

Kidnapping and Hostage taking: an emerging Issues of Insecurity in Kastina State

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ABSTRACT

The Governor Masari of Kastina State has cited the high level of insecurity in his state as very worrisome on 2nd January, 2019 at one of the extraordinary security meeting in Katsina which was organized to find a lasting solution to the resurgence of insecurity in the state, said: “all most every day by day we received reports from security agencies about threat of kidnapping, armed robbery and banditry. “No one, not even I, is safe. So, this is the situation and that is why we are here to find a way out, which is a must. There is no option because we are thinking of the survival of our people and state. “It is now a daily occurrence as no day passes without a case recorded. It is not even rustling of cows but now kidnapping of people. “Our state is currently under serious siege by armed robbers, kidnappers and armed bandits who arrest rural people at the grassroots at will and demand ransom, which if not paid, they kill their victims. “The Permanent Secretary was just informing me that his close relative was kidnapped and a ransom of N5 million was demanded and the person who took the money to them was shot. “Some people visited me, and as they left, they were trailed and robbed of their belongings. The armed robbers could not go away with the vehicle because it has security lock on it. “In the past, they carried out their activities in the middle of the night, but now, they operate at midnight, 10pm and gradually in broad day light. “It is not up to a month, right here in front of Government House, five electricity poles were carted away. It is getting out of hand that we should not fold our arms. Let’s return to God, let’s pray to Him to salvage the situation. So we must reach a lasting solution at this meeting to curtail this ugly trend. “The citizens are on daily basis being harassed by bandits and kidnappers that are on rampage in the state. Based on the above statement of Governor Masari of Katsina State, this paper has the general objective of finding out the major causes of these emerging issues of insecurity in Kastina State from 2017-2019 and finding a lasting solution to the problem, the paper has uses secondary source of data to generate relevant information and analyses the problem. The paper has highlighted the nature of insecurity problems in Katsina curb around kidnapping, armed robbery and banditry in all most 34 local government areas in state which was happening at any giving time of the day or night good peoples of Katsina are in serious confusion because the situation is moving out of control of current security operatives in the state. The paper has of the view that security mechanism need to be improved by demonstrating serious effort and commitment from government at level and the local communities.

Key words: : Kidnapping–Banditry–Hostage Taking–Army Robbery

1 INTRODUCTION

Katsina State has been facing insecurity problem which has affected the socio-economic development of the affected

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LGAs and the State in general. The insecurity phenomenon of banditry cattle rustling and kidnapping are occurring mainly in the eight frontline LGAs of the state (Ladan, 2019). Governor Aminu Masari has come to power in May 2015 and has adopted measures that brought peace and security in the State with the Amnesty Program/Peace Deal with the bandits. However, the insecurity re-surfaced again with a more dangerous pattern that involved kidnapping of people for ransom and ruthless attacks on rural communities that forces most of them to flee for safety to their local government headquarters and even to the State capital. The persistence of the insecurity evident by the continued killing of innocent citizens has sparked protests in some LGAs which has further increased the level of insecurity in the State. This paper argued that the persistence of the attacks, the rate of kidnappings plus the new wave of protests has raised the level of insecurity in the State to high level (Ladan, 2019)

Security is the state or condition of being free from danger or threat in the daily activities of human beings (Imam, 2014). Security represents a situation when an individual, group or community can move freely to carry out their daily activities without fear of danger, injury to the body or destruction of properties. Ensuring the security of lives and properties is the primary responsibility of the Government. It is because of this that Governments have establish several security forces to ensure and maintain security within a country and even to respond to external aggressions and threats. Insecurity is lack of security or a situation of uncertainty when a person, group or community is at the stage of been subject to or exposed to danger at a given location. Insecurity can also be defined as a situation when someone is not adequately guarded, protected or defended by the authorities that are suppose to provide security (Webster, 2019). Insecurity in which ever country it is experienced, constitutes serious threats to lives and properties, hinders business activities and discourage domestic and foreign investors, all of which retard a country's socio-economic development (Ewetan, 2014).

