Who Feels it Knows it: Traditional Authorities and Security Challenges in the Northern Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

It is pertinent to concede that the area of this study has attracted the minds and concerns of various scholars, researchers and practitioners alike. Yet it is the concern of this study to examine and relate such research endeavours on traditional authority to the contemporary security challenges that Nigeria is confronted with, with the aim of significantly contributing towards new researches in this direction. This paper drew an analogy from the roles performed by traditional authorities in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era, and also identified significant changes that took place at each of these periods with it's attendant effect on the security administration of Northern Nigeria. However, it is the contention of this paper that efficient and effective security administration would continue to be a mirage if due recognition is not given to the traditional authorities as a critical stakeholder in the security architecture of the region under discourse and Nigeria is general. Data for the study will be generated from documentary sources while analysis will be effected through content analysis.

Keywords: *Traditional Authorities, Security Challenge and Northern Nigeria.*

INTRODUCTION

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 (Onuzurike, 2020:2).

The spate of insecurity and threats to lives and properties have assumed an alarming proportion despite the astronomical increase in the numerical strength of Nigeria state security agencies and paramilitary organizations responsible for the management of internal conflicts.

The public values the role traditional authorities play in managing and resolving conflict and their leadership qualities and accessibility to ordinary people (Logan 2013:353). The powers of traditional institutions are derived from the norms and values of their societies, and it's existence in Nigeria predates the coming of Europeans. The utility of traditional authorities in the promotion of peace and security cannot be overestimated. The traditional authorities are not only important in mobilization but are also

cherished and relied upon for the promotion of ethical values in the society. This is largely due to the legitimacy enjoyed by these authorities seen as the custodian of customs and traditions of the people (Edegoh Kenechukwu and Asemah 2013:65-66. Traditional authorities predates the coming of British colonialism in Nigeria and caters for the economic, social and political aspirations of their people which today have become part and parcel of our cultural heritage. (Aliyu, 2007:1). Traditional authorities have been notable right from the pre-colonial Nigeria in ensuring the security of their domains. They were conferred with legislative, executive and judicial powers, which they discharged diligently without dictatorial tendencies. The coming of the Europeans whittled down the powers of the traditional authorities. They were however subjected under the control of the colonial authority where the ultimate authority lies. With the attainment of independence, and consequent taking over by a new set of class of people (the educated and political class) who were to fast-track socio-economic and political development in the country, the status-quo also remained the state of affairs with regard to the status and powers of traditional authorities in Nigeria (Onuzurike, 2020:5). The status of traditional authorities as

administrators were replaced with advisers in their different communities (Olusola and Aisha 2013: 123). The newly emerged class saw the traditional authorities as a threat to their grip on power and therefore, clamped on the powers of traditional authorities. The hydra-headed nature of the security challenges that Nigerian polity have been confronted and entangled with is as a result of the neglect of traditional authorities in the general administration of their communities. On that note, this paper is poised to examine how assignment of constitutional role of community concern to Traditional authorities can help to engender peace and stability and address most of the security challenges facing Nigeria today. In achieving the aforementioned objective a number of researchquestions prove relevant. What were the roles performed by traditional authorities in the pre-colonial northern Nigeria? What are the remarkable differences in the roles played by the traditional authorities in the colonial period vis-a-vis pre-colonial era? How has the changes that took place within these epochs shaped the security situation of present day northern Nigeria? And do the traditional authorities have any role to play in the current security challenges bedeviling Northern Nigeria?.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PARADIGMS ON TRADITIONAL RULERS

Traditional Rulers have been very remarkable right from the pre-colonial times, and the recent security problems in Nigeria have seemed to further spur Nigerians into a greater appreciation of the role they play in securing lives and properties and ensuring peace and stability in various communities.

However, there have been increasing demand on the part of traditional rulers over the years for what they termed "constitution recognition". They felt that their exclusion had robbed the government of the needed touch with a vital segment of governance, the local communities.

