

IDENTITY CONFLICT, TERROR AND THE NIGERIAN STATE: BETWEEN FRAGILITY AND FAILURE

Adebowale Idowu Adeyeye

Department of Political Sciences, Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is an ideal type of a heterogeneous and plural society divided along ethnic, tribal and religious identities lumped together in a federation. The country has been enmeshed in conflicts, violence and terror associated with its heterogeneity and diversity. The manifestation and recurrence of violence and terror have not only threatened the country's national security, and clogged up the route to attainment of sustainable development. They have made the nation almost ungovernable and acted as scenarios that have continuously threatened the country's existence as a single entity. The paper attempts to identify the remote and immediate causes of the identity motivation for terror. It ascribes the objective situation to the inability of the state to perform its responsibilities owing to poor leadership, endemic corruption, lopsided federal arrangement, poverty, historical antecedent and the inability to reverse the ills of history, elite politics, ancient primordial hatred and religious bigotry among other causal factors. It submits that the state's weakness and fragility is the central cause of terror in the country. This adds up to the fact that Nigeria has since inception as a federation been a fragile and weak nation as in effect it is impossible to fully realize statehood and development. The country operates a disaggregated union which does not represent the desires of the people. The consequence is the seeming totter towards disintegration and failure. The paper concludes that a negotiation of the existing federal arrangement, improved economy, and negotiation with all aggrieved groups, religious pluralism and good governance are solutions for tackling development and security cleavages in Nigeria.

Keywords: Terror, Identity Conflict, Development, State Fragility, State Failure.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a plural and heterogeneous nation comprising of multi ethnic and multi religious groups. It is a classic case of an artificial nation - state put together by colonial fiat. In fact, of all the nations in the sub – Saharan Africa and perhaps the world over, Nigeria is the only nation whose prospects for continuous existence are in doubt. The history of the country since independence has been replete with identity related issues and conflicts. Apart from the fact that the country experienced a civil war between 1967 and 1970, the history of post colonial Nigeria has witnessed resurgence of renewed conflicts and violence. Communities, clans and religious groups have taken up arms against one another in devastating dimensions

Religious bigotry, adoption of extreme position by ethnic, tribal and communal groups have instigated alarming degrees of conflicts on the country to the extent that secularity posture enshrined in the Nigerian 1999 constitution is fast retreating and all national integration efforts seem bleak as the dividing lines are constantly redrawn by identity conflicts. An intriguing phenomenon about identity conflicts and terror in the country is that they span the entire length and breadth of the country, dominating all strata of the polity (all geo-political zones) and assuming both rural and urban dimensions.

The avalanche of conflicts, violence and terror that has rocked Jos Plateau in the last two decades, Ife-Modakeke, Ogoni and Okrika, Umuleri-Aguleri, Ijaw-Ilaje, Maitatsine uprising, Ijaw, Urhobo and Itshekiri crisis, the uprising over Nigeria's membership of the organization of Islamic countries (OIC) pro and anti Sharia conflicts in Kano, Bauchi, Jos and Kaduna, the Tiv - Jukun, Chamba-Kuteb conflicts, Isoko Delta conflict, activities of Odua Peoples Congress in the west, the Yandabas in the north, the Yobe Taliban, MASSOB, Niger Delta insurgency and most disturbing is the ongoing Boko Haram (Western education is sin) terror in the northern part of the country has not only threatened the nation's security and overall corporate existence as a single indivisible entity but has exposed the fragility of the nation.

In the same vein, there have been continuous frustrations by Nigerians over the failure of the potentially wealthy nation to provide basic human needs, such as, education, food, potable water, reliable transportation, policies free of rampant corruption, and employment ravaging feature in the polity. According to the country's Finance Minister and Coordinating Minister of Nigerian economy, Okonjo – Iweala, (2012), high level of unemployment that stood at 23 per cent as at mid 2012 and even higher among the youths with at about 38 per cent pervades the country's economy. Fiscal problems, debts and low economic growth also remain dominant features of the country. Nigeria's total debt profile as at March 2012 stood at N44.28 billion (6.88 trillion), domestic debt component stood at N38.7billion or N5.97 trillion while external debt was \$5.91 billion (N919.44 billion). Income levels per capita are far below those of the United States and the European nations. Overall development is also low, for instance, human development index in the 2011 UN Human Development ranking, and very high in the CPI corruption index. (Okonjo – Iweala, 2012; Adeyeye, 2011; Sani, 2011; Almond, 2008; Amuwo, 2010; Adejumbi, 2001; Ibeanu, 1999; Abdul, 2002;, 2006, Falola, 2008; and CPI, UNHDI 2011)

It is against this stark reality and concerns over the spate of identity conflicts and terror in Nigeria that this paper attempts to examine the causes, dimensions, effects and consequences of terror in the country. It attempts to answer the following questions:

1. In what way has identity conflict posed a challenge to the power of the state and to the lives of the citizens?
2. What are the factors-remote and immediate that motivates identity conflicts and terror in the country?
3. What are the possible and obvious triggers of identity conflicts and terror in Nigeria?
4. To what extent has the government been successful or has failed in finding solutions to the problem of security and underdevelopment in Nigeria?

