

TRADITIONAL RULERS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: A CALL FOR ADEQUATE ENGAGEMENT AND THE SALVAGING OF A DILEMMA OF BROKERING FOR RELEVANCE

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Abstract: Traditional rulers in Nigeria have been boxed into the corner by their political counterparts. The local government reforms and the 1991 constitution as amended drove the last nail into their coffin. Today, due to the insecurity that has eviscerated the entire polity which has also overwhelmed the political leaders, scholars, public commentators and even the leaders of state security apparatus have called on the traditional rulers to assist in the fight against insecurity. Unfortunately, many factors have led to the situation where the traditional rulers can no longer perform their roles to their communities and people. While this paper calls for the adequate engagement of the traditional ruler in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria, this call however calls to mind the dilemma the traditional rulers are entangled with in their efforts to reclaim their relevance in the leadership scheme of things in Nigeria. The conferring of a chieftaincy title on a banditry kingpin – Ado-Alero, by the Emir of Birnin Yandoto of Tsafe Local Government Area of Zamfara State (Alhaji Aliyu Marafa) on the basis of his (Ado-Alero's) major role in a peace process locally arranged between the emirate and the bandits terrorizing Tsafe Local Government Area of the state, is a clear instance of the traditional leaders' dilemma of securing the peace and safety of his people/community and doing what the public will consider "the right thing". This scenario applies to every part of Nigeria. Thus, in discussing the dilemma of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity the secondarily sourced data especially from the national dailies and the internet were utilized and the descriptive approach was used for the analysis of such data. It was found that the traditional rulers are saddled with the responsibility of securing the peace and safety of their various communities which when extrapolated translates into national security; however, the traditional rulers are not adequately engaged in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria and the reasons are rooted in the battle of supremacy between the traditional rulers and their political counterpart instead of collaboration and lastly, the traditional rulers are enmeshed in dilemma that could possibly lead to brokering for their relevance in the leadership scheme of things in Nigeria. Hence this paper recommends a reassignment of specific security and developmental roles to the traditional rulers in Nigeria; such roles should be re-entrenched into the constitutions of Nigeria, while the political leaders are to collaborate with the traditional rulers to achieve the security of the Nigerian society. Lastly, the suspended Emir has to be recalled and rewarded for his act of bravery in the face of impending doom that forced him to broker for his relevance as the leaders of the people.

Keywords: Traditional rulers, Insecurity, Dilemma, Brokering of relevance, Ado-Alero, Emirate

INTRODUCTION

Because the thrust of this paper is to advocate the adequate engagement of the traditional authorities in the fight against insecurity that has engulfed the country in order to forestall any case of collateral damage in the event of the traditional ruler brokering for their relevance, it becomes not just necessary but pertinent to bring to fore what we

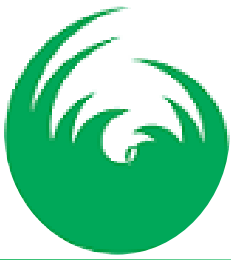
mean by insecurity. The essence is to beam the searchlight on the magnitude of what Nigerians are up against. Thus, in a simple term, the advanced learners' dictionary, defines insecurity as a state of not being safe or protected. However, in a wider perspective, insecurity presupposes a state of general breakdown of law and order, or a situation where the citizens of a country are exposed to an

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uncontrollable danger whereby everyone lives in fear of what might happen the next moment (Oyewusi, 2022).

While it is creditable that no society is devoid of any form of insecurity, but the contemporary Nigeria is ripe with all manners of security breaches and threats to the extent that it is no longer news that insecurity has enveloped us from the South where armed robbery, kidnapping, assassination and ritual killings are prominent, to the North where insurgencies, community clashes, herders-farmers killings and ethnic militia have taken centre stage for the past years (Obi, 2015). Today, as though an evolutionary trend, banditry is at the front burner of national security discourse with kidnapping for ransom spread all over the country, with serious focus on Abuja lately (Jannamike, 2022).

According to the Metro Vanguard of July 28, 2022, the wind of insecurity blowing across the country, especially in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, has sent panic through the whole of Abuja and its environs, leading to the shutting down of schools in Abuja, on the heel of a letter written to the Abuja Campus of the Nigerian Law School by terrorists, demanding ransom on 500 students, a director-general and 15 lecturers of the institution, ahead of the attack. Even in the neighbouring Nasarawa State, the Governor, Abdullahi Sule, had also ordered immediate closure of schools to avert students being attacked and possibly kidnapped for ransom.

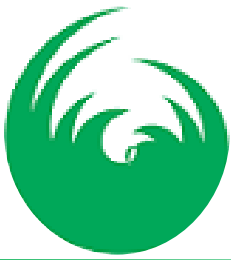
With the above scenario, it becomes safe to say that Abuja has become the epicentre of terrorist activities such that Dakuku peterside said that Abuja is technically under siege, hence the recent barrage of attacks on this city that has left everyone perplexed. Unfortunately for the state, the more these attacks unfold, the more it has become clear that they are well-orchestrated and coordinated. The attack on trains linking the nation's capital, the targeting and killing of military personnel in various parts of the city, an assault on the Kuje correctional centre where 800 inmates (including 60 Boko Haram members) freed and an offensive on the presidential Brigade of Guard – the last line of defence of the President. The height of this

insecurity is the issuance of threat to kidnap the President – President Muhammadu Buhari (Dakuku, 2022).

These anti- government activities resulted to a call to impeach the President Muhammadu Buhari, if the growing insecurity across the nation persisted beyond six weeks (Elumoye & Aborisade, 2022). Even the African Democratic Congress (ADC), Presidential Candidate, Mr. Dumebi Kachikwu, also asked President Muhammadu Buhari to resign or face impeachment, if he failed to fix the insecurity situation in the country (Kwen, 2022).

This hue and cry about insecurity in Nigeria can be attributed to the counterinsurgency approaches adopted overtime which has not yielded the expected result. Recall that insecurity in Nigeria started and grew in the Northeastern Nigeria with the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009. In the Northeast Nigeria in particular, Boko Haram insurgency has devastated the ecology, economy and demography through its violent attacks since 2009, with changes in strategies and target till today hence the recent report that 486 people were killed across Nigeria in first three weeks of 2022 (Ayitogo, 2022; Campbell and Harwood, 2018). The state's security agencies have continued to fight the insurgency but with very limited desired result given the continuing onslaught by the sect on the military and civilians in recent times.

As a way forward, the Civilian vigilantes joined the security agencies in what was referred to as the Civilian Joint Task force (CJTF). This effort recorded some positive result, which was missing even with international collaboration in the fight against insurgency in the Northeast Nigeria (Foyou; Ngwafu; Santoyo, and Ortiz, 2018; Ikeanyibe; Olise; Isah, and Emeh, 2020). But with the continued brewing of insecurity through the onslaughts of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast Nigeria, it becomes clear that there is dire need for a strategy that can end the reign of terror in the Northeast Nigeria. While studies are ongoing on how to end Boko Haram insurgency, the herders-farmers conflicts surfaced.



Farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, which were predominantly in the North-Central region, later spread across the country. The conflicts resulted in indiscriminate and avoidable loss of lives and properties. Although mostly an agrarian resource problem, an inaccurate definition of the conflict has turned it into one rooted in political, cultural, and ethno-religious beliefs and other distorted considerations. These narratives and profiling have aided aggressive encroachment and reprisal aggression between the parties leading to mutual hostility and reverse-violent attacks (Nextier SPD, 2 Nov 2021) that has led to the loss of no fewer than 8, 343 persons since 2005 with Benue and Plateau states top states with most attacks, that has festered every other state in Nigeria (Yakubu, 2021).

In another insecurity scenario, Anyandiji (2022) averred that the rising cases of ritual killing in Nigeria have become unbearable, having left the whole country in shock, terrified and leaving many afraid of what is to come next. The countrywide increase in kidnapping, as well as ritual killings that has grown rapidly over the past years was well documented by Hakeem Jamiu in his masterpiece “a harvest of ritual death”. In that write-up, he noted Nigeria’s fast notoriety as a country of ritualists with stories of ritual killings daily reported in the traditional and social media as abysmal. He cited the gruesome murder of 22-year-old Oluwabamise Ayankole who was abducted after boarding a Lagos State Government owned Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) and was later murdered and had parts of her body removed. Bamise’s gruesome murder is only an addition to the harvest of deaths by ritualists across Nigeria.

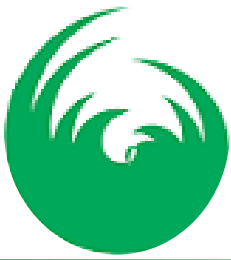
These killings are associated with the sacrifices performed with human parts which unverifiable makes a victim, usually a foreigner obey whatever the yahoo boy says including sending millions of dollars on request. The episode of using the pants of a woman for fetish acts that brings money for the actors is just abating. It was said that the pant, will fetch the ritualist a lot of money. While this ritual killings have been well associated with the yahoo boys, it has to be said that it is not only yahoo boys that are

into ritual killing but they may have influenced others who are not into internet frauds business to kill for rituals because of the belief that it is working for them. It has been reported widely that some yahoo boys even go to the extent of eating human faeces, having spiritual bath in broad daylight at a public place, appearing only in pants in broad daylight to withdraw money from ATMs and so many bizarre and silly things (Jamiu, nd).

This tale of ritual killings reflect mounting desperation for wealth and economic security amid weakened state control and Nigerians' desperate attempts to achieve economic stability according to Obadare (2022) is another huge insecurity situation in Nigeria that needs every attention which hitherto seems to be elusive.

In tandem with that dire need for a strategy that can end the reign of terror in Nigeria, there is a sense in which it can be seen that insecurity in Nigeria have continued unabated because the traditional rulers have not been given their pride of place, that is strategic in the war against insecurity despite the position of some researches on their viability in this respect (Aliyu, Moorthy, Abdullah & Daud, 2015; Yusha, nd). This assertion is born out of the fact that the Boko Haram insurgency that fomented unimaginable trouble in the Northeast have squabbles with the Western system of administration (Flynn, 2017; Ogbuehi, 2018) which they consider a colonial structure rife with deceit and corrupt tendencies unlike the traditional pre-colonial structure where in the local communities, especially in the North, the village head, the Imam and the Attajiri, Maisukuni or Dan kasuwa are well respected. The same applies to the other parts of the country.

A mention of the Emir of Kano, the Ooni of Ife, the Sultan of Sokoto, the Oba of Benin, the Alaafin of Oyo, the Olu of Warri, the Oba of Lagos, the Obi of Onitsha, the Aku Uka of the Kwara kingdom, the Ovie of Urhobo and Isoko, the Obong of Efik, Ibibio and Annang, the Amanyanabo of Ijaw and the Atta of Igala (World Statesmen, 2010) resonate the reverence people of different tribes in Nigeria accord these leaders of their



traditional institutions, traditional heads of their communities and custodians of the custom and traditions of the people. The traditional rulers can exercise political, judicial and religious authority over the people of his community depending, however, on the prevailing prescription for the office as provided by custom and tradition (Ene, ND). These authorities they exercise translated to their mediation between the people and the state, enhancing national identity, resolving conflicts within their reach and providing an institutional safety-valve for often inadequate state bureaucracies (Ibrahim, 2015).

The people whole-heartedly respect them and the loyalty is genuine as the people do not see them as politicians who steal money and damn the economic and developmental consequences of their actions. With this loyalty, it is believed that if adequately engaged, the traditional authorities have the potency of being a great hand in the success story of the end of insecurity in Nigeria given that the traditional authorities system operate within a structure in which the village head knows the societal misfits in every household, knows who is competent to provide moral guidance, and knows those who influences the youth to act in certain ways (Orjinmo, 2020). Unfortunately, these valued personalities are not adequately involved in the fight against insecurity and they just might “kick” to regain their value, respect and honour.

As a result, this study seeks to identify the roles of traditional rulers in Nigeria; ascertain the level of their involvement in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria; unravel the factors that have led to their being relegated to the background in the fight against insecurity; and ascertain the measure through which the traditional rulers may employ to return to relevance in the socio-political scheme of things in Nigeria, in this era of infested insecurity.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

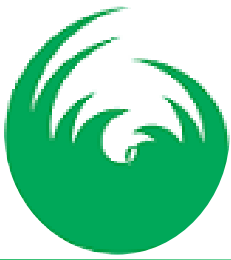
The following research questions were posed to guide the study

- i. What are the roles and relevance of traditional rulers in Nigeria;
- ii. To what extent has the traditional rulers been involved in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria;
- iii. What factors led to the relegation to the background of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity; and
- iv. In what situation or ways can the traditional rulers broker their relevance in the socio-political scheme of things in Nigeria, in this era of infested insecurity?

LITERATURE REVIEW ON INSECURITY SITUATION IN NIGERIA

Many authors and observers have written and commented on the state of insecurity in Nigeria today. One of such commentators is Samuel Agbelusi who wrote that the issue of insecurity in Nigeria has become something of grave concern to all well-meaning citizens, most of whom continue to wonder how the country arrived at such a dastardly situation where no one is safe; and worse still, rather than abate, the problem is escalating and now totally out of control.

In specific terms, he furthered, the South-West of Nigeria is plagued by a surge in cybercrime, armed robbery, kidnapping, domestic crime, extrajudicial killings, herder-farmer conflicts, ritual killings, and banditry. The South-East is a haven for ritual killings, commercial crime, secessionist agitation, kidnapping, herder-farmer clashes, attacks by unknown gunmen, and banditry. The South-South remains threatened by militancy, kidnapping, and environmental agitation. The North-East has been subject to a humanitarian crisis lasting over a decade and caused by the Boko Haram insurgency and the Islamic State in West Africa Province. Meanwhile, the North-West is enmeshed in illegal mining, ethno-religious killings, and banditry. It is, therefore, that insecurity in Nigeria has assumed a soft spot in political stance and that it has



claimed thousands of lives and extensive damage and loss of property (Agbelusi, 2022).