The retention school of thought as one of the perspectives is championed by the holders of traditional rulership positions. traditionalist regard Africa's traditional chiefs and elders as the true representative of their people, accessible, respected, and legitimate, and therefore still essential to politics of the continent. This school argues for the need not only to retain the institution of indigenous reluership in government and administration but

also and more importantly for an upward revision of the role which the constituent plays in the political scheme of things, to a level comparable to what it was in the pre-colonial period. In spite of the given views which are against the retention of traditional institutions and their involvement in public affairs, many Nigerians still cherish the involvement of traditional institutions in National government in general and local government in particular. Those in this group are of the view that traditional rulers should occupy their position in the traditional setting without acquiring or wielding political power. They should rather strive to keep alive the rich cultures and traditions of their people, and maintain the perpetuation of the cherished relics of the people's past. They are of the opinion that traditional rulers should be encouraged in every aspect that enhances the retention of our cultural heritage. With respect to this school of thought, there is the perception of under utilization of the institution of indigenous rulership, especially in the years since independence was attained in 1960. More important for our own discussion, however, is that relevance is conceived by this school not as a product of that which is assigned by any human being or human organization. As one traditional ruler, Oba of Benin, Omo N Oba Uku Akpolokpolo Eredinwa puts it: The traditional ruler or king is not man-made, but that who answers to that position is God-anointed and therefore not to be brushed aside or relegated or disrespected (Omo N' Oba 1982).

The abolitionist constitutes the second dominant school of thought in the debate. The abolitionists vehemently deny any relevance for traditional chieftaincy institutions in government and administration in modern day Nigeria. Some cities are of the view that tradition institutions are feudalistic, anachronistic and therefore irrelevant to our current needs. There are some other people who think that at this period of serious efforts towards national integration, institutions of traditional rulership which encourage ethnic instead of national interest should be scrapped. Others still, sound a note of warning on the danger of allowing traditional rulers wield undue influence in governmental affairs, this argument seems to follow from the lesson of the past civilian regime which show that some traditional rulers in Nigeria, were politicians camouflaged in royal robes.

Adapting max Weber's threefold characterization of authority, the abolitionist argue essentially that the raison d' etre for indigenous institutions of rulership is traditional authority, whereas modern governmental systems are based on legal authority as well as democratic principle (Ekong, 1985).

The abolitionists contended that traditional authority structures are seemingly incompatible with the demands of democratic dispensations, and therefore irrelevant in the modern day society (Sambo, 1987). It is therefore not unexpected that the influence and relevance of traditional rulership has waned in the post-colonial African state, Blench et.al 2006). This post war perspective of traditional institutions drew heavily from max Webers analytical lens that contended that government agencies and civil society organization are best situated to administer the affairs of the people including security issues. They however maintained that the marginalization of African traditional institutions is a necessary pre-condition for socio-economic and political development of African states. (Vouhan 2010:3). To this view, traditional authority structures are characterized with gerontocracy and authoritarianism which is antithetical to democratic tenets and ethos; they cited the shedding down of the influence of traditional authorities in Britain as a consequence of the unimpressive performance of traditional institutions despite the fact that the country is deeply rooted in monarchical traditions. This antagonistic perspective believes that traditional institutions have been politicized and that the tendency for them to constitute parallel executive or legislative bodies is high.

The third perspective acknowledged the Achilles- heel of traditional institutions but insisted that such deficiencies are not enough justification for it to be sidelined and ignored in view of the vital role it plays as the custodian of our cultures. On that note, a mid-way arrangement became imperative to assign at least advisory role to traditional rulers as a way of stabilizing and re-integrating the institutions with their subjects. The third, though ambivalent potion in the debate is articulated by the accommodationists. This hybrid, middle-of- the-road position concurs with the position of the abolitionists with regard to the anachronistic nature of traditional chieftaincy institutions, but strongly argues for a befitting role for traditional rulers in the development scheme of things

(Sambo, 1987). The accommodationists' view is captured as a position of moderation which is neither here nor there.