This paper submits that the lack of social contract amongst the diverse elements that make up the nation in the build up to the federation rob the people the country of their own to which they would be totally loyal and this has been responsible for the persistent struggle for territorial autonomy, power and resource based conflicts. It is also safe to postulate that Nigerians inherited and are still guided by the ills of colonial, post colonial regimes and the long years of military aggression, and resultantly the country had been characterized by poor and repressive leadership which is largely responsible for the state's inability to perform its responsibilities – a clear case of fragility and failure.

CONCEPTUAL /THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Identity, Identity Conflict and Terror

In the words of Arena and Arrigo, (2006) the word 'identity' is as much a cultural cliché as it is a technical term common to a host of social science disciplines. They assert that, 'there is something active about the word (identity) which cannot be ignored; identity is not just there, it must always be established'. In all human collectivities and relations, contests and rivalries occur because as human beings eke out existence, they relate in competition over the limited resources nature offers and those made by man himself. The contest over different preferences which are sometimes carried out with high intensity of conflicts most often leads to violence some of which are resolved peacefully or sometimes through violence. Conflict is an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions... *'the problem, then, is not to court the frustrations of seeking to remove inevitability but rather of trying to keep conflicts in bound'*. (Zartman, 1997:197). Conflicts can be resource based. Such conflicts manifest over scarce or limited resources Ideological conflicts arise from one's ideology and identity, mismanagement of information which can promote peace or conversely generate conflicts. The various types of conflicts are broadly categorized as intra-state, internationalized intra state and inter-state. (Miller, 2005).

Conflict and peace are therefore mechanisms for realizing goals and for resolving disparities in preferences in culture, value, ideology, religion and belief systems. Identity conflicts are usually triggered by competition for power and resources (tangible and intangible) which leads to politics of alienation and non – accommodation. This exclusionary form of politics is a major reason behind identity conflicts all over the world particularly in a highly plural and heterogeneous nation like Nigeria.

Various theoretical positions have been advanced in the literature to explain identity and terror. Classical theorists like St. Augustine, Thomas Malthus, and Sigmund Freud among others identified the inherent tendency of man to be selfish, sinful and driven by the natural quest for ceaseless pursuit of power which consequently produce conflicts and rise of violence in human societies. Other theorists like John Dollard, Ted Gurr, Donald Horowitz, and Kurt Schick are of the opinion that

conflicts occur due to relative deprivation and frustration – aggression tendencies.(Mohammed, 2006, Ian Hampsher - Monk, 2007, Gurr, 1970, Auwal, 2011).

Advancing the desperation and frustration theory Horowitz (2001) posited that;

'Relative deprivation is conceptualized as actor's perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities that is the discrepancy between what the people think they ought to get from the society and what they believe they will actually obtain'.

The central idea advanced here is that discontentment arising from the perception of relative deprivation on the part of the less – off groups and individuals is the basic instigating condition for participants in collective violence and terror. Auwal, (2011) conceived inequality in political, economic, social opportunities as issues that lead to discontentment, conflict and violence. Also, the 'self concept- I and/or WE against OTHERS' motivates identity consciousness which further play out in the symbolic nature of social structure, stratification and the enhancement of individual status as profound influences on the emergence of one's sense of self and, ultimately one's group identity.(Albert, 2000, Falola, 2008)

Personal and social identities are often in tension with each other as people seek both individuation and inclusion (economic, political and social) all of which can exacerbate the risk of violence and terror. Identity conflict is often a competition for ownership of the state and control of its resources. The competition for the scarce resources is exacerbated when the state actively controls the distribution of important resources. Conflicts of identity are likely to escalate when groups and/or group members consider that the recognition accorded a competitor identity can threaten their own. Also, entrepreneurial leaders or elites whose domestic supports are uncertain or threatened can manipulate identities and create myths to sustain political loyalty. According to the World Development Report (2010), domestic factors such as low incomes, high unemployment, inequality of some sort, injustice,-horizontal inequality commitment and loyalty problem, greed, grievance and lack of respect for human rights are triggers of violence and terror in heterogeneous states.

