

**TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF PATTERN OF EDITORIALS ON
INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF VANGUARD,
PUNCH AND GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED, IN PARTIAL
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OF BACHELOR OF ARTS (B.A) DEGREE IN
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UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, NIGERIA.**

DECEMBER, 2022
DECLARATION

This project work is based on a study undertaken by Edesiri Akpobaro, in the department of Mass communication, Faculty of Arts. University of Benin under the supervision of Ekerikevwe Sunday. All findings and analysis in this study are product of my personal research and where the view of others have been used and expressed, they were duly acknowledged.

EDESIRI AKPOBARO
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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project work was undertaken by Edesiri Akpobaro with matriculation number Art1701437, in the Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Arts, University of Benin, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Bachelor of Arts (B.A) Degree in Mass Communication and it is adequate in scope for the Award of Bachelor of Arts Degree in Mass Communication.

Mr. Sunday Ekerikevwe, FRHD
Project Supervisor

Date

Dr. Daniel Ekhareafo
Ag. Head of Department

Date

External Examiner

Date

DEDICATION

This academic project is dedicated to God Almighty, my father, who is the author and finisher of my faith, who has bought me thus far.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank God Almighty for the grace and guidance accorded me in this successful writing and completion of this project work.

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ABSTRACT

The study is on the pattern of editorial in insecurities in select Nigeria newspapers. It aimed at discovering the views of editors on insecurities matters and examine the prominence given to insecurities in selected newspapers in Nigeria and the pattern of editorial writings on insecurities from June to August, 2021. The study faced various problems, during the course of research due to lack of effectiveness of Newspaper houses in our society today, the infrequency of editors towards insecurities issues. The study was based on the following objectives, to determine the view of editors in the matter of insecurities in Nigeria, to determine the frequency of Editorial comments in insecurities issues in Nigeria, To ascertain the pattern of editorial comments on insecurities in Nigeria. The study was conducted on the Agenda setting theory of mass. The researcher adopted content analysis and textual analysis method and it was used in gathering the data for the study as 73 editions of the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard newspapers were investigated. The findings revealed that the three newspapers prominence given to insecurities editorial was on a low frequency. The researcher also recommended that the media house should increase the interest and commit to reporting insecurity issues facing the country.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

From kidnapping to extremist insurgencies, Nigeria is experiencing an unprecedented wave of various but interrelated security crises. Crime and violence have affected nearly every area of the nation.

The scale of the insecurity threatens the very foundation of Nigerian society, according to Audu Bulama Bukarti, a senior analyst on Sahel security at the Tony Blair Institute: "With every attack, human lives are lost or permanently damaged, and faith in democracy and the country is eroding."

President Muhammadu Buhari pledged to defend citizens from terrorists and criminals when he ran for office in 2015. However, the country is more unstable than it has been in decades with less than two years left in his final term in office. Boko Haram conducts lethal raids, occasionally raising its flag to impose extremist rule over the local populace. It collects taxes on farms and the sale of agricultural products. The group now fully governs the once-thriving international fish market in the Chad Basin.

Nigeria's ungoverned spaces, which are remote, largely unexplored areas where groups can terrorize rural communities without fear of retaliation, make the challenge more difficult.

In recent years, Boko Haram has lost ground to the Islamic State's West Africa Province, a splinter group that is affiliated with the main organization. It is currently one of IS's most active regional affiliates.

Up until now, both groups have resisted military operations by the government.

Banditry and kidnapping

The regular kidnapping of pupils from their classrooms and boarding houses is one of the biggest risks facing families in Nigeria. Since December 2020, more than 1,000 children have been taken from their classrooms; many of them were only eventually freed after paying a ransom of thousands of dollars.

In Nigeria, some of the kidnappers are referred to as "bandits." These bandits assault villages, abduct residents, and set fire to homes. Numerous people have been compelled to leave their homes and seek refuge in other areas of the country as a result of bandit attacks.

This study tends to reveal editor view on insecurities in Nigeria as well how often editorial comments comes up on daily newspaper.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Measuring the effectiveness of Newspaper houses in our society today, newspaper has a major role to play in making sure daily news and important information reaches the public at different levels.

This research intends to investigate the value of editorial on insecurities issues, how valuable this information comes in handy and frequency insecurities matters pops on newspaper editorial.

This research intends to weigh the editorial opinion on who is really to blame for the nations current insecurities issues (The government or the citizens).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study will achieve the following;

1. To determine the veiw of editors on the matter of insecurities in Nigeria.
2. To determine the frequency of Editorial comments in insecurity issues in Nigeria.

3. To ascertain the pattern of Editorial comments on insecurity in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the views of editors on matter insecurities in Nigeria?
2. How often does the newspaper feature Editorial comments on insecurities in Nigeria?
3. What pattern of comments on insecurity is adopted by Nigeria newspaper?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study will be narrowed down to editorials section, the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard newspapers of insecurities in various newspapers. This study aims to examine the importance of editorial information, and the various pattern various newspaper houses write their editorials.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is aimed at the collection and analysis of data on editorials context on security issues, and how editors percieve insecurity issues.

However, it is pertinent to note that these different editorials are written by different editors in different newspaper houses and have different ideas on the security issues.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The study will be limited to only editorial of insecurities from Vanguard, Punch, Guardian newspapers from June- August, 2021.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Trafficking in Arms The unlawful trade of illegal small guns and ammunition, also known as "gunrunning," is one of many criminal enterprises that are frequently linked to international criminal groups.

Bandit: A thief who targets tourists, attacks them, and frequently works in groups with criminals.

Editorials: These are typically published on a special page called the editorial page, which frequently includes letters to the editor from readers; the page across from this page is called the op-ed page and frequently contains opinion pieces (hence the name think pieces) by authors from all over the world. authors who

are not directly connected to the publication. But a newspaper can decide to publish on the top of the page, an editorial This happens infrequently and only occasionally in the English-language press. themes viewed as particularly significant; nonetheless, it is more prevalent in several European countries such as France, Spain, Italy, and Denmark.. The author's name is frequently omitted from newspaper editorials. It guarantees that readers discuss the topics at hand rather than the author, according to Tom Clark, chief writer for the Guardian. However, an editorial does represent the viewpoint of a newspaper as well as The editor, who oversees a newspaper, is recognized by name. While the editor frequently does not exercise oversight and continue to bear responsibilities.

Insurgency: Historically, the term "insurgency" has only been used to refer to rebellious actions that fell short of a formal revolution. It has since been used to refer to any such armed insurrection against the established administration of a state or nation, which is often guerilla in nature.

Insecurity: is the state of being vulnerable to harm and danger as a result of the disrupted environment. It may also be seen as a dread of not being able to defend oneself.

Kidnapping: The illegal transfer, transportation, and imprisonment of a person constitutes kidnapping.

Textual analysis: is a way communication academics employ to characterize and interpret the elements of a recorded or visual message, according to Frey, Botan, and Keeps (1999). They pointed out that textual analysis serves to describe content, structure and purpose of the messages in texts. The crucial factor in textual analysis choosing the types of texts to study, obtaining pertinent texts, and analyzing deciding a specific method to use for analysis (Frey, Botan, and keeps,1999

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

The term "textual analysis" is a catch-all for a variety of study techniques used to define, analyze, and comprehend texts. A text's literal meaning can be used to deduce all types of information.

The techniques used for textual analysis vary on the subject matter and the goals of the study. It frequently seeks to relate the text to a larger social, political, cultural, or aesthetic context.

According to Ezekiel S. Asemah 2017 "Textual analysis is a methodology that involves understanding language, symbols, and/or pictures present in texts to gain information regarding how people make sense of and communicate life and life experiences ". Messages conveyed visually, in writing, or orally offer hints on how they can be perceived. The messages are frequently perceived as products of wider social institutions and as reflecting them. Messages, for instance, may reflect or even question the historical, cultural, political, and ethical circumstances in which they were created. As a result, the analyst needs to be aware of the larger social structures that shape the signals in the text under analysis.

2.2 Overview of Editorial

What is editorial?

An editorial is typically a brief piece of writing by an editor that communicates the opinions and stances of a newspaper or publishing firm on a hot topic. A disclaimer stating that the article does not necessarily represent the publisher's official views is usually included when it is authored by an outsider.

Many newspapers have changed in format, composition, and content as a result of globalization. One such newspaper is the Mumbai-based DNA, which redesigned its pages and eliminated the editorial pages because the editor believed that readers didn't take the editorial pages seriously. The editorial column hasn't been abandoned by any other newspaper but the DNA, though. Editorial articles are still significant because many readers value the objective, well-informed viewpoints they provide.

Because some journals employ up to eight editorial writers, there is a tendency towards specialization. Thus, there are editorial writers for topics like money, international relations, politics at home, social issues, etc.

Due to their expertise on the subject, the editor has the final word about the editorial writers' opinions.

2.3 Types of Editorial

Every newspaper has a unique editorial stance. Some people take a strong stance on a subject, while others stick to their values. A newspaper's reputation and reliability are greatly influenced by its editorial strategy. A newspaper can gain readers' loyalty if it is courageous enough to criticize a certain stance or action taken by the ruling political party or government.

1. Factual Editorial:

Types of editorial Such editorials' primary objective is to inform their audience. The information may be related to a new sickness, medication, or economic issue. Editorials that are informative only provide information, provide a review, or declare certain facts. When necessary, it may describe words and problems, name people and things, and give historical and geographical context. This category includes a wide range of editorials, from those that offer basic knowledge to those that highlight problems.

2. Explanatory Editorial

Editorials represent the voice of the newspaper. Instead of praising or criticizing someone or something, interpretative editorials aim to make information easier to understand for readers. These editorials describe the importance or relevance of a recent occurrence, a current concept, a circumstance or circumstance, a theory or hypothesis. The author just presents both sides of an issue and leaves it up to the reader to make up their own mind. It merely interprets, for instance, the language in a fresh memo sent out by the principal.