The fact that traditional institutions are still being sustained by the government with public resources despite having no clearly define roles is cited by accommdationists as a justification for their position which they considered very apt. Logan (2008) findings show that traditional institutions are not incompatible with democracy- and vice versa. Interestingly, traditional rulers unarguably draw their sustenance and legitimacy from the same well as elected officials.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Survival and protection from the vagaries of nature, natural disasters and from the ill-intentions and misdeed of his fellow men has been mans primary and engaging concern Balogun (2004:1).

However, This paper has adopted the Hierarchy of needs theory and the Historical orientation as combined theoretical framework of analysis.

HIERARCHY OF NEEDS THEORY

Security is a basic human need absence of which may result to undesirable state of affairs or even death. Need in this context depicts an absolute pre-condition for survival. From the perspective of the American psychologist, Abraham Maslow (1948), Human needs are hierarchically structured, and human survival is dependent on the extent to which certain needs or necessities have been fulfilled. According to him, the most fundamental and physiological (biological) include food, shelter and clothing. Security, sense of experience of love, care, affection and belonging, self esteem, respect and self actualization or the realization of one's potential are other needs upon which survival depends.

Traditional heads have done creditably well as regards security of lives and properties in most African societies and Northern Nigeria in particular. This is as a result of the fact that their people see them as the symbol of the people's past, upholders and preservers of their security, culture and customs, custodians of their history, and epitome of cultural norms and values of the society such as responsibility, courage, discipline, truth, etc.They have a well organized chain of command and authority structure that made it possible for the village heads to know

all his subjects, and as a result, entry and exit were effectively monitored.

This created an enabling environment for unscrupulous entrants to be easily identified and dealt with accordingly. It also facilitates internal peace and security. Abraham Maslow (1948), in his hierarchy of needs theory sees security as one of the basic human needs, absence of which will lead to undesirable state of being/affairs in communities and societies. As a result, people look up to traditional authorities to play the role they are best situated to, which is security of lives and properties in their various communities.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

This study also adopted historical orientation as one of it's framework of analysis. The historical approach is the historian's orientation that believes that the best way to understand the present is to probe into what happened in the past. Pertinently, the sequence of past events is the point of emphasis. It is the contention of this approach that the present is one stage in a series that will continue into the future, and the specific features as well as the complexity of developments are carefully described and analyzed. This approach also relies heavily on trends and patterns. The distinguishing importance and utility of this approach is its tendency to give detailed local information about local communities in Nigeria. Descriptive historians have been able to challenge a good number of myths, blanket judgments and inappropriate generalizations by providing studies and information on socio-political and administrative systems in various communities in Nigeria before and during British colonial rule.

The Northern traditional administrative system proved most convenient for indirect rule system imposed by the British colonial administration and as a result, those areas have been subjected to a good number of studies most of which are descriptive and historical and also supports the indispensable role played by the traditional authorities with regard to security of lives and properties.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a comparative historical analysis to make causal inferences. Comparative historical research is not a new research endeavour and has been carried out in the social sciences. It is however pertinent to state that it received resurgence lately and it is also best conceived as an intellectual discourse aimed at explaining outcomes as a research methodology. Comparative historical analysis aims at explaining causal analysis, with emphasis on process over time and the use of systematic and contextualized comparaism (Mahoney, 2003:6). Comparative historical analysis is suitable for explaining the research at hand because traditional authorities in Nigeria have passed through different historical periods. The aim of this method is therefore providing a comprehensive explanation of outcomes given a specific case (Rohlfing 2012:16). The pre-colonial era in which they exercised autonomy over their domains; the colonial era in which they were subjected to imperial rule of colonial masters; the post-colonial era in which new forms of authority emerged represents different epochs. Understanding of each epoch with attendant changes that draw comparisons succinctly explains how that directly affects the current security challenges facing Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria in particular. Comparative historical analysis employs electic approach- it allows the combination of different tools in addressing any given research problem. This method is useful in analyzing historical sequences of traditional authorities and how it unfolds overtime. Comparison can be drawn from the similarities and dissimilarities to make causal inferences. This study also uses qualitative research approach and applied chronological, thematic method of data analysis. The work uses both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include Archival materials, royal documents and interviews. The secondary sources of data include published and unpublished works such as project works, textbooks and pamphlets, Internet materials were also used and the technique of content analysis was instrumental to analyzing these sources.