In Africa, there have been several incidences of terrorism in various forms or another. For instance, the August 1998 bombings of the Embassy of the United States in Kenya and Tanzania which killed hundreds; the October 2002 Soweto bombings by the White Supremacist Boermag Organization in South Africa and the October 2004 bomb blast at Egyptian tourist resorts that killed 28 people, to mention but a few (Lumina 2008: 11). Nigeria today is under serious threats of domestic terrorism emanating from the restive youths of the Niger-Delta and the recurrent attacks on the state by the Boko Haram Insurgents (Oloo 2009). The youths resorted to the disruption of oil production, pipeline vandalism, hostage-taking, kidnaping, assault and bombing of oil installations to fight for the perceived injustice in the distribution of the oil wealth (Ogundiya 2009). Boko Haram on the other hand have created for themselves a multivariate image by the incessant bombings with the impunity and horrific portrayal of people burnt to ashes, maimed and properties wantonly destroyed with the recent

kidnapping of 234 girls from a secondary school in the country (Blanchard 2014:5; Ogege 2013:82).

2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Katsina State is one of the States in the North West that is presently affected by banditry, cattle rustling and kidnapping which started from July 2018 to date. This affects mainly the eight frontline Local Government Areas (LGAs) namely Jibia, Batsari, Safana, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari, Dandume and Sabua (Ladan, 2019). The situation become so bad that in January 2019, the Governor of Katsina State lamented that "Katsina State is under serious siege by bandits and kidnapers, even me as a Governor am not safe" (Aminu, 2019). It is based on this background that the paper is aimed at examining the factors responsible for the level of insecurity with a view to offering recommendation that can be adopted to curtail the level of insecurity in the State.

In Nigeria, it was observed that the level of insecurity has increased since the return to democratic governance in May, 1999. These insecurities are caused by communal clashes, ethnic/tribal conflicts, religious riots/conflicts, militancy and ritual killings, cultism and ethnic militia attacks and the farmers-herdsmen conflicts (Akinola, 2016). These further increased with the arrival of the Boko Haram insurgency in the North east from 2009 to date. The level of insecurity further increased with the changing of the farmer-herdsmen clashes into banditry and cattle rustling between 2010-2015. In some states of the North, this form of insecurity further changed to not only banditry, cattle rustling but to also include kidnapping of people for ransom.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The documentary research method will be used in gathering and analyzing data for this work. Review of relevant textbooks, newspapers, internet and all relevant publications and journals on domestic terrorism and national security are used in this work. Therefore, the method of data analysis is explanatory in nature.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is that the findings of this research would contribute to policy input for members of the Security Council at the Federal, State and Local Government levels. Secondly, the findings would be useful to the various security agencies such as the Nigerian Police, State Security Services and their operatives who are directly charged with the onerous task of maintenance of law and order as well as members of the armed forces. This research will also be useful to members of the media especially defence and security correspondents who report issues related to national security. Finally it would contribute to the existing body of knowledge on domestic terrorism and hostage-taking as well as provoke further research interest on the subject matter.

Scope of the Study

This study covers the period of 2017-2019. This period is chosen because of the upsurge and intensity of hostage-taking and kidnapping within the period in Katsina State and the urgent need for a long lasting solution. This study covers domestic terrorism with particular reference to hostage-taking and kidnapping in Nigeria in relation to national security. The relationship between domestic terrorism and national security, the impact of hostage taking and kidnapping on national security and the challenges will also be discussed.

4 CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

Domestic Terrorism

A seminar in Ghana on combating terrorism titled 'Understand Terrorism in Africa' from the 5th to the 6th of November 2009 came up with a definition of domestic terrorism as:

'A terrorist act usually conducted by local groups within the state for the purpose of overthrowing a government or achieving local political advantage' (Okumu, 2009).

This definition did not address the economic, social and cultural values that could also give rise to domestic terrorism. It also failed to reflect violence, coercion and fear. It is therefore not apt for this study. Domestic terrorism, as conceptualized by Akanji (2009) is:

'The act of terror committed within the boundaries of a sovereign state against civilians, the government and public and private properties in a bid to coerce or intimidate the government of people of that state' (Akanji 2009).

However, Akanji's conceptualization did not identify what constitutes a terrorist act and the terrorist. The definition focused only on acts targeted against individuals or state. It is therefore not a suitable definition for this study. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines domestic terrorism as:

'Acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of any state; which appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by mass destruction assassination or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the state in question' (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009).

Synthesizing from the foregoing conceptualizations, domestic terrorism, for the purpose of this study, can be defined as terrorist acts of groups and individuals who are based and operate entirely within a country and its territories without foreign direction. It is the unlawful use of force or violence to intimidate or coerce the civilian population or government to further political, social or economic objectives through acts of kidnapping, hostage-taking and other crimes. Human lives and property are always threatened in the process. It is therefore pertinent to define hostage-taking and kidnapping which is the main focus of this research.

