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IMPLICATIONS OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCE ON COMMUNITY ACCESSIBILITY AND LINKAGE SYSTEM IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN MADAGALI AND MICHIKA LGA, ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA.

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Abstract

Madagali and Michika LGAs were captured by Boko Haram insurgents in 2014 and up till 2021 when this research was conducted, accessibility to the communities in the two LGAs years after the recapture of Madagali LGA from the insurgents was still difficult. Insecurity of lives forced the LG administrators to relocate to the State headquarters which created a wide gap between the people and the government, hence different means of linkage were used to link the people and the government and vice versa. The implications of Boko Haram insurgence on accessibility to the numerous communities and linkage system (top-down and bottom-up as well the contents of the linkages) in LG administration in the two LGAs has been carried out in this study. Data collected for the study include accessibility of the communities, information on political and administrative structure of the LGA and the structure of the linkage system between the communities and the LG council. These were obtained through interview schedule, personal observation, Focus Group Discussions and government documents. The data for this study were mainly obtained from the LGA Chairmen, Councilors, District Heads, Village/Ward Heads and Party Chairmen of the two major political parties at LGA and ward levels. The quantitative aspect of the study comprises administering a structured interview schedule to the sampled stakeholders. The study revealed that accessibility of communities that were not along the main Michika-Madagali Road were still inaccessible years after the recapture of Madagali LGA from the insurgents. The situation of Michika LGA was far better because all the communities in the LGA were accessible including their tourists center in the remote parts of the LGA. In the two LGAs overall low top-down and bottom-up linkages in communications (phone calls and text messages) and poor visitation between LG administrators and ward heads were recorded. The attributed factors were mainly based on relocation of their LG officers to Yola, insecurity on the roads, inaccessibility and lack of trust. Security issue was noted to be the main contents of the linkages in the LGAs. It was recommended that provision of more security personnel and rehabilitation and reconstruction of the long-abandoned roads especially in Madagali LGA and encouragement of the LG administrators to return home.

Keywords: Boko Haram Insurgence, Community Accessibility, LG Administration, Top-Down Linkage System, Bottom-Up Linkage System

1.1 Introduction

Terrorism is defined as "the premeditated use or threat of use of extra-normal violence or brutality by sub-national groups to obtain a political, religious, or ideological objective through intimidation of a vast audience, who are typically not directly involved in the policymaking that the terrorists seek to influence" (Danzell et al., 2016). Terrorism manifests globally in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, Niger, and Mali, as well as the Arab states (Ajala, 2021). Prior to 2009, Nigerian

terrorist activities did not garner much media attention; however, since then, the gradual expansion of terrorist networks and activities has largely continued unabated (Wild, 2021). Boko Haram's Arabic name is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, which translates to "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad." The group is best known by its Hausa name, Boko Haram, which means "Western education is forbidden" Boko Haram is believed to have originated in 1995 from a group called 'Sahaba' that was led by Abubakar Lawan. In Saudi Arabia, he attended the University of Medina. Later, he ceded leadership to Mohammed Yusuf (Akinola, 2013).

Boko Haram Islamists have murdered civilians, looted property, and destroyed critical and social infrastructure (Kangdim et al., 2022). According to a 2016 report by the World Bank, the destruction cost was also estimated to be $5.9 billion. Since the insurgency began in 2009, the Islamists have controlled large swaths of territory in the northeast, as detailed in the report. According to The Eagle Online (2017), in the 27 local government areas of Borno state, fighting has destroyed or damaged the following: 956,453 (nearly 30 percent) of 3,232,308 private houses; 5,335 classrooms and school buildings in 512 primary, 38 secondary, and two tertiary institutions; 1,205 municipal, local government, or ministry buildings; 76 police stations; 35 electricity offices. Other structures include 14 prisons, 201 hospitals, 1,630 water sources, and 726 power substations and distribution lines. The Boko Haram crisis has also directly affected the state of Adamawa, both in terms of attacks and displacement. The two most affected local government areas in Adamawa State were Madagali and Michika. The impact on infrastructure and social services has been significant (829 million US dollars), representing nine percent of the total damages in the six North-Eastern states. Five-fifths of all damages have been sustained by the agricultural sector (Conflict Bulletin, 2016). The cumulative impact of the

conflict has worsened the socioeconomic and administrative situation in the North East Zone. The Zone's major economic and social infrastructure, including transportation, communication systems, health care, education, and banking structures, has either been completely destroyed or severely damaged. Since the activities of the insurgents, and especially since the terrorists' takeover of the two LGAs, access to a great number of communities has been difficult, even after the Nigerian military retook the LGAs.

Political and administrative structures make up the structure of the LG in Nigeria. The political structure includes all elected officials, including the Local Government Chairman, Councillors, and Supervisory Councillors. It primarily consists of the Legislature, the Executive, the Committee, and the Secretary to the LG. Secretary of the Local Government is a political appointment under a presidential system of government. The Chairman appoints the Secretary, who lacks executive authority (Monday and Wijaya, 2022). The Secretary of the Local Government is in charge of administration within the council and reports to the Chairman. Departments subordinate to the Secretary are led by Department Heads. The departments of a local government can be categorized as either service or operational. (Anyebe, 2017). Traditionally, elected political officeholders (chairmen and councilors) as well as traditional officeholders (district and village heads), unelected political officeholders (secretary and supervisory councilors), and civil servants are the most important figures in local government administration (Glanda, 2018)

To achieve development, there must be connections between the various levels of LG administration. Linking in this study involves the movement of goods, people, visits, phone

calls, and text messages from one level to another. There are both bottom-up and top-down connections (Brian, 2020). Top-down linkage entails the actions and visits of the local government's chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and supervisory councilors to the villagers to learn about their issues. Bottom-up linkage entails councilors, district heads, and village heads approaching the LG to request, solicit, or complain about some of the problems they face that require resolution in order to enhance the quality of life for the general populace. In this study, however, only visits and phone calls were examined for

the purpose of the linkage analysis. At the height of the insurgency, the study area was completely overrun and annexed to the Boko Haram caliphate, until Boko Haram was driven out by a coalition of hunters, civilian JTF, and military forces. Madagali was one of the seven LGAs in Adamawa state that were occupied by insurgents prior to their liberation by the military. This study was conducted to examine the levels of community accessibility and linkage system among the major LG administration players in both Michika and Madagali LGAs.

2.1 Study Area

Madagali and Michika LGAs lie between Latitudes 10°25'N and 10°52'N of the Equator and Longitudes 13°14'E to 13°42'E of the Meridian (Fig 1). The LGAs are bounded to the North and West by Borno State, to the East by the Republic of Cameroon and to the South by Mubi North LGA of Adamawa State (Fig 1). The LGAs have an area of 1,788 square kilometers (Glanda, 2018). The relief of the area ranges

from 400 m at the floodplains of the western region of the area to 1295 m above sea level on the Mandara Mountains within the area. The drainage of the area consists of many rivers that takes their sources from the Mandara Mountains at the East and flow westwards and northwestwards of the area. Some of the rivers include River Rafin Wantse, Yedzeram, Rafin Nanda and Magar (Alexander et al., 2019).
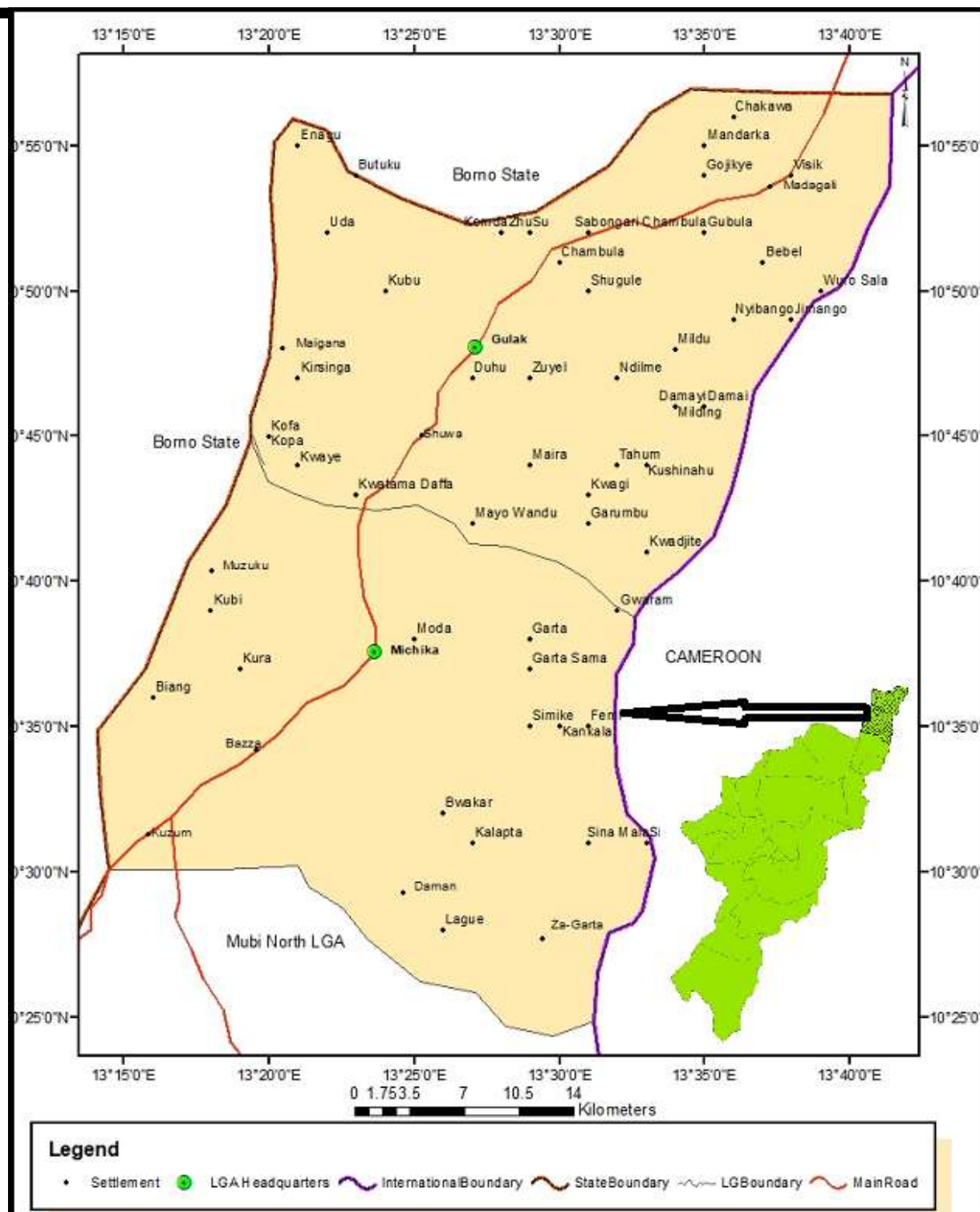
Figure 1. The Study Area
Source: GIS Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of Maiduguri (2021)

The vegetation type is referred to as woodland Savanna (Gadiga, 2015) which is made up of grasses, aquatic weeds in river valleys and dry land weeds interspersed by shrub and woody plants. This dense grassland and the few woodland places provided cover for the insurgents from the Nigerian troops. Agriculture is a major employer of labour and as such is important in the region's economy because virtually all the households engage in one form of farming or the other but mostly at a

subsistence level. Majority of the people are farmers, while few are herdsmen, fishermen, craftsmen and artisans. Livestock production system in the region is predominantly extensive rather than intensive using range-land, crop residue and collected fodder to a greater extent than sown pasture and concentrates (Glanda, 2018….). The LGAs is traversed by a major federal road (Trunk A road); the road that comes from Yola the state capital and inked the settlements of Bazza, Jigalambu, Wotu and Michika. From Michika, the road extends into Shuwa, Gulak and to Madagali from where it finally goes to Gwoza in Borno state (Usman, Shinggu and Nuwari , 2021).). The nature of the settlement pattern in the area is the rural type with scattered patterns. Only the LGAs headquarters can be said to be that of semi-urban. In terms of the administrative structure of the LGAs, there are five Districts in Madagali LGA while Michika has seven. Madagali LGA has ten Council Wards while Michika LGA has sixteen. The wards are important components of the structure since each is made up of a collection of villages. Michika has more Districts and Wards because it has a larger population of about 135,142 than Madagali with 155,238 (NPC, 2006). Michika LGA is larger in terms of area landmass than Madagali LGA.

3.1   Methodology

Before the commencement of the work, reconnaissance survey was conducted in the study area to examine the accessibility of the communities in the area and to assess the existing linkage between the people and the LG councils, having obtained permission from appropriate authorities. Personal observation was also used to acquire information during the reconnaissance survey. Data collected for the study include accessibility of the communities, information on political and administrative structure of the LGA and the structure of the linkage system between the communities and the LG council. These were obtained through interview schedule, personal observation, Focus Group Discussions and government documents. The data for this study were mainly obtained from the LGA Chairmen, Councilors, District Heads, Village/Ward heads and Party chairmen of the two major political parties at LGA and ward levels. The quantitative aspect of the study comprises administering a structured interview schedule to the sampled stakeholders. This was followed immediately with four focus group discussion with selected participants from the sampled interest groups in each of the LGAs. The focus group discussions lasted, on average, 1 hour and 50 minutes. Each focus group had six to eight individuals (only one group had six participants), with a mean of 7.75 individuals per group. The focus group discussion phase provided more elaboration on the quantitative data.

4.0 Results and Discussions
4.1Community Accessibility in Madagali LGA

As at 2021 when this study was being carried out, the security situations in Madagali LGA was still very volatile in some villages, and people living in villages beyond a radius of 20 km from Gulak have been asked by the military to relocate to the LGA headquarters (Manpa'a, 2022). Figure 2 shows the accessible and inaccessible settlements in Madagali LGA. It is important to note, that all the districts in Madagali L.G.A. have inaccessible communities. Figure …. shows that most of the accessible settlements are those located along the main road while the inaccessible settlements are located in the hinterland. The proximity of Madagali to Gwoza LGA in Borno State and the dreaded