The comparative historical analysis approach is however limited due to it's over reliance on secondary data and its selective use of data.

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND THE PRE-COLONIAL NORTHERN NIGERIA

The 1804 Jihad has been widely acknowledged for the landmark changes it effected in the political institutions of Northern Nigeria. It instituted centralized uniform emirate system of government that integrated all the distinct Hausa

kingdoms within one single authority. It was centally co-ordinated from Sokoto with Amir-al-mu'minin also referred to as "commander of the faithful" residing and ruling over the emirate through the caliphate. At lower levels, traditional rulers were appointed and placed under the supervision of Emirs. The Fulani flagbearers dominated the list of those who were appointed by the jihadists to become Emirs. This they did by conquering the Hausa kingdoms. All Emirs are answerable to the leadership of Sokoto caliphate who must consider them to be able to emerge as Emirs in the first place and who also had absolute discretion to depose any Emir at will. Ascribed Status rather than achievement became the fundamental basis of the caliphate system. It is however pertinent to note that while the beginning of the caliphate system started out through achieved feat in Jihad's success, the death of Sheikh Usmanu Danfodiyo which saw Sultan Muhammadu Bello as his successor instituted ascribed system from 1817. The Caliph assisted by the Emir of Gwandu Meddled with issues such as appointment and dismissal of Emirs and Settlement of inter-emirate disputes within the caliphate. The caliphate saw to the day-to-day administration, including overall defence of the whole caliphate and establishment and maintenance of foreign relations with other states. In spite of these overwhelming powers exercised by the caliph, a hierarchy of titled officials assisted him in performing those functions. The ruling royal family-Waziri performs executive and ceremonial functions like making recommendations to the caliph on appointment into high offices, coordination of councilors meetings on security, defence and other issues .Otherofficials that aided the Caliph in discharging his duties at various levels of administration include:

The Magajin Gari– Minister for Zamfara and Katagum.

The Magajin Rafi-Ministry of Bauchi

The Galadima Gari -Administrator of Caliphate

The Madawaki –Calvary commander.

Each of them had specific functions assigned to perform by the caliphate. A systematic social justice system geared towards wiping out deviant criminal acts was in place and military forces were also set up in each station of the caliphate.

According to Aliyu (2007:3), the indispensable role played by traditional rulers in security matters in the northern Nigeria cannot be over emphasized. The fact that they were seen as divine kings and personification of various communities under them was instrumental to the achievement of that feat. In agreement with Aliyu, Professor Tekena Temuno in his crime and security in pre-colonial Nigeria opined that though traditional authority structure in the pre-colonial northern Nigerian were highly undemocratic, it was nonetheless very effective in addressing the security and other challenges of the people.

The following roles were assigned to the Emirs despatched to various parts of Northern Nigeria by Usman Dan Fodio:-

- Organization, posting and fixing the grants of troops

- maintenance of justice through appointing judges and other state officials

- Collection of sadaqat and Haraji and

- The defence of the state, protection of lands and protection of their religion against change or innovation (Aligu, 2007).

The native authority system can be categorized into two namely; administration/finance and security. The administration and finance can further be sub-divided into four viz; the District Head, the village head, the ward head and the family Head. This arrangement was effective for collection of tax, as well as security reporting system. For instance the family Head is expected to report to the Ward Head the arrival of a visitor to his house. The details of such report must encompass the full bio-data of the visitors such as the name, Town, occupation, parentage and the reason for undertaking the journey. Same will be transmitted to the village and District heads respectively.