Writing on religiously motivated terror, Jurgensmeyer, (2000), argued that acts of terror and terrorism emerge from a culture of violence. To those within the collective who share similar perspectives of the world, bloodshed, harm and destruction signify valid and justifiable means by which to instigate change. To the cultural perspective theorists, however emphasis is on the impact of symbols and meanings on acts of political violence. To them, terrorism is as much a product of culture as it is the result of individuals, that is, a process through which individuals gain a sense of control over their lives.

In the view of the Socialization theorists, groups that share same identity and terror view their actions as right and just. It is assumed that just as 'just war' is perceived as legitimate; so their actions are legitimate. For instance, 'just as just war is legitimate jihad is legitimate'. Islamic fundamentalists – (Boko Haram) view jihad as legitimate and one that should be encouraged and even transferred from generation to generation. As individuals learn the social expectation of their behavior and justifications for their violent actions within a group context, they create their own identities, hence, identity plays significant roles in igniting terror;

State, Fragility and Failure

In the words of Ikelegbe and Okumu, (2010), the state is composed of a set of interconnected and coordinated institutions that are concerned with the organization of power and the structured domination and ordering of society. States essentially monopolize certain powers and rules- the making and execution of binding rules, the control and utilization of institutional of organized violence, the legitimate use of physical force, the extraction of resources including taxation of citizens, the right to political allegiance of citizens, the right of adjudication and mediation in disputes between citizens and the right of representative in the international community. Also, the state performs some core or critical functions and responsibilities such as the control of territory and population, the guarantee of safety, security, public and social order and justice, the provision of public goods, social services, infrastructure and economic progress and the promotion of the wellbeing and welfare of citizen.

In the same vein, a state has legal or judicial and functional or substantive dimensions. It is a legal entity that is recognised *de jure* as a sovereign authority and defined by its *de facto* or empirical attributes that is, the actual exercise of powers and functions of statehood. A state equally has institutional and functional attributes and dimensions that is, structural apparatus of governance and the exercise of public authority that is generally recognized by the people as binding and the critical roles, needs and expectations that are performed or fulfilled. (Miller, 2003, Ikelegbe and Okumu, 2010).

All the stated roles, duties and responsibilities of state notwithstanding, the ability and potentials for the enhancement and the realization of the critical state functions is dependent on the capacity of the state. Ikelegbe and Okumu further asserted that, state power and capacity can be measured in terms of the effectiveness of secured control of territory, the supremacy of laws over the society, the operational capabilities to extract revenues, make and implement binding rules and regulate society, and the effectiveness of control over resources and people. In this connection, extractive, regulatory, administrative and technical capacities are crucial to state execution of its essential roles. Essentially measuring the nature of state using the above ingredients it is obvious that not all states possesses the capacity to carry out the critical functions bringing to fore the categorization of state. State can either be classified as strong or weak, failing or failed and collapsing or collapsed.

The delineation is fluid because weak and failing states may be fragile, just as fragile states are often weak and failing In fact, the European Report on Development (2009) stated that, an agreed list of fragile state does not exist. However, there is a widespread consensus that fragility relates to poor records of state institutions in providing basic services due to either lack of capacity of failure to confer the due priority to fulfill basic state functions. The ERD, World Bank and the IMF, (2009) identified common features of state fragility such as the inability to mobilize domestic resources and dependence on external resources, reliance on primary product, concentrated export, low human development and poor soft and hard infrastructure.

On the concept of state failure there is no generally accepted agreement on when a state can be described as having failed. However, a state can be perceived as having failed at some of the basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government. The various perspectives of a failed state usually identifies the following common features in states perceived to be failing:

- Loss of control of its territory, or of the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force;
- Erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions;
- Inability to provide public services;
- Inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community

Also common with failing states are weak and ineffective central government ineffective that has little practical control over much of its territory; non-provision of public services; widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations; and sharp economic decline.(UNFP 2010).Although the term ‘failed state’ has received myriads of criticisms by policy scholars for being arbitrary and sensationalist, the term becomes useful when describing states that can be described as .not successful’ in the sense of its very questionable and dubious existence coupled with the inability to carry out its basic responsibilities.

Indicators of State Vulnerability to Fragility and Failure

* Social Indicators: Demographic pressure, Massive movement of refugee and internally displaced peoples, Legacy of vengeance seeking group vengeance, Chronic and sustained human flight.

