



COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF CIVILIAN JOINT TASKFORCE IN ADAMAWA

ABDULRASHEED ABDULYAKEEN

Abstract

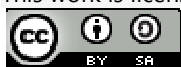
The paper assesses the role of Civilian Joint Taskforce (CJTF) in Adamawa State as an important tool for community policing and consolidation of peace in North Eastern Nigeria. Adopting a mixed-method and utilizing the conflict transformation theory as an analytical framework, the paper reconciles/recognizes individuals or groups at mid-levels and persuades them to embrace peace and foster reconciliation. Using the involvement phenomenon/strategy, every ethnic and religious group in the CJTF was engaged and their presence in every community helps reduce the level of fear, suspicion, prejudice and resentment amidst hitherto adversarial groups. The finding reveals the absence of CJTF will not be highly consequential to the peace achieved in the study area, due to challenges within the CJTF. The paper recommends that government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals who are well-to-do should support efforts of the CJTF financially, and that CJTF needs to periodically organize training for its members, as well as other stakeholders in the principles of strategic-community policing.

Keywords: Community policing, peace and security, partnership and conflict, Adamawa, Nigeria

Introduction

There have been several efforts made to bring about lasting peace in Adamawa State over the past years. These efforts include those by the Federal government, state governments, local government, individuals and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), as well as international organizations. The ultimate aim of this paper is to highlight the role of the Civilian Joint Taskforces (CJTFS) in Adamawa State as an integral part of the community policing and consolidation of peace in North eastern Nigeria.

Adamawa state has persistently witnessed conflict in many forms, ranging from ethno-religious crises, among others. Following this security concern, CJTFs were inaugurated in 2015. This was in partnership with members of the communities to assist the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and





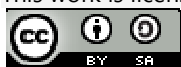
by extension, the Special Military Task Force (SMTF). The overall goal was to help defuse possible tension, undertake early identification of trouble spot, rapid response and prevent crime, as well as tackle violence in the communities.

The North-east region has a population of 18,971,965 and an area of 279,636 square kilometers, comprising the states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. The region shares international borders with the north, north-east and east of the Republics of Niger, Chad and Cameroon, respectively. The region is diverse, comprising of approximately over 200 ethnic groups. The region is also known for its low human development indices, evident in high level of poverty and illiteracy, low access to safe water, poor housing and hygiene conditions, and high prevalence of diseases (Danaan, 2018; Sydney & Onwuemele, 2019).

Since independence, Nigeria has fought the challenges of governance and stability. However, after the return to democracy in May 1999, the rise in the activities of a wide range of violent armed groups increased the level of insecurity in the region. The region has witnessed the killing of at least 20,000 people since the advent of Boko Haram in 2009, displacement of more than 2.6 million others, and the fracture of the fragile security climate in Nigeria.

Government's limited capacity to deal with security breaches by Boko Haram and a host of other armed violent groups became the basis for the emergence of other armed groups wanting to fill the gap. These groups, comprising vigilantes and neighborhood watch groups, were embraced by the communities that they served as viable alternatives or complements to state-provided security. They became part of the evolving security architecture of communities in the North east region. The proliferation of counter-insurgency armed groups in North-east Nigeria presents an interesting subject for study.

Government has shown little capacity to deal with the armed groups or with the socio-economic and political issues that gave rise to them in the increased security climate. State security services - the military, police and other security agencies - have faced difficulties in dealing with emerging threats. As a result, in order to provide protection, local communities have increasingly resorted to another type of armed actors in Nigeria - vigilante groups and neighborhood watch.





The fact that they are independent of state control and function at the neighborhood level, where police by state security forces are largely deficient, is a common feature of these vigilante groups. Another interesting feature is that they increasingly bear arms, crude or sophisticated. Vigilante groups have proved useful in helping to contain the spread of crime, but have also indulged in several excesses, such as extortion, harassment of citizens, unlawful killings of ‘suspects’, and abetting of crimes (Okeke, 2013; Aniche, 2018).

Since 2016, there has been considerable peace in Adamawa State. The attempts of law enforcement officials to reduce tension and abuse are followed by distrust, complaints and claims that require numerous steps to be taken at any level in order to restore confidence. As noted, the role of CJTFs is positively complementary as well as supplementary in tackling crime.

Statement of the Problem/Gap

There has been considerable peace in Adamawa state since 2016 (Okoli, 2017). Many factors have been attributed to this development. These include war fatigue, the effort of the security agencies (Special Military Task Force (SMTF) and the police), the effort of the traditional and religious leaders, and the use of better instruments of conflict resolution by various NGOs among others (Aniche, 2018). However, it is unclear as to the extent to which the various instruments contributed to the consolidation of peace in the state since 2016. Yet, scholarship or research on this issue/gap has been underreported. This paper explores the degree to which the stability achieved in Adamawa is due to the value of community policing as a theory and policy for cooperation between the police and community members in early detection of trouble points, crime prevention and violent confrontation, de-escalation of possible conflicts, information gathering, surveillance and community watch. This study examines the nature of the partnership and assesses the role of the CJTFs community policing security model in the consolidation of peace in Adamawa State, being a hot beds of the Boko Haram insurgency. The aims of the analysis are to map the groups, define their capacities and effects, analyze the relationships between the groups and with the institutions of state security, and identify opportunities for constructive engagement.