The security department also comprised of the following; The Emirs personal Body Guards (Dogarai), The Native Authority police and the prisons.The head of these units comprises of the Emirs trusted loyalists, but the Headship of the police force is always bestowed unto a prince. In other words, every eligible prince controls the police force in preparatory for ascending the throne when the Emir is no more. Intellectual families with sound knowledge of Sharia law-(The Alkali) controls the court, which is an arm of the security system. Emirs council became

the highest court of appeal in the legal system to be advised by the Waziri and Wali.

THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND ADMINISTRATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE NORTHERN NIGERIAN; THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE.

In 1903, there was a shift in power control from the Fulani ruling class to the British colonial administrators as a results of the Subjugation of Nigeria by the British Imperialists.

According to Lord Fedrick Lugard (1903), By virtue of Danfodio's conquest of the Northern Nigeria, the Fulani's had discerned upon themselves the right to rule over it, levy taxes, create kings and depose kings. By the same token, the Fulani's have now been conquered and all the right to rulership hitherto enjoyed have now been transferred to the British through the high commissioner. The title Caliph Amir al-muminin was replaced with Sultan of Sokoto and the name of the Caliphate changed to Sultanate. In his letter, Lugard claimed; I have found it necessary to depose both these emirs and to replace troops near their respective cities to keep peace and protect the people. This was how the pattern of authority changed with Lugard at the top of the hierarchy as the (Governor-General, assisted by the Resident the Assistant Resident, with the Sultan of Sokoto nothing but a titular head. In specific terms, all the emirs were answerable to the resident through his assistant who superintended the affairs of the emirates including, but is not limited to maintenance of law and order and exchange of government policies. The implication is that the emirs ceases to have any specific or functional power or authority of any kind. Infact, absolute loyalty to the British was a sine-qua-non for retention of office by the emirs. It is however pertinent to point out that the Governor-General acted on behalf of his majesty, the Queen/king of England. The traditional authority system rather than serve the ideal purpose of being the custodian and upholder of the values of the Caliphate, became an instrument geared towards serving the whims and caprices of the colonial administration in the northern Nigeria. Analysis of indirect rule system affirms that there was no desire on the part of the British colonial government to impose on the people any theoretically suitable form of government but rather to evolve from their own institutions based on their habits of thought prejudices and customs the best form of rules best suited to them, and is tailored towards advancing exploitative interests of the colonial administrators.

The subordination of traditional rulers to the British officers succeeded in eroding the powers of traditional rulers but nevertheless, the colonial administrators still relied so heavily on them for the maintenance of internal peace and security.

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE POST-COLONIAL NORTHERN NIGERIA.

In view of the indispensable role played by the traditional authorities in the past, one would have expected a reverse from the status-quo but surprisingly, there were no significant changes with regard to the role and status of traditional institutions in the post-colonial Northern Nigeria. This is because they were still confined to their ceremonial house of chiefs. Some traditional rulers were given chancellor of universities, while others only exists as transmission channels between the government and the people at the grassroots. The taking over of the military and the successive local government reforms particularly that of the 1976 have also not helped matters with regard to the status and roles of traditional authorities in Nigeria. Furthermore, with the institutionalization of democratic dispensation in Nigeria, traditional rulers were used by politicians to mobilize votes and conquer oppositions where necessary. They were also used as tax collectors in their various districts. The instruments of coercion like the police, court and prisons were removed from it's control. The detachment of traditional rulers from local government council emirates marked the end of formal role for traditional rulers in politics and administration of criminal justice system in Nigeria including security. In real terms, the political elites that emerged in the post-colonial Nigeria (both civil and military) saw traditional rulers as subordinates instead of allies in Nigeria's quest to maintain peace and security of lives and properties. That is why traditional rulers are merely expected to give advice to the local or state government with regard to the customary affairs of their own societies, which may either be vetoed or considered by the chairman or governor respectively. There is also observable unequal collaboration between traditional rulers and law enforcement agencies in the maintenance of

peace and stability within their own territories. It is pertinent to note that the unequal nature of this collaboration makes the outcome of the collaboration counterproductive

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND COMMUNITY POLICING; THE ANTIDOTE FOR INEFFECTIVE SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA.