* Economic Indicators: Uneven economic development along group lines, Sharp and/or severe economic decline.

* Political Indicators: Widespread violation of human right; Progressive deterioration of public service, Rise of factionalized elites, Intervention of other states or external factors

Advancing Identity Conflict and Terror

Identity conflicts involve contest between and amongst groups in the society (ethnic, tribal, religious and cultural) over economic, political and social issues and resources, especially, where a group cannot or is prohibited from pursuing and/or achieving its goals within the state. Demonstration, riots and even rebellion or revolution are tactics usually utilized to pursue their goals. Identity conflict mostly arises from competition for ownership of the state and control of its resources, It also arises from the expropriation of the identity, symbols and resources of the state by one group to the exclusion of other structural violence, competition of state resources and relative depreciation, security dilemma on the part of groups. The ultimate goal of these contests are based on the need for allocation, reallocation, distribution of power, priviledges and resources which are done and carried out within crucial distributive decisions (Baker, 1995:1; Ikelegbe and Okumu, 2010:21).

Even though there has been apparent difficulty in describing what actually constitutes terrorism. Terrorism is generally perceived as the element of extra normal force towards achieving a set of goals – political, social and economic. (Amzat and Oguniye, 2009). The US State Department conceive terrorism as ‘pre-mediated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non – combatant targets by sub national groups its clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

Madunagu, (2011). This opinion is borne out of his reflection on the on the state of terrorism in Nigeria. H described terrorism as ‘an unlawful violence or any other unlawful harmful act committed (or threatened) against civilians by groups or persons for political or other ideological goals’.

To further explain terror in Nigeria, Madunagu, (2011) drew a distinction between the domestic and international dimension. He stressed that, International form of terror means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country; a state sponsor of terrorism is a state that repeatedly provides support for acts of international terrorism. State terrorism is employed by government- or more often by faction within governments-against forces within the governments, or against foreign governments or groups. To him this type is very common and difficult to identify, mainly because the state’s support is always clandestine. In his view, what exists in Nigeria since the end of the civil war in 1970 is Nigerian terrorism and not terrorism in Nigeria. He asserted that the latter suggests foreign terrorist invasion of the country while Nigerian terrorism means terrorism as a kind of terror in whose seeds were sown in Nigeria and which germinated and now flourishes in Nigeria. Nigeria has been battling with this kind of terrorism since the end of civil war.

He then advanced five forms of Nigerian terrorism- the Niger Delta insurgency, the Boko Haram insurgency, the Middle Belt (Jos) killings, Kidnapping for ransom and armed robbery., In furthering his position, he classified terrorism into the old and the new forms that is, the old form of terrorism that was predominantly anti – capitalist imperialism and anti national oppression and pro popular power, pro popular democracy, pro socialism or even pro communist while the new terrorism is anti imperialism or anti America or anti West. While the latter was predominantly secular the former is predominantly for the enthronement of Sharia. The five forms of Nigerian terrorism are located under the two classifications.

Nigerian State in the threshold of Identity conflicts and Terror

Flowing from the different opinions, various forms of terrorism have been advanced with reference to whether they are controlled / directed by a government or they involve nationals from more than one country. Conflict, violence and terror have been major socio-political challenge facing the global system with varying dimensions across states. Even though fighting and conflicts for socio-political and economic rights is not uncommon, they represent a persistent phenomenon in plural and among heterogeneous groups in the society where there is real or perceived deprivation. (Aamzat and Ogundiya.2009). The case of Nigeria is particularly worrisome, considering the many factors such as ethnicity, religion, social inequality and other incompatibilities that underpin the current dimensions of terror

As a highly plural society, Nigeria is replete with heterogeneous incompatibles, structural deficiencies and marriage of inconvenience resulting in abuse of power , position, avarice, disregard for the rule of law and human right, lack of mutual esteem, vanity, ignorance, unfairness, religious fundamentalism, bigotry and ethnic nepotism that have further enhanced lack of legitimacy for virtually all regimes in the country, lack of loyalty, lack of accountability, transparency and corruption, lack of religious pluralism and tolerance, political immaturity, lack of state-citizen consensus and social contract hence, the country is faced with state, nationalist – separatist and ideological terrorism. Adedapo, (2008) Not only is the Nigerian nation-state deficient in efficient and effective super structure, that is, the control of the material environment, positive social relation (horizontal and vertical), good government (leadership), coalescent pattern of behavior and systems of beliefs that are required for statehood and development, the relationship of these elements is poor and unfavourable for human development.