Hostage-Taking and Kidnapping

Hostage-taking is 'the seizure or capture of a person depriving him or her of liberty as a guarantee that certain

actions or promises will not be carried out' (Encyclopedia Free Dictionary 2009). It is the act of holding somebody as a prisoner by a person or persons such as criminal or terrorist organizations, until specific demands are met or money handed over. Hostage-taking today is an act of terrorism and a very serious crime (Asokan, 2009). It is a new trend of domestic terrorism in Nigeria used by the perpetrators or criminals to force relatives of any one held hostage to pay a ransom fee (Attoh 2012:214). It is also used to 'compel multi-national companies and governments to take certain actions or refrained from some. The criminal activity involved in hostage-taking is kidnapping (Microsoft Encarta 2009). On the other hand, kidnapping is the act of taking a person against his/her will from one place to another under circumstances in which the person so taken does not have freedom of movement, will, or decision through violence, force, threat or intimidation (Free Dictionary, 2009). Kidnapping is an act of domestic terrorism now in vogue in Nigeria. Kidnappers' use it for ransom or reward purposes and views it as economically viable hence, the upsurge in Nigeria. Both definitions border on limiting the liberty and freedom of persons kidnapped and kept hostage for the purposes of ransom or reward. For the purpose of this study therefore, both terms; hostage-taking and kidnapping will be used interchangeably in the process of writing this dissertation.

National Security

Samaddar (2005:48) defines national security as:

'a physical situation and a psychological condition where citizens have full freedom and opportunity to develop their potentials in their designed fashion; and, in the most fruitful manner without resistance' (2005:48)

This definition excludes the economic development and the political role of the government towards ensuring national security. Uneven or poor economic growth and development may stimulate internal dissent which is a threat to national security hence, an invitation to political instability and internal security. This definition is not apt and therefore not accepted for this study. According to McNamara (2005:43), national security is:

'Part of the government policy which aims at generating favourable national and international strategic environment for the protection, promotion and proliferation of national values against existing or potential threats' (2005:43).

McNamara sees development as an important aspect of national security; hence, he states that in modernizing society:

"Security means development". Security is not military hardware though it may include it. Security is not military force though it involves it. Security is not military activity though it may encompass it. Security is development and without development there can be no security" (McNamara 2005: 48).

This definition talks of security based on national values, development and the military. Other elements of national security like human development, food security environment, to mention a few, are excluded. This definition is therefore not suitable for this study. Lippman (2009) defines national security to mean:

“When a nation is secure to the extent that it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war (Lippman 2009)

Lippman’s definition is limited to preparedness of the military to defend the nation’s values when challenged internally or externally. This definition is also not suitable for this study. On a more suitable note, Obasanjo (2009) defines national security as the:

“Aggregation of the security interests of the individuals, political entities, human associations and ethnic groups, which make up the nation. The security interest includes safety of life and property, economic, psychological and mental well-being and the freedom to pursue the attainment of legitimate objectives without hindrance” (Obasanjo 2009).

Obasanjo’s definition is comprehensive as it touches every aspect of human endeavour and the society and hence will be adopted as the definition for this study.

Domestic terrorism aims at creating disaffection among institutions in the state while national security stands as the only instrument in the possession of the government and state to thwart any threat to its existence and threats to humanity within its entity. The main purpose of national security is to counter both the internal (domestic) and external (international) behaviours that might threaten the survival of the state and its citizenry.

Oyeniyi, (2009:12) in his work on the ‘Historical Overview of Domestic Terrorism in Nigeria’ opined that:

“Domestic terrorism has an uneven growth in Nigeria it manifests in civil government situation as well as in inter-relationships between the different ethnic nationalities making up present Nigeria in form of ethnic or ethno-religious crisis with negative consequences on the national security of Nigeria” (2009:12).

Theoretical Assumptions of Domestic Terrorism and National Security

Acts of terrorism are manifestations of unresolved conflicts and inability of the government to overcome the challenges are reflections that the root causes of the conflicts are not identified and therefore the correct mechanism could not be adopted to manage or resolve it. Scholars such as Cunningham (2003), Adekanye (2007), and Obi (2009) have propounded several theoretical models to explain the prevalence of domestic terrorism but for the purpose of this study, a combination of frustration-aggression, cognitive dissonance and asset to liability theories are adopted.