Research Questions

This paper is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the roles of the Civilian Joint Taskforce in the effort to restore peace in Adamawa State?
2. How have the Civilian Joint Taskforce contributed to reducing the level of violent conflict and mutual suspicion among the ethnic and religious communities in Adamawa State?
3. To what extent has the Civilian Joint Taskforce contributed towards the consolidation of peace in Adamawa State?

Research objectives

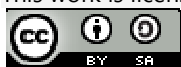
The research objectives include:

1. To critically assess and analyze what the CJTFs perceive their roles to be in the effort to bring about peace in Adamawa State?
2. To critically evaluate and analyze how the CJTFs perceive their contribution towards reducing the level of violent conflict and mutual suspicion among the ethnic and religious communities in Adamawa State?
3. To critically examine and analyze the extent to which the CJTFs think they may have contributed towards the consolidation of peace in Adamawa State?

Clarification of Terms

Group: A group denotes a persons with mutual interests and behavioral habits within a common locality. "These shared interests and patterns of behavior manifest primarily in the areas of (1) the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services (2) socialization (3) social control (4) social participation and (5) mutual control. Group is also described as the actual population that occupies a given area bound to each other by a shared system of rules and regulations that regulate their relationships with one another. They constitute a group of individuals who meet face-to-face regularly or occasionally. Again, the societal dimension is clearly missing/omitted. But on the contrary, society is characterized as a population that occupies a given region and shares a similar system of relationship control rules and regulations with one another. The Group encourages frequent, intimate and intense interactions among members or people. The linkages between group and society are hereby highlighted.

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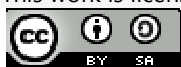
Community: However, the group and societal perspectives still appear to lack the element of community dimension. A community refers to a social group that occupies a given geographical area and whose members share common interests. A Community constitutes rural and urban areas. While the former is the rustic, agrarian countryside usually associated with relatively lower population, lower income, homogeneity and agricultural economy, the latter is characterized by relatively higher population density, higher income, heterogeneity and industrial economy associated with cities and towns. In other words, the two main sectors of a community are the rural and urban sectors.

Vigilante: By contrast, (Aniche, 2018) asserted that, vigilante is a private citizen who punishes an alleged law breaker legally or unlawfully or acts in a community that punishes an alleged lawbreaker with extra-legal or extra-judicial punishment. According to this concept, a vigilant party imposes extra-legal or extra-judicial penalty on an accused lawbreaker. It is important to note that, not all vigilant activities are illegal because sometimes vigilantes are allowed to start by capturing or catching criminals and handing them over to the police (Aniche, 2018).

Often, the targets of vigilantes are those seen as "escaping from the law" or "above the law." It can in general, target individuals or entities engaging in criminal activities, or it may target a particular group or form of activity, such as police corruption. This may be counter intelligence, which is a critical part of the role of a vigilante. However, the behavior of vigilantes may vary in the degree of violence, and in some instances, vigilantes may verbally or physically attack targets or vandalize their property. Any person who defies the law is a vigilante, and therefore, violence is not a necessary criterion (Kwaja, 2013). As noted, the role of vigilante is not entirely safe or problem free. It is important to set their boundaries to avoid excess use or misuse of their powers.

Neighborhood watch: Neighborhood watch on the other hand, is an organized group of citizens within a neighborhood dedicated to the prevention of crime and vandalism (Odekunle, 2010; Aniche, 2018). Neighborhood watch members and others who use legal means of bringing people to justice are therefore not considered vigilantes. In other words, neighborhood crime

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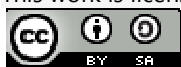


watch is not a vigilante security apparatus, because members of neighborhood watch or crime watch are encouraged to contact authorities or the police when suspecting criminal activities and not to intervene. Members of neighborhood watch are therefore police informants in that they provide relevant information to the police that help the police in investigating and preventing crime (Aniche, 2018).

Ethnic militias: By contrast, Ethnic militias or armed groups are other critical element in the chain of community policing in Nigeria. However, these have been wrongly taken to be vigilante groups. For example, the Odua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), etc. Although, some ethnic militias are involved in vigilante services/activities, they are not strictly speaking vigilante security apparatus in that they are engaged in other activities which are not necessarily or primarily vigilante services (Odekunle, 2010). The argument is that vigilante actions are not the core activities or functions of ethnic insurgent organizations (Aniche, 2018).

Public policing: Public policing ranges from neighborhood newsletters and neighborhood substations to foot patrol and neighborhood watch to a wide variety of initiatives. The level of police participation in the neighborhood watch varies, but the police are often important in the initial organization of the watch group. A "chameleon concept" (Fielding 2005) has been referred to as community policing, as it can be difficult to define and has been in operation in a number of different ways. Community policing or 'neighborhood policing' or 'proximity policing' has been described in several ways, but they are all mainly different ways of saying the same thing (Okeke, 2013).

Community Police: Community Police is a type of collaboration between community individuals and police in the control of crimes and the general safety of citizens. Community policing in Ikuteyijo (2009) involves community cooperation in creating a safe and secure environment for all. It is an effort through which individuals take an active part in their own affairs. Community policing is a strategy that focuses on citizens' participation in the design, implementation and assessment of public safety activities. Community policing is a policy and strategy aimed at





achieving more efficient and effective control of crime, reduce fear of crime, improve quality of life, improve police services and police legitimacy by proactively relying on community resources that seek to change the conditions that cause crime.

Community policing is based on the concept that "the police and the community can work together to solve problems such as crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and decay in the neighborhood," .. It shifts the way traditional police departments operate by decentralizing the rank and file and allowing police officers to identify and address key community issues rather than simply responding to service calls. In general terms, community policing is not a program; it is not a set of activities; it is not a designation of personnel. Community policing is a philosophy of law enforcement, a way of thinking about improving public safety.

Nevertheless, regardless of how community police is represented, it reflects a paradigm change from traditional police or traditional police model. Collaboration between police and civilians in the fight against crime, fear of crime, violent conflict, terrorist attacks, etc. is the core theme. Community policing does not mean that the police are no longer in charge or that it is subordinate to the primary responsibility of upholding law and order, but community policing requires community partnership in ensuring a healthy and secure atmosphere for everyone.

The Peace and Conflict Resolution Imperatives for Community Policing

The Community Police is then necessary because the state has ceased to have monopoly control over the following:

- a. Communications: As the internet is the best following by Radio and Television, yet, it is use for also criminal purpose.
- b. The advancement of technology relies more on the private sector.
- c. Financial flows are streaming across the globe, generating regional and global crises with little capacity for state intervention.
- d. Although states reinsure investment, their ability to influence decisions about where to invest and where to get investment from is limited.
- e. International migration and the capacity to control people's movements have also decreased.





- f. Trade has opened up more and more, and states have obvious problems in establishing controls and restrictions.

Traditional role of police officers as mainly “crime fighters” is thus supplanted by the belief that the police should provide a variety of essential community and social services, including crisis resolution and disputes management in circumstances that are not related to crime (Anil, 2008). The police's responsibility in the field of ethnic conflict is often believed to be limited to reacting to actual cases of open conflict, restoring order and bringing to justice those who breach the law. Other organizations, such as national and local governments, NGOs, and other civil society bodies, share responsibility with the police. Monitoring the number and severity of particular incidents among people belonging to various groups is one of the main roles of the police. Lisa Schrich (2016) explained that comparative research on police identified patterns (of police-community interaction) that can enhance community security by providing a more detailed explanation of the role of community police in conflict management and community safety. She pointed out that the police's public legitimacy depends in how the police connect with the community. Police men who receive minimal training in communication skills to listen, respect and deescalate tense situations cannot be expected to perform community policing. Education in communication skills to defuse conflict and conflict management resolution skills increases the effectiveness of the police and the protection of the community. Police officers who reflect the gender, ethnic, religious, race, identity and, diversity of the communities that they serve perform better than those who attempt to police a community of a different cultural, ethnic, religious, or racial group (Lisa, 2016).

The reference made by Lisa only sees conflict resolution through community policing initiative as the role, effort and skill of police officers alone. Nonetheless, cooperation between the community and the police is the core concept of community policing, but Lisa sees the role of community policing as a joint enterprise among opposing parties in ensuring peace and harmony, requiring unique skills and an all-inclusive approach to policing. She further claims that for multi-stakeholder cooperation to strengthen the police, peace building skills and procedures are crucial. Defense forces including the police can best provide security when they coordinate with and are fully accountable to communities, including religious group, educational





institutes, N.G.Os, women’s groups, youth groups, and other representatives of the community interest. Facilitated groups, the police, and government can significantly improve public safety (Lisa, 2016).

The problem associated with the role of the police in conflict resolution as observed by Lisa Schrich, is characterized by the notion of Police Service rather than Police Force, where the most significant benchmarks for performance are public satisfaction, trust and confidence. Communities view the police as protectors, not predators, in an ideal world. One of the most important indicators of the legitimate state-society relationship is that security forces are seen by local citizens in communities as defending all people fairly and not targeting specific racial class or ethnic groups (Lisa, 2016). As noted below, several scholars supported his version of Lisa (2016) on the significance of the element of public good or good causes (Eguruze, 2016 and 2017).

Community Organizations (COs): The most critical aspect of the above literature review is that the public good or good cause factor is crucial. The review highlighted that “government cannot do everything” (Eguruze, 2016:41, 2017:45). In fact, “the theory of community organization is that they are needed because government cannot achieve everything as resources, capacity, scope are limited” (Eguruze, 2017). Also, often government officials and/or agents are corrupt, and lacking the drive and passion in ending poverty (Eguruze, 2017). So, the role of COs in community policing is a sine qua non (Eguruze, 2017). However, community organizations are usually only complementary and supplementary to that of governments/agents, as well as they come in different shapes and sizes as noted above, and need to be controlled by government/agents. But most importantly the role of COs is not-for-profit, non-political, whilst these onus of not-for-profit making and non-political are paramount. That is a crucial part of what Lisa (2016) above defines as a good cause; or the advocacy for public security being a good cause. Thus, this review equally argues that that COs is public or good cause promoters or advocates of good causes, etc have been well supported.