Also, there is a lacuna between/amongst Nigerian people in the body of beliefs, motivations and socio-political, religious, education and bureaucratic concerns. This is why for instance, the Boko Haram (western education is sin) would attack schools, federal and state institutions and communication investments thereby turning the Northern region of the country especially the North Eastern part which prior to the insurgency was the least educated and at the lowest rung of poverty index in the country, (The Nation September, 2012), a situation that almost unlikely in the Southern part where such facilities are of utmost importance.

Causes of Identity Conflicts and Terror in Nigeria

Literatures on identity conflicts and terror in Nigeria are awashed with various causal factors that includes the following: unmitigated despotism, injustices, discriminatory political activities, institutional failure, exclusionary national ideology, capricious government policies, elite politics and structural deficiency factor, indigene/settler issue, environmental security factor, the current economic crisis manifesting the harsh realities of existence, the problem of the youth, social and cultural/perceptual factors such as ancient hatred amongst groups are responsible for the various violent conflicts that have assumed a new dimension and made the country a threshold of lawlessness and apprehension. Lack of confidence, danger or risk now permeate internal and national environments and that are threatened by identity violence. (Wafula and Ikelegbe 2010, Essien, 2008, Ennals, 1998, Galtung, 1990, Mohammed, 2010, Udofia, 2010).

The above factors that are historical, cultural, economic, political, religious, and social factors are herewith categorized under state induced; group promoted and externally enhanced factors. In the first instance, Miller, (2003) asserted that:

'The chief object of every citizen's desire is self preservation; to avoid loss of life; hence, security is the greatest good and insecurity the greatest evil. A man is subjected to sovereign authority in order that he may be protected and achieve security, if the state cannot provide for his safety; the citizen need not obey the state; a state that cannot protect and provide for its citizen is no sovereign at all and does not deserve obedience from its citizens'.

With this in mind and perhaps, considering the Nigerian state inability to play the role of balancer amongst group interests and failure to provide basic things of life, the above assertion best situate the state centric cause of terror in Nigeria. Over the past years the country has been under the siege of terror manifesting in every clime and regions. This is because virtually all indicators of state fragility and failure as expressed by the United Fund for Peace are pervasive in the country. These include Loss of control of territory by the government, near loss of the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force, erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions, inability to provide public services, massive movement of refugee and internally displaced peoples, legacy of vengeance seeking group vengeance, chronic and sustained human flight, uneven economic development along group lines, failure on the part of national and regional leaders to mobilize their regions for development, sharp and/or severe economic decline, widespread violation of human rights, progressive deterioration of public service, rise of factionalized elite, intervention of other states or external factors. These state centric factors no doubt induce terrorism.

The various manifestation of terrorism has been adduced to responses of the disenchanting, frustrated, abused and marginalized youths of Nigeria to decadence, poverty, misery, unemployment and manners of abuse which not only make

them (youths) susceptible to violence but fuel unrest, violence and terror. For instance, many have come to agree with the thesis (including this paper) that the Boko Haram insurgency that has carried out ceaseless attack on state institutions, religious groups and security outfits in a large scale manner in the last few years. In fact, the United States Department of State Country Reports on terrorism has it that the Islamic fundamentalists carried out 136 attacks and killed 590 people in 2011. On kidnapping for ransom (Nigeria was rated 15th in the 2011 assessment of the same reports), increase rate of armed robbery and the Niger Delta problems are a direct consequence of the large body of young unemployed or underemployed graduates of institutions of higher learning in Nigeria.

At the level of religion, in the words of Sam Harris (2006: 18) the tenets of the dominant religions-Islam and Christianity which the people embrace create intolerance and have a way of instigating violence. The 'US – THEM' idea - (bigotry) creates division coupled with ancient hatred instigated by the religious claim of superiority. Even though the two dominant religions claim peace, the concept of peace is merely inclusive – peace to both religion is to fellow believer. In agreement to this opinion, Muhammed, (2010) expressed that accentuation of religious identities and the phenomenal growth of religious revivalism instigates violence.

Also, embedded enemy image, social differentiation amongst ethnic groups and other common cognitive biases such as egocentric bias create, sharpen and polarize the plural Nigerian nation – state.