The frustration-aggression theory is associated with works of John Dollard et al (1939) the core assumption of which is that “aggression is always a consequence of frustration” (1939:1). The authors argued that individuals are motivated to achieve life ambitions and fulfil destiny, but when these expectations are thwarted, frustration sets in. In their line of thought, the occurrence of aggressive behaviour presupposes “the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression” (Dollard et al 1939:1). It is pertinent to note here that the existence of frustration does not always lead to aggression, given that frustration may

have other consequences other than aggression. However, this argument may have failed to differentiate between instigation to aggression and the real incidence of aggression, but this study acknowledges that frustration generates inquiries to various types of consequences, which may include instigation to certain kinds of aggression (Berkowitz 1989). Aggression may develop as a consequence of having been exposed to an extremely frustrating condition sufficient to provoke the experience of hopelessness (Amaraegbu, 2011: 212). On this theory, the New Partnership for Africa’s development (NEPAD) pointed out eloquently that:

“Nigeria presents a remarkable paradox of an enormously wealthy country both in potential and real terms, serving as home to the third largest concentration of poor people in the world. The country, although with the substantial revenue it makes from its oil wells annually has failed to provide the basic services for its people” (NEPAD 2008:33).

Adekanye (2007) provided three set of factors that largely explain the processes that metamorphoses into conflict situations that can as well lead to domestic terrorism and these are the structural background conditions, precipitating and triggers factors. Festinger (1951) developed a theory about communication’s social influences, referred to as cognitive dissonance which is one of the most important psychological concepts that shed light on terrorist behaviour. Cunningham (2003) observes that:

“Men prefer a situation of stability in respect of values, behaviour and their environmental conditions. When people experience a difference between what they perceive and what they desire (cognitive dissonance), they seek to reduce this dissonance by reducing this gap through actions filtering information or altering perceptions” (Cunningham 2003)

Cognitive dissonance is therefore experienced whenever there is a discrepancy between preferred value and actual value states. Such a situation has the tendency to produce hatred, anxiety, fear and the desire to hurt or eliminate the source. The discrepancies could manifest within economic, social, cultural, political and religious spheres as these issues form the micro level of analysis that could be regarded as the structural background conditions operating at the individual level (Alao, Alao and Atere 2012:3). It needs to be acknowledged that not in all instances of cognitive dissonance or everybody that experiences it as well as deprived individuals or groups may choose to commit terrorist acts. Some people may suffer in silence and adopt constitutional means to address their grievances. Galtung (1969) in addition to the theories hypothesize the presence of significant socio-economic indicators that can serve as breeding grounds for terrorists, but they do not answer the question of why some people or groups in the same structurally disadvantaged situations choose terrorism and others do not. Hence, the Boko Haram insurgency and other groups within the Niger-Delta could therefore be located largely in the real or perceived discrepancy between the preferred way of life and the actual state of living that influences the dissonance.

On the asset to liability theory Cunningham (2003) sees this theory as one that serves as a root of “terrorist strategy”. The theory assumes that governments view states and

local government areas within its jurisdiction as assets that much be defended against internal or external aggression. It goes further to state that acts of domestic terrorism will cost the government valuable lives and money in defending these assets against sustained terrorist campaigns, for instance, Boko Haram. The theory assumes that after the government suffers significant losses, the asset will become instead, a liability and the government will decide to forfeit the asset and cut their losses, hence, the goal of the government of the terrorist in this instance is to destabilize the country and make it 'ungovernable' as this could lead to a situation of breakup of the country. This is built on the assumption that the anti-terrorist campaigns set up by the government will become oppressive in order to combat domestic terrorism which will expose the weakness of the government and will in turn make the members of the public withdraw from supporting the decisions of the government and develop sympathy for this domestic terrorist groups. Though this theory has been criticized time and time again, it reflects significantly the philosophy behind domestic terrorist groups and to a large extent serves as the reason governments have been unable to overcome the challenges of domestic terrorism.

Factors responsible for insecurity in Katsina State

Based on reviewing various literatures on the affected insecurity issues in Katsina State the paper has a view that the incessant attacks by bandits on the frontline LGAs, the risk of kidnapping even in the State capital and LGAs not bordering the Rugu forest plus other criminal activities and protests that threatens the security of the State. The confession of the Governor that the State is under siege by kidnapers and bandits goes to show the level at which the security of lives and properties have deteriorated in Katsina State. It is based on this that the paper highlights the factors responsible for insecurity in the State. The factors responsible for insecurity are highlighted below:

Collapse of the amnesty program and peace deal

On May 2015, with the coming to power of the governments of All Progressive Congress (APC) at both the Federal and State levels, concerted efforts were made to end banditry and cattle rustling that were inherited from the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) governments. In line with this the Federal Government Policy launched the Nigerian Army Operation Sharan Daji (sweeping the Forest) that carried out ground offensives against bases/hideouts of the bandits. This leads to a reduction of banditry and cattle rustling in the States like Zamfara, Kaduna and Sokoto.