Nigerian Informal Defense, Community Police and Security Problems

Often, the informal security sector is referred to as the informal police structure or the voluntary police sector. These groups are known in Nigeria as vigilantes, neighborhood watch, community guards, or traditional police; but the commonest word is vigilante. In traditional Nigerian communities, vigilantes are known, among other names, as ndi-nche(guards), yanbanga (vigilante), and olodes (hunters). Night guards and vigilante groups have historically emerged in reaction to theft and armed robbery. Vigilant groups have existed not only under civilian rule in Nigeria for decades, but also during the previous military regimes of Generals Babangida, Abacha and Abubakar (Okeke, 2013). In a country with a high level of crime and a lack of police training, equipment and staff, they have traditionally been seen as an extension of the work of law enforcement officers (Okeke, 2013). Therefore, according to Prattern, (2008), the conventional definition of vigilante in Nigeria refers exclusively to un-armed volunteer people or groups formed in local communities to help security forces confront popular crime and social violence by arresting suspected criminals and handing them over to the police. The law of Nigeria recognizes the legitimacy of vigilante groups arresting suspected criminals if they are unarmed and the suspect is handed over to the police immediately (Prattern, 2008).

Some state governments began to help form, endorse and sponsor vigilante groups due to the failure or inability of the Nigeria Police Force to tackle the security challenges facing the country. Unlike other countries like the United States of America, the state in Nigeria is not constitutionally empowered to have its own police.

Therefore, in a geographical area of 923,075 square kilometers, there is only one federal police force for the entire country, making it very difficult if not impossible for the Nigerian police to effectively police or secure over 150 million people with diverse cultures, religions and languages (Okeke, 2013). As noted by Chukwuma and Alemika, these security challenges have led many citizens across the country to respond to widespread perceptions of personal insecurity and vulnerability through the formation of community-based groups, often referred to as vigilantes or informal police organizations. These groups work in a variety of ways - sometimes hand-in-hand with the official police to address local crime and insecurity issues (Chukwuma

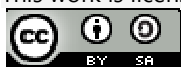




and Alemika, 2004). Placing these informal and formal police structures into a working system requires a concerted partnership between both community members and the police.

In Nigeria, as a result of high crime rates, community policing has been introduced to solve the problems facing the nation. The incidence of crime in Nigeria has grown rapidly since the middle of the 1970s, reaching a pathological stage (Odekunle, 2005). Since the inception of the Fourth Republic in 1999, a number of reforms have been undertaken by police authorities in the country to contain the security challenges facing the nation. These culminated in the introduction of community police in 2004. Crime and social disorder still prevail in the country, despite various attempts by different police administrations to reduce the level of crime in Nigeria. As a result of one crime or the other, thousands of lives and millions of Naira worth of property are being destroyed. Some are of the opinion that the Nigerian police's inability to maintain full security in the nation is due to too many social challenges (corruption, extra-judicial killings, godfatherism), technological constraints, shortage of equipment and a sour relationship between the police and the public.

As Chijioke (2015) observed, the consequence of the above security issues as they relate to community police is that "militants and other insurgents now take up arms against the state and government seems not to have the means to address the situation." Furthermore, the situation is punctuated by general uncertainty, which leads people to pursue alternative security measures for their safety and security. The complexity of contemporary security threats, such as growing terrorist attacks, trafficking in human beings, armed robbery, gang battles, murder, to name a few, overwhelm the public security system as many governments have welcomed the need to broaden the security sector to include private security providers and the citizens. Therefore, the creation of a cordial relationship between the police and the public has become sacrosanct for effective security management in any community, rationalizing the growing importance of community policing as an alternative security policy framework to address increasing security challenges (Chijioke, 2015).



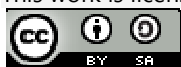


The Problems of Peace and Stability in Adamawa State and the Emergence of Civilian Joint Task Force

The State of Adamawa, with its capital in Yola, was established in 1991. The State is situated in the region of Nigeria in the North east, sharing land borders with the State of Borno in the north, the State of Gombe in the west, the State of Taraba in the south and the Republic of Cameroon in the east. Prior to its formation in 1991, the states of Adamawa and Taraba were part of the defunct Gongola Province, which was established in 1976. Demsa, Fufore, Ganye, Girei, Gombi, Guyuk, Hong, Jada, Lamurde, Madagali, Maiha, Mayo-Belwa, Michika, Mubi North, Mubi South, Numan, Shelleng, Album, Toungo, Yola North, and Yola South are the 21 local government areas in the state.

Adamawa state has a population of 3.7 million people, with 80 ethnic groups, based on the 2006 population census). The economy of the state is mainly agrarian, although there is also some mineral wealth in the state. Maize, millet, sorghum, rice, yams, and manioc are popular crops. Also it produces cash crops such as cotton and groundnuts. The residents of the state are Fulani, Mumuye, Higi, Kapsiki, Chamba, Margi (Marghi), Bachama, Hausa, Kilba, Gude, Wurkum, Jukun, and Bata.

Geographically, the state of Adamawa is located in the middle of what is described as Nigeria's second major grazing path, which runs from the Republics of Niger, Chad and Cameroon via Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Jigawa, Kano, Plateau, Nasarawa and ends in the Niger Benue Basin. Demographic and environmental pressures resulting from increased population, drought, decreased arability of land and lack of potable water have put the relationship between farmers and herdsman under strain. A series of violent confrontations in the state have contributed to the challenge of managing the state's ethnic and religious diversity and fierce rivalry for natural resources such as land. For example, between January and July 2016, about 10 villages were attacked in central Adamawa, killing 100 people and displacing 2,500.22 Similarly, in Demsa LGA, violent clashes between pastoralists and agrarian communities left more than 30 people dead and hundreds displaced in Aniche in early 2017 (2018).