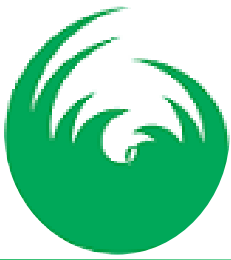
Another commentator, Jide Oyewusi lamented what he called “the gale of insecurity in Nigeria”. In his words, from what looks like religious extremism, peace was militated against in the enclave that led to the insecurity that has suddenly become the nightmare of Nigeria. In the words of Oyewusi (2022), for more than ten years, the North Eastern, North Western and indeed, most parts of the North have been ravaged by religious extremists known as Boko Haram. This insurgency has led to several thousands of people having been killed with a large section of the people displaced and now lives in Internally Displaced Persons camps spread across the whole northern states.

While counting our losses and thinking of a way out of this calamity, herders-farmers conflicts ensued, thus, giving rise to another source of insecurity in Nigeria that has the lives of many innocent farmers who are killed in their farms by herders many of whom now bear sophisticated weapons. These attacks, according to Yakubu (August 30, 2021) had led to the loss of no fewer than 8, 343 persons since 2005. The trend led to so much disaffection between the Fulani and most of their host communities, leading to some form of appraisal attacks. In the worst-case scenario, the conflicts have caused the refusal by most of the southern rural communities to accept different suggestions by the government for settling the herders, including RUGA. The friction between the Federal Government and most southern leaders has reached a peak as most southern governors have started passing the anti-open grazing laws which would disallow the herders from moving freely across people’s farms. But as the war rages on, many lives are being lost and the relevance of the government is being called to question (Oyewusi, 29 April 2022), especially as the country has been overran by insurgent groups christened “bandits” with kidnapping for ransom having entered Nigeria’s lexicon and the problem is becoming highly intractable as innocent school children, train passengers, commercial bus commuters and clergy men

especially of the catholic Christian extraction are being kidnapped on a daily basis and taken into the deep forest leaving their loved ones in great despair.

According to Gbolahan (April 11, 2022), one of the scariest threats for families in Nigeria is the frequent kidnapping of school children from their classrooms and boarding houses. About 2,000 students have been abducted from their schools since December 2020, many only released after thousands of dollars are paid as ransom. Some of the kidnappers are commonly referred to as “bandits”. These criminals raid villages, kidnap civilians and burn down houses. Attacks by bandits have forced thousands of people to flee their homes and seek shelter in other parts of the country. The north-west is the epicenter of these attacks. In Zamfara state alone, over 7,000 people have been killed since 2012 and the attacks are still going on. Hundreds of schools were closed following abductions at schools in Zamfara and Niger state, where children as young as three years old were seized. In one instance, Kabir Yusuf reported that At least 317 schoolgirls were abducted by bandits from Government Girls Secondary School, Jangebe in Zamfara State. In an online documentary by BBC, the leader of the banditry group that abducted the girls, Abu Sani said that the whole girls have been released safely on a N600million ransom arrangement with the state government. By this report, it becomes clear that kidnapping has become a lucrative industry and seemingly beyond the control of the country’s amiable security personnel.

The security apparatus of this country is referred to as amiable because t be candid, the number and versions of insecurity in the country is way too much. The case of ritual killings has just witnessed recent resurgence and Hakeem Jamiu in his masterpiece “a harvest of ritual death” did a well documentation on that. In that write-up, he noted Nigeria’s fast notoriety as a country of ritualists with stories of ritual killings daily reported in the traditional and social media as abysmal. He cited the gruesome murder of 22 year old Oluwabamise Ayankole who was abducted

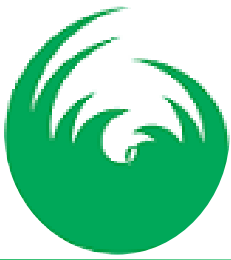


after boarding a Lagos State Government owned Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) bus and was later murdered and had parts of her body removed. Bamise's gruesome murder is only an addition to the harvest of deaths by ritualists within a few weeks across Nigeria. There are many other deaths associated with ritual killings in the literature. There was the gruesome beheading of Sofiat Kehinde, a 17 year old girl in Abeokuta by four ritualists between ages 18 and 20.

Sometimes in 2021, a seven year old girl, Demilade was sent on an errand by her mother four houses away in Ado Ekiti but the little girl disappeared immediately and all efforts to find her proved abortive until her corpse was found in a pastor's house the following day!. Timothy Adegoke checked into a hotel in Ile-Ife to write his Post Graduate examinations but he never came out alive as he was murdered overnight and buried some metres away from the hotel. In Ogun State, a woman connived with her husband to kill her visiting friend and dismembered her. The remains of the victim was later found in a bucket in the couple's room. A ritual killer, Timothy Odeniyi who was arrested by Amotekun Corps in Ondo State confessed that he used to harvest human parts at burial grounds which he sells to his clients. In Jos, 20 year old Moses Oko killed one Jennifer, a student of the University of Jos and removed some of her body parts. In Ikorodu Lagos state, a suspected internet fraudster (yahoo+), 32 year old Afeez Olalore killed his younger brother for ritual purposes. In Uyo Akwa Ibom state, Uduak Akpan, a serial ritual killer killed 20 year old Iniobong Umoren , a job seeker and buried her in a shallow grave. In Ilorin Kwara State, a next door neighbor allegedly murdered a groom-to be for ritual purposes. In 2019, Nigerians were alarmed at the confession of Gracious David West to have killed at least 15 women for ritual purposes when he was arrest in Port Harcourt. One Shakirat was murdered in Iwo, Osun State and her body was dumped behind her mother's shop with some of her parts missing.

Apart from outright killing for the ritual, there have been many unverifiable variants and anecdotes concerning how money rituals work especially among yahoo boys which is called yahoo plus. There is a type whereby a spirit will bring the money to the yahoo boy after necessary sacrifices with human parts have been done. There is another type that will make the victim, usually a foreigner obey whatever the yahoo boy says including sending millions of dollars on request. There is yet another type that involves using the pants of a woman. The pants as they say, fetch a lot of money for the ritualists. It is not only yahoo boys that are into ritual killing but they may have influenced others who are not into internet fraudsters to kill for rituals because of the belief that it is working for them. Some yahoo boys even go to the extent of eating human feces, having spiritual bath in broad daylight at a public place, appearing only in pants in broad daylight to withdraw money from ATMs and so many bizarre and silly things! Amidst these unforeseen terrible state of insecurity Nigeria is enmesh in, Darlington (2020) had averred that it is he whose life and property is threatened is in the best position to meddle and be saddled with the responsibility of security same, and any attempt to either advertently or inadvertently ignore this central thesis in the quest for a lasting solution to the myriads of security challenges faced by the Nigerian polity will continue to prove counterproductive; thus, making a case for the utilization of traditional authorities in the fight against insecurity but with special reference to the Northern Nigeria, where the spate of insecurity and threats to lives and properties have assumed an alarming proportion despite the eventful increase in the numerical strength of Nigeria state security agencies and paramilitary organizations responsible for the management of internal conflicts.