In January 2016, the State Government organized an amnesty program/peace deal at Kankara, Kankara LGA where the bandits under the leadership of Buharin Daji and other leaders led their members to lay down and handed over their weapons to embrace peace. However, by July 2018 the banditry and cattle rustling re-surfaced again with even a new kind of criminal activity that involve abducting people and holding them captive till large sums of money are paid to secure their release. According to the Governor Aminu Masari of Katsina State, the Amnesty Program/Peace deal collapsed due to the death of the leaders

that organized the peace deal. And there was a spillover of bandit's activities from the neighboring States of Zamfara and Kaduna States that shared common forests with Katsina State as once the bandits were under fire in one State they move over to another State.

Desire to acquire wealth

Some people in Katsina State have an insatiable desire to acquire wealth at all cost even if it means committing heinous crimes. The Fulani bandits in the State fall into this category as they steal the cattle of other people in a bid to acquire wealth or to be seen to be wealthy. Based on the Fulani tradition, a person is considered wealthy and influential when he owns large herds of cattle. In the last few decades, some of the Fulani people have lost cattle through conflicts and court or police cases between themselves and other people over land, grazing routes and even women so they have the desire to own cattle be wealthy once again (IRIN, 2013). According to Okoli and Okpaleke, (2014) cattle rustling that occurs in some LGAs of Katsina State is motivated by quest for capital acquisition.

High levels of poverty

There is a high level of poverty in Katsina State which is responsible for the insecurity situation. A study by Kabiru and Arshad, (2018) indicated the prevalence of abject poverty in the rural areas of Katsina state. It is this abject poverty that made some people to work as informants or logistic suppliers to the bandits operating from the Rugu forest. According to Zakariya'u (2019) the rate of kidnapping is alarming in the north including Katsina State because of high rate of poverty. The more the poverty, the more the rate of crime will increase in both rural areas and urban centers. From the years 2010 to date the rustling of cattle particularly in the eight frontline LGAs has deepened the vicious cycle of poverty in rural areas of Katsina State (Abdulrashid et al., 2018). Presently there are fears that the levels of poverty will increase as most farmers in the frontline LGAs and elsewhere are kept away from their farmlands due to bandit attacks.

High levels of illiteracy

The level of illiteracy is high in the state as many children and youths do not go to school or have not been able to continue their studies due to poverty. Data on literacy index published by National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) revealed that Katsina State is among the States where majority of the people can neither read nor write (Amzat, 2017). It is mostly the illiterate youths that are lured to work for the bandits and even the bandits themselves lack the basic education that will enable them to distinguish between what is right and wrong. Illiteracy among the youths also does not allow them to weight the risk of engaging in criminal activities that threatens the peace and security of the State.

High rates of unemployment

There is high rate of unemployment in Katsina State due to lack of large number of industries to employ the teeming youths and others. The Katsina State government remains the largest employer in the State and even the government has failed to adequately replace staffers that have retired or died. One of the industries that employ large number

of workers was the Katsina Steel Rolling Company (Dana Steel PLC) which has been privatized leading to the sacking of many workers of the company. A study by Ladan and Ladan, (2011) has shown that from the 1980s to date a number of industries in Katsina, Dutsinma, Kankara and Funtua have stopped functioning as a result of some problems. The rates of unemployment may further increase as farming activities are presently threatened by banditry and kidnapping.

High rates of drug abuse

There is high rate of drug abuse in the North West geopolitical zone where Katsina state is located. Many youths in the State engaged in the abuse of drugs which affect their health and push them to commit crimes which bring insecurity. According to a national survey Katsina State ranked second after Kano State in terms of drug abuse nationwide with 2,173 cases of arrest by National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) (Gambo 2017 in Mu'azu, 2018). Even the bandits that engage in banditry and kidnapping take drugs, in fact one of victims kidnapped in May 2019, in Kurfi LGA revealed that he was able to escape when the bandits became intoxicated after taking drugs. Also one person was arrested at Chabas-chabas in Jibia LGA with drugs in sacks that are meant to be supplied to the bandits based in Gurbin Baure Forest.