Another factor that contributes and acts as a trigger for violence and terror is the insensitivity and insincerity of political elites to the feelings of the citizens. The return to civil rule in 1999 inspired great expectations among Nigerians as a result of the horrors and brutality of long rule of the military which was marked by state centric terror-intimidation, bombing of the homes of perceived or real opponents, extra judicial murder, Nigerians were indeed very eager for a breath of fresh air of peace expected to guarantee accountability in public, respect of human rights and transparency, (Erinosho, 2012). However, Nigerians were surprisingly disappointed and jolted by the increased rate of poverty showing percentage of population in severe poverty North - Central 33, 8, North - East 67.2, North - West 60.0, South East 9.3, South - South 11.6, South West 9.4 percents, (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative 2011). Endemic corruption, structural violence and above all progressive decline of public services continue to manifest.

In the same vein, Olusegun Obasanjo once posited that, 'the challenges of making governance accountable to the people in Nigeria is at the root of the problem of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and lack of access to the basic means of livelihood that faces the majority of the people'. The former Nigerian president concluded that the country's resources are personalized at the expense of the people, thereby resulting in the galloping rate of poverty, inadequate health care facilities and housing, a clear case of state failure.

While an opinion on the source of instability, conflicts and terror in Nigeria has its root in the spread from the development from the Arab world, especially the Boko Haram Islamic insurgents, another factor often considered is the unsavoury consequences and legacy of the colonial rule- a history and a social process that failed to ensure even development amongst the regions that make the country especially with the North lagging behind the South in economic and social development..The insurgency in the North is a symptom of deep the seated malaise traceable to the colonial era when the

policies adopted led to the North – the Largest and perhaps the most populous part of the country falling behind in virtually all respects. Boko Haram (Western education is evil) and others before it such as the Maitasine are direct consequence of the failure of the Northern elite to invest in the education of the people of the region which largely creates frustration among the northern youths who find themselves unable to compete with their southern counterparts in all respects. It is this systemic failure more than religious differences that accounts for the deep seated grievance of the high rate of the insurgence in the North. (Fafowora 2012)

The fragility of the imposed and inherited federation/political institutions has rendered Nigeria as a single entity, politically and economically fragile and weak to contain the centrifugal tendencies inherent in the forced union. The federal system of government is lopsided and unbalanced. It failed to provide an equitable distribution of power at the centre; it is this quest for equitable and balanced political system that has been at the centre of the Nigerian terrorism.

Summarily, failure of the political elite to accept democratic principles of accountability ,equity, justice and the rule of law but only manipulates identity differences and creating myths to sustain personal gains and loyalty, security dilemma amongst groups, resentment of being at the periphery of the country's politic by northerners, phenomenal growth of religious revivalism, the contested basis of citizenship rights, greed, predatory rule, autocracy, enemy image infrastructural decay, mass amplication of information, crisis of modernity, community allegiance and support, alienation, the centralization of power around Nigeria's remarkable resources aid seeking, and the various unresolved grievances are factors that have been advanced for terror in Nigeria.(Akinwale 2010, Best, 2001, Ogundiya, Olutayo and Amzat 2009, Muhammed 2010, Bamgbose, 2011).

Although Sani, 2011, and Erinosh, 2012, emphasized the international reference point in advancing terror in Nigeria citing cases of Al-Qaeda's Osama Bin Laden ideological influence, the Palestine-Israeli issues and the revolution in the Maghreb - Tunisia, Egypt and Algeria as triggers and motivation of terror in Nigeria, this paper is of the opinion that these issues are less significant compared to the state-centric and structural causal factors depicting state weakness.

CONCLUSION: PRESCRIPTIONS FOR TACKLING THE SECURITY LACUNAS

No doubt security has been a major concern in Nigeria's developmental challenge particularly over the last two decades with violent dimensions defying all official and unofficial attempts to check it.. It is therefore obvious tackling security challenge will require robust, all inclusive strategies beyond mere use of force but largely based on non-forceful mechanisms.

For the purpose of securing peace and development in Nigeria, attention must be paid to the following factors. First, so much has been advanced on power sharing and the review of the operating federal system as tools to prevent conflicts in ethnic, plural or divided societies like Nigeria. Indeed Ted Gurr includes power and resources as part of what he described an 'emerging doctrine. Sriram,(2008). Although successive governments in Nigeria have emphasized the need to address power sharing and federal arrangement which will foster equality and autonomy; it has been more of rhetoric and wishful thinking rather than been purposeful. The lines of division has continue to be emphasized than abate. To solve the security problem in Nigeria, it is germane to move beyond mere mention to putting in place proactive measures that will include all groups in power sharing and decision making.