3. Editorial with a point of view

Editorials of this nature present a thesis. These are typically based on news from earlier in the day. Government policies are frequently criticized by editorial writers. The editorial should point out instances of government error whenever and wherever they occur. This is frequently referred to as persuasive editorial. The editor makes an argument to persuade the reader to agree with his position on the subject.

4. Laughable Editorial

These editorials are light-hearted in tone. Some publications don't even publish it. These editorials occasionally take on a serious subject but convey it in a humorous manner. On its editorial page, "The Times of India" publishes the opinions of well-known authors. Entertaining editorial frequently comes in two varieties. One is the succinct, lighthearted handling of a silly subject. The second addresses a serious topic in a lighthearted manner. It makes people smile, giggle, and laugh while implying the truth. Its primary goal is to amuse. It is typically brief.

5. Criticism Editorial

An editorial's main objective, as was already mentioned, is to offer constructive criticism.

If the editorial does not offer solutions to the issues, it is useless. For instance, the editor should offer alternative measures for improved implementation if they are criticizing the BJP government's "Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan" actions. It draws attention to the positive or negative aspects of a problem or circumstance described in the news. The reader is intended to be

persuaded by it. Sometimes it ends with a suggestion for a solution. It honors, commends, or pays homage to an individual, group, or organization that has completed some admirable tasks, acts, or feats.

2.4 Newspaper Overview

A newspaper is a periodic publication that typically has a white or gray background and is typed in black ink. It contains written information about current events.

Newspapers can publish content on a wide range of topics, including politics, business, sports, and the arts. They also frequently publish opinion pieces, weather forecasts, reviews of neighborhood services, obituaries, birth announcements, and advice columns.

Since most newspapers are businesses, they use a variety of methods to cover their expenses.

In addition to hiring journalists directly, many newspapers also pay a subscription fee to news agencies (wire services) like the Associated Press, Reuters, or Agence France-Presse. These organizations hire journalists to locate, compile, and report news before selling it to the various newspapers. By doing

this, you can save money by not having to pay for international reporting twice. Approximately 6,580 daily newspaper titles sold 395 million print copies daily in the world in 2005. (in the U.S., 1,450 titles selling 55 million copies). Advertising and circulation have decreased as a result of the global recession that hit in the late 2000s and early 2010s as well as the explosive growth of free web-based alternatives. This is because many newspapers had to cut costs by scaling back operations. The global economy brought in close to \$100 billion in during the global financial crisis of 2008–2009, then fell during the years 2005–2007. Every major publisher suffered as a result of revenue in 2016 falling to only \$53 billion and their efforts to increase online income falling far short of the target.

Most newspapers fit four requirements:

Public accessibility: The paper has traditionally been sold or distributed at newsstands, stores, and libraries. Since the 1990s, online newspaper websites have also made the paper's contents reasonably accessible to the general public online. People with Internet connection now have more access to newspapers thanks to online publications, but those without it—such as those who are homeless, poor, or live in isolated or rural areas—might not be able to use

computers or the Internet, making it impossible for them to read online news. Reading newspapers (on paper or online) is not beneficial for those who cannot read because of literacy issues.

Periodicity: They are released on a regular basis, usually every day or every week. This guarantees that publications may update readers about breaking news stories or occurrences.

Currency: The information is as current as is possible given the release schedule. A print newspaper's ability to be current is constrained by the amount of time required to print and deliver it. A morning edition and a later version of the same day's newspaper may be published in large cities so that the later edition might include breaking news that has occurred since the morning edition was produced. Online newspaper editions can be quite up-to-date since they can be updated as often as new information is made accessible, even multiple times each day.

2.5 Overview of Vanguard Newspaper

Daily newspaper Vanguard is published by Lagos, Nigeria-based Vanguard Media. Sam Amuka-Pemu, a seasoned journalist, founded Vanguard Media in 1983 with the help of three friends. The newspaper is available online. Thisday, The Punch, The Sun, and The Guardian are among the few publications in Nigeria that are regarded as being free from political sway. The newspaper is among them. The Daily Report Nigeria is a trustworthy online media outlet in Nigeria that is monitoring the fashion. [Reference needed] The newspaper was momentarily suspended in June 1990 by Lagos State's military governor, Col. Raji Rasaki. The wife of the publisher of Vanguard Newspapers, it was claimed in an article published in December 2008 by the US-based Pointblanknews.com, was complicit in a ritual killing. The Vanguard filed a lawsuit against the journalist, alleging.

2.6 Overview of punch Newspaper

James Aboderin, an accountant, and Sam Amuka, a journalist and editor at the Daily Times of Nigeria, launched Punch Feet. Amuka was appointed as the Sunday Punch's first editor. A few years following the publication of its initial Sunday issue, in November 1976, the team began publishing their recognizable

daily newspaper. Both versions were created to favor a softer, apolitical style of news broadcasting that combined social event video with regular political news. The newspaper makes a living by exploring big topics that appeal to a wide audience. However, political pressures brought about during the Second Republic's latter years.

The proscription decree was revoked on November 17 of the same year by Decree No. 115 of 1993. On July 24, 1994, the Federal Military Government declared martial law and outlawed all publications, including TOPLIFE, which had been relaunched and was being published at the time as a weekly magazine.

Bola Bolawole, THE PUNCH's editor at the time, was imprisoned for three days in the old building's office. During the closure, the government disregarded a court order requiring it to leave the firm's premises and pay the amounts of N25,000,000 and N100,000.00 to the company and Bolawole, respectively. The government did not outlaw the publications via a national day broadcast by the Head of State until October 1, 1995.

2.7 Overview of Guardian Newspaper

The Guardian is an independent publication that was started in 1983 with the goals of promoting Nigeria's interests and providing fair coverage of current events. It is not obligated to any political party, racial or ethnic group, religious organization, or other interest group. The integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are its top priorities, followed by the unity and sovereignty of Africa.

The Guardian is a liberal publication dedicated to republican democracy's highest principles and traditions. It holds that the state must not only protect and defend its citizens but also establish the political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances that will lead to it allows each citizen to reach their full potential as a person. Although it adheres to the idea of individual freedom, it considers that all citizens have obligations in addition to rights.

Since doing so would conflict with The Guardian's dedication to individual liberty and freedom, The Guardian does not in principle object to the free enterprise doctrine. In order to limit the negative impacts of free business and guarantee that less privileged individuals have reasonable and equitable

access to the needs of life, it does, nevertheless, think that the state must prudently intervene in the country's economic life.

The Guardian will consistently support the need for justice, honesty in public life, equitable access to the nation's resources, and equal protection under the law. Nigerian law for all citizens.

Nigeria is a genuine member of the international community, according to The Guardian, but she can only fulfill her commitments to the world if her security and integrity are guaranteed.

The logo of The Guardian features the conscientiousness emblem from ancient Egypt. The tagline, The phrase "Conscience, Nurtured by Truth" by Uthman Dan Fodio served as the inspiration for the song, Only truth can close an open sore.

2.8 Overview of insecurities

Other crimes performed by this Islamic group include the burning of churches, police stations, schools, hospitals, clinics, shops, army barracks, and private residences, as well as the damage of cars and the kidnapping of foreign nationals.

Due to these difficulties, security has become a crucial concern that has resulted in the commitment of the vast majority of the nation's scant resources to the protection of people and property. Additionally, it has forced the government to redirect funds intended for development into security. Additionally, a clear sign of insecurity is the frightening rate at which the nation's affairs—economic, political, social, and religious—are deteriorating at the moment. The frantic effort to industrialize, the current socio-cultural peace, and sustainable development have all been endangered by insecurity. Consequently, Nigeria was given a low security rating by the Global Peace Index (2012). matters.

The implication is that Nigeria represents a dangerous place to live and is one of the nations with the highest rates of terrorism in the world. Consequently, foreigners, investors, expatriates, and even Nigerian natives are hesitant to invest and sacrifice their hard-earned money in profitable industries in Nigeria. Therefore, insecurity refers to a feeling of worry, anxiety, Uncertainty and uneasiness resulting from the lax behavior of our resentful and greedy people

Political figures, armed groups, and Boko Haram sects. This is demonstrated by the frequent bombings and Murder in Nigeria include both politically motivated and economically motivated murders. Influenced by tribal strife, security agents in Nigeria have a permeable and meaningless job.

The Effects of Industrialization and Sustainable Development on Insecurity in Nigeria. It poses a serious threat to industry, healthy living, religious freedom, national prosperity, and sustainable development since businesses operate incredibly well in an environment free of resentment, economic hardship, social strife, and political chaos. Nigeria's insecurity is to blame for the Adeleke, destruction of people, things, and equipment; business relocation and closure

In order to support this claim even more, it should be noted that fifty-five citizens died in Kaduna State on Wednesday, October 17, 2018.

On Thursday, six farmers were reported deceased in Ebonyi State a result of the aggressive and hostile behavior of Fulani Herdsmen on October 24th, 2018. Uncertainty is a significant danger to the survival of humans and the

growth of the economy. In a perfect world, security—the opposite of insecurity—would permeate human existence.

Food has been cruelly and irresponsibly disregarded due to political, religious, and cultural factors misconceptions. Therefore, citizens are thought of as being secure when they are free from all wherever they may be found inside a sovereign nation, they must be free from dangers to their life and means of subsistence, without bodily damage, diseases, unemployment, or human rights violations. Despite the 1999 proposals, Nigeria has experienced an unparalleled level of insecurity.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria's constitution, which states that "The security and wellbeing of the welfare of the people shall be the main goal of government. But regrettably, in terms of security issues, the government has not taken a significant role worried about Nigeria. This is due to Muslim leaders' determination to eradicate Christianity in Nigeria and its government have assembled terrorists to damage Christians' reputations, which turned out to be the both Muslims and Christians, to their detriment. provision of safe and secure Due to the attitude of some top government officials regarding the security of

people, properties, and the conduct of business and economic activities in Nigeria, these factors have been impacted. Evidence has shown that the real offenders are individuals in high-profile positions and Boko Haram's sympathizers' disorderly insurgencies across the nation. This dishonest behavior of the administration has persisted in maintaining Nigeria's perennial backwardness and infantileness.