Sambisa Forest which are both operational heartlands for the insurgents (Saka & Bojang, 2022), were responsible for the inaccessibility of many communities. Another reason could be due to the air interdiction by the Nigeria Air force on the suspected hideout of the insurgents which have led to the fleeing of the village inhabitants from the heavy bombardments to the communities along the main road which they consider a bit safer. The geography of the area also makes it a safe haven for remnants of the insurgents as it provides them with caves to hide-in (Jimoh, 2020). It

was discovered through information from FGD that although many residents displaced by the insurgency have returned to the area, people are still living in fear due to series of attacks meted on them by the terrorists. Some of the respondents confessed that the security situation has improved better than when they were displaced in 2014, but they called for the presence of more security personnel to enable them go to their farms and do their businesses without harassment or molestation or even being killed by the insurgents.
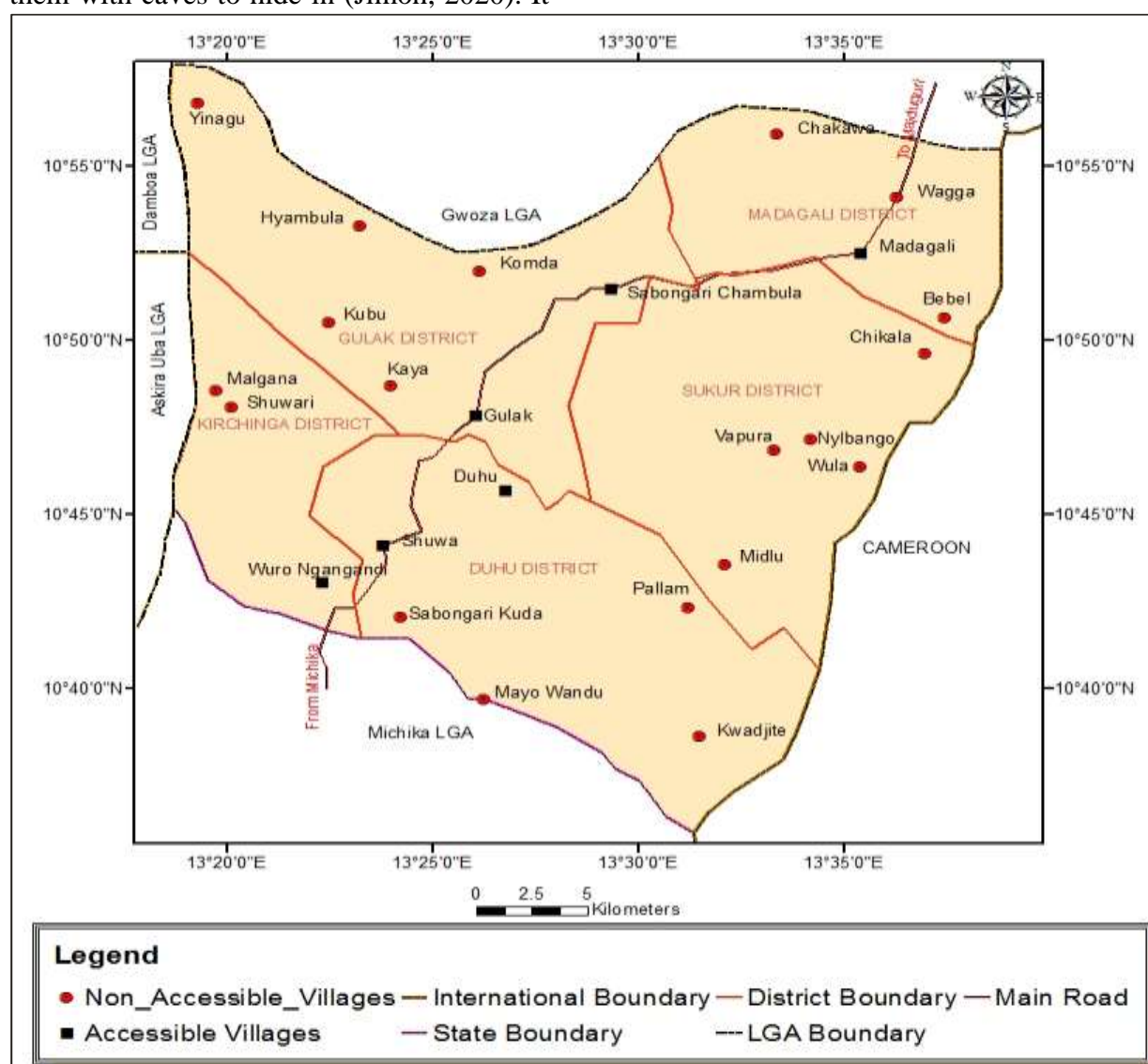

Figure 2: Madagali LGA showing accessible and non-accessible communities due to Boko Haram activities as at April, 2021.
Source: Source: GIS Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of Maiduguri (2021)