Second, the 'democracy' in the country is far from being democratic. It is mere civil rule. This is because all principles of democracy - accountability, equity, freedom from wants, efficiency, promotion of human rights, ability to provide felt needs, greater ability to live in peace with oneself, greater capacity to defend and protect both individual and national interests and possessions, greater ability to utilize natural forces for the benefits of the people and above all greater happiness of the greatest number of the people are deficient in the present Nigerian situation without which peace and security can be achieved. It is of course important to restructure all democratic forces to achieve full freedom of participation in the democracy as an attempt to protect all interests. A consociational arrangement that will help mitigate identity tension and conflict usually prevalent in majoritarian democracy as it is presently operating in the country is necessary for enduring peace.

Third, it is imperative to address economic problems and to distribute the nation's wealth and its control evenly to take care of all interests and to ultimately reduce the astronomical populations that are unsustainable.

Fourth, improvement of the educational sector especially in the northern region of the country should be improved and be made to complement the value and religion of the people of the region in order to create a synergy between western education and the culture of people.

Fifth, efforts should be made to create/adopt an integrated policy packages and development input mechanism, which incorporate political leadership, duty consciousness and changed attitude of the people. Leaders should be accountable to the citizens. Citizens should be able to trust, believe and have confidence in the leadership in the country.

Six, it is imperative to negotiate and bargain with aggrieved groups and to also isolate and address grievances of all interest groups with a view to achieving and ensuring peace.

In conclusion, it is obvious that conflict and terror has diminished the development of the country for instance; in the area of human development Nigeria like other African countries occupy the lower rung of the 2011 human development ranking. To organize and re-orientate the entire economic and social system,, improve income and output, develop radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as popular attitudes that will include customs and beliefs are germane, it is imperative to establish effective and efficient youth empowerment scheme, employment, create and provide opportunity in skill acquisition and wealth creation for the youths.

Also, the establishment of functional social welfare scheme, reduction of the obvious low quality of public infrastructure, drastic reduction of wasteful public investment which will not only improve security situation in Nigeria but also provide direction for development is a necessity.

REFERENCES

- Abdul, Hassan. (2002) *Ethno- Religious crisis in Kaduna; Impact on Women and Children* in Alemika, Etannibi and Okoye, Festus (eds.) *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democracy,* in *Nigerian: challenges..Kaduna, Nigeria*, a publication of Human Rights Monitor.
- Adedapo, Fafowora Adesola. (2008) *Nigeria: The case for peaceful and friendly dissolution.* Lagos, Arymson Publications.
- Adejumobi, Said (2001) *Citizenship Rights and the Problem of conflicts and civil wars in Africa; Human Rights Quarterly Vol 23 No 1.*
- Adeyeye Adebowale. I. (2011) *Corruption in Nigeria: An Assessment of Twelve Years of Democratic Governance (1999-2011)* *Ilorin Journal of Sociology* vol.3. No 2, Department of Sociology, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- Akinwale, Akeem.Ayofe. (2010) *Integrating Traditional Modern Conflict Management Strategies in Nigeria* in Albert, I.Olawale. and Oloyede I.Olanrewaju (eds.) *Dynamics of Peace Processes Ilorin CPSS, University of Ilorin, Nigerian.*
- Albert, Olawale Isaac. (2000) '*Federalism, Inter- Ethnic Conflicts and the Northernization Policy of the 1950s and 1960s*' in Amuwo, Kunle. *Federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigerian Federalism.* Ibadan. Spectrum Books Limited
- Amartya, Sen (1999) *Development as Freedom* New York, Oxford University press.
- Amuwo, Kunle (2010) *Between Elite Protectionism and popular Resistance: The Political Economy of Nigeria fractured state since juridical independence.* Journal of Contemporary Africa.
- Amzat Jimoh.and Ogundiya Sarafa. (2009) '*Political Agitation and Terror Potentialities in Niger Delta Area of Nigeria*' in Hamzat, Jimoh Ogundiya Sarafa and Olutayo Olanrewaju (eds.) *A Decade of Democratization in Nigeria': (1999-2009).* Ibadan, Ayayayuyu Bureau of Commercial.
- Arena, Michael. and Arigo Bruce (2006) *The Terrorist Identity: Exploring the Terror Threat.* New York, New York University Press.
- Augustine, Ikelegbe (2010) '*Crisis of the state and governance and armed non-state groups in Africa*', in Wahiila Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (eds.) *Militia, Rebel and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crisis in Africa.* Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.
- Augustine, Ikelegbe and Wafula Okimu (2010) '*Towards conceptualization and understanding of the threats of armed non-state groups to human security and the state in Africa*' in Wahiila Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (eds.) *Militia, Rebel and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crisis in Africa.* Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.
- Auwal, Abdulmalik (2011) *Democratic Building and Ethno-Religious Divide in Nigeria 1999-2011* Paper presented at the second Biennial conference of the Centre for peace and Strategic studies, Ilorin, University of Ilorin, Ilorin..
- Baker, David. (1995) *Politics, Power and Race RelationsS in Politics of Race.* England Saxon House, D-C Health Limited.
- Bamgbose, Adele. (2011) '*Boko Haram and Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic* in *The Constitution: Journal of Constitutional Development.*Vol.11 no. 4.
- Best, Shadrack.Gaya. (2001) *Religion and Religious Conflict in Northern Nigeria.* Jos. Journal of Political Science. Vol.11, No 111.
- Ennals, Mattins (1988) *Ethnic Politics and the rights of Minorities,* in Peter Davies (ed.) *Human Rights,* London, Routledge Publisher.
- Erinosho, Layi. (2012) *Political Violence in Nigeria.* A Keynote address delivered at the National Conference of the department of sociology, Gombe State University. Nigeria.