The country's high rate of dependence on other international equivalents and high poverty rate both serve as indicators of this. Consequently, the government's failure to offer a secure a setting that is favorable for the protection of people, property, and business operations Numerous economic activities have caused businesspeople to lose interest and become dissatisfied. Anekwe, Ndubuisi-Okolo, and Anigbogu are investors (2015). As a result, there are now communal Conflicts, religious violence, and criminality in many sections of the nation, as well as disruptions to businesses, Economic activity and slowed economic development and growth in Nigeria .

All of these have an impact on industrial development and sustainable growth. This is due to the fact that no corporate investor would want to make an

investment in a risky or unstable environment. In light of the aforementioned, the study aims to investigate how insecurity is harmful and hostile to Industrialization and sustainable development, two factors that contribute to today's level of insecurity Nigeria's environment and solutions to the threat of insecurity.

2.9 meaning of Insecurities

There are several meanings associated with the term insecurities. It denotes threat, risk, ambiguity, lack of security, and lack of protection. Insecurity is described by Beland (2005) as "the state of fear or anxiety caused by a real or perceived lack of protection. It speaks of a shortage or an inadequacy safety against harm. This suggests that the absence of peace, order, and security is what insecurity is Insecurity is defined by Achumba, Ighomeroho, and Akpor (2013) from two angles. Firstly, Insecurity is the state of being vulnerable to danger, where danger is the state of the quality of being vulnerable to danger or harm. Furthermore, insecurity is a state of being. exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a generalized negative emotion felt in the anticipation of bad luck.

These descriptions of insecurity highlight a crucial point: those who are affected by it .

They are not only unsure or unsure of what will happen, but they are also exposed to threats and hazards as they manifest. People who are directly or indirectly involved in business fulfill all possible human desires. Consequently, commerce has assimilated into human culture specifically and the entire planet generally. International Organization for Development

Security is defined as protection from covert and harmful disturbances of daily activities (1994) in residences, workplaces, or communities, etc. This suggests that security extends to guaranteeing the safety of people and their property. According to Williams (2008), who views security from a sociopolitical vantage point, security includes the freedom to pursue long-held political and social goals. That argues that security is sociopolitical in nature because political stability cannot exist without security, Social interactions will subsequently be chaotic.

2.10 Causes of insecurities

Numerous causes are said to have played a role on the level of insecurity in Nigeria. Many learned academics have highlighted numerous factors that contribute to insecurity in Nigeria, including opposing socioeconomic progress and expansion (Ali, 2013; Okorie, 2011; Jega, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Achumba and Akpor (2013); Salawu, 2010; Onyishi, 2011; Ezeoba, 2011). The smooth operation of economic activities in Nigeria has been plagued by factors. They do not just contain only includes the following:

Political Catch

In Nigeria, the emergence of several political parties has wreaked devastation. This is due to the fact that most people do not fully understand the ethics of politics. misunderstandings, revolts from Many politicians have met their untimely demise thanks to various parties. Politics is a lottery game and not "a business of Do or Die." For instance, a sudden power change occurred a few years ago. due to the shift of South-South geopolitics away from the northern hegemony, President Yar'adua's passing might be related to the initial high level of unrest. adua resulted in an alteration of the northern perpetual claim on

political power in Nigeria. In addition, the refutation of the North-South agreement on rotational presidency within the People's Democratic Party (PDP) is also another major element, thus the death of Yar'Adua and the ascendancy of Good luck Ebele Jonathan as the president disarrayed planned and articulated political arrangement (Ferrell, 2012).

In addition, there is incessant rancor among political leaders even within same party and rancor between the ruling party and the opposition parties. There are also several economic related assassinations all over the nation which creates problems to the nation's economic growth and development.

Furthermore, there is the power inter-play and over-ambition of politicians who willfully encourage the procurement of weapons in order to pursue their inordinate political ambitions (Egbewole, 2013).

The struggle for political power, religious imposition and land disputes and the lack of aid for victims or punishment for troublemakers, corrupt persons, and the mismanagement of the economy have all fuelled tensions in the country, Akonbede (2013). Tom (2012) maintained that three things are interwoven in

Nigeria - religion, politics and ethnicity - and the three are beclouded with corruption, poverty and insecurity.

Leadership/power Tussle

This factor has resulted in putting the square peg in a round hole. This has deprived Nigerians the benefit of being administered by good leaders as most of the political leaders are in office for their own selfish gains. Often, sadly, these crops of political leaders oppress the citizens with the looted money, train thugs and hooligans who later turn to armed robbers, kidnappers, drug pushers etc when they are dumped by the politicians after elections thus constituting a serious threat to national growth and development.

Unemployment/ Poverty Issue

The degree with which unemployed youths are roaming about the street is alarming. These unemployed youths at present employ themselves by engaging in illegal activities such as kidnapping, robbery, child abduction, and other nefarious activities. As a result of the high level of unemployment and

poverty among Nigerians, especially the youths, they are adversely attracted to violent crime (Adagba, et al, 2012).

This is depicted by recent development in Anambra State where reports by Fides (2018) unveiled a 70-year old farmer butchered by disgruntled, hunger-infested and jobless youths residing in their villages owing to unemployment palaver. Nwagbosa (2012) posits that the failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities is one major causes of insecurity in the country. Unemployment has a severe negative implication on sustainable and national development in Nigeria. Poverty also is a threat to human existence and reduces a man to a perpetual state of infancy. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, 2007) opines that despite Nigerian huge resources and oil wealth, poverty is still rampant to the extent that the country is ranked one of the 20th poorest countries in the world". Indeed, over 70 percent of the population is classified as poor, with 35 percent living in abject poverty (Andenrele, 2014).

2.11 Types of insecurities

Kidnapping: The unlawful taking and carrying away of a person by force or fraud, as well as the unlawful seizure and detention of a person against his will, constitutes kidnapping, a criminal offense. The main goals of kidnapping are to force the victim into involuntary servitude, expose him to further criminal activity against him, or demand ransom in exchange for his safe return. More recently, political revolutionaries or terrorists seeking concessions from a government have turned to kidnapping for the purpose of extortion. It is regarded as a serious offense everywhere and is subject to the death penalty or a lengthy prison term.

Insurgency: Insurgency confined historically to rebellious actions that fell short of a well-coordinated revolution. It has since been used to refer to any such armed insurrection against the established administration of a state or nation, which is often guerilla in nature.

Most people feel that Boko Haram are what's really causing the insurgency in Niger. Insurgency is most believed that Boko Haram are the real cause of insurgency, Nigeria has facing the ongoing battle with insurgents groups which

the name Boko Haram was first mentioned in 2011, one of the largest Islamist militants group in Africa has conducted terrorists attack in religious and political group , local , police and the military as well as indiscriminately attacking individuals in bus stations ,markets and villages

Banditry : Banditry is an organized kind of crime carried out by outlaws that frequently involves the threat or use of force. An individual who practices banditry is referred to as a bandit, and they typically engage in individual or group extortion, robbery, and murder offenses. In current usage, the term "banditry" can be used to refer to gangsterism, brigandage, marauding, and theft. According to numerous studies, bandits are a diverse group of criminal organizations that engage in widespread cattle rustling, sexual assault, kidnapping, armed robberies, looting, and assaults on gold miners and traders, primarily in northwest Nigeria. Bandit gangs are primarily made up of Fulani and Hausa Nigerians since local conflicts between farmers and herders gave rise to these criminal organizations. Additionally, the fact that the North West of Nigeria shares a more than 900-kilometer international border with the Niger Republic, which is badly policed, is responsible for the participation of non-

Nigerians in bandit groups. Bandits work in separate clusters that are neither cohesive nor have organized command systems, in contrast to militants, who are often characterized by formalized structures and identities. Apart from possibilities for theft, disputes between groups, and territorial disputes, these gangs don't share much. These criminal gangs operate in rural areas, and their bases are located deep in forests, which makes for excellent hiding places.

The Nigerian government has recently faced significant difficulties as a result of insecurity and terrorism. Boko Haram's operations have caused deaths and property losses throughout the nation, particularly in the northern region of Nigeria. The burning of police stations and churches, the kidnapping of young girls and women from schools, and suicide bombing attacks are just a few of these crimes. Another significant issue with security in the nation has been attacks by Fulani Herdsmen on some communities in the North and South, along with kidnapping, rape, armed robbery, political unrest, murder, and destruction of oil facilities. Nigeria has been named among one of the terrorist countries of the world. Many Women are widows today. Children end up as orphans with no future prospects. This has implications for national development.

Government had made frantic efforts to tackle these challenges posed by terrorism and insecurity in the country and put an end to it but the rate of insurgency and insecurity is still alarming. Our attention has been drawn to terrorism and security issues as a result of the events surrounding September 11, 2001 and other recent acts of terrorism around the world, particularly the current wave of terrorism in Nigeria. Therefore, the challenges of insecurity and terrorism on national development in Nigeria were empirically investigated in this study. The study's coverage period runs from 1990 to 2012. Data for this study came from the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) statistical bulletin, newspapers, and articles in linked journals on security-related topics. Terrorism and insecurity have a detrimental effect on economic development, according to study using the conventional least squares method. It forced the government to switch funds intended for development to security votes.

spending by the government on security-related issues had a large and beneficial influence on economic growth, indicating that spending on security-related issues has helped to mitigate the adverse effects of terrorism and insecurity despite the fact that security spending has a crowding-in effect on

economic growth. This conclusion is consistent with research conducted in other nations throughout the globe. Therefore, it is advised that the government declare war on terrorism and enlist the aid of international organizations that have previously faced a similar problem and overcame it. The Nigerian military needs more weapons to combat this insurgency. To combat the threat of insecurity, the government should step up security in the eastern and southern regions of the nation. Building grazing areas or ranches for Fulani herdsmen who raise cattle is necessary in all 50 states.