This call for adequate engagement of traditional ruler in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria is a reminisce of the fact that the public values the role traditional rulers play in resolving conflict and their leadership qualities and accessibility to ordinary people (Logan 2013), perhaps



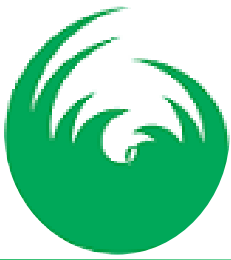
because their powers are derived from the norms and values of their societies, and it's existence in Nigeria predates the coming of Europeans (Edegoh, Kenechukwu & Asemah 2013).

According to Igwubor (2020), the inability of the political leaders and the elites to tackle the problem of insecurity in Nigeria, has called up the need to turn to the traditional rulers for a possible solution to this monster, insecurity. The traditional rulers are traditionally, the head of their ethnic group, clan or community. They hold the highest executive authority in such communities and have been appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, custom and tradition. Their office and power has been recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. The traditional rulers having been recognized by the government as the leader of their people, has been playing a great role in the management of the people and their affairs. Therefore, their role in conflict management, resolution and prevention cannot be over emphasized as they manage people in their domain and resolve conflicts in the society in order to ensure that, there is peace and stability.

He further stated that his argument is based on the fact that the traditional rulers as the leaders of the people and custodian of the people's culture and tradition are highly respected and revered by the people within and outside their domain. Their words are laws to the people and their advice and opinions on issues are respected and accepted. This is so, because they are seen as intermediaries between the people and the gods and the ancestors, and as such, cannot be disobeyed or disrespected. There is the need therefore, for the government to partner and collaborate with them to resolve National crisis and conflicts that could escalate to the level of terrorism in Nigeria. The terrorists and militants belonged to an ethnic group that has a king. They listen to the traditional rulers because of the respect they have for them. The government needs to back and encourage the traditional rulers to talk to their people to

shelve violence, just as the government did in the Niger Delta recently through the Pan-Niger Delta Forum (PANDEF) which persuaded the Niger Delta militants to shelve ad suspend all actions of militancy in the region which they did. This created stability and boosted economic activities in the region and increased the wealth of the nation. The traditional rulers can reach the people involved in terrorism and militancy in Nigeria and call them for dialogue and negotiation. The people have the confidence of the traditional rulers and would always confide in them. The government should empower and encourage the traditional rulers to open up the channel of communication with the people, especially the aggrieved ones to know their grievances and demands. The government would not have the capacity to do so because the people might have lost confidence on them just as Igboavodha noted, "from the optimism that prevailed in the 1960s to the unease and apprehension of the late 1970s, the mood in contemporary Africa has shifted to one of acute anxieties.

Commentators now speak of a 'loss of confidence' and write of a struggle of survival" (Abdulqadir, 2016). Africans, though has lost confidence on their political leaders as result of corruption, underdevelopment and ineffective leadership, they have an implicit confidence on the traditional rulers. This can be seen on the honour and respect accorded to traditional institutions and rulers in Africa. The traditional rulers can negotiate or initiate the process of negotiation for the government in order to achieve peace for sustainable development in Nigeria. Traditional rulers promote peace, foster cohesion and contribute to the political system of governance. The aim of Government is to ensure that the people, irrespective of tribe or language live harmoniously in an area. The traditional rulers in ensuring peaceful co-existence in their domain ensure that the security of the area is guaranteed. This is a major factor in nation building and national security.



While the role of traditional authorities in security administration in Nigeria is well documented, what is amiss the level of their involvement hence most of these researches did not properly diagnose the factors constraining the use of the traditional authorities in administering security in Nigeria, except for Uthman (2016) and Okonkwo, Onuigbo, Eme & Ekekwe (2019) who tried to identify the roles of the traditional authorities and the challenges inhibiting them in efficient security administration in contemporary Nigeria, but none of these researches did a thorough diagnosis of the constraining factors towards mobilizing and utilizing the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria. This gap throws up the need for this paper.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

If Decentralization and poverty reduction are correlated, even without clear-cut functional relationship between the two theoretically, according to Von Braun & Grote (2000), then there is a correlation between decentralization and insecurity reduction. In this case, there is clear-cut functional relationship even though the 1999 constitution as amended whittled down such functional relationship. Thus, the decentralization theorem is the theoretical frame of this study. It was propounded by Oates (1972) and grounds on the assumption that the central government is incapable to discriminate public policy on a regional basis. This assumption has sometimes been justified by some informational advantage of local governance about the social and economic features of regions (Oates, 1972). The Oates decentralization theorem supposes that citizens are attached, administratively and affectively, to their jurisdictions (Bloch & Zenginobuz, 2015).

Decentralization is the process where a central government relinquishes some of its powers and management responsibilities to local governments, local leaders, or community institutions (Ribot, 2004 cited in Shrestha & Ojha, 2017). Rondinelli cited in Brown (2009) defined decentralization as the “transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central

government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations or the private sector. Decentralization theorem provides an important benchmark for the allocation of responsibilities for the provision of public services which includes security (Lipatov, 2016). In the case of insecurity in Nigeria, Koethenbuerger’s (2008) position that decentralized choices yield higher results suffices.

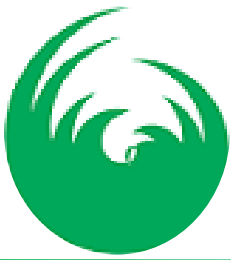
METHODOLOGY

To realize the objectives of this study, data from the secondary sources mainly from newspapers, journal articles and government publications were obtained, organized and analyzed using the content analysis tool. This method of data generation and analysis are apt given that insecurity in Nigeria has not only become a daily recurrent phenomenon but an issue that has attracted the attention of everybody in the country such that the traditional institutions got involved. Again since the turbaning of Ado Alero by the Emir of Birnin Yandoto, the mass and traditional media space has been taken over by talks of traditional authorities and their role in mitigating insecurity challenges in Nigeria. These reasons gave rise to the choice of our data and the method of analysis. By extension, it led to the thematical review of literature along the lines of insecurity situation in Nigeria and the role of traditional authorities.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Summary of findings based on research questions

1. The roles of traditional rulers in Nigeria are many and herald their relevance. But the most important of them is the securing of peace and safety of their communities and ensuring that laws are obeyed.
2. The traditional rulers have not been adequately engaged in the fight against insecurities in Nigeria in recent times.
3. The challenges to adequate engagement of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria include the battle of supremacy between the traditional rulers and political leaders, loss of



locus standi to the 1999 constitution of Nigeria as amended, trust deficit due to traditional rulers loyalty to money bag politicians; and taunted lack of technical competence to handle this hydra-headed insecurity in Nigeria

4. The ways by which the traditional rulers can reclaim their relevance is by brokering peace at all cost even if it means decorating the insecurity warlords with chieftaincy title as was the case of Ado-Alero and the Emir of Birnin Yandoto.

DISCUSSIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The roles of traditional rulers in Nigeria are many and it herald their relevance

Traditional rulers are the custodian of the traditions, history and customs of an ethnic group of individuals, and who is appointed by such individuals to rule, govern and administer justice in line with the laid down customs and traditions of the people. A traditional ruler has also been defined as a person who by virtue of his ancestral position occupies the throne or stool of an area and who has been appointed to it in accordance with the customs and traditions of the area and whose throne has been in existence before the advent of the British in Nigeria.