- Essien Frankling (208) *The Niger Delta Conflict and National Security*. A Ph.D thesis submitted to Peace and Conflict Studies Programme. Institute of African Studies, Ibadan, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Falola, Toyin (1998) *Violence in Nigeria: The crisis of Religious politics and secular ideologies*. New York: University of Rochester press.
- Gabriel, Almond, Powell Bingham, Dalton Russell and Strom Kaare (2008) *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*. (9th edition). New York, Pearson, Longman.
- Galtung, Johan (1990) *Cultural Violence*. *Journal of Peace Research*. Oslo, SAGE publications
- Gurr, Ted Robert (1970) *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, NJ Princeton: University Press.
- Horowitz, David (2001) *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Iain Hamspher-Monk (2007) *A History of Modern Political Thought: Major political Thinkers from Hobbes to Marx*. Australia, Blackwell Publishing.
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu (1999) the entire *King's Men, All this Kinsmen: Ethnicity and Politics in Nigeria under Abacha*. Nigerian Forum, a publication of the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 20 no 1-2.
- Jurgensmeyer, Mark. (2000) *Terror in the Mind of God: The global rise of religious violence*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Madunagu, Edwin. (2011) *Reflections on Nigerian Terrorism*, in 'The Constitution'. *Journal of Constitutional Development*). Vol.11 no. 4.
- Miller, Christopher. E (2005) *A Glossary of Concepts and Terms in Peace and Conflict Studies* (2nd ed.). Geneva, University of Peace, Switzerland.
- Miller, David. (2003) *Political Philosophy*. New York, Oxford. University Press
- Mohammed, Hussein. (2006) *Basic Concepts and Theories of Peace and Resolution*, in Mohammed, H (ed.) *Concepts and issue in Peace studies and Conflict resolution: A book readings*, Bayero,University, Kano.
- Muhammed, Kabir. Isa (2010) *Militant Islamist groups in Northern Nigeria*, in Wahiila Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (eds.) *Militia, Rebel and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crisis in Africa*. Pretoria, South Africa,: Institute for Security Studies
- Okonjo-Iweala, Ngozi. (2012) *Political Platform*. AIT, Abuja
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2008) *Concepts and Dilemmas of State Building in Fragile Situation: From Fragility to Resilience*.
- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, 2011
- Sani, Shehu. (2011) *Boko Haram: History, Ideas and Revolt Terrorism*, in 'The Constitution' *Journal of Constitutional Development*. Vol.11 no. 4.
- Striram, Chandra. Lekha. (2008) *Peace as Governance: Power Sharing, Armed Groups and Contemporary Peace Negotiations*. Palmgrove, New York: Macmillan Press.
- The Nation, Nigeria, September, 2012
- Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 2011
- Udofia, David (2010) *Interrogating Security Sector Reforms in West Africa*, in Albert and Oloyede (eds.) *Dynamics of Peace Processes*. Ilorin, University of Ilorin: Centre for Peace and Strategic Studies.

United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) – 2011 Ranking

World Bank Reports, 2008, 2009

World Economic Situation and Prospect Report 2011

Zartman, I William (ed.) (1997) *Governance as Conflict Management: Politics and Violence in West Africa*. Washington D. C: Brookings Institution Press.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Adebowale Idowu Adeyeye is a Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, College of Management and Social Sciences. Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria.