one of the major sources of religious violence in Nigeria and Kaduna state in particular. Religious adherents, especially Muslims and Christians have demonstrated intolerant attitudes which in most cases have resulted in violence. An example is the KasuwanMagani crisis in 1980, ZangoKataf and Gure-Kahugu crisis in 1987, Kafanchan and Lere in 1987, ZangoKataf crisis in 1992.[37] A more recent incident was the killing of Deborah in Sokoto state accused of blaspheming and another incident in Bauchi State and Abuja.

Religious fanatism is the excessive irrational zeal to defend one's religion which consequently becomesa destructive agent of religious disharmony in society.[38] The adherents of Christianity and Islam are at one stage or another influenced by fanaticism which resultsina violent confrontation.

d. **Growing Gap Between the Government and the People**: In recent times, it has been observed that there has been a growing gap between the people and their government which neither the military administration nor the democratic government has been able to bridge, leaving misunderstanding, mistrust, and resentment to fester.[39]The people of the southern part of Kaduna are aggrieved and feel they are not been considered in the governance of the state, especially with the return of democracy ushering in the fourth republic most especially with the present Governor of the state (Mal. Nasir EL-Rufia).[40] Since the people do not understand government/governance or have a perception that government does not care about their welfare, they become easy prey to forces around and are used as an instrument for civil unrest thereby creating insecurity.

e. **Lopsided Development, Marginalization, and Inequalities in the State**: The present government of Kaduna state has been accused of ethnic biases and the marginalization of some sections of the state in the distribution of basic infrastructure which has greatly compounded the security of the state.[41] Key political appointments covering about 80% are from the Northern extraction while the Southern partof the State is left with just 20%[42]. This perhaps explains the agitation for the creation of a new state of the

[37]Eniola, S.O. *Reflections of Religious violence in Nigeria*:In Kunle Ajayi (Eds) *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies: The Nigeria Perspectives*, University of Ado-Ekiti Press, 2010.

[38]Balogun, K.A. *Religious Fanaticism in Nigeria: Problems and Solutions*: In I.A.B. Balogun, et. al. (eds.), *The Place of Religion in the Development of Nigeri*, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1988.

[39]Interview: Mr. Boniface D.K., Retired Civil Servant, Aged 67. 25th January, 2023

[40]Interview: Mr. Boniface D.K., Retired Civil Servant, Aged 67. 25th January, 2023

[41]Interview: Mr. Adamu., Retired Force Personnel, Adult. 6th January, 2023.

[42]Interview: Mr. Adamu., Retired Force Personnel, Adult. 6th January, 2023.

Southern Extraction (Gurara State). Besides, from the uneven distribution of the state wealth, infrastructural development, and lopsided appointment, it is quite glaring that there is a great disparity in religion, this is because; the number of the Christian appointees from the Southern Kaduna extraction is insignificant to the number of the appointees from the northern extraction. A vast majority of the public especially from the southern part has a feeling of inequality, unfairness, and marginalization and this has led to frustration and loss of hope, especially amongst the youths. These youths now express their disillusion about the state of affairs by any means possible, legal or illegal. The result is growing insecurity in the state (Onuoha, 2011).

f. Ethno-Religious Conflicts: Ethno-religious conflicts break out when the relations between members of different ethnic or religious groups are characterized by a lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion, fear, and a tendency to use violence to settle grievances. In a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society such as Kaduna state, these conflicts have revolved around a myriad of concerns, for example,[43] the distribution of scarce resources, public offices, power, land, chieftaincy titles, the creation, demarcation and control of local government councils, control of markets and religious activities. Many of these ethno-religious conflicts have resulted in violence and large-scale killings.[44]

Conclusion and Recommendation

This study has examined governance and security in Kaduna State, it is pertinent to say that Kaduna State is bleeding and in a state ofsorry situation, the political and socio-economic landscape of the state will continue to experience bad governance and security challenges until a visionary leadership deliberately seek to harness and explore the state resources and her ethnic diversity for the common good of all irrespective of religion, ethnicity, and area. This can only be achieved when Kaduna State citizens (leaders and followers inclusive) share a common aspiration to live in peace and harmony with one another and the state should put up a strong security mechanism, architecture, or intel that will fight insecurity, especially in areas that are prone to attacks within the state. This will help in restoring hope to the citizens and thus, contribute their quota to the growth and development of the state. To further ameliorate this menace, the process and art of governance should be proved by those in authority and should be encompassing where the leaders and followers will collectively stand against inhumanity from any quarter while promoting partnership with local communities (community policing),[45] Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and other

[43]Sani, S. *The Killing Fields: Religion, Violence in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan, Spectrum Book Ltd, 2007.

[44]Hyden, G. *Making State Responsive: Rethinking Governance Theory and Practice*. In Goran Hyden and John Samuel (eds), 2011.

[45]Ibeanu, Okechukwu and Momoh Abubakar. State Responsiveness to Public Security Needs: The Politics of Security Decision-Making: Nigerian Case, CSDG Papers, Kings College, London, 2008.

national development actors to ensure the provision of good governance and security in Kaduna State.