2.12 Empirical Studies

Journal of African studies and development (2012), Eneji Mathias Agri and Godwin Eneji Agri Although the Buhari administration had earlier pledged to eliminate Boko Haram, tensions and insecurity appear to have remained in Nigeria, and the two groups now have unheard-of common foes. Conflict and insecurity are major issues in Nigeria and West Africa that demand immediate study attention. The administration has been overwhelmed by the cunning and dynamism of crime; living conditions in Nigeria are certainly a nightmare in terms of violence and insecurity. The main goal of this study is to explore and

identify the socioeconomic effects and underlying causes of insecurity in Nigeria. The survey research approach is used in this study to collect data from important informants. Focus group discussions, interviews, and structured questionnaires were used.

The linkert scale, straightforward percentages, statistical tables, and charts were used to classify, categorize, and evaluate the questions. Due to terrorism, kidnapping, ritual killings, cultism, corruption, injustice, poverty, inflation, and poor governance, Nigeria has experienced an unprecedented wave of insecurity. Conflict and insecurity have negatively impacted Nigeria's socioeconomic situation. Insecurity and crime are the results of insecurity.

For the benefit of the poor, this study suggests inclusive growth and participatory development. The underprivileged and rural populations should be integrated into mainstream society through policies and initiatives. developmental stage. To educate, expose, and speak out against insecurity, people need to band together on a variety of levels and platforms, including township unions, business associations, faith-based organizations, political parties, professional groups, youth groups, village meetings, age groups,

women's groups, groups for people with disabilities, groups for people with albinism, groups for farmers, groups for traders, groups for students, etc.

This is so because everyone has an interest in security, and we are all impacted by it.

Effects of insecurities in Nigeria the problems and relevance by nigeria police (2017) delight, Omar's difficulties, and the usefulness of the Nigerian police force as a cure-all.

The study bases its focus on the Nigerian police force on this assumption in order to evaluate and determine efforts made and obstacles faced in providing appropriate protection to Nigerians. The topic is crucial and pertinent at this time, when Nigeria's standing as a free nation both internationally and domestically is declining as a result of the pervasive insecurity that exists right now. The nation's efforts to achieve socioeconomic progress and development have been hampered by this. The report however, focuses on the causes and effect of insecurity in Nigeria, reasons that have hampered the Nigerian police force in fulfilling its statutory tasks and steps to be improved in order to increase security in Nigeria and improve the performance of the Nigerian police force. This work also

provided a historical timeline of Nigeria's insecurity. It also explores the scope of the history, makeup, purpose, and goals of the Nigerian police force. Furthermore, the study showed that the government's incapacity to address the reasons of insecurity and propose solutions to these causes renders the Nigerian police force irrelevant in terms of the security of the nation. This is exemplified by the disparity and high rate of poverty that are currently present in the nation despite its abundance.

2.15 Theoretical Framework

A theory is viewed as an effort to combine and integrate empirical data for the most clarity and unification possible. A theory, in the words of Rudner, cited in Folerin (1998), is a set of statements that are systematic related and include some laws, such as generalization, that can be empirically tested. The kind of systematic relatedness Rudner refers to is deductive relatedness.

Therefore, a theory is a combination of presumptions, claims, or established facts that aims to offer a logical or plausible explanation of the cause and effect (causal) link among a number of observed phenomena. According to

Bragger (n.d.), a theory is a logical collection of concepts and ideas about how the universe, or specific aspects of it, can be explained or understood.

Agenda setting Theory

In a study on the 1968 presidential election, Drs. Max McCombs and Donald Shaw formally developed the agenda-setting theory. In their "Chapel Hill study" from 1968, McCombs and Shaw found a significant correlation between what 100 Chapel Hill, North Carolina, residents believed to be the most crucial election issue and what both local and national news media reported to be that issue. McCombs and Shaw assessed the extent to which the media influences public opinion by comparing the salience of issues in news content with the public's perceptions of the most crucial election issue.

Presidents are candidates for their own party before assuming the office of the presidency. While the debates are typically limited to the Democratic and Republican nominees, third party candidates may be invited, such as Ross Perot in the 1992 debates. Nominees participate in nationally televised debates. Candidates run nationwide campaigns to present their positions, persuade voters,

and raise money. The modern electoral process is heavily focused on winning swing states with regular trips and aggressive media campaigns.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

Content analysis research would be used as the design for this study. Kerlinger (2000) cited in Asemah's et al (2017) define content analysis as a method of studying and analysis communication in a systematic, objective and qualitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.

This design method was adapted because the subject matter requires analysis of editorial content on insecurity in Nigeria and the content analysis technique is more appropriate.

3.2 Population of the Study

The study covers three newspapers which includes; Guardian, Punch and Vanguard published across Nigeria. The study covers from June- August, 2021.

Hence, the editorials on insecurity of the three newspapers within the three months formed the population of the study. The total edition is 276, thus, the population study is 276.

3.3 Sample Size

The three selected newspapers; the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard newspapers are published daily. Therefore it would be time consuming to analyse all 276 issues of the selected newspapers. Thus, a sample of 73 was gotten using Taro Yamen's formula.

Where n is sample size, N is population size, e is the error, for this study the possible error is 0.1.

Taro Yamen's formula;

Where n = desired sample size
 N = population for study
 I = theoretical constant
 e = expected error margin.

Therefore;

$$n =$$

$$n =$$

$$n = 73.$$

3.4 Sample Technique

The sampling adopted is purposive sampling, thus, is a great opportunity for the researcher to arrive at a dependable result on which relevant generalization could be made. Purposive sampling is a method in which the

researcher uses his or her judgement to choose respondents and selects those that best meet the purpose of the population of the study. Purposive is done deliberately to represent the specific portion of the population, it is on basic that this research use the selected newspapers, the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard newspapers.

Also, simple random sampling technique was used to ensure each newspaper has an equal chance of being selected in the population. 276 editions from Monday till Friday, excluding weekends from the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard, this is because weekends are mostly entertainment news from June to August, 2021.

3.5 Research Instruments

Coding sheet was used in gathering data for this study, because coding in content analysis is summary response into groups, reducing the number of different response to make comparism earlier. The coding sheet was structured in rows and columns to sampling the analysis of data obtained from the three newspapers.

3.6 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis is editorial, for this study we shall be using editorials on insecurity in the three newspapers (the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard) will be analysed.

3.7 Validation of Instrument

Validity of instrument is simply the degree of accuracy and subdirectory. The instrument adopted for this research is coding sheet and it is valid because it involves manifest of already documented newspapers content.

The instrument is valid because it was shown to an expert in the field of communication.

3.8 Reliability of Instrument

Reliability of instrument is to make sure to double check the instrument if it is valid and reliable. To ensure the reliability of instrument a study was conducted on the editor of the newspaper to determine whether there were editorial on insecurity. At the end, the instrument is reliable.

3.9 Method of data Collection

In this course of the research work, data was gathered from secondary source, the researcher used content analysis method, focusing on three newspapers as case study which are; the Guardian, Punch and Vanguard newspapers.

The researcher does this by carefully observing the newspaper's content documented in library and internet sources.

3.10 Method of Data Analysis

Data generated from the research were analysed the response categories of information (unit of analysis) gathered from the selected newspapers. The data collected would be presented in a tabular form and expressed in detailed writing explaining in text. The analysis will be based on the information from the table and findings based on the content analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings .

4.1 Date presentation/Analysis

This chapter is concerned with data analysis and presentation, as well as discussion generated from the findings. “Textual analysis of Guardian, punch and vanguard newspaper,

Table 1: Showing the additional of editorial on insecurities in select Newspaper:

Newspaper	Frequency	Percentage
Guardian	8	40%
Punch	5	25%
Vanguard	7	35%
Total	20	100%

Source: Guardian, punch, vanguard, 2021

Table 1 shows media coverage of the three news paper publications of editors relating to insecurity in Nigeria. Data was gotten from (20) editions of newspaper within the period of study. (8) Which represents 40% was found in Guardian newspaper, while (5) which represents 25% edition was found in punch and (7) which represents 35% edition was also found in vanguard newspaper.

Table 2: showing the Views of editors on the matter of insecurities

Insecurities	Guardian	Punch	Vanguard
Insurgency	0	1	2
Banditry	2	1	2
Arms trafficking	0	1	0
Arms robbery	2	2	0
Boko Haram	0	0	2

Source: guardian, punch, vanguard, 2021

Table 2: shows the various views of editors on matter on insecurities from June 2021 to August 2021.

Insurgency; Guardian (0) punch (1) vanguard (2) , Banditry; Guardian (2) punch (1) vanguard (2) , Arms trafficking ; Guardian (0) punch (1) vanguard (0) , Arms robbery; Guardian (2) punch (2) vanguard (0) Boko harram ; Guardian (0) punch (0) vanguard (2)

Frequency	Guardian	Punch	Vanguard
June 2021	4	0	0
July 2021	1	3	4
August 2021	1	1	3

Source: Field Work, 2021

Table 3 shows the frequency of editorial comments on insecurities, through June, July and August. June 2021, Guardian (4) punch (0) vanguard (0),

July 2021, Guardian (1) punch (3) vanguard (4) and August 2021 , Guardian (1) punch (1) Vanguard (3) .

Table 4: Editorials comments

Pattern	Guardian	Punch	Vanguard
Praise editorial	2	0	1
Editorial of criticism	5	1	1
Narrative editorial	1	1	0
Editorial of entertainment	3	1	0
Editorial of interpretation	2	1	1

Source: Guardian, punch, vanguard, 2021

Table 4. Shows the view of editors on matters of insecurities adopted by select . Praise editorial; Guardian newspapers (1), punch newspapers (0), vanguard newspapers (2). Editorial of criticism; Guardian newspapers (1) punch newspapers (1) vanguard newspapers (5). Narrative editorial; Vanguard newspapers (1), punch newspapers (1), Guardian newspapers (0). Editorial of entertainment; Guardian newspapers (0) punch newspapers (1) vanguard newspapers (3). Editorial of interpretation; Guardian newspapers (2) punch newspapers (1) vanguard newspapers (1).

4.3 Discussion of Findings

RQ 1: What are the views of editors on matters of insecurities in Nigeria?

The view of editors on insecurities matters in Nigeria Newspaper had covered both stories of Insurgency, Banditry, Arms trafficking, Arms robbery, Boko Haram

Source: The Guardian Newspaper, (20th August, 2021. Page 20)

“Fourth, traffic robbery and many cases types of urban crime are committed largely by young people. A combination can be rightly blamed. Traffic robbery in Lagos because, once again major news when the convoy of sanwo- olu ran into some machete wielding youths in the act of robber in a citizen help up in the characteristics traffics snarls of the city”.

The Guardian, mainly shared their focus on robbery especially traffic robbery , they see it as very unhealthy someone would have to go through the phase after a stressful day , they believed these vices are mostly done by youth and this is because of the level of unemployment in the county . They suggest government

should work and look for possible means in getting the youth out of the street and get their hands busy.

From the newspaper above the Sanwo-Olu ran into some machete wielding youths while trying to rob a citizen catch on traffic.

Source: Vanguard Newspaper (28th July, 2021. Page 18).

“There is no way a government can approach the scale of security challenges we are facing with double standards and expect win. All hands are not on deck. Nigerians who feel unjustly treatment by the regime feel alienated. Apart the perception that the federal government is not pursuing a pan. Nigeria agenda, but an tunic one, cannot promote a United efforts, even among those in armed forces and security agencies.”

The “Bandits “and armed herds, men are terrorist. They must be officially declared for what they are and dealt within the language they understand.

Vanguard Newspaper write on Bandits who they also referred to as armed herdsmen who they classified under the group of terrorist , they believe they

should also be treated as the names implies and should be killed once they are cut , they should face immediate penalties for their action . They see it as a double standard approach to dealing with insecurity.

RQ2: How often does the newspaper feature editorial comments on insecurities in Nigeria?

The results obtained from the study revealed important issues , first is that the three newspapers ; Guardian punch and vanguard were not similar in their reportage on insecurities issues. Secondly, the newspaper did not write on insecurities issues like it's happening rapidly in our society today. Thirdly, the editorials were not written frequently.

Findings shows how often editorial comments on insecurity are featured in Nigeria newspapers from June - August 2021,

June; Guardian (4) punch (0) vanguard (0)

July; Vanguard (4) punch (3) Guardian (1)

August; Vanguard (3) punch (1) Guardian (1)

These numbers indicates how low insecurities editorials were written on Nigeria selected newspapers

RQ 3: What pattern of comments on insecurity is adopted by Nigeria Newspaper?

Pattern	Guardian	Punch	Vanguard
Praise editorial	2	0	1
Editorial of criticism	5	1	1
Narrative editorial	1	1	0
Editorial of entertainment	3	1	0
Editorial of interpretation	2	1	1

Source: Guardian, punch, vanguard, 2021

The result obtained from the study the various pattern of comments on insecurity by Nigeria Newspapers

Source: Vanguard Newspaper, 2 August, 2021.

“The Muhammad Buhari administration and of course the people of Nigeria, are very fortunate that our traditional strategic partners (Britain and the USA) are now ready to assist us in tackling our multi-frontal insecurity challenges. We welcome the arrival of six of the 12 light attack super Tucano planes which the

Buhari regime purchased from the US. We also warmly receive the offer of assistance by the US and UK governments.

This is a very comforting engagement because it raises the hope that the double standards with which the Buhari government has approached our war against insecurity will be curbed

The extracted comments on the Buhari regime and on the west in the help against Nigeria insecurity. The comments speaks on how the Buhari government has gone beyond to raise resources that would help on the fight against insecurity with full joined forces with the western government.

Source: The guardian, (20th August, 2021. Page 16)

“For many residents of Lagos, traffic robbery is so common that news of it hardly seize attention. This is a pity , for the real and potential victims; a shame on the three levels of government that are constitutionally required to secure the life and property of the citizens but are falling , glaringly, in their duty. Yet, as long as vehicular traffic remains highly endangered. The state government must therefore address the issues from a multi dimensional perspective. “

“ Traffic robbery in Lagos became , once against major news when the convoy of sanwo - olu ran into some machete wielding youths in the act of robbing a citizen held in traffic’ .

This editorial is about criticism, the editors criticize the government for being relax about the issue of traffic robbery, it rather unhealthy and the public has been seem to care less taking the traffic robbing as one of those things that happens in a life of a citizen.

This editorial calls on the government and the security forces who has failed in performing their duties to the citizens.

CHAPTER FIVE Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of findings

The findings from this research shows that:

1. The prominence given to insecurity editorial by print media was very low because of the editorial appeared once or twice in a month
2. Also , majority of editorials were praise on the government on how they were handing the matters on insecurity and not how the issues was affecting the nation
3. Many editorial were written as thoughts of ideas of editors and were not revealing how the insecurity has affected the nation
4. Findings also showed that the editors do not involve in the writing of insecurity editorials on the newspaper.

5.2 Conclusion

The findings above made it clear that the guardian, punch and vanguard newspaper did not pay attention to insecurity editorial, compared to other issues

published during the period of the study . The prominence given to insecurity editorials were low, editors in the three newspapers did not seem to see the story as very paramount to be taken with much importance as other issues affecting the country.

Therefore, the press to set agenda for the public was achieved but on a low frequency based on the data / information collected within the period of the study.

5.3 Recommendations

In other to be more efficient in the editorial of insecurity matters , there are recommended:

1. With the high level of insecurity facing the nation on a daily, a fair amount of space should be give to feature editorial article on the study
2. Editors should show more interest in insecurities matters
3. Editors should give detailed reports even while they also share their views on the matter with detailed analytical and interpretation reports
4. Newspaper houses should increase the interest and commitment to report consistently issues facing the country

5. Also, editors should write in a way that everyone understands even the common man and make the audience have a positive insight on the issues.

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COD1:

CODING SHEET

Coding sheet showing the editions of editorial on insecurities in select newspaper.

Newspaper	Frequency	percentage
Guardian		
Punch		
Vanguard		
Total		

COD2

Coding sheet showing the views of editors on matters of insecurities in select Newspaper

Insecurities	Guardian	Punch	Vanguard
Insurgency			
Banditry			
Arms trafficking			
Arms robbery			
Boko haram			

COD3:

Coding sheet showing the frequency of Editorial comments on insecurities in select Newspaper

Frequency	Guardian	Punch	vanguard
June2021			
July, 2021			
August, 2021			

COD4

Coding sheet showing the pattern of Editorial comments on insecurity adopted by select Nigeria Newspaper

Pattern	Vanguard	Punch	Guardian
Praise editorial			
Editorial of criticism			
Narrative editorial			
Editorial of entertainment			
Editorial of interpretation			

Editorial

www.guardian.ng

Traffic robbery and youth unemployment

FOR many residents of Lagos, traffic robbery is so common that news of it hardly seizes attention. This is a pity, for the real and potential victims: a shame on the three levels of government that are constitutionally required to secure the life and property of the citizens but are failing, glaringly, in their duty. Yet, as long as vehicular traffic remains prone to gridlock and slow motion, commuters remain highly endangered. The state government must therefore address the issue from a multi-dimensional perspective.

No doubt, the Governor, Babajide Sanwo-Olu, continually takes steps to address the problem of crime in Lagos State. Lately, the state strengthened the Lagos State Command with 200 motor cycles, 150 double cabin vehicles, 30 saloon patrol cars, thousands of gas canisters, and even five armoured personnel carriers (APC). Virtually every other state in the country is taking from its resource to support the federal police.

Traffic robbery in Lagos became, once again major news when the convoy of Sanwo-Olu ran into some matche-wielding youths in the act of robbing a citizen held up in the characteristic traffic snarl of the city. The hapless man was saved by the timely arrival of the governor's team and the miscreants were apprehended and currently facing prosecution. However, the governor cannot be always available to deliver fellow citizens from the hands of criminals.

This is the job, in the first instance, of the Nigeria Police Force. Part II (4) of

the police Act, 2020 itemises the nine point duties of the force. These include "to prevent and detect offences and protect the rights and freedom of every person in Nigeria as provided in the Constitution, the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and any other law"; "maintain public safety, law and order"; "protect the lives and property of all persons in Nigeria". The *Guardian* had, a while ago, cause to lament how hoodlums, making advantage of the insufferably slow moving vehicular traffic, brazenly attack and rob commuters at gunpoint, in daylight and unchallenged. Between March to June this year, 127 suspects were arrested, according to the police for a city ailing for the mega-status, this crime must be curbed.

The Lagos State Command has, on its part come up with strategies to curb not only traffic robbery but other crimes such as cultism, kidnaping, and illegal possession of arms. Commissioner of Police Hakeem Odumosu says that a tactical team has been set up to raid criminal hideouts where traffic robbers and others hide. Besides, with the benefit of motor cycles, the police can move faster across Lagos than they have in the past. As Lagosians patiently await positive results of these efforts, government should recognise that all the equipment in the world will not solve criminality in a society that has too few policemen for a job. Nigeria has less than 400, 000 full time officers and men to police a population of over 200 million spread over a land mass of 924, 000 sqkm. The United Nations is reported to recom-

mend one policeman to 450 citizens. It does not require the wisdom of Solomon to see that the Nigeria Police is severely understaffed. The Federal government should simply do the needful for the police, in line with global best practice. All progressive member of its party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) promise to "urgently address capacity building... of law enforcement agents in terms of quantity and quality as this is critical in trying to avert the sanctity of lives and property."

Secondly, just as all politics is local, so too is effective policing largely local. So much has been said for a de-centralised police force that no one can have a reasonable argument to the contrary, in the very jurisdiction from where Nigeria copied the constitution, at democratic system and layers of there are many types and powers of policing with corresponding institutions and authority. Even higher institutions of learning have their internal police. The Federal Government should not stubbornly stick to its centrally controlled strategy of law enforcement, given its overwhelming failure. A fundamentally flawed centralised police structure cannot be cured except by a fundamental restructuring by way of decentralisation.

Third, there can be no doubt that if Lagos State (other states too) were to invest the billions of naira it expends on the Federal Government controlled police force on its own state police,

with personnel recruited from the indigenes and residents of the state by the very logic of operations in the terrain, they will far more effectively curb criminality. This point emphasises the need for state police. We hope that the APC manifesto promised to begin widespread consultations to attend to the needs of each community. The government to employ State Security Community Police to address the honourable that this document promise, so freely and publicly, should be implemented without any delay.

Fourth, traffic robbery and many types of urban crime are committed largely by young people. A cutting edge of youth unemployment and, hence, can be rightly blamed. The long answer to youth unemployment is government to do its duty to the young and to other citizens as enjoined in section 14(2) (b) of the constitution. The face of the clear and present dangers, it is as if deep and broad holes has taken flight in this climate but youths must be saved from the grasp they find themselves due to the fault of their fathers.

There is dire need for better, clearer broader thinking at all levels of government to resolve burning issues of poverty and unemployment in this kind of all, the "primary purpose of government" is the "security and welfare of people." That is the law of the land, also the moral duty of government.

TILOMACE TOWHILL

07-1305, 11723UBUA, YAC239UT, 384996V
18 - Vanguard, TUESDAY, AUGUST 17, 2021

THE continued rejection of Nigeria's food exports in foreign countries shows that Nigerian government workers are simply not doing their work. Those who are supposed to supervise governance are either not implemented or also not doing their work.

Wey's back in October 2017, former Minister of Agriculture, Audu Ogbeh, had publicly lamented rejection of Nigerian yams exported to the United States of America.

We were in the middle of an economic recession, and the Muhammadu Buhari government was anxious to diversify the economy to reduce oil dependency. Shipments of yams were sent to America, the United Kingdom and China, and many of them were rejected because of poor quality.

Ogbeh had undertaken to investigate why this could happen despite the fact that the Nigerian Ports Authority, NPA; the Nigerian Customs Service, NCS;

Vanguard COMMENT

Continued rejection of Nigerian food exports

The Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria, FAAN; the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control; NAFDAC; the SON; the Organisation of Nigeria, Council, Nigerian Export Promotion Council, NEPC; the Nigerian Agricultural Quarantine Services, NAQS; and the National Agricultural Seed Council, NASC; were involved in ensuring the quality of our agricultural products. Four years later, the NAFDAC Director General, Prof. Mofisola Adeyeye, appeared on Channels of Television to lament that 70 per cent of our agricultural commodities are rejected by the European Union. If public officers charged with the

mandate to carry out crucial economic regulatory functions come out to lament to us, who should we hold responsible for their failure to do their work? Does Prof. Adeyeye not realise she was actually confessing the incompetence of NAFDAC's incompetence under her?

She blamed the problem on food exporters who cut corners to avoid the attention of regulators, thus risking the rejection of their exports in foreign destinations. She also blamed the lack of standard storage facilities which means that most of our products develop moulds before arriving at their final destinations.

These are jobs that these eight

redundant federal parasitoids were set up for, but which they woefully failed to do. Unfashionably, in Nigeria, failure is never sanctioned. It is rewarded and reinforced.

Many officials are not suitably qualified or committed to their jobs, yet they are kept in the service due to nepotism and corrupt public service culture.

These poor quality agricultural commodities being rejected not only bring shame to our national image, they also negate the objectives of the economic diversification agenda.

The huge Nigerian Diaspora depends a lot on food exports from Nigeria. These rejections mean that the commodities are scarcer and more expensive for our people over there.

The ball is squarely in the court of NAFDAC to drive the programme of ensuring that only good quality agricultural commodities are allowed to leave the shores of the country.

~~TERRORISM~~
BANDITRY...



AWDAVAN SEQUIN
 09023940847

18 — Vanguard, MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 2021

THE Mthammadu Bahari administration, and of course the people of Nigeria, are very fortunate that our traditional strategic partners (Britain and the USA) are now ready to assist us in tackling our multifrontal insecurity challenges.

Seven years ago, when the Goodluck Jonathan government sought help to tackle our insecurity which was only active in the North East, the West not only spurned our request, but they also frustrated efforts to procure arms through informal channels. They also refused to play active roles in the efforts to rescue the abducted Chibok schoolgirls but rather amplified the negative propaganda this imposed on the regime, thus making it easier for Jonathan to lose the 2015 elections. Since 2015, the Islamic State in the West Africa Province, ISWAP, has joined Boko Haram in maintaining the jihadis' terrorist hold in the North East. Also in the North West,

Vanguard COMMENT

West's help against Nigeria's insecurity

terrorists which Muhammadu Buhari government calls "Bandidis", have morphed from cattle rustlers to massacring, abducting for ransom, forcibly converting Christians to Islam and making life hell for people in Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi and Niger States.

Also, armed herdsmen have established camps in all states of the South, killing farmers, destroying their farms, kidnapping for ransom and claiming ownership of the ancestral lands of indigenous people. British High Commissioner to Nigeria, Catherine Leding, in April 2021 admitted the insecurity situation in

Nigeria has become complex and announced Britain's offer to help. Also, the US Embassy's Charge D'Affaires, Kathleen Fitzgibbon, said the arrival of American warplanes ordered by Nigeria is a sign the US wants to help.

Where the Federal Government has deployed the security forces against Boko Haram and the so-called "Bandidis", the Fulani militant herdsmen have been allowed a free rein to terrorise the Middle Belt and South unchecked. The people are unprotected from them.

It was in an attempt to resist the reign of terror by criminal herdsmen

that Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra, IPOB, and Chief Sunday Igboho, the promoter of Yoruba Nation, took initiatives which have landed them in government custodies to face trial.

We welcome the arrival of six of the 12 light attack Super Tucano planes which the Bahari regime purchased from the US. We also warmly receive the offer of assistance by the US and UK governments.

This is a very comforting engagement because it raises the hope that the double-standards with which the Bahari government has approached our war against insecurity will be curbed. We call on the US to insist that those sophisticated weapons be committed strictly against genuine terrorists rather than targeting people agitating for the safety of their people from unprovoked "herdsmen" militants.

UNHEALTHY situation...



Hospital
abroad

DAMOSUN SEGUN,
08023940847.



Vanguard COMMENT

Benue: The forgotten herders' killings fields

It is not surprising that Nigerians apparently lost interest in the daily carnage that the people of Benue State are experiencing at the hands of herdsmen terrorists. It is a sign of an unhealthy nation that these killings can be going on without firm reactions from the Nigerian populace. Once the terrorists succeed in subduing the Benue people, they will extend their evil to other places.

They are already in most places in the Middle Belt and the Three Southern geopolitical zones of the country, but it appears that Benue was chosen as the epicentre of their expansionist campaign. Two reasons can be added for this. One Prof. Umar Laddo of the North West University, NWU, Kano, had on January 18, 2018, outrageously claimed that Benue State belonged to the Fulani by conquest. Secondly, after the state passed the anti-open grazing law in November 2017, Miyetti Allah, the

umbrella organisation of cattle breeders, swore to continue the bloodletting till the law was revoked. On January 1, 2018, seventy-two people were gruesomely massacred. To draw the world's attention to their plight, the government and people of Benue State televised the mass burial of the victims, an act that drew the displeasure of the Muhammadu Buhari government. As the killings continued the Daudu and Ukpiam Internally-Displaced Persons, IDPs, camps were established outside Makurdi. Benue indigenes in the Diaspora petitioned the House of

Representatives on their plight and the killings, but the Deputy Speaker, Idris Wase, refused to entertain it because according to him, the petitioners were not registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission!

Since then, even Governor Samuel Ortom's hometown in Guma LGA has been severally attacked, his farm destroyed, while he narrowly escaped assassination in May this year.

On April 25, 2021, 17 people were murdered at Yagbo-Mbayev in Guma LGA. The killers struck again on May 28, 2021, killing 36 people at Katsina-Ala. The Police called it "fake news" but the photos of the bodies were displayed on Twitter by stakeholders

to debunk the police claim. Also on June 3, 2021, 300 people were massacred in three villages in Ado LGA. Premium Times reported over 200 killed in May alone in Benue.

What has happened to the military's Operation Ayem Akpatama? How committed is the Federal Government in protecting Benue people and other indigenous Nigerians from these terrorists! When will Nigerians stop tolerating these killings and "conquests"? When will the "herdsmen" be officially declared as terrorists which the world already knows them for?

We are dealing with massacres, ethnic cleansing, genocide and occupation of people's lands by terrorists - masquerading as "herdsmen". Benue people have the right under the Constitution for protection by the Federal Government. These killings are unacceptable. Benue people's lives matter.



editorial

Horrific violence in Plateau State

INSECURITY and civil unrest in Nigeria, the plains of Plateau are troubled in blood since after another gruesome tragedy engulfed the North Central zone that about a week after kidnapping (Fulani) gunmen-herders slaughtered scores of people in the trigone kingdom, in December, this state capital. The attackers seized the travellers, who were returning from a religious site in Bauchi State and massacred them. They never reached their destination in Akure, Ondo State, before the premature transition to the great beyond. This is the most heinous way to die. It is condemnable, completely unmitigated.

In an odd coincidence, the return trip of the Fulani religious procession occurred during the burial of some victims of the tragic massacre. That moment, all hell broke loose, and reprisals ensued. It was horrific. The notion that followed was untenable because this is a human life. The frequent massacres of the natives by the herdsmen, went into overdrive. The President, Major General Muhammadu Buhari (pres.), stirred Usman, the Inspector-General of Police, Babu Usman, a deployed six special police squads coordinated by a Deputy Inspector-General of Police, and a surveillance helicopter to track down the perpetrators. More than 23 arrests were made within 48 hours.

These killings tarnish the mind. The killing spree captures the intractable violence in Plateau. In the past two decades, the state has become tarnished and stained with bloodshed. Violence recurs at a dizzying pace. In this part, it is pure criminality. This intertwines with the ethnic aspect of the violence. Nomadic Fulani herdsmen, seeking pasture and territorial conquest, have long been linked with these massacres.

It is these sporadic attacks by the herders that precipitated the Kakuba killings on August 14. A week before that date, gunmen believed to be Fulani herdsmen had invaded more than 10 communities in the Jos South, Bassa and Riyom local government areas, perpetrating atrocities as before. In the carnage, more than 50 persons were slaughtered. Unhindered by the security apparatus, the invaders torched 400 houses. They rendered 22,000 people homeless. The communities as usual alleged that security personnel did not respond to their calls for help during the attacks and that a nearby military unit said it had no orders to intervene. This is a tinderbox.

Crime is heinous and should be punished irrespective of the ethnicity, faith or status of perpetrators and their victims. Society runs on the concept of impartial justice that should be done and seen to be so. But in Nigeria, many are convinced that crime is selectively punished. The Plateau outrage and the federal response speak in no uncertain volumes: when the Fulani are victims, say the critics, the Buhari regime moves swiftly into action. When others are squashed, there is an ominous silence. Selective action is the crux of the matter. One-sided law enforcement precludes the vicious, cyclical violence. The world did not see this rapid action by the regime when 200

million were massacred in June 2018 in 11 communities that straddle Barkin Ladi, Jos South and Riyom LGAs. Not was there any conspicuous government action in July 2018 when suspected Fulani herdsmen slaughtered a Plateau State House of Assembly, Cyang Fulani. Both innocents were killed during the mass burial of about 35 victims of the previous week's attack. Injustice is fuel for violence. Instead of seeking scapegoats and arresting a few natives, the government must apply the full weight of its coercive powers on all perpetrators of violence.

Already, the reprisals have started. Two days after the Kakuba tragedy, suspected Fulani herdsmen murdered five natives, four in Bassa LGA and one in Jos North LGA. This time, the government has yet to make arrests.

The prolonged Plateau mayhem has besmeared Nigeria's image. In 2018, the Global Terrorism Index recorded the highest attacks. The herdsmen have been rated the world's fourth deadliest terror group based on their endless atrocities. The GTI 2020 named Nigeria the third most terrorised country in the world after Afghanistan and Iraq.

Rather than bring them to book, the government has been placating these killer-herdsmen. So, their victims feel abandoned, being neither given justice nor compensated. That is divisive.

Conversely, Nigeria's neighbour, Niger Republic, declared two days of national mourning after gunmen massacred 37 persons in the Darey-Daye region of the country on August 17. In addition, the government promised to "pursue the fight against terrorism until the final victory." That is a far better approach in the fight against insecurity. The people are more likely to support the efforts of a government that favours this even-handed approach.

But Plateau State is a microcosm of the unbridled insecurity in Nigeria. In the North-East, Boko Haram's Islamic terrorism has claimed over 350,000 lives, directly and indirectly, the UN Development Programme stated. In North-West Nigeria, Boko Haram kills, kidnap and rape with impunity.

No region is safe from bloody marauders. In January 2020, the descent into infernal insecurity propelled the South-West governors to establish Operation Amotekun, a regional security outfit. In 2021, the South-East governors followed suit. At this point, Plateau State has no option but to establish a state security outfit, or, in conjunction with willing states in the North-Central, set up a regional unit like Amotekun and the South-East's Ebube Agu.

In the area of security, the Buhari regime scores woefully. It can rewrite that by depoliticising insecurity, which has severed trust between the leadership and the people. In the interest of the country, that must stop being in control of the entire national security system Buhari's remit is to tackle the root causes of insecurity applying the stick to all offenders fairly and justly.



12 — Vanguard, TUESDAY, JULY 6, 2021
 Thursday, July 1, 2021, the Boko
 Adeyemo (also known as Sunday
 Igboho) was attacked for the second time
 in six months. The first was on January
 26, 2021 when hoodlums burnt the same
 house in what was seen as a retaliation
 by suspected Fulani assailants. Three
 weeks earlier, Igboho and his men had
 abducted the families of a Fulani leader,
 Abdulkadir Salihu, from Igangan in Oyo
 State, over accusations of masterminding
 attacks, rapes, kidnappings, murders,
 destruction of farms, harbouring
 hoodlums and negotiating ransoms for
 kidnapers.

While speculations were still swirling
 as to who carried out the second attack
 on Igboho's household, the Directorate
 of State Services, in a statement issued by
 its spokesman, Dr. Peter Afunanya, had
 claimed responsibility for it. The DSS said
 Igboho had stockpiled arms in his home.
 According to the statement, on
 approaching the residence at 1.34am, the
 DSS operatives were fired on by nine men
 suspected to be Igboho's guards.
 According to the statement, "six of
 them were armed with AK-47 guns and
 three others with pump action rifles. In
 the course of the exchange, two of
 Igboho's armed men were gunned down
 while the rest were subdued and
 arrested". The Service also said that seven
 AK-47 magazines with 5,000 rounds of
 ammunition, five cutlasses, one jack
 knife, Igboho's passport, one pair of
 binoculars, two whistles, three voodoo
 charm jackets/traditional body armour
 and other items were recovered.
 We consider the manner of this
 nocturnal raid very disturbing because
 there is very little that differentiates it from

Midnight raids: DSS should not behave like bandits

the methods deployed by hoodlums and
 bandits in attacking innocent people. By
 staging this operation in the wee hours
 of the night, the DSS operatives gave the
 guards in that building legitimate reasons
 to try warding off the attack in the belief
 that the hoodlums who had earlier
 attacked the place were back.
 When the same DSS staged what it
 described as a "sting operation" on some
 judges in Abuja in October 2016, it was
 widely condemned as an unnecessary act
 meant to intimidate the suspects when the
 same objective could have been achieved
 through the civilised, due process of
 obtaining a court warrant. In this raid on
 Igboho's residence, there was also no
 reported indication that it was done with
 a court warrant. The problem this poses
 is that the DSS agents were the only
 persons at the scene to process it and
 report of items recovered. There was no
 way of confirming the veracity of their
 claim that Igboho "stockpiled arms".
 Furthermore, there is no reported
 evidence that the DSS took any action
 when Abdulkadir had allegedly
 established a commune which was
 guarded by armed men in Igangan and
 Even when hoodlums attacked Igboho's
 house, there was no known action from
 the Police which said they were on the
 heels of the assailants, but up till date,
 never disclosed the outcome of their

investigations.
 The Directorate had also carried out
 actions early in this administration which
 questioned its impartiality in the
 discharge of its duties. In April 2016, the
 Service, through its erstwhile spokesman,
 Tony Opuio, had issued a statement
 which read as follows: "Service has
 uncovered the heinous role played by the
 members of the Indigenous People of
 Biafra in the abduction/kidnap of five
 Hausa-Fulani residents, namely:
 Mohammed Gainako, Ibrahim
 Mohammed Rago at Isukwuato LGA in
 Abia State. The abducted men were later
 discovered at the Umuanyi Forest, Abia
 State, where they were suspected to have
 been killed by their abductors and buried
 in shallow graves amidst 50 other shallow
 graves of unidentified persons".
 That raised the question of how the DSS
 was able to only identify the five bodies
 of "Hausa-Fulani" ethnic origin without
 50 bodies. This manner in which the
 Service has sometimes performed its
 functions under the current regime also
 resonates with the Muhammadu Buhari
 government's worrisome refusal to
 declare the armed pastoralists as
 terrorists.
 Meanwhile, the Global Terrorism Index,
 GTI, since 2015 had rated them as the
 fourth most murderous terror group in
 the world after ISIS, Somali Al Shabab

and Boko Haram. Since then, the armed
 herders have taken their terrorism to all
 parts of the Middle Belt and the Southern
 geopolitical zones, establishing camps in
 forests, killing people, raping, destroying
 farms, kidnapping for ransom and even
 collecting tolls in parts of Delta State
 before allowing farmers into their farms.
 Rather than declare them terrorists and
 protect innocent and law-abiding
 Nigerians from them, the government
 inappropriately describes their nefarious
 activities as "farmers-herders clashes".
 Just last month, we did not hear a word
 from the DSS when a group of self-styled
 "Fulani Jihadists" threatened to attack
 Asaba and Agbor in Delta State unless
 Governor Beami Okowa "rescinded" the
 ban on open grazing imposed throughout
 the 17 Southern states by their Governors
 after a meeting in Asaba. Nobody has
 been apprehended to reassure the public
 that such threats cannot be tolerated by
 the government of the day.
 These uneven-handed approaches to
 the discharge of the Service's functions
 do not augur well for faith in the country
 by Nigerians who feel at the wrong end
 of it. If anything, it will boost the camps
 of the aggrieved who seem to have totally
 lost their faith in Nigeria as their country
 capable of and willing to protect their lives
 and property.
 We call on the President to caution the
 Service. The DSS must conform strictly
 to the universally-established rules of
 engagement while performing official
 functions. Government agents maintained
 with the taxpayers' money cannot be
 perceived to compete with hoodlums in
 their modus operandi. Civilised,
 professional and lawful conducts on their
 part will earn them respect and acclaim
 among the people and restore faith in
 Nigeria. These are what we ask of them.



18 — Vanguard, WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, 2021

The Department of State Security operated in a recent joint security operation, raided the Badami residence of Yoruba self-determination agitator Sunday Adeyemo aka Sunday Igho-

bo. The raid, according to the DSS, resulted in a gun battle which led to the death of two of Igho's men, arrest of 13 persons and discovery of a cache of arms. Igho has since refuted the DSS's claims, accusing the Service of planting the arms in his house.

Since we published on May 28, 2021 an editorial titled: "Enough of these killings", which traced some violent killings across the world and how they threw countries into bitter wars, the three countries by government and non-state actors has worsened. Violently killing innocent people, no matter the justification, always begets endless chains of revenge and more

Vanguard COMMENT

Insecurity: Another case for state police

Violence. There is a fallacy in the thinking that the killing of innocent people will go without repercussions or achieve anything positive.

Too much innocent blood has been shed in Nigeria from 1966 till date. It is the killing of people was capable of bringing peace. Nigeria would have been one of the most peaceful countries in the world today, given the number of innocent people who have been killed both by government security agencies and criminals.

Unfortunately, we cannot set a standard for armed criminals, or appeal to them to stop the carnage; government exists to stop them. But this ad-

ministration appears to pluck and choose which violent group to target and which to condone.

We appeal to the Federal Government and its security agencies to desist from killing innocent and law-abiding people but focus strongly on the elimination of all forms of armed violence, irrespective of those involved and without fear or favour.

Events in the past six years have shown that the Federal Government, which had made the security of lives and property a priority, has not only been overwhelmed, but also joined the criminals in killing of indigenous people who have taken steps to defend

themselves against their arrestment and other criminals.

To find a lasting solution to the orgy of killings in Nigeria, the states must be allowed to have their own police. There is no democratic federation of Nigeria's size that depends on a centralised police system. The sub-national units must play their roles in the prevention, detection, investigation, conviction, correction/reform and punishment of crime and violence.

Nigerians are yearning for state police. In telling two South West governors to go back home and solve their security problems, President Muhammadu had unwittingly admitted the Federal Government's incapacity to secure the nation alone. He should lead the way in the actualisation of the demand for state police. We must decentralise and democratise security control.

#ENDINSECURITY



AMBASSYMAN SEAVAN,
KADUNA STATE

editorial

Buhari and worsening security challenges

THE President, Major General Muhammadu Buhari (ret'd), was uncharacteristically on target when at a dinner he hosted for federal lawmakers, he identified insecurity as Nigeria's single most daunting challenge today. He acknowledged that insurgents, banditry, kidnapping and urban crime of all sorts had spiked and constrained the ability of the government to provide infrastructure and social services, attract investments, create jobs and wealth. But the President is worryingly ignorant of its root causes and dangerously clueless on how to curb it. Overcoming challenges starts with the correct diagnosis and is achievable only by doggedly seeing through policies that tackle their misdiagnosis.

Translating the President's avowed commitment to end insecurity and bring perpetrators to justice into successful outcomes will require deeper insight into the structural deformations that facilitate insecurity in the country, effective law enforcement strategies and inclusive administrative measures tailored to the peculiarities of Nigeria's pluralism. Successive Nigerian governments have failed because they perpetually live in denial. They ignore the country's fundamentally faulty structural foundation that generates instability, operate an unworkable central policing system, and fail to instill efficiency in the security forces. This regime mismanagement of the country's diversity, compounds all this by exclusionary policies and gross ineptitude.

Thankfully, Buhari recognised the dire security situation, its disruptive socio-economic consequences, and how it inhibits infrastructure provision and national cohesion. A Tony Blair Institute report said the scale of the insecurity "threatens the very fabric of the Nigerian society." It named the country's five biggest security threats as jihadism, "farmers-herders clashes," banditry and kidnapping, separatist insurgency, and militancy in the oil-producing areas.

Insecurity is a lived experience for Nigerians. In the cities, cult/criminal gangs violently rob, rape, and engage in random violence. Global Rights Nigeria, an NGO, tallied 1,603 persons killed "in mass atrocities" in the first quarter of 2021. Of this, bandits slaughtered 906 persons, 207 others died in Boko Haram/ISWAP terrorist attacks and 1,774 persons in the North-East alone. Nigeria has the highest number of internally displaced persons in Africa, said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Nigerians are no longer shocked by the news of unimaginable horror. The situation is so scary, and many within and outside the country fear an imminent state failure. Estimates of the number of well-armed bandits rampaging through the country, most of them Fulani from West and Central Africa, range between the 30,000 across Zamfara State Governor, Bello Matawalle, identifies in the forests, they have disrupted farming, travelling and commerce through pillaging, rape, massacres, and kidnapping. Fulani herdsmen/militants have also fanned out countrywide, encouraged by federal duplicity, violently seizing farmland for grazing and unleashing terror on settled communities. Terrorist insurgents are spreading from the North-East to the North-Central and North-West. Crime is rampant in the southern states and the country is awash in illicit arms.

The recent downing of a Nigeria Air Force Alpha jet by hostile forces drives the frightening message home: the country is at war, under attack by terrorists, bandits, and vicious criminals.

After admitting that criminality now poses an existential threat, therefore, Buhari must match his promises to end the scourge with greater resolve, decisive and effective action. While the 1999 Constitution declares that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government," the country has never solved any major national question due to its internal contradictions and material resources. Per capita income, at \$2,097, trails the 36 states exist to share oil revenue rather than operate as autonomous economic units. This guarantees poverty, joblessness, and investment drought.

What went wrong? Fundamentally, Nigeria is a natural federation operating like a unitary state. The centralised A diverse society of over 250 ethnic nationalities, over 200 million people, with a geographic area of 923,768 square kilometres of differing terrain is quickly served by a single police force of 370,000 personnel. Capriciously, a majority of them are deployed in personal security duty for individuals and corporate bodies. Globally, power and responsibility are increasingly being devolved; even centrally planned China encourages autonomy and competition among its provinces, regions, and cities.

To ease insecurity, Buhari needs to enthusiastically back moves to amend the constitution to allow state policing. He should support regional and local security initiatives. The United States has 17,985 police forces, federal, state, and its 29 states while the federal government has seven central police agencies. Even unitary states like the United Kingdom and India's constitution confers police responsibilities to police agencies. Even unitary states like the United Kingdom and India's constitution confers police responsibilities to police agencies. Even unitary states like the United Kingdom and India's constitution confers police responsibilities to police agencies.

Nigeria's leaders should stop politicising insecurity. Buhari typically failed to acknowledge the Fulani herdsmen killer rampage despite their recognition as the world's fourth deadliest terror group, reflecting his persistent partisanship. Separatist agitation cannot be squashed by force. He needs to run an inclusive administration, balance his security appointments and actions to earn popular buy-in across the country, and douse the deep feeling of alienation by large segments of the population. Religious, sectional, and ethnic sentiments should no longer interfere with decision-making. Selective clampdown on suspects compounds the problem. Buhari especially should strive harder to overcome the ethnic and sectarian chauvinist tag he has earned.

Confidence-building, funding, equipping, and motivating the under-resourced Nigeria Police should be priorities. The responsibility of the state is to punish crime; the self-defeating practice of appeasing criminals with cash and dubious amnesty, releasing hardened suspects, including terrorists, should end. Experts classify security as "critical infrastructure;" it requires a robust, intelligence-led, ICT-leveraged law enforcement strategy.

Buhari should adopt a hands-on approach, address the country's structural deformities, and treat the existential threat with greater seriousness to stop the country from sliding into state failure.

LETTERS

Letters must be on this page and must be more than 100 words long, and e-mailed to publishing@punch.com. Each letter must contain writer's full name (not initials) and address, and be typed double-space. Writers may no longer send letters in paper format.

Nigeria's unequipped VAT distribut

THE PUNCH editorial entitled, "The VAT disaster," published in the edition of the newspaper is revealing as dispassionate and objective in the general of allocations (flows) from VAT and 36 states and FCT in Nigeria. Some editorial as an eye-opener and a warning to Nigerians by raising many important current VAT regime and its structural fact, many Nigerians are ignorant of VAT in all about.

The editorial unambiguously as some states are reaping where they sow with little generation to VAT, be of its allocations, distribution as example in the editorial is the 9 revenues from VAT, which forms consumed by residents in a most interesting, confusing and most isn't a hidden secret that the No in the system of central VAT, be a low, which has and preclude the dominant Islamic polio. From a logically and rational making a consistent, some-pot government policy, one-way Northern states would be a almost VAT, because they're able and consumption-off states. But, by the creation the Federal Government part in the starting or that states quo of VAT as an in that 36 states in the 9 benefiting from the 36

In this context, that be possible in living, the Southern states national revenue the equitable distrib states and FCT in 9

The editorial e ambiguity and distribution how FCT in the coun there are many of generating a a paradigm be financially red states like Lagos major econo and a prima comparative of VAT. It g In analogy eggs of VA kopided, generate just come the coun treated, the sta gners and p unfair socia A del it, N p

JOLLY GOOD FRIENDS...



2023

One of the reasons Nigeria's security problems are not being solved is that the security forces have been unable to operate with double standards. In 2015, the Global Terrorism Index, GTI, declared the most murderous terrorist group in the world as Boko Haram. Even though Boko Haram had adopted security government's cardinal objectives, his the terrorism has consistently handed over and "handits" with kid gloves.

With Boko Haram's dwindling fortunes, the so-called "handits" terrorising Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi and Niger states are hiercely competing with the militant herdsmen marauding communities in the Middle Belt and the South for the first place in our local terrorism index. While the Federal Government and even some governors and clerics

Vanguard
COMMENT
Double standard approach to dealing with insecurity

from the North glamourise the North West terrorists as "handits" doing "business" with the killings, mass abductions of students and other innocent citizens for ransom, the Indigenous People of Biafra, IPOB, was declared a "terrorist" group way back in 2017 when they were merely unarmed agitators.

The killer-herdsmen have been massacring, kidnapping, destroying farms and occupying Indigenous people's forests all over the three geo-political zones of the South. Rather than declare them terrorists, govern-

ment calls their acts of terrorism "farmers-herders clashes". It is also fighting tooth and nail to force Nigerians to give up their ancestral lands and water resources for the settlement of these armed and violent elements. It was the refusal of the Federal Government to deal with the militant herdsmen that led to the formation of self-help outfits such as the Eastern Security Network, ESN, the Western Nigeria Security Network, WNSN, known as Amotekun Corps, the rise of Sunday Igboho, the agitation for Yoruba Nation and the struggle for the restoration of Biafra through referendum.

The so-called "handits" have grown from cattle rustlers to militant groups now able to shoot down Nigerian warplanes, only to get away with what they did because of their ready income from their kidnapping "business".

There is no way a government can approach the scale of security challenges we are facing with double standards and expect to win. All hands are not on deck. Nigerians who feel unjustly treated by this regime feel alienated. Apart from their feeling of injustice, the perception that the Federal Government is not pursuing a pan-Nigerian agenda, but an ethnic one, cannot promote a united effort, even among those in the armed forces and security agencies.

The "handits" and armed herdsmen are terrorists. They must be officially declared for what they are, and dealt with in the language they understand.