Porous borders

Katsina State has an international boundary to the north, bordered by Niger Republic with six LGAs namely Baure, Zango, Mai'adua, Mashi, Kaita and Jibia sharing the boundary. This land border like other borders in the country is porous which makes it easy for criminal elements, arms and ammunition including drugs to be smuggled into the country. The residents of Yar-Santa village in Kankara LGA and those of Gobirawa in Safana LGA revealed that the bandits in their LGAs invited other bandits from Niger Republic that moved through the borders to join other bandits to carry out the attacks in April 2019. Also Yahaya *et al.*, (2018) observed that the widespread availability of small and light weapons in Kano State has its genesis from imported weapons that mostly passed from various porous borders that located in the neighbouring States of Katsina and Jigawa. Furthermore, drugs worth N595.8 million that were smuggled through the borders of Katsina State were seized by the Nigerian Customs Service and handed over to NDLEA for destruction (Danjuma, 2013).

Limited security presence

There is limited presence of security personnel in Katsina State like other States in the federation. The security personnel such as the police and security and civil defense corps are not in adequate supply in the LGAs in order to combat the numerous criminal activities carried out by criminals and other miscreants, Umar and Shittu, (2017) observed that while the country's population has increased progressively over the years, police manpower has not improved to match it, to at least meet up the expected global standard for effective policing. This glaring shortage made it practically impossible for the police force to effectively control and curbs the ever rising wave and rate of crimes and

insecurity (Olly, 2014 in Umar and Shittu, 2017). In all the eight frontline LGAs, the numbers of policemen are not more than 30-50 in a divisional police office which is quite inadequate to confront hundreds of bandits that lived in the forests. In fact is some isolated settlements near the forests such as Fafara and Shimfida in Jibia LGA, the bandits have constituted themselves as the law. The judge and settle dispute between the remaining residents as most of them have fled to safety. The limited security presence in these isolated areas have created an ungoverned spaces were the bandits have taken over.

Presence of forest areas

Katsina State has a long stretch of forest vegetation that runs from Jibia to Batsari to Safana to Danmusa to Kankara, to Faskari to Dandume to Sabua where the forest extends to Birnin Gwari forest in Birnin Gwari LGA of Kaduna State. This long stretch of forest has since the year 2010 become the hideout and operating bases for bandits from where they come to the villages and along roads to launch attacks. Even in Katsina State, the LGAs that have no forest areas or are not sharing boundary with the eight frontline LGAs are not affected by the present wave of insecurity. Okoli and Ochim, (2016) have argued that Nigeria's forestlands have been poorly managed and secured, which makes them vulnerable to criminal habitation and activities. These forest areas especially the Rugu forest covering Batsari, Safana and Danmusa LGAs have become security threats to the LGA. Security forces have not been able to effectively flush out the bandits from the forests. This is in spite of various security operations such as *Sharan Daji* (Sweeping the forest), *Harbin Kunama* (Scorpion sting), *Dirar Mikiya* (Eagle landing), *Hadarin Daji* (Forest clouds) and Puff Adder that were launched and presently executed to tackle banditry, kidnapping and other forms of criminality.

Grievances over security operations

There is grievance over one of the security operations that were listed above which has become one of the factors responsible for the insecurity in the State. This security operation named *Dirar Mikiya* (Eagle landing) that was carried out by the Nigerian Air force that involved dropping bomb in the forest hideouts of the bandits at Zurmi forest of Zamfara state. Some of the bandits ran across the state boundary from the Zurmi forest to Gurbin Baure to escape the aerial bombardments. They mixed up with other Fulani to come to the Gurbin Baure weekly market. It was reported that the Navy came to kill any Fulani at the market whether he is a bandit or not. After these killings the remnants of the bandits plus other aggrieved Fulani regrouped to carry out revenge attacks on the settlement of Jibia LGA and along roads those travelers pass through. These bandits even informed some of their kidnapped victims that they are ready to negotiate to stop the attacks if the Emir of Katsina will intervene in the matter (Ladan, 2019).

Efforts of the government towards addressing the insecurity in the state

According to the literature reviewed has showed that the governments at both the Federal and State levels have made

efforts towards tackling the present insecurity facing the LGAs. The Federal Government through its various security agencies that involved military and paramilitary agencies has made various efforts to end the banditry and kidnapping plus other criminal activities that brought insecurity in the State. These efforts are:

1. The Federal Government has launched series of security operations under different code names aimed at tackling the menace to end the insecurity in the State and other States in the North West geo-political zone. The five security operations are counter and preemptive being undertaken by the Nigerian Police, the Army and the Air force to deal with banditry and kidnapping. These security operations include Operations
2. Military and Paramilitary forces have been committed to the security operations that involved both ground and aerial offensives against the bandits in their forest hide outs or when they attack village settlements. For example the forces responded when the bandits attacked Batsarin Dan Alhaji and Bia-Ka-Kwana villages on 13th July 2019 and Wagini, Shekewa, Chambala and Yar Larba villages on 31st July 2019. They also responded offensively at Kankara LGA against the bandits after the 20th July 2019 attack on Zango village in Kankara LGA.
- The Police were able to nab or arrest various kidnapping syndicates that operated across the State and beyond. In Katsina LGA, the youths involved in the kidnapping of the Mother-in-law of the State Governor were arrested. In Kankara LGA, the bandits that kidnapped the Kano based Islamic Cleric were arrested by the Army and those involved in the kidnapping of District Head of Daura, the Presidents home town were also arrested by security operatives.
- The State Government has been supporting the various security operations financially and with logistics to be able to carry out their duties effectively. The Governor has taken punitive actions against Village Heads or Divisional Police Officers (DPO) that were alleged to be conniving with the bandits. This is in addition to promulgating laws that stipulates death penalty for those involved in kidnapping and cattle rustling in the State. Also promulgated are laws against the sale of fuel in jerry cans to cut the sale of fuel to the bandits and riding motorcycles around forest areas in the eight affected LGAs.
1. The Inspector General of Police has on Wednesday 31st July 2019 led team of senior police officers to a meeting with Northern Governors in Katsina. The meeting is aimed at coordinating the activities of the Nigerian Police Force with a view to finding a lasting solution to the insecurity facing the North-Western parts of the country. The meeting was also believed to have discussed effective ways of counter attacking the bandits in view of the deadly attacks on the Police Officers that led an

offensive against the bandits attacks on four villages in Batsari LGA on Tuesday, 30th July 2019.

Limitations of the efforts of government to end the insecurity

The literatures reviewed have identified certain limitations of the efforts of the government towards tackling the present insecurity in Katsina State. These limitations are:

1. The forces deployed to deal with the bandits were not enough in terms of numbers in view of the large number of bandits that are coming to attack the villages. For example one of the focus groups at Jibia reported that eight (8) Police men and an Army Drive went to confront over fifty (50) bandits at Chabas-chabas village in Jibia LGA. (Ladan, 2019)
- The Police Force is not equipped with modern weapons to enable them to respond fire to fire against the bandits who carry and use modern weaponry. This therefore incapacitates the Force against carrying out any meaningful operation against the bandits in the affected LGAs.
1. Security forces stationed in some LGAs do not respond promptly to distress calls from the local people and even at the time they responded they usually arrived late when the bandits have fled into their forest hide-outs. This attitude of the Forces led to a violent protest against the forces in Batsari town with the angry mob attempting to set the Batsari Divisional Police Office on fire on 14th May 2019.
- There were allegations of corruption against the security forces that some of them do not want to fully commit themselves to end the banditry in view of the financial allowances they are collecting from the Government which will stop with the end of the banditry.
- There is no co-ordination between the various security agencies such as the Police, Army and Air force that are fighting against the bandits. The result is that at one time only one security agency is fighting the bandits instead of calling for support or reinforcement from the other agency which will make the fight effective.

5 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Armed banditry and lately kidnapping appear to have overrun Katsina state even as the state government struggles to overcome the challenge. Hamidu Sabo on April, 30th 2019, examines the efforts of the Bello Masari administration in this regard. Before 2015, residents of Katsina state especially in rural areas had to grapple with the menace of cattle rustling, banditry and other organized criminal activities. It goes to the extent to denying people access to their farmlands and rearing of cattle become almost impossible. Towns and villages that had hitherto existed on the verge of being wiped away

Before 2013, for instance, the level of criminalities in Kastina state had reached a boiling point when a team of bandits attacked towns and villages within Faskari Local Government in the southern part of Katsina.

The attacks left no fewer than 143 person killed while hundreds of others sustained various degrees of injuries with property destroyed. It also left 40 peoples killed at Mararrabar Maigora, 27 killed in Maigora, 71 in Sabon Layin Galadima and 7 in Unguwar Doka. However, the worst attacks hits was in Faskari, Sabuwa, Kankara, Dandume, Batsari and Jibia Local Government Area which are thrown in to the murky of economic uncertainties as they find it difficult to engage in any meaningful economic activities to make a living.

The state derives tremendous power from its claim to be the guardian of national security, power over resources and imposition of extra-ordinary measures on citizens. Since the role of the state is to provide security to its citizenry from any threat, whether violence within or without, it is seen as the only institution capable of providing that security on the face of an anarchical domestic environment of an armed state (Terif et al 2009:145). Akanji (2009:56) in his work on "The Politics of Combating Domestic Terrorism in Nigeria" established the jurisdiction within which domestic terrorism takes place. His argument was limited to the terror activities in the Niger Delta by the various groups as mentioned above and the Northern Part of Nigeria with the Boko Haram insurgency but he failed to highlight its effect on the national security of Nigeria (2009:56).