4.2 Community Accessibility in Michika LGA

Michika LGA which is one of the most populated LGA in Adamawa state with about seven districts and sixteen wards around the mountainous caves had its peace, unity and joy ceased when Boko Haram began to launch incessant attacks in the entire area. Fig 3 shows that as that 2021, that is, the period of this study, all the communities in Michika LGA have been accessible.
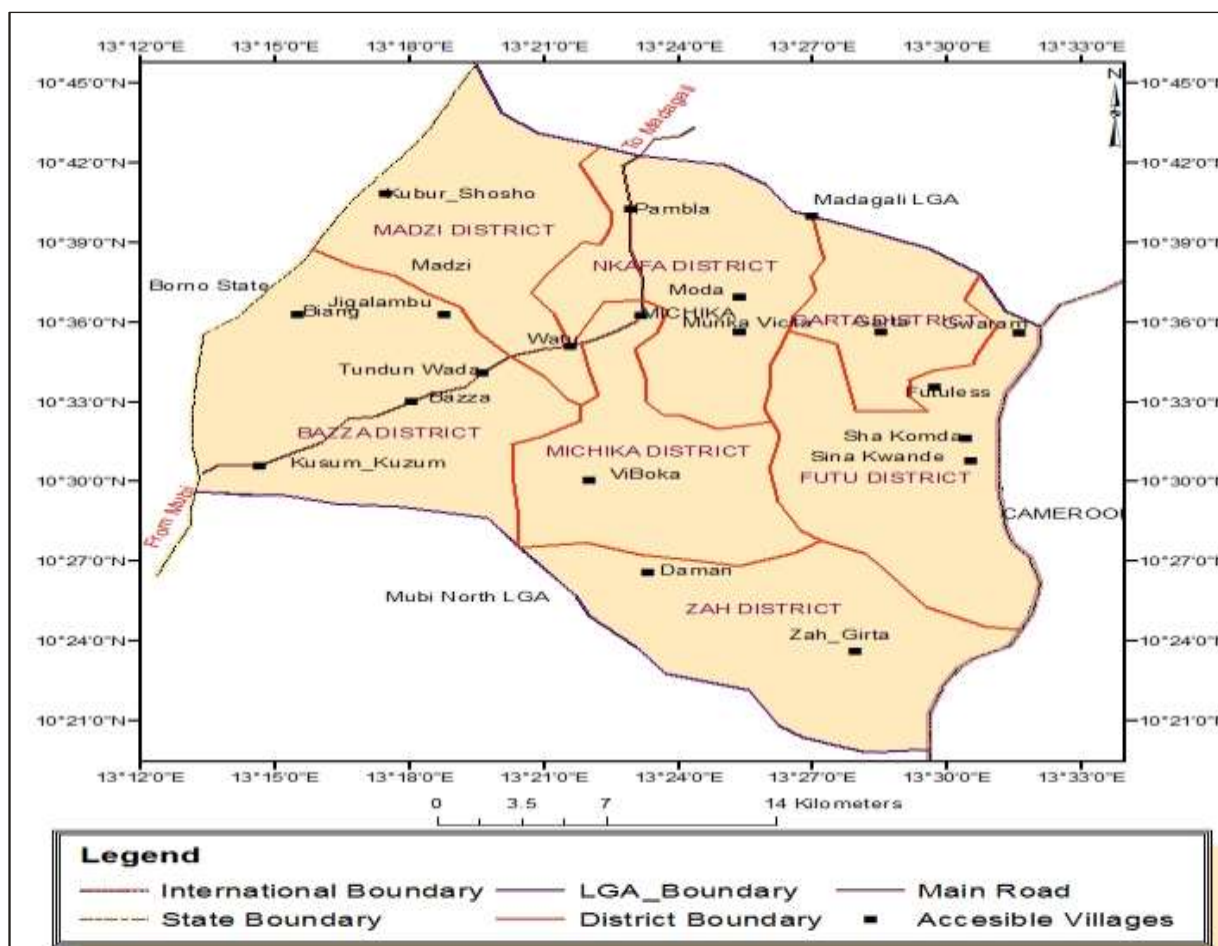

Figure 3: Madagali LGA showing accessible and non-accessible communities due to Boko Haram activities as at April, 2021.
Source: **Source: GIS Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of Maiduguri (2021)**

Michika town, which is a cosmopolitan town was entirely displaced by the Boko Haram insurgents with banks, schools and many places of worship destroyed and leaving empty, the town that harboured more than 370,000 people (NPC, 2006). The town was said to have been seized by the terrorists in connivance with some Michika residents in September 2014 (BBC,2014). The LGA was eventually retaken in 2015 (Useni, 2014). Situational observation by the researcher shows that since the recapture of the LGA, the road to healing and recovery has been tough for the community. The LGA has shown its resilience and recovered tremendously more than Madagali LGA which suffered the same fate. Today, more than 90% of its people have returned and most of its communities are accessible and relatively peaceful and safer (General News (2019)). Michika tourists' sites and scenery like the Kwandre cold spring water at Dlaka and the Kamale peak at Kamale have begun to witness visitors from various towns and villages of the LGAs.

4.3: Linkage System in Madagali Local Government Area

Table 4.4 displays the results related to the monthly visits between government officials (represented by elected LG officials) and the governed (represented by the Village Heads). In terms of top-down visit, the relative frequencies of visits indicate that only a few of the council wards enjoyed visits from council officials, while majority of the wards did not enjoy the pleasure of a visit by an elected official within the period under review. Although the reasons for low-to-zero visit was not obvious from the collected/analyzed data, some explanations may be advanced for this finding. Firstly, it was well-known that the LGA chairman resides and operates from Yola, the state capital, a distance of 277.3 km. Therefore, the distance as well as the risk necessitated by the activities of insurgents around major travel routes may be a major factor. Gulak which enjoyed four top-down visits was the location of the LGA headquarters as well as the home town of the Chairman. The location of Duhu/Shuwa, Wurongayandi and Madagali along the major road enable them to receive at least a visit from the council officials. The case of Shalmi/Vapra saw the council visiting in response to the two Boko Haram attacks that meted on the communities in the area shortly before the visit. The overall average top-down visit of 1.0 suggests a poor top-down linkage. Insurgents have prevented effective linkage between the council, while some villages remained largely inaccessible thereby forcing the council to rely on information from the military and vigilante.

The situation is different for bottom-up visits as shown on the Table is 1.8. As a matter of fact, while the Ward Head of Gulak visited the council chairman and other elected council officials three times within the span of a month, the other ward heads, only visited the council officials twice in a month. The other ward heads did not visit the LGA at all within a month. These three wards do not enjoy top-down and bottom-up visits. As such, they are left with no support from the local authority. The large bottom-up visit pointed out the yearnings of the people for developmental projects so as to improve their quality of life and lessen the hardship they face. Table 4.4 also reveal that phone contacts exist between all the ward heads and council officials within any given month. It is not unexpected that the overall average frequency of communication (phone call and text messages) between council officials and ward heads was greater than visits. This might not be unconnected with the relatively unsafe meeting and travelling conditions brought about by the activities of the insurgents, the use of telephone is now the preferred way to maintain a two-way contact with wards cut-off from physical face-to-face communication in local administration in the LGA.

Table 1: The Direction and Intensity of Ward-LGA Linkages in Madagali LGA

| Council Wards	Visit Top-Down	Visits Bottom-Up	Calls Top-Down	Calls Bottom-Up
Bebel	0	1	2	1
Duhu/Shuwa	2	3	2	3
Gulak	4	2	3	3
Hyambula	0	0	2	0
Kuda/Wurongayandi	1	2	3	2
Madagali	1	4	2	4
Pallam	0	1	1	1
Shalmi/Vapra	2	2	2	0
Wagga	0	2	1	0
Wula	0	1	2	0
Mean	1.0	1.8	2.0	1.4
Std. dev.	1.33	1.14	0.67	1.51

Source: Field work (2021)

The use of mobile phone has also helped in no small way in the sustenance of government functionality and relevance. The average top-down calls of 2.0 and bottom-up calls of 1.4 point to the fact that although there is minimal physical contact between council official and ward heads, the use of telephone ensures that two-way communication in local administration is maintained. Moreover, the direction and intensity of both visits and call appears to be imbalanced in the case of visit but a bit balanced in calls. This pointed to the fact that the ward heads are the ones getting across to the local authority, rather than the other way round. It also pointed to the fact that they may not be well informed about the difficulties people face in the wards.

4.4: Content of Ward-LGA Linkages for Madagali LGA

Figure 4 suggest that security concerns was uppermost during interactions between council officials and ward heads. This finding was not surprising, given the condition of fear and insecurity necessitated by the then guerrilla attacks in the LGAs. Linkages pertaining to security issue serves as information bridge between the council (government) and the wards to keep them aware of the sect's activities. While the wards heads are kept abreast of latest security information and measures, the government (through the councils) is informed of suspicious activities at the wards/villages.
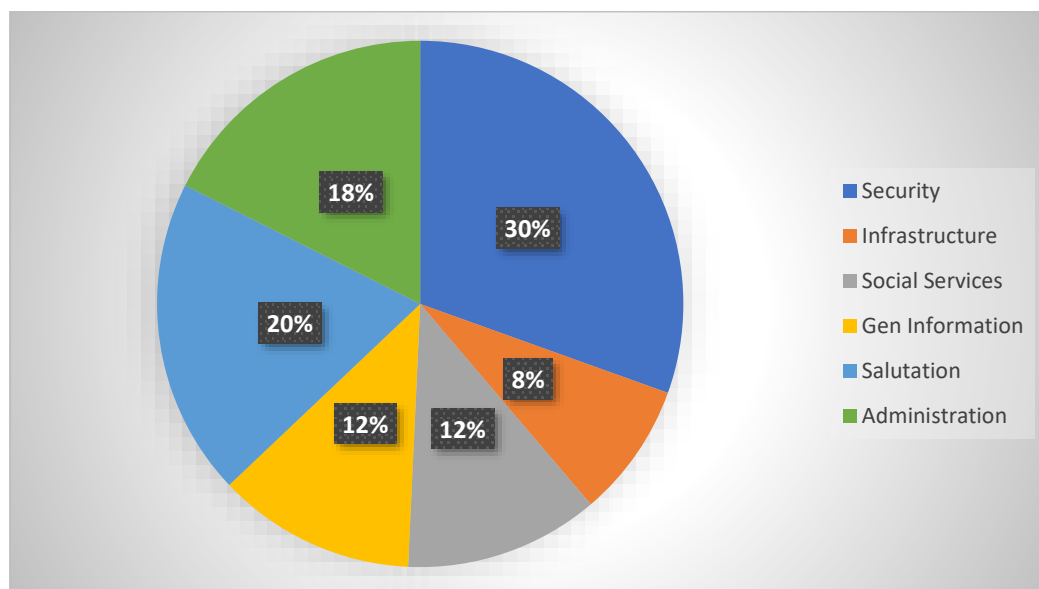
Fig.4.: Contents of ward LGA linkages for Madagali LGA
Source: Field work (2021)

4.5: Linkage System in Michika Local Government Area

Table 1 shows the frequency of average monthly visits between the LG council and the ward heads. In terms of top-down visit, a critical look at the frequencies of visits shows that while only a few of the council wards enjoyed visits from council officials, majority of the wards recorded zero monthly visits. The attributed reasons for this, finding include: the LGA chairman and some of the officials reside outside the local government. The LGA chairman resides and operates from Yola a distance of 234 km during the insurgents and up till the period of the study. Because of the long distance and insecurity of travelling, top-down visit by council officials was greatly affected. Michika 1 which enjoyed two top-down visits is the home town of the Chairman and location of the LGA headquarters. The location of Bazza, Marghi and Jigilambu, along the

major road enabled them to receive at least a visit from the council officials. The overall average top-down visit of 0.31 suggests a poor top-down linkage which shows that the councils officials have little first-hand knowledge of the activities in the wards.

Table 2: The Direction and Intensity of Ward-LGA Linkages in Michika LGA

Council Wards	Visit Top-Down	Visits Bottom-Up	Calls Top-Down	Calls Bottom-Up
Bazza Margi	1	2	2	3
Futudu/Futules	0	1	2	1
Garta/Chunchi	0	1	1	1
Jigilambu	1	2	1	2
Madzi	0	1	1	2
Michika I	2	2	2	3
Michika II	1	3	3	4
Minkisi/WuroNgiki	0	1	1	2
Moda/Dlaka/Ghenjuwa	0	0	2	2
Munka Vicita	0	1	2	1
Sina Kwande	0	1	1	2
Thukudu/Sufuku/Zah	0	0	2	1
Tsukumu/Tillijo	0	0	1	2
Tumbara Ngabili	0	1	2	1
Vi/Boka	0	1	1	2
Wamblimi/Tilli	0	1	1	2
Mean	0.3125	1.125	1.5625	1.9375
Std. Dev	0.602079729	0.806225775	0.62915287	0.853912564

Source: Field work (2021)

The situation is different from that of bottom-up visits. The average bottom-up visit is shown on the Table 2. The table shows that except for three ward heads who did not visit council officials in a month, all the other ward heads had occasions to either visit council officials for the purpose of request, complain, or solicitation. Indeed, while the Ward Head of Michika 2 visited the Council Chairman and other elected council officials 3 times in a month, the other ward heads averagely visited the council officials once in a month. Three other ward heads did not visit the LG at all within a month because of age related issues (FGD, 2021). These three wards were not enjoying top-down and bottom-up visits, consequently, may impact adversely the large bottom-up visit indicates that the people have problems which they want the local government officials to solve so as to improve the quality of life of the people.

Table 4.3 also shows that there are phone calls between all the ward heads and council officials within a month. It is not surprising that the overall average frequency of calls (phone call and text messages) between council officials and ward heads is greater than visits. For instance, there were on average 0.85 bottom-up calls and 0.81 bottom-up visits compared with 0.63 top-down calls and 0.60 top-down visits. This is because, given the relatively unsafe meeting and travelling conditions as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, the use of telephone became a convenient way to maintain contacts with wards cut-off from physical face-to-face communication in local administration as well as sustain government functionality and relevance. The average top-down calls of 1.5 and bottom-up calls of 1.9 suggest that although there is minimal physical contact between council official and

ward heads, the use of telephone ensures that two-way communication in local administration is maintained. Furthermore, the direction and intensity of both visits and

call appears to be imbalanced in the case of visit but a bit balanced in the case of calls. This suggests that the ward heads are the ones reaching out to council officials, rather than the other way round.

4.6: Contents of Ward-LGA Linkages (visits and Call) for Michika LGA

Linkage in the political context involves interactions and transactions between points of political power (Wilson & Ibietan, 2013). Its effectiveness depends on the content of such communication. For the effectiveness of vertical linkage in this study, it is assumed that the contents of calls and visits determine the type of results they would likely produce. Some linkages may result in tangible benefit for the people while others will yield nothing. Some of the linkages most likely to result in tangible benefit are the ones that center on security, administration, social services, infrastructure, general information and salutation (Glanda, 2018). The listed facets in Fig 5 are the most frequently mentioned issues in the linkage. The categories identified in Fig 5 are only a broad representation and clustering of the issues mentioned by the ward heads and council

officials during their visits and calls/text messages. Although several other issues were mentioned but the key themes/issues emanating from the analysis of interviews to categorized the contents of top-down and bottom-up linkages into classes that best describe them were used. For example, a message/visit by either the LGA chairman or council official to inform the other party of their child birth (or any such personal issues) is categorized under 'Salutation'. Similarly, issues pertaining to roads, motor parks, markets, etc., are categorized under infrastructure. Figure 4.1 gives a diagrammatic description of the contents of the linkage between ward heads and council officials in Michika Local Government Area. Note that the frequency for each of the categories was estimated from the contents of the qualitative interviews conducted with the ward heads and chairmen.
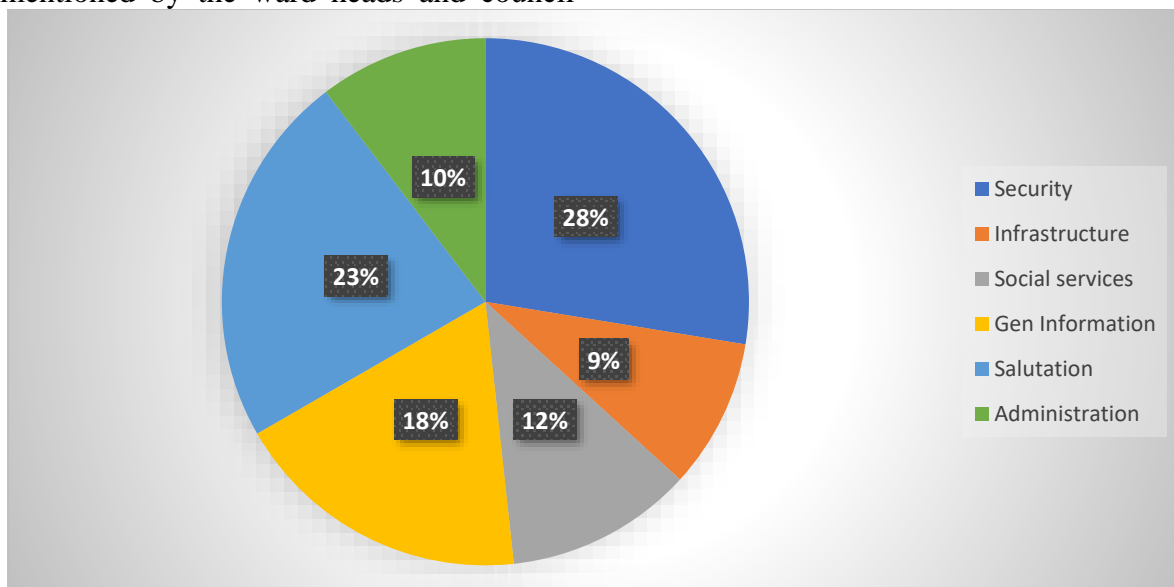
Fig.5: Contents of ward-LGA linkages for Michika LGA
Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Figure 5 suggests that security concerns are always uppermost during interactions between council officials and ward heads.

This is hardly surprising, given the condition of fear and insecurity necessitated by the on-going armed insurgency in the LGA. Linkages

pertaining to security issue serve as information bridge between the council (LGA) and the wards. While the ward heads are kept abreast of latest security information and measures, the LGA is informed of

suspicious activities of the sect at the wards/villages.

5. Conclusion

The implications of Boko Haram insurgence on accessibility to the numerous communities and linkage system (top-down and bottom-up as well the contents of the linkages) in LG administration in Madagali and Michika LGA in Adamawa State has been carried out in this study. It has been confirmed that Madagali and Michika LGAs were taken-over by Boko haram insurgents in 2014 and up till 2021 when this research was conducted, accessibility to communities that were not along the main Michika-Madagali Road were still inaccessible years after the recapture of Madagali LGA from the insurgents. The situation Michika LGA was far better because all the communities in the LGA were accessible including their tourists center in the remote parts of the LGA. In Madagali LGA overall low top-down and bottom-up linkages in communications

(phone calls and text messages) and worse in visitation between LG administrators and ward heads were recorded. The attributed factors were mainly based on relocation of their LG officers to Yola, insecurity on the roads, inaccessibility and lack of trust. Security issue was noted to be the main contents of the linkages in Madagali LGA. Michika with improved accessibility to most of the communities within the LGA recorded higher phone calls and text messages than visitation based on the fact that due to the security challenges, all their administrators relocated to Yola – the State headquarters, while traveling along the road from Yola was a great risk. Like in Madagali LGA, security issue was noted to be the main contents of the linkages. Comparative analysis of linkage system in Madagali and Michika LGA is suggested for further studies.

6. Recommendations

The following recommendations were made from the findings of the study:

(i) Provision of more security personnel and rehabilitation and reconstruction of the long-abandoned roads especially in Madagali LGA to pave way for the utilization of such roads

(ii) Encourage the LG administrators to return home since their subjects have already returned so as to

beef-up stronger security network in the area

(iii) Improvement in linkage system in the area through innovation of virtual meetings and on-line communications.

(iv) Other important issues should also be emphasized in the linkage system rather than concentration mainly on security issues.

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