With the astronomical increase in the spate of insecurity in Nigeria and Northern region in particular, there has been widespread contention among scholars and practitioners that until traditional institutions are fully integrated into the security architecture of Nigeria, the outcome of governments efforts in that direction will continue to be unimpressive. The prominent role played by the traditional institutions especially in the pre-colonial era was cited by those who claimed that the traditional rulers are better positioned to address the security challenges confronting Nigeria than the conventional law enforcement agencies. Their analytical lens did not rule out the place of law enforcement agencies but however recommended a genuine collaboration between the two institutions especially at the grassroots level. In agreement with this view, a former inspector General of police (IGP Solomon Arase), who was also known as a champion of community policing said that Nigeria has not gotten a proper policy for national internal security since independence. He referred to identifying, reinforcing and accepting community policing as an internal security model in the fight against crime and maintenance of law and order. Mr. Arase made this known at a conference on policing the federation, tagged "towards integrating community policing in Nigeria's security architecture; models, policy options and strategies" organized by the National institute for policy and strategic studies (NIPSS). In another report with the "Nation" newspaper, Arase argued that the rock upon which policing and internal security management rests is community policing. He further stated that such a community policing policy should be streamlined to have distinct principles of policing and pathways geared towards strengthening public trust and partnership between the police and the citizens. He also blamed the model of policing inherited from the colonial masters as being responsible for the ineffectiveness of the security system because of its inherent mutual distrust between the police and the citizens, and strongly recommended Psychological re-orientation of police officers and other law enforcement agents. The former IGP concluded by positing that public consent and trust is the source of police legitimacy, and that lack of co-operative and supportive partnership between the people represented by traditional rulers and the police will continue to produce unimpressive results inform of ineffective policing and insecurity among citizens. In an attempt to reaffirm the efficacy of the interventionist policies of some traditional rulers in the recent past, a renowned historian Dr. Bala Usman (1987) unequivocally stated that traditional rulers have always been called upon as an instrumentality for neutralizing crisis when they arose in their various communities which they did creditably well. He however lamented that the fire brigade approach adopted by the government as regards the involvement of traditional rulers makes a mess of governments efforts to achieve peace and security of lives and properties. Another important issue which he raised is the fact that the surest way to win the hearts and minds of the people on major issues is through the traditional rulers.

The deputy president of the Nigerian senate, senator Ike Ekweremadu in a live broadcast with 92.5 Enugu's Dream Fm on the program "political voices" had this to say on the 12th of January 2019;

I have been an advocate of what I call a decentralized policing, some call it state policing. As long as we have not been able to effectively address the issue of security infrastructure and architecture of our country, we will continue to have problems. A situation where you have a federal system of government, and then we are running a unitary type of policing, we are going to continue to have problems with our security situation, and that is what is happening in Nigeria. There is no place in the world that is doing the type of thing we are doing here. No federation in the world is doing the kind of thing we are doing here. Every federal system runs a federal type of policing. That means that in addition to the police at the national level, there are other levels of policing. You must have police at the state and sometimes at the local level by established local government. Institutions will have their own police including universities. The implication therefore is that if Enugu state for instance has security challenges, they have to put more

money in the security architecture by hiring more police men who are now residing within the state. So if for instance you are a policeman in Uwani, and you live in Edozie street, you are going to work there for the rest of your life. So you are going to know every stranger that comes into Edozie Street.with that, you will be able to monitor movement of people. Some people will say that it is going to be abused, but the question we should ask is if the current system is not being abused? What we need to do is to put a mechanism in place to checkmate its abuse. And remember as I said, other countries that runs a federal system runs a decentralized type of policing eg Brazil. Canada, Australia.