Obi (2009:14) on his work on "The Impact of Domestic Terrorism on Civilian-Government Relations" centred his argument on state terrorism in Nigeria from 1993 to 2007 (2009:14). He stated that the acts of terrorism lead to domestic terrorism through the reaction of disenchanted civil populace or religious fundamentalists (2009:14-15). Obi's work also failed to mention other acts constituting domestic terrorism, the perpetrators and its effect on the national security of the country. Imobighe (2009:36) in his work titled "The Challenges in Categorizing Domestic Terrorism" sees domestic terrorism as being perpetrated by persons or local groups within the state to redress some domestic problem (2009:36). He did not identify these local groups as indigenes who violently or coercively act against the government, public or individuals to achieve economic, political or religious goals. These acts that constitute domestic terrorism are not mentioned and its impact on national security not reflected within the state (2009:37).

Lumina (2009) again in his work on "The Impact of Domestic Terrorism on Human Rights in Africa" limited the act of violence by nationals of a state within the state to change the political and or social order of that state as domestic terrorism (Lumina, 2009). Other variables or acts that constitute domestic terrorism are lacking. This study sees domestic terrorism as an act to change only the government or any authority in power. Lumina did not identify terrorists and other persons or property that could be affected by the act of terrorism. The implication of domestic terrorism is not also reflected. However, such acts of domestic terrorism such as political assassinations, bombings,

hostage-taking and kidnapping undermine confidence in the state's ability to protect its citizens. National security is a situation devoid of fear, violence, uncertainty and anarchy. Any act of domestic terrorism threatens the security of lives and properties as well as stalls economic development and foreign investment. Going back to the 9/11 attack on the United States, the government of the US beefed up its national security in order for such incident never to take place (Oche, 2009: 41). The hostage taking and kidnapping, bombing and wanton destruction of property in Nigeria are acts of domestic terrorism which have threatened the security of lives and property and hampered local and foreign investment in the area.

Discussions on domestic terrorism in Nigeria as postulated by the works of the various scholars reviewed, proved the extent of existing literature on domestic terrorism in Nigeria as well as their complex features and the challenges to national security. However, the scholars' works on domestic terrorism did not bring out clearly the impact of domestic terrorism as it affects national security. This study therefore seeks to fill the gap.

6 CONCLUSION

This study attempted to examine the factors that led to hostage taking and kidnapping prior to the security crisis in Katsina State 2017-2019, armed militancy after the amnesty deal. It also tried to advance the discourse to a critical level of reflection by providing insight into the unhealthy interplay of a wider amalgam of interests that conspired in various ways to shape as well as influence insecurity issues with little damage or killing of criminal rather providing strategies that will integrate the lives of criminal living in forest to run a decent normal lives. The incidence of hostage taking and kidnapping in Katsina State has posed many implications on the economy and the general developmental efforts of the nation. As most kidnappings involve foreign workers and development partners, the effect on the economy is enormous, as it scares away potential development partners, and robs the state of the benefit of such developmental alliances and opportunities.

The depressing situation is emphasized by the inability of the State security agents to combat this crime because they are ill equipped. The spread of kidnapping as a business itself has to do with long periods of governmental neglects of the region, causing its people to aggressively adopt militant confrontation in a bid to force governments' attention to the plight of the region. At the moment, various levels within the government have stepped up developmental attention in the region in a bid to curb the rising incidence of the crime. However, the problem lies in how politically committed the Federal Government of Nigeria is on these developmental interests.

7 RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper has the following points to be used to address the issues of insecurity in Nigeria:

- The study therefore believes that the problem of insecurity in North West especially in states like Zamfara, Katsina and Kaduna deserves serious governmental attention. The current efforts of various state governments are welcome, but such efforts will not be successful without genuine stakeholder participation and involvement.
- Federal government which has exclusive role on providing effective security by ensuring providing adequate security personnel with full training and working tools and also should make room for the inclusion of all layers of stakeholders. In evolving developmental plans for the region, efforts should be made to check the rising cases of benefit capture, whereby the real trickle down development benefits are captured by vested interest and elites while the people are left out. Available development agencies for the region should be strictly monitored to stem the rising case of corruption that has always been the hallmark of such agencies. Doing these will help to build the capacity of every stakeholder, as well as engaging them in meaningful developmental activities.

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