

The Challenges of Conflict Management in a Democratic Society: An Overview of Insecurity in Nigeria

Eke Chijioke Chinwokwu

Department of Sociology

Federal University Lafia

Nasarawa State

Nigeria.

Abstract

This paper interrogates the challenges of conflict management in a democratic society by examining the myriad of security issues in the Nigerian nation. It discusses the theories and concept of conflict and security within the framework of current realities in Nigeria. The paper examines some generative forces that enhance the growth and intensity of conflict and insecurity in a democratic society as Nigeria with the aim of identifying the challenges to conflict management. This paper contends that insecurity resulting from persistent conflicts in Nigeria has placed a great burden on the internal security, peace and development of the country despite government efforts in checkmating them. The paper views further that conflict and insecurity in Nigeria are internally and externally generated in order to cause disaffection among the ethnic groups in Nigeria so that peace will be eluded for political elites to continue their imperialist lordship on the people. This paper recommends among others: good governance based on accountability, rule of law and justice; non-external interference in domestic conflicts; enlightenment campaign by government agencies on peace building and teaching peace and conflict studies in our schools.

Key words: Conflict, Security, Democratic Society, Conflict management, Nigeria.

Introduction

The greatest threat facing the survival of Nigerian nascent democracy and the unity is general insecurity occasioned by various ethno-religious conflicts, communal clashes, violent crimes and terrorist activities across the country in the last decade. Aside from the Nigerian civil war (1969-1970), Nigerian nation had never been confronted with such great security challenges as we presently experience in the activities of ethnic militia and Islamic fundamentalist sect in Nigeria. The persistent insecurity resulting from violent attacks, suicide bomb blast terrorism and threats of violence has polarized opinions as to the unity or disintegration of the country. The current insecurity and conflicts have even raised serious concerns regarding the prediction of some Western citizens that Nigeria will divide in 2015. It has further intensified the call for a national sovereign conference where people oriented constitution will emerge to replace the current constitution as it has been faulted for lacking the mandate of the people and failing to address fundamental and historical issues relating to the Nigerian nation. This was observed in the 2002 Human Development Report in which UNDP asserts that the democracy a nation chooses to develop depends on its history and circumstances and that democracy which empowers people must be built and cannot be imported.

Thus, fingers are swift in pointing accusingly to the colonial experience and the continual interplay of external and internal imperialist forces that fans the embers of violence for their selfish aggrandisement. Consequently, the incidences of insecurity and conflicts are in actuality; a reflection of the series of antithesis that characterized the Nigerian nation from her colonial past. Religious and ethnic differences, differential legal systems, socio-economic and political settings coupled with ethnicity which are embedded in the struggle for political and economic control which are exhibited by the intellectual and political elites. This was further intensified by elements of globalization, climate change, natural disasters, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and small arms, corruption, executive lawlessness and leadership ineptitude. These have contributed to create impetus for the general insecurity in the country. Similarly, Hazen and Horner (2012) argue that some of these challenges are self-imposed and reinforced through greed-based behaviour; others are the result of poor institutional capacity and the complexities of addressing widespread organized crime and the general insecurity situation in the country.

Akanji (2007:63) contends that “it is corrupt and ineffective political leadership that often engenders poverty and, consequently, violent activities”. In other words, conflict and insecurity can be generated as a result of leadership ineffectiveness or failure to address certain fundamental issues in the society or due to greed for power which may lead to power struggles amongst the political juggernauts. It is obvious that the various cases of insecurity and deadly conflicts across the country have serious implications for national integration, peace, socio-economic networking and co-existence, general development and atmosphere of unity which are sine-quo-non to durable and sustainable strategies towards our 2020 vision. It has even impacted negatively on the government grand strategic plan as a result of its failure to address the fundamental issues causing conflict and insecurity. It therefore behoves on all stakeholders to really rally round and put in place appropriate preventive mechanisms and management strategies to checkmate conflict and insecurity in the country. Government must intensify efforts latently and manifestly to ensure acts of violence that generate tensions, fear and insecurity are contained. Pro-active policing strategies to address cases of insecurity and conflict must evolve to address squarely all issues which act as triggers to conflict and insecurity.

In spite of government responses to stem the tide of insecurity and conflicts in the society through planned strategic, institutional, comprehensively mutual and integrative approaches; the problems of terrorism, insecurity and conflicts have remained persistent, intense and impervious. This probably calls for a rethink and review of all existing levels of collaborations and synergies for a holistic, enforceable and sustainable dynamic peace building approaches and initiatives for the country. These approaches must ultimately incorporate relevant and key stakeholders of the Nigerian nation, driven fervently by altruistically motivated individuals who are professionally competent to prevent and manage the dreadful shackles of destructive conflicts in the country. Perhaps the call for a National Sovereign Conference should be reconsidered as an imperative strategy that must be held by all stakeholders to fashion out a people oriented framework that must meet the aspirations of all nationalities in Nigeria. As a country, no Nigerian nation feel it has any strong stake in the Nigerian state; as such we operate a very loose nationhood that is faulty at its foundation. We must therefore locate our problems at the foundation and then rally round all stakeholders for a peaceful dialogue to usher in the dream of a sleeping giant of Africa.