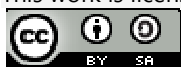




Fulani herdsmen allegedly raided a farm in 2012, killing one man, and farmers attacked the Fulani camp in retaliation, killing 10 people (Daily Trust, 2017). The state of Adamawa has suffered enormous losses from the insurgency that engulfed and devastated the North-east region, killing hundreds and displacing thousands from their communities beginning in 2009. Seven Local Government Areas (LGAs), including Gombi, Hong, Madagali, Maiha, Michika, Mubi North and Mubi South, were directly affected. The rebellion broke links between cultures, communities and governments. In the wake of the failure of the Nigerian state to respond effectively to the security challenges raised by Boko Haram in the North-east region, the civilian JTF has emerged as a major player in the war against insurgency, complementing the Nigerian military's efforts. Since its emergence in 2013 to date, no military operation has been carried out without the involvement of the CJTF. According to a respondent: "We know Adamawa State more than most of the security agents. They have good guns but they don't have a good knowledge of the environment. The insurgents took advantage of this to commit crimes. That's why we are involved in joint patrol with the security agents. In each of the check-points you see, there are members of the CJTF that work with the security agents."

Concerned by the inability of the security agencies to effectively contain Boko Haram in Adamawa State, a group of youths led by Alhaji Bako Ali Goni, established the CJTF. According to one of its members: If the security agencies were effective in dealing with Boko Haram, the CJTF would not have been established. We were forced to set it up so that our communities would be free. This deadly group called Boko Haram destroyed many of our communities. I am glad that we came together to defend our land".

The successes of the CJTF across the communities they operate is linked, at least in part, to the robust intelligence and early warning system they have put in place, which help in tracking and monitoring the activities of people in the communities. Such measure is also extended to population centers such as motor parks. According to a member of the CJTF: "We adopted an approach of ensuring designated motor parks become the only places where people access cars for their travels. This is the only way we can identify criminals and suspected members of Boko

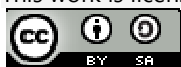




Haram that are on the run. We still have a challenge with this”. The Adamawa State Government needs to enforce it for compliance.

As part of its counter-insurgency efforts in Adamawa State, the Nigerian military enlisted local hunters in view of their understanding of the local terrain. One of the successes of the hunters’ association in Adamawa State is attributed to the organized response of the group in fighting Boko Haram. For instance, the group was reported to have killed 75 members of Boko Haram in Maiha Local Government Area (LGA). Members of the hunters’ association are mostly young men, with a sizeable number of women. In the case of Gombi LGA, a female hunter named Aisha BakariGombi, was honoured by her community as Sarauniyan (Queen Hunter). She now leads a band of hunters who patrol the town and defend it from the Boko Haram insurgents. The hunters’ association joined the efforts at providing security in Adamawa state based on the conviction that there is a security vacuum. The police-community partnership via the strong relationship that exists between the hunters’ association and the communities, particularly bolstered by their traditional leaders’ is a major boost for the group’s operations. They enjoy the support of the Lamido of Adamawa, Alhaji Muhammadu Barkindo Aliyu Musdafa, who convenes periodic meetings between the hunters’ association and the Adamawa State Emirate Council. The deliberations and resolutions in the aftermath of the meetings are transmitted to key stakeholders such as the Adamawa State Government, security agencies, as well as community and religious leaders across all communities in the State. As pointed out by respondents during an FGD. If not for the support of the Lamido of Adamawa, there would have been serious problem in terms of coordination among the hunters (Okoli, 2017).

There are cases of leadership crisis, but the Lamido is always active in resolving it. Also, their relationship with the communities would not have been cordial. The community leaders are the leaders of the communities and the people respect them. No matter how important your idea or initiative is, if they don’t support it, you will definitely encounter serious problem during implementation. The public confidence and acceptance of the hunters and other local vigilantes that work in concert with them greatly contributed to the level of public security and safety that the people enjoy. Table 1 below is an analysis of CJTFs contribution to security.





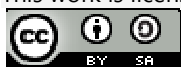
(Table 1) SWOT Analysis of CJTFs Contribution to Security in Adamawa State

STRENGTH	WEAKNESSES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♣ Youthfulness of most members ♣ Good knowledge of the community ♣ Wide acceptance by community members ♣ Zeal and commitment of members ♣ Extensive presence in local communities ♣ Cordial relationship with most state actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ignorance of human rights laws ♣ Lack of standard operating procedure ♣ Low level of gender representation ♣ Poor educational level of most members ♣ Inter-group rivalry/distrust ♣ Absence of legal/policy frameworks
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Availability of sizeable donor funding ♣ Special initiatives in the NE (e.g. PCNI) ♣ Presence of CSOs/CBOs ♣ Reconstruction and rebuilding programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♣ Corruption and vested interests ♣ Targeting by Boko Haram ♣ Poor economy and revenue base of states ♣ Donor preferences