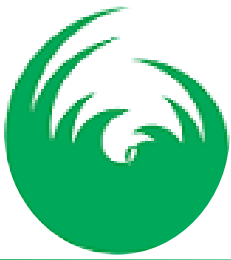
A traditional Ruler is a person who, by reason of inheritance or lineage has been appointed to a chieftaincy position by those entitled to do so under customary law and whose appointment has been approved by the approving authorities. The pre-independent traditional rulers stand as the repository of all the executive, legislative and judicial powers of his domain. In some areas, particularly amongst the Yorubas, a traditional ruler is regarded as a replica of God (*mutatis mutandi*), by virtue of which all their words become law, the infraction of which oftentimes attract corporeal and sometimes, capital punishments (Babalola, 2020).

In modern Nigeria, the traditional rulers are still the head of their ethnic group, clan or community but with abridged executive, legislative and judicial powers over their domains. Their powers are abridge because they are acting

by the authorization of the elected politicians- the local government chairmen and the governors who have constitutional executive, judicial and legislative authorities. Thus, even though traditional rulers are appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, custom and tradition, their office and powers are recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. Up till now, the traditional rulers are recognized by the government as the leader of their people, and their words are laws to the people and their advice and opinions on issues are respected and accepted. This is so, because they are seen as intermediaries between the people and the gods and the ancestors, and as such, cannot be disobeyed or disrespected. The traditional rulers can negotiate or initiate the process of negotiation for the government in order to achieve peace for sustainable development in Nigeria, therefore, it is safe to say that traditional rulers promote peace, foster cohesion and contribute to the political system of governance (Igwubor 2020),

Accordingly, Usifo (nd), have listed the functions of traditional rulers as:

1. Traditional rulers chair meetings of the council of elders which formulate and enforce the rules that govern the domain for political and economic stability in the locality.
2. Traditional rulers (mostly highly influential and experienced citizens), give advice to Local Government officials for the development of their locality when they consult them.
3. The traditional rulers make sure there is peace and safety in the community and that the citizens obey the laws of the land.
4. As custodians of culture of their domains, the traditional rulers initiate the celebration of village festivals to keep the culture and tradition of the people intact, and sponsor art and culture in their locality to ingrain it in the populace.



5. Traditional rulers use Traditional religious belief systems to punish bad behavior and encourage good conducts. This approach comes handy because fear of the community deity is the beginning of wisdom. The use of these gods, enables Traditional rulers to maintain the peace of the community, punish bad behavior and encourage goodness for economic development to thrive.
6. Traditional rulers confer titles to citizens who have distinguished themselves in the society. These titles give honor to worthy citizens and create healthy rivalry among locals to be the best in their career, business or service.
7. Traditional rulers settle all land disputes within the community, marriage quarrels and petty stealing, with fairness to all parties. The people prefer settling issues the traditional way because of the fear of the wrath of traditional gods they worship.
8. Traditional rulers mobilize the community to pay taxes to the local council authority to enable them repair community roads, public schools, and other public utilities.
9. Traditional rulers facilitate local government council and community members' relationship for government grants, soft Agric loans, etcetera for the good of the people.
10. The traditional rulers educate the populace to perform their civic duties such as registration to vote, pay tax, vote in elections and participate in Census.
11. The traditional rulers get the support of subjects for local council administration to succeed and endorse good local government chairmen to retain office.
12. Traditional rulers desire good leadership from rulers in the three tiers of government and campaign for it all over the country. They push for

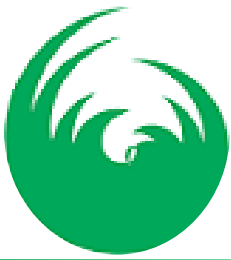
food governance does not need advertisement because it shows from the politicians.

The traditional rulers are poorly engaged in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria

The fact that traditional rulers operate at the grassroots level of the society where they mix and interact closely with people in their daily activities, couple with the fact that they are highly respected places the failure of the fight against insecurity in Nigeria at their door step. This is in keeping with Ishaka (nd) opinion that the traditional rulers are strategic in the fight against insecurity in modern Nigeria. This observation is in tandem with the position of the traditional authorities in different communities prior to and during the colonial era.

According to Ishaka (nd), one singular characteristic of the traditional authorities that endured it to the colonial masters is its capacity to evolve with the situations and conditions. Today, apart from the leadership and guiding roles that the traditional rulers are expected to provide, it still performs the fundamental role of helping to restore order and stability in any society. To effectively deliver on this mandate, the traditional rulers are expected to serve as a bridge between the grassroots and the various local, state government and federal government to achieve government goals. They do that through intermediating, mobilizing and sensitizing people on policies and programmes of the government especially as it concerns security matters.

In contemporary times, the traditional rulers with their traditional institutions have been on the news concerning the exploding level of insecurity in the country. In fact, they have called for a definite role in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria. This call was made by the Alayetoro of Ayetoro-Ekiti, Oba Samuel Olufisan Ajayi while lamenting the state of insecurity in the country, specifically the southwest. The Ekiti State monarch had urged the federal government to give specific roles to traditional rulers in the management of security in the country based on the argument that no one knows the local terrain more



than the traditional ruler, hence in time past when a stranger enters a community, it is customary for the traditional ruler of that community to be aware (The Guardian Editorial, of 7 August 2022).

Supporting this call is the Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Usman Baba, who has said that symbiotic relationship between security operatives and the traditional institution is the only road to lasting peace in the country. According to him, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), under his watch, has identified this and never ignored community policing and relationship with traditional rulers and other stakeholders (Mansur,, 10 August 2022). Along the line of the IGP, The Chief of Army Staff, Lt Gen Faruk Yahaya, has sought the support of traditional rulers in Nigeria to end insecurity (Odeniyi, 4th February 2022). Therefore, involving traditional institutions in security procedures is very vital because they are more relevant in ensuring peace, stability, and wellbeing of every given society and also play a vital role in nation-building in the contemporary Nigeria situation from the local to the federal level (Bello20 December 2019).

While Delta State traditional rulers have called for military action to end insecurity in Nigeria, the Oba of Lagos, has urged every traditional ruler speaks up and get involved in the fight against insecurity in the country (Awodipe, 13 June 2022; Guardian Editorial of 2 August 2022).