What we need to do is to establish a Police service commission to regulate the conduct of policemen at various states so if you abuse it they come after you like Nigerian Judicial Council (NJC) in the case of the judiciary. despite the fact that judges are appointed at State level, nobody has complained that the Governor is using the judges to harass them. The situations where you are an Igbo man and you are posted as an officer to Sokoto, you don't even understand the language, customs and traditions……There is the likelihood that you will not function well. The federal government can take a chunk of the policemen to the states that may be unable to finance it, but it cannot be as secure as others. Prior to 1966, we had this type of thing-(regional police, native authority police with their own prisons). It was abused at some point because they did not put in place measures that could checkmate the chief executive of various regions. So when the military came, instead of looking for a solution to those abuse, they simply abolished regional police. Ironsi came and set up a committee to look at the abuse, but by the time they submitted their report, he has been removed. So Gowon came and the report was submitted to him, they met and then scrapped it and that was how armed robbery started, kidnapping, terrorism, etc.

While addressing members of the Kaduna State Traditional Rulers' council during their courtesy visit in his office, Governor Nasir El-Rufai maintained that traditional institutions are indispensable in the welfare and security administration of Nigeria, but blamed the usurpation of the roles of traditional rulers on the 1976 local government reform which transferred those roles to the local government authorities. He further pinpointed failure to assign constitutional responsibilities to the traditional authorities as begin responsible for the seemingly uncontrollable level of crime and insecurity in the region, and Nigeria in general. He finally noted that efforts of his administration are already in top gear to establish a security committee that will include traditional rulers and other critical stakeholders saddled with the responsibility of working out specific roles for traditional rulers towards the maintenance of peace and security in the state (Daily Trust, 2016).

Traditional Authority Structures cannot be said to be antithetical to democratic dispensation, neither is it's tenet incongruent with the tenets of democracy. Indeed, the decentralization of Nigerian governmental structures into local governments would not have solved the problem of physical and psychological alienation suffered by the rural dwellers if not for the indispensable roles played by traditional rulers and other traditional institutions. It is therefore imperative to assign constitutional roles to traditional rulers with regard to the security administration of Nigeria in view of how such endeavour has yielded desirable results in the past. The largely heterogenous nature of Nigerian communities has further mobilized support for traditional rulers as critical stakeholders in the security of lives and properties especially in the Northern region. It is however believed that the involvement of traditional rulers in taking critical security decisions would go a long way in addressing most of the security challenged facing Nigeria in general and northern Nigeria in particular.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, it is deducible that the utility of traditional authorities in combating crimes, and ensuring peace and stability in the Northern Nigeria, and Nigeria in general cannot be overemphasized. This is of course in view of how such responsibilities have been undertaken by the traditional authorities prior to the coming if the Whiteman. Changes in the role of traditional authorities occasioned by colonialism marked a turning point in the history of security administration in Nigeria, and such changes were inimical and antithetical to the norms, values and customs of the people of Nigeria. In other words, traditional authorities became mere appendages of the colonial regime, whose advise on security matters are subject to the consideration of the British colonialist. The attainment of independence in 1960 did not bring about desirable significant changes in the

status-quo. This is because the educated and political Nigerian elites who found themselves at the helm of affairs, saw themselves as indigenous colonial masters, and that of traditional rulers as competitors instead of collaborators in the Nigerian project.

Vaughan puts forward the following argument:

That given the fragile, contingent character of colonial and post-colonial institutions, the Nigerian state has hardly functioned as an effective structure of governance and administration. The ethno regional classes that have dominated Nigerian politics since decolonization have not devised a viable mechanism of governance which effectively integrate antecedent institutions into modern state structures (Vaughan, 2000:213).

Statistically, over 70 percent of Nigerians live in rural communities. This paper therefore recommends that for an affective national security to be achieved in northern Nigeria, the traditional authorities needs to be fully integrated in the administration of their communities. Assigned functions should also be given to traditional authorities in the area of intelligence gathering, registration of residents and tenants, and other matters that may contribute to general security of the region, and country in general. This is borne out of the fact that the traditional authorities have better grasp of their environment and surrounding communities which most of the Nigerian security forces might not necessarily have.

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