Source: Arase, 2013; Aniche, 2018 and updated by the author

Research Methodology

As a theoretical method, this paper uses the John Paul Lederach strand of conflict transformation theory. By recognizing mid-level individuals or organizations and encouraging them to create peace and promote reconciliation, a core aspect of this theory focuses on peace constituencies. Middle-level empowerment is believed to affect peace building at the macro and grassroots levels. Mediation at the level of states (track 1) and the result-oriented approach can be accessed by top leadership. More resolution-oriented approaches, such as problem-solving workshops or peace commissions with the help of partial insiders, will meet mid-level leadership (track 2) (i.e., prominent individuals in society). However, the grassroots level (track 3) represents the bulk of the population and can be achieved across a wide variety of approaches to peace building, such





as local peace committees, group dialogue programs, eliminating discrimination or healing trauma. In other words, there are three tiers of peace-building actors: the top level (highly visible political, military (including police) and religious leaders), the middle level (ethnic and religious leaders, academic/intellectuals, humanitarian leaders, non-governmental organizations, etc.) and the grassroots level (local youth leaders, community developers, etc.) In respect of this study, the actors in peace building at different levels relatively coincide with the actors in the police-community partnership via CJTFs coordination in Adamawa, where there is the government, Nigerian Police and the religious leaders at the top level; the traditional leaders and the NGOs at the middle-range level and; the youth and CJTFs commandants and youth members at the grass root level. Lederach argues that, a comprehensive peace process should address complementary changes at all these levels (Lederach, 1997).

Additionally, the research used both primary and secondary sources of data. The study employed three survey instruments to collect the primary data namely; in-depth interview, questionnaire and participant observation, while the secondary data were sourced using documentary method. The data generated was therefore quantitatively and qualitatively presented and analyzed.

The study randomly selects four hundred (400) respondents from the different L.G.As. in Adamawa state. Just 318 out of the 400 questionnaires distributed were recovered. The questionnaire requested information on topics relating to the police-community relationship through the CJTF initiative to consolidate peace in the state of Adamawa. The researcher interviewed representatives of security forces, vigilante groups, civil society, communities and the academia in Gombi, Hong, Madagali, Maiha, Michika, Mubi North and Mubi South, Lamurde, Numan, Mayo Belwa, Yola North Local Government Areas of Adamawa State. The investigator took into account diversity on the basis of race, faith, gender, age and occupation, respectively, when locating the respondents.

For security reasons, the identity of our respondents remain confidential. This is a necessary risk containment measure. The insurgency in the North- east region still rages and people are not too free to express themselves. The researcher was often reminded that people who spoke out against insurgency were killed. People are therefore careful about what they say and who they speak to





about the insurgency. For fear of repercussions, respondents may have held back sensitive information that could have been useful for this study.

The choice of communities for the research was informed by the poor state of security in those communities, or the weakness in the capacity of the state to guarantee safety in the communities. These communities have all experienced insurgency and other forms of criminality, which accounted for the emergence of armed vigilantes. The data were analyzed with table presentation by frequency with simple percentage method and corroborated with data obtained from the interviews, participants' observations and recorded works.

Table 2: Respondents Bio-data

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18 – 25 Years	74	23.3
26 – 33 Years	102	32.1
34 – 41 Years	87	27.4
42 Years above	55	17.2
Total	318	100
Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	202	63.5
Female	116	36.5
Total	318	100
Religious Affiliation	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	131	41.2
Islam	187	58.8
Traditional Religion	0	0
Total	318	100
Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Business	121	38.1
Farming	12	3.8





Teaching	29	9.1
Students	57	17.9
Civil Service	65	20.4
Others	34	10.7
Total	318	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

As shown in Table 12, 23.3% of respondents are between 18-25 years of age, 32.1% are between 26-33 years of age, 27.4% are between 34-41 years of age, and the remaining 17.2% are 42 years of age and above. This indicates that most respondents are between 26 and 33 years of age. From the table, it can be inferred that the study received responses from all adult groups in the field of study. On the other hand, the sex distribution of the respondents reveals that 202 of the 318 respondents are males, representing 63.5 percent, while 116 representing 36.5 percent are females. This therefore implies that majority of respondents are males, but, the views of females were not left out. The table also indicates that 131 of the respondents representing 41.2% are affiliated to Christian religion while 187 of them representing 58.8% were are affiliated to Islamic religion. None of the respondents claimed affiliation to traditional religion. This indicates that Islam is the dominant religion in the study area. In respect of occupation, the table shows that 20.4% are civil servants, 38.1% are engaged in various types of businesses, 3.8% are into farming, 9.1% are teachers at various levels, 17.9% are students, while 10.7% are into different occupations such as mechanics, tailoring, driving, barbers, etc. Majority of respondents therefore are business persons.

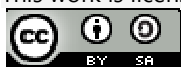




Table 3: The Impact of CJTF Activities in Ensuring Lasting Peace, Building Trust and Cooperation in Preventing Crime and Violent Conflict in Adamawa State

Do the Presents of CJTFs Prevent the Relapse to Conflict?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	262	82.4
No	56	17.6
Total	318	100
Do the Activities of CJTFs have Positive Impact on Peace Process?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	275	86.5
No	43	13.5
Total	318	100
What Ways do the Activities of CJTFs have Positive Impact on Peace Process?	Frequency	Percentage
Reducing the level of crime and violent conflict in the communities	91	33.1
Enhancing security and surveillance at the various communities	70	25.5
Identification of trouble spot and rapid respond to violent conflict	68	24.7
Providing security in socio-cultural and political gathering	39	14.2
Others	7	2.5
Total	275	100
How the Presence of CJTFs Reduce the Level of Fear and Prejudice among Ethnic and Religious Communities	Frequency	Percentage
Their membership involved all the ethnic and religious	128	40.2





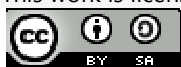
group		
Cooperation and collective effort between ethnic and religious communities in ensuring peace and preventing crime and conflict	78	24.5
Their presence in every community	58	18.2
Regular surveillance of the trouble spot and crises prone areas	54	17.1
Total	318	100
What Obstacles do the Peace building Effort May Face if the CJTFs are not Presence?	Frequency	Percentage
There will be breakdown of law and the rate of crime will increase	132	41.5
There will be spread of violence in the communities	75	23.6
Nothing will happen	80	25.2
Others	31	9.7
Total	318	100
What are the Problems and Challenges Associated with the Activities of CJTFs	Frequency	Percentage
Financial problems	129	40.6
Lack of knowledge in strategic and tactical partnership	87	27.4
Lack of support and encouragement from the people	52	16.3
Others	50	15.7
Total	318	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Research Question 1: Does the present of CJTFs prevent the relapse to conflict? Table 3 shows that 82.4% of respondents agree that the presence of CJTFs is one of the many factors that contribute in preventing the relapse to conflict in Adamawa state, while the remaining 17.6% of

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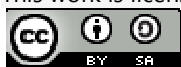


the respondents believe that they are not. From this, it can easily be inferred that CJTFs are one of the factors that contributed to preventing the relapse to conflict in Adamawa state.

The vigilante groups and the CJTFs came up due to communities' effort to form groups to prevent skirmishes from growing into large scale violence. They are very important part of the peace process in Adamawa state, mostly composed of youth of both religion and have ensured that minor conflict do not degenerate into large scale crisis. Most of the recent crises in Adamawa state are ignited as a result of minor skirmishes and later grown into large scale violence. Therefore, this synergy between the Police, the different ethnic and religious communities with the members of the NWTs and the VGN in response to violent conflict has contributed in preventing the relapse to conflict in the study area (Researcher Emphasis).

Apart from Boko Haram that constitutes a major existential threat to both the state and its citizens; other CJTFs have proven to be key providers of security across communities in Adamawa State. Since communities will increasingly rely on them, there is a sense in which a triangulated programming that seeks to foster and strengthen relations among CJTFs, security agencies and communities should be implemented. The focus here should be to ensure stronger collaboration and synergy among these stakeholders through periodic interfaces and exchange of information and intelligence (Researcher Emphasis).

Question 2 centered on whether or not the activities of CJTFs have positive impact on the peace process in Adamawa state. Table 3 shows 86.5% of respondents agreeing that the activities of NWTs have positive impact in the peace process, while the remaining 13.5% believe that it has not. From this, it can easily be inferred that the activities and presence of NWTs have positive impact in preventing crime and violent conflict and the consolidation of peace in the study area. In an interview with the Adamawa State Police Area Command Spokesman, he stressed that Peace is not obtained by force, cohesion or use of arms. Whenever the people are willing to accept peace, they do it willingly. Several factors interacted towards consolidating peace in Adamawa State, such as contribution by the Federal and State Governments armed security personnel, NGOs, etc. But the major people that contributed significantly to peace in Adamawa





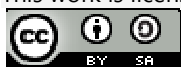
are not only the armed security; the role of unarmed security (NWTs and vigilante) should not be undermined. They stay in the society which is the frontline and highly risky. Therefore, the peace that has been sustained in Adamawa State could be accredited/attribution to NWTs (Interview, 2020).

Notwithstanding the successes recorded so far in the fight against insurgency and other forms of criminality in Adamawa State, there are concerns about the involvement of CJTFs in extra-judicial killings of insurgents, as well as other forms of human rights violation on citizens. The CJTF is viewed as an entity that sees itself as the military and abuses people.

Question 3 asked what ways do the activities of CJTFs have positive Impact on peace process? Table 3 reveals that 33.1% feels that it is in reducing the level of crime and violent conflict, 25.5% feels that it is enhancing surveillance in the communities, 24.7% feels that it is in early identification of trouble spot and rapid respond to violence and conflict, while, 14.2% feels that it is in ensuring security in socio-cultural and political gathering in the communities. As can be deduced from the table, the main ways in which the CTFs activities have positive impact in the peace process is in reducing the level of crime and violent conflict in the communities. The respondents' position conforms to the central principle of community policing as a strategy to fight crime which can also be used in addressing other local priorities as pointed out by Pandey;

Community policing is a very broad term often used to describe many aspects of the process by which the Police engage with community in preventing crime... Engaging the community in crime reduction and prevention and conflict resolution allows a more targeted approach to local priorities by empowering the community to identify and respond to local concerns (Pandey, 2014).

The data concerning question 4 on how the presence of NWTs activities reduce the level of fear and prejudice among ethnic and religious communities reveals that 40.2% of respondents believe that, it is because their membership involved the entire ethnic and religious group, 24.5% said that it is because of the cooperation between ethnic and religious communities in ensuring peace and preventing crime and conflict, 18.2% reveals that it is because of their presence in every community, while the remaining 17.1% believes that, it is because of regular surveillance of the trouble and crises prone areas. This shows that majority of the respondents are of the view that





the presence of CJTFs reduces fear and prejudice because, their membership involve the entire ethnic and religious communities. Members of CJTFs are co-opted from different ethnic and religious communities in Adamawa state. The security challenges in Adamawa State are accompanied with high level of suspicions and allegations on the law enforcement agencies by the conflicting parties. As observed by Higazi, (2011):

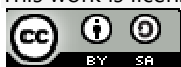
The polarization between religious communities has also been affecting the impartiality of the security forces in Adamawa state because the Police officers and soldiers have long been blamed for being partial and part of the problem. Christians accused soldiers of siding with Muslims; Muslims blame Police officers for supporting Christians.