These points clearly show that the traditional rulers are poorly engaged in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria and Abubakar (2010) thinks it is deliberate and was done legitimately longtime ago to spite the traditional rulers by the political elected leaders. According to him, Emirs and Chiefs, who are the traditional rulers in Nigeria, were stripped of most of their interventionist powers in leadership and governance by the Local Government Reforms of 1976. This resulted in creating what can be termed as a 'conflict' between the traditional and conventional ways of managing conflicts. This point is relevant because it is usually a conflict mismanaged that led to full blown insurgency and insecurity as we have it

today in Nigeria. Quest for way forward typical leads to the calls for the identification of possible reasons for the exclusion of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria

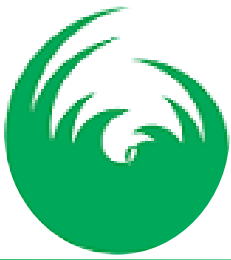
The challenges of adequate engagement of traditional rulers in solving insecurity in Nigeria

It is surprising that in these days of insecurity conundrum in Nigeria, the leadership of the polity have not considered one important layer of leadership structure in the country to contribute to curbing insecurity in Nigeria in general. As surprising as it is, so it is appalling that a structure so utilized by the colonial administrators is relegated to the background while we battle untold insecurity in our backyard. This act of neglect can hardly happen without tangential reasons. Reasons such as:

i. Battle of supremacy between the traditional rulers and political leaders

Upon the establishment of full-blown British kind of political structure that ousted the traditional system of administration, the native authorities were ghastly relegated to the background in fashion that seems as if the new breed are afraid of possible competition from erstwhile known traditional authorities known as the native system of administration (the old breed). This haste to depose the traditional authorities has found expression in politicians increasingly humiliating traditional rulers and dismissing the place of other authorities in the land that evolved according to the tradition of the land.

In a typical community under the watch of a traditional ruler, there are opinion leaders, there are those that keep watch over the community and there are those who preach peace as well as mediate in times of crisis and conflicts. These strata of leaders are found within every community where the seat of modern government is far away from. In the best cases, the government may pick one individual from that community to represent the community as a ward council. Unfortunately, many of those chosen to represent the people are not the actual choice of the people. They are usually imposed or handpicked by an influential politician



from within the community. However, when crisis arises in the community, the village head, the opinion leaders, religious leaders, town union leaders and the town vigilantes are called to respond instead of the ward representative.

Perhaps, because it has been like this for ages and the people truly feel incorporated or involved in the choice of those leaders (village head, opinion leaders, town union presidents, etc), they listen to them with rapt attention and regard. This reverence to the traditional authorities does not go down well with the holders of modern state government power and as such they seek to depose the traditional rulers. The politicians see the traditional rulers as competitors instead of partners in governance business. For fear of that competition they will rather extinct the traditional rulers than extend hand of friendship even when it is glaring that the people loves and listens to the traditional rulers.

These traditional rulers possess some latent power which politicians are afraid of, hence the tension between the two. According to Orjinmo, (2020), from emirs to kings, Nigeria's traditional rulers are increasingly being humiliated by politicians. From the north, east and west, the story is the same. In Rivers state, a king was publicly ridiculed for shaking his head while Governor Nyesom Wike was speaking. The governor ripped into the mortified king in a gathering of traditional rulers, provoking laughter from those in the room. The video went viral on the internet.

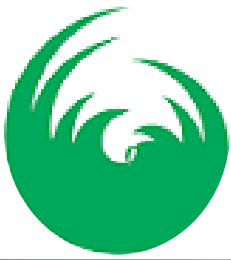
The dethronement of the Emir of Kano, Muhammad Sanusi II is yet another example of the humiliation the contemporary Nigerian politicians are handing down to the Nigerian traditional rulers. It is widely documented that Ganduje, the Kano state Governor invoked his constitutional powers and deposed the emir after accusing him of "insubordination. While the removal of emir Sanusi yet to settle down, traditional rulers in Ekiti state were embroiled in a face-off with the governor after he

appointed an Oba, a Yoruba king, to the head of the traditional council. The said act resulted in 16 Obas staying away from state functions. Their action attracted a stern letter from the governor who accused them of insubordination.

In November 2019, Nigeria's Supreme Court dethroned another Oba, in Oyo state, declaring the process of his ascendancy to the throne illegal. In the crisis, Samuel Adebayo-Adegbola, who was the Eleruwa of Eruwa, had spent 21 years on the throne before he was forced to step down on the grounds that he was not a member of one of the town's two ruling houses whose turn it was to produce a successor in 1994. The throne remains vacant (Orjinmo, 2020). The latest of this array of intimidation and express use of political power to subdue the traditional rulers is the suspension of the Emir of Birnin Yandoto of Tsafe Local Government Area of Zamfara State (Alhaji Aliyu Marafa) by Governor Mattawale of Zamafara for the turbaning of a banditry kingpin – Ado-Alero on the basis of his major role in a peace process locally arranged between the emirate and the bandits terrorizing Tsafe Local Government Area of the state. This event happened on the 17th of July 2022.

ii. Loss of locus standi to the 1999 constitution of Nigeria as amended

Despite the fact that the traditional rulers in today's Nigeria are known to intervene in disputes to bring peace to communities under them, they still are not given the due regard in respect of the fight against insecurity. This neglect has been linked to the constitutional changes that followed the ending of colonial administration. It is on record that the traditional rulers played crucial role on security issues during the pre-colonial days and continued at the inception of colonial administration (Dan, 2010). Within this period, the traditional authorities were whole-hearted accepted and respected by the colonial officer and this further strengthened their power to maintain law and order in the Native Authority. This acceptance, respect and strengthened power stated diminished following independence.



In the northern region, the Emirs had to work with another constituted authority known as the council; a system referred to as “Emir and Council” as opposed to the erstwhile practiced “Emir in Council” during the colonial period. This new approach forced traditional rulers to abide by the majority decision of their councils, though they still had control of most local government affairs. In each region a House of Chiefs was created and any decision taken by members of the regional House of Assembly had to be referred there for endorsement before it was passed as a law.

According to Okonkwo et al (2019), in 1967-68, the judiciary, prisons and Native Authority police were removed from the control of the Emirs and Chiefs. This dramatic change completely removed more than half of the powers of the traditional authorities. Fortunately, the changes did not significantly diminish their prestige in the eyes of their subjects.

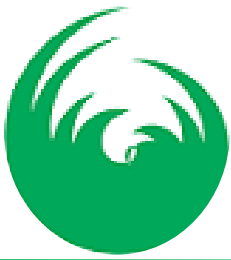
As if the modern government of the new independence was envious of the prestige of the leaders of the traditional authorities in the eyes of their subjects, the 1976 Local Government laws removed traditional rulers completely from the functions of local government and made them only advisers. This onslaught on the traditional authorities was completed by the 1999 constitution which made the functions of emirate Council for example, purely advisory and includes but are not limited to (a) formulation of general proposals and advice to local government; (b) provision of advice on religious matters; (c) support for arts and culture; (d) chieftaincy matters and control of traditional titles and offices; (e) mobilisation of people for self-help projects; (f) assistance in the collection of levies and local revenue; and (g) making representations to government on matters referred to council by government. These advisory functions can be seen for the fluke they are in light of the robust constitutional role traditional rulers in Nigeria used to have in the past. Under the 1960 and 1963 constitutions, the Council of Chiefs was established for them in the regions and some of the traditional rulers even

rose to become regional governors. In the 1979 Constitution, traditional rulers were represented in the National Council of State. But the role of traditional rulers was virtually expunged in the 1999 Constitution, an indication of the declining status of the traditional institutions in the scheme of things in the country (Okonkwo et al, 2019).

Since the removal of the traditional authorities in the 1999 constitution, the people have continued to have great reverence to the leadership of traditional institutions of governance and their palaces have been widely consulted by the politicians prior and during electioneering. Within this interim, the security situation in the country has grown from bad to worse. In fact, it is not out of place to assert that the security situation in Nigeria went from bad to worse and to worst. Surprisingly, despite the fact that the role of traditional authorities, prior and during the colonial administration in curbing insecurity is well document, the government of the day which have failed to tame insecurity in the country has not opted to bringing in this important agent of peace and order in every community. This neglect has left more questions yearning for answers in the discerning mind of observers of the turn insecurity are taking in Nigeria. One of such questions is whether the traditional authorities have lost the trust of the people and their relevance to money bag politicians

iii. Trust deficit due to traditional rulers loyalty to money bag politicians

The government is not the only party dragging the traditional rulers out of relevance by using every strategy at their disposal to trim down their powers, functions and legitimacy. Some scholars have succinctly argued for the total collapse of the traditional authorities. Some of them base their argument on constitutional ground while others base their argument on international best democratic practices. However, there are some people who think that the traditional authorities have lost their relevance among the people they claim to rule over (Chizea & Osumah, 2015).



According to Osakede & Ijimakinwa (2015), although the traditional authorities have been a significant feature of the people and commanded a large degree of loyalty and respect among them, there is this current belief that traditional rulers does not have any place in a democratic dispensation whereby only the elected are permitted by law to rule. The reasons are not farfetched. For instance, the mode of ascension to power by traditional rulers is not acceptable in a democratic setting where people are suppose to elect or select who their leaders will be and such leaders are subjected to tenuouship so that the right to leadership can revolved around many members of the community or society instead of the archaic system that allows a man to emerge to leadership just because he was born into certain family line and will be in office till date (Erero, 2005).

The belief that traditional rulers does not have place in a democratic dispensation where only the elected leaders are permitted by law to rule, has led to power struggle between the elected governors and the traditional rulers. The case of Kano state governor deposing the emir has been noted by close associates of both the emir and the governor as a fall out of long power tussle in Kano state. According to Orjinmo (2020), the government of Kano state has said that Sanusi Lamido Sanusi (the Muhammadu Sanusi II) was removed for "total disrespect" of institutions and the governor's office, but in truth, his removal was the culmination of a long tussle with Kano state governor Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, a powerful figure within Nigeria's governing All Progressives Congress (APC) party. Those close to Mr. Sanusi hinted that the emir expected his removal but not his banishment to nearby Nasarawa state which his lawyers described as an "archaic practice" of the colonial era.

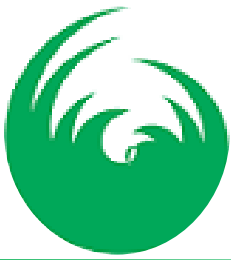
Although Mr. Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, through a court order, has regained his freedom and stool as the Emir of Kano, but the manner of his removal and subsequent detention showed the real balance of power between politicians and traditional rulers. This may be the reason

Sokoh (2018) wrote that whereas it is widely said that traditional rulers no longer enjoy their once exalted position as was the case during the colonial era, but it is also stressed that traditional institutions is facing a crisis, or is undergoing struggles for relevance and survival in contemporary Nigerian politics. This is because the reflections of the stress of the traditional rulers in contemporary Nigeria are personal humiliation, salary cut, salary stoppage, restriction, suspension, banishment, dethronement and murder (Adesoji, 2010). These challenges the traditional authorities face, does not mean they are facing any crisis of relevance or survival in contemporary Nigeria, because the traditional institutions has always been relevant and has survived a lot of organized efforts to scrap it completely (Sokoh, 2018).

iv. Taunted lack of technical competence to handle world class insecurity in Nigeria

Even the defence of the traditional rulers by scholars and commentators such as Sokoh (2018), there are still Nigerian who do not believe that traditional rulers are still useful by any means in contemporary times. Orjinmo (2020) for instance, stated that despite the efforts of some traditional rulers to look trendy and not the 'old raggedy, sad looking, non fun seeking, working with voodoo, scary looking, and only boring personalities, such traditional trendiness has not seem to please some young Nigerians, many of whom took the opportunity of the dethronement of the emir of Kano to criticise the monarchy. Accordingly, they asserted "Kings that have no authority, no armies, fight no wars, bear no responsibility for the development or prosperity of their domain, are outlandishly indulged in the pitiful fantasy of them being the all powerful as Kings who did all these and more in the days of yore.

It this low technical competence that the British Council, in charge of the implementation of the programme "Enhancing state and community level conflict management capability in North Eastern Nigeria" stated that they have trained about 958 Traditional Rulers from 6 Emirates Councils successfully (British Council, 2018).



Unfortunately these trained traditional rulers have not been unleashed by the government to topple insecurity in their domain with their new learnt set of leadership skills and enhanced community security management knowledge.

Traditional rulers and the dilemma of brokering of relevance: the case of the turbaning of Ado Alero

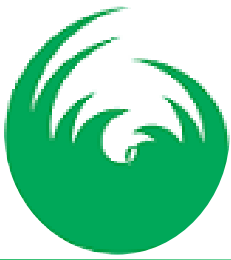
The challenges associated with adequate engagement of traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria notwithstanding, their exalted roles and responsibility are highly missed in the society. But as leaders of the people of different communities their traditional function of ensuring that there is peace and safety in the community and that the citizens obey the laws of the land is such that they cannot overlook. This is principally because the people at the community levels look up to them for peaceful environment and threats to security in the communities also affects them before extending to the political leaders who normally resides in the urban township where the state security apparatus are adequately mobilized for their safety.

This expectation on them by the people of their communities and the myriad challenges that impedes their functionality creates a dilemma. This dilemma reveals itself when traditional rulers are stripped of their powers through legal means such as removal of the roles in the constitutions and subjecting them to the governors whims and caprices. This tight spot of ensuring the peace and safety of their various communities and staying and do nothing as the political leaders have not come up with any specific role to perform leaves the traditional rulers with little option than rallying around his people and taking decision on the possible ways of ensuring peace and safety of this community. Such decisions are in themselves loaded with chances of returning the traditional rulers to relevance. Returning to this relevance might involve a lot of compromise. When such compromised is reached, many people who do not understand the dilemma of the traditional rulers will kick and consequences may be served as was the case of the turbaning of the Ado Aleru.

Recall that sometimes in the mid June 2022, the internet was awash with the news of a notorious leader of bandits in Zamfara State, being decorated with chieftaincy title-the Sarkin Fulani of Yandoto Emirate by the Emir of Yandoto Daji Emirate, Aliyu Garba Marafa. This news was received with a lot of backlash from the general public and subsequently the suspension of the Emir of Yandoto Daji Emirate, Aliyu Garba Marafa by Governor Bello Matawalle of Zamfara State (Tauna, July 18, 2022).

While the backlash that tailed the turbaning was coming in and resulting to the suspension of the Emir, the fact behind the action has to be brought to the fore, perhaps to help expose the dilemma the traditional ruler was enmeshed in and he had to broker for the relevance of this tool whose traditional responsibility it is to ensure the peace and safety of his community.