Question 5 reveals respondent's perception on how the NWTs had played a significant role thus far and how their absence in Adamawa state may have effect on the peace process. 41.5% of respondents feels that there will be breakdown of law and the rate of crime will increase, 23.6% feels that there will be escalation of conflict and spread of violence, 25.2% feels that nothing will happen because they have less impact on the peace process. This shows that majority are of the view that there will be breakdown of law, increase in the rate of crime and spread of violence in the communities if the CJTFs are not present in Adamawa state.

Question 6 indicates the view of the respondents on the problems and challenges associated with the activities of CJTFs. 40.6% are of the view that the problems and challenges associated with the activities of CJTFs is fund, 27.4% are of the view that the problems and challenges associated with the activities of CJTFs is lack of knowledge in strategic and tactical partnership, while 24.5% are of the view that the problems and challenges associated with the activities of CJTFs are lack of support and encouragement from the people. This indicates that the major problems and challenges associated with the activities of CJTFs are funding and lack of knowledge in strategic and tactical partnership.

Summary of Major Findings

The Police-community partnership through the CJTFs initiative in Adamawa state involves – the vigilante group, Police Community Relation Committee (PCRC), religious leaders,





traditional/community leaders, NGOs, Local Government, market and commercial representatives

The CJTFs policing initiatives in Adamawa state is not solely the Nigerian Police security arrangement. There exists collaboration between the Special Military Task Force (STF) and the NWTs in their peace building effort in Adamawa state.

CJTFs assist and complement the efforts of the security agencies in combating crime, violent conflict, terror and ensuring lasting peace in Adamawa state.

The CJTFs play significant role in the peace process in Adamawa state by preventing crime, violence and minor skirmishes in the communities and providing information and identifying trouble spot to the security agencies for rapid response

The involvement of every ethnic and religious group in CJTFs and the presence of the watch teams in every community reduce the level of fear, suspicion, prejudice and resentment among the ethnic and religious communities in Adamawa state.

Programming that targets wealth creation in the context of livelihoods should be designed to ensure that some members of CJTFs secure employment opportunities such as integration into the formal security structures of the government.

Though the absence of CJTFs will lead to increase in the level of crime and violence in the communities, it will not be highly consequential to the peace achieved in Adamawa because, they only assist in complementing the efforts of the security agencies but have many shortcomings with challenges in strategic and tactical partnership.

The major problems and challenges associated with the CJTFs community policing security model in Adamawa are lack of funding, lack of knowledge in strategic and tactical partnership and, lack of general support by the people.



There is the need to develop a legal framework and mechanism for the transformation, recognition, legitimization and regulation of the activities of CJTFs, as a precondition for integrating them into community policing structures as practiced in other states.

While vigilante groups describe the remuneration from the state government as adequate, it is believed that many of them are not on the government's payroll. This means that a significant proportion is not remunerated but still participates in counter insurgency operations. This breeds a lot of dissatisfaction and discontentment.

Interpretation

As noted above, although government has clearly demonstrated its willingness to tackle the security threat and challenges, however, their unsuccessful levels have equally exposed their inherent weaknesses or challenges in the course of their work. One of the weaknesses of government role is its limited capacity in dealing with security issues and challenges. This is enhanced by mainly political and other PESTEL factors (economic, social/cultural/religious, environmental and legal, etc), which are beyond their control. This appears to be a major weakness on the part of the governed, as it seems. Certainly, there is the need to seek further help and assistance instead of attempting to deal with it single handedly. Impact of change is inherent: the fear of repercussions against those perpetrators of crime, So, it is important to also devise strategies of dealing with such fears and how to contain or allay same (Lynch, 2006; Burnes, 2009; Eguruze, *ibid*). Unless such fears or potential factors are addressed effectively, this could become potentially an underground operation; meaning that criminality may disappear on the surface but still function underground. That itself is another inherent potential danger.

Conclusion

CJTFs have had significant impact on the security situation in Adamawa state, especially in fighting the Boko Haram insurgency. Despite CJTFs' use of crude and simple weapons, they have played a huge part in filling the vacuum created by the ineffective police and military forces. Overall, they seem to have won the hearts of ordinary people in the state. Ultimately, they





are saving lives; and saving lives is always a win win for all stakeholders (Eguruze,ibid). Nevertheless, questions persist over their future post insurgency role.

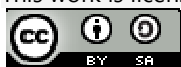
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Author’s Profile

Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen is an Academic and Civil Rights activist and specializes in political and international economy. He has published widely in academic journals and his main areas of research are Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria, Political Philosophy, Political Economy of Development and Public Policy Issues. He is a member of: Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), Chattered Institute of Contract Project and Facility Management (CICPFM), Chattered Institute of Project Management Professional (CIPMP), Chattered Institute of Customer Relationship Management (CICRM), Chattered Institute of Environmental Health and Safety Management (CIEHSM), Chattered Institute of Human Resources (CIHR), and the Nigerian Institute of Management (Chattered) (NIM). He is currently a part-time Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Al-Qalam University, Katsina, Nigeria