To start with, the turbaning ceremony was booked in earnest and the state government was aware and in support of it. However, the traditional ruler and the political leader (governor) agreed to do this outside the glare of the preying eye of the public via the internet. But when the plan was made public, the state government sorts to disassociate itself from the plan and subsequently ordered the halting of the ceremony. The implication is that the state government knows the alleged bandit kingpin as well as his activities and also agrees with the Emir to use the turbaning as a strategy to get him to ensure that peace and safety returns to the emirate. But while trying to save its face, the government ordered the halting of the turbaning ceremony that the ordinary members of the Emirate has accepted and are celebrating as the basis of their peace, the governor did not consider what will be of the people and the Emir if Ado- Alero is made to become upset. For the records, the state government did not send the military or any other state security apparatus to ensure the security of lives and livelihoods of the people. In this instance, the people were once again left at the mercy of the decision and strategy of the Emir to handle the impending doom an angry Ado-Alero will throw the communities into.



At this point, the Emir was left between the devil and the deep blue sea. He has his relevance as a traditional ruler whose traditional role it is to ensure the safety of his people, to protect and obey the order of the state government of suspending the ceremony and risk unsavory condition an agree Ado-Alero brings. As a leader of the people who is also a father interested in saving the lives of his people as well as his own, while at the same time keeping the relevance of his stool, he went on with the afore planned turbaning of the peace bringer.

In the words of Salaudeen (July 17, 2022), the turbaning ceremony took place on Saturday evening, hours after the emirate had suspended the process indefinitely. Several bandit group leaders and lieutenants arrived at the venue of the occasion on several motorbikes to celebrate with Aleru. A resident of the area who was at the ceremony told Channels Television that the decision to make the bandits' leader a chief was aimed at finding lasting peace in Tsafe and the Yandoton Daji Emirates, and other areas that were regularly attacked by Aleru-led gangs. According to the resident, "It was aimed at providing lasting peace in the emirate; the emir told us that there is a peace accord between the emirate and the bandit group," An official from the palace who pleaded anonymity also told Channels Television that the title of Sarkin Fulani was conferred on Alero considering his present status as a 'peace-maker' within the emirate. The chieftaincy title was given to him in appreciation of the peace reconciliation.

When asked if the state government was aware of the development, he responded "Of course (state government was aware), we cannot do otherwise. We are terrorized, we cannot go to our farms; some of our people have evacuated from the town, and they ran away. How can we live in that situation?. "We did not have any reinforcement from outside or from government; these people called us for peace between us and them, what can we do? It is only to accept the peace, we cannot do otherwise.

In the spirit of accepting peace over whatever interpretation anybody may give to this action, Umar Audu

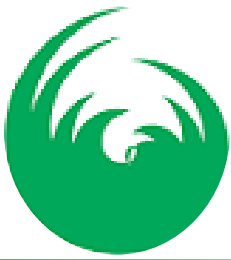
(July 17, 2022), reported that there were pomp and pageantry in Tsafe town as Emir of Yandoton Daji Emirate in Zamfara State Aliyu Marafa turbaned Adamu Aliero-Yankuzo, aka Ado Alero, as Sarkin Fulani of the emirate despite him being a wanted bandit leader on whose head the police has declared wanted and placed N5 million bounty on.

While the government has been quick to suspend the Emir, every single politician in Nigeria has a Ado-Alero working for him. The person may not be a bandit kingpin but may have done worst things than what Ado- Alero has done. They place these men on their pay role and act as if nothing is wrong. But for a traditional rulers whose ancestral home was beseeched and death was harvested in tens and hundreds, abandoned by the state whose primary constitutional responsibility is the protection of life and properties, he had to broker for his relevance to save the lives and livelihoods of his people as well as himself and his ancestral stool. It was a hard decision but it was worth it in the final analysis.

The general public that are kicking and the governor that suspended him should be honest enough to tell Nigerian what better option the traditional ruler had in that circumstance and call out the government to live up to their constitutional tasks and stop putting traditional rulers in a dilemma where they will suffer and bury their head in shame only to broker for relevance.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Calls for the involvement of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity in Nigeria have heightened amidst the increased wave of insecurity in the country. While scholars have been of this opinion overtime, the leaders of the state security apparatus have openly alluded to the indispensability of traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity. While the leaders of the military and police have called for the support of the traditional rulers in the fight against insecurity, the National Immigration Services (NIS) have joined in this call citing the vital role the traditional rulers have to play in the fight against the



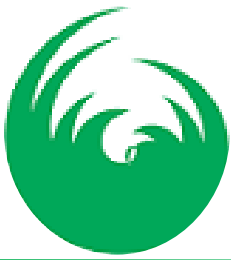
insecurity situation in Nigeria. Accordingly, the body said “we need traditional rulers in maintaining the security situation of the Nation because they are more relevant in ensuring peace, stability and wellbeing of every given society. Unfortunately, the political leaders especially the Governors do not neither appreciate the role of the traditional rulers in this course. In fact, what is obtainable is tales of fight of desperation orchestrated by the Governors to the detriment of the traditional rulers. Many of such cases have been cited in the body of the work to include the dethronement and banishment of the His Highness (HH) Muhammad Sanusi II by Governor Ganduje and replaced by Aminu Ado Bayero as the Emir of Kano. The most recent of this act of subjugation is the suspension of Alhaji Aliyu Marafa, the Emir of Birnin Yandoto of Tsafe Local Government Area of Zamfara State for turbaning of a banditry kingpin, Ado Alero not minding the reasons behind the turbaning and the involvement of the Governor in the planning cum what led to the suspension of the scheduled occasion prior to the turbaning.

This episode revealed the dilemma the traditional rulers are exposed to in meeting the expectation of the people as bestowed on the traditional stool. It revealed how the hinter communities are left without help in the hands of terrorist gangs and finally returns to punish the traditional rulers who were left without help to broker the safety of his people and ensure the peace of the communities, with the turbaning of the banditry kingpin as a last option to save his people. As a result of the findings of this paper that have been elaborately discussed, this paper recommends a reassignment of specific security and developmental roles to the traditional rulers in Nigeria; such roles should be re-entrenched into the constitutions of Nigeria, while the political leaders are to collaborate with the traditional rulers to achieve the security of the Nigerian society. Lastly, the suspended Emir of Birnin Yandoto of Tsafe LGA in Zamfara State (Alhaji Aliyu Marafa) has to be recalled and rewarded for his act of bravery in the face of

impending doom that forced him to broker for his relevance as the leaders of the people.

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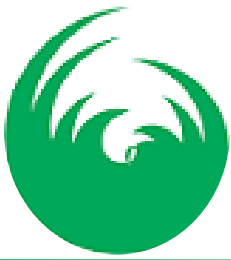
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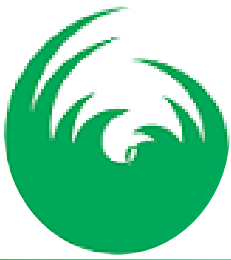
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