The atrocious acts of conflicts and insecurity in the country has given rise to serious breakdown of law and order and loss of confidence in the security agencies to provide the necessary leverage for the security of lives and property of citizens in the country, most especially in the wake of the new dimension involving suicide bombers and the allegation that the government and security agencies have been infiltrated by terrorists. The implications of these allegations and the kind of psychological effects it impacted in the minds of Nigerians are better imagined than said particularly following the impunity with which perpetrators of these dastardly acts continue to kill, maim, destroy, disrupt businesses and normal life in the society as if there exists no government. In fact, as a result of this chaotic and normlessness which pervades the Nigerian nation, scholars have equated the country as a weak and failed state (Rotberg, 2002; Rotberg, 2003; Ottaway, 2004 cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007; Patrick, 2006; Atiku & Taylor, 2003) based on the indexes which dominate the country’s political arena.

Based on this perception and the scenario of general insecurity in Nigeria, many scholars, human rights activists and Nigerian elites have advocated for an intensive and extensive security sector reforms to address the security intelligence network operational needs that will be all embracing and capable of containing these new and emerging contemporary security challenges in the most proficient professional standard. There is need therefore to articulate ways the present challenges can be tackled to ensure safety and security of citizens and the development cum unity of the country. Our democratic principles are severely threatened by the complex nature and dimensions of various threats of insecurity and conflicts in our society. It is therefore of utmost imperative that well articulated and thought out master plan engineered towards curbing general insecurity and conflicts be fashioned to meet the challenges of conflict management.

Theoretical Conceptualization of Conflict and Security

Conflict is a friction which may exists whenever two or more persons come into social relationship or interaction with one another. It is an inherent and unavoidable part of human existence entrenched in the pursuit of irreconcilable interest and goals by different groups. Holmes (2010) perceives of conflict as a situation between two or more persons in whom one individual feels that another person has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect him or her. Three elements are very prominent in this definition of conflict.

These are the feeling or perception one person has over the other, whether the feeling is negative or positive, assumed or presumed, accurate or inaccurate, real or imagined does not matter as long as it is being held by the contending parties. Also, the feeling is generally negative because the one having the perception believes the other is going to outdo him. More so, the issue under contention must be something both parties desire and cherish. Thus, many scholars contend that “conflict is inevitable in social life process; for conflict occurs even in the best of human societies” (Shehu, 2007 cited in Uzuegbunam, 2010:79). It was in this line of thought that Durkheim (1958) opines that “crime is an inevitable and normal aspect of social life, it is an integral part of all healthy societies, it is functional” (cited in Haralambos & Holborn, 2008:322). Chinwokwu (2012a:46) argues that “the functionality of crime (in this case conflict) in a society such as ours has to be viewed seriously because of the social and psychological problems it has caused to many victims”.

Deng and Zartman (1991) are of the opinion that conflict is an inevitable aspect of human social interaction and unavoidable consequences of choices and decisions. The implication is conflict is an unavoidable circumstance of the human society so long as human beings interact in their social relationship with others as they go about in search of their basic needs in the society. Stedman (1991:390) sees conflict as emerging from the social interaction of persons who have partly incompatible ends, “in which the ability of one actor to gain his ends depends to an important degree on the choices or decision another actor will take.” According to him, even though conflict may result into violence. However, violence is not an inherent aspect of conflict, but a potential dimensional form that conflict may take.

Robert (1972) observes that “conflict emerges whenever two or more persons seek to possess the same object, occupy the same space of the same exclusive position, play incompatible roles, maintain incompatible goals, or undertake mutually incompatible means for achieving their purposes” (cited in Ikejiani-Clark & Agbo, 2008:3). Conflict to Coser (1956) has to do with a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aim of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals. The definitions provided by Robert (1972) and Coser (1956) above identified some salient points which must act as triggers enabling conflict to emerge in the society.

In other words, there must be available geographical space to contend with and the same interest for a value which may or may not be a scarce resource. The implication is that conflict must always be constantly negative and opposed. Coser (1956) went further to add that in the process of conflict, an aggrieved group may violently contend to eliminate the other force. This has serious implications in the struggle for socio-economic and political conflict between nations and ethnic groups. In fact, this is the crux of the matter in Nigeria; conflicting groups are always in the habit of wanting to silence the opposing group or individual permanently in order to have total and unchallenging ownership of the object in question. This was some of the issues that manifested during the early days before the civil war in Nigeria. The issue of one ethnic group trying to show its dominance over the rest of the country and taking upon herself the duty to clearly erase the minority group from the surface of the earth. This was manifested in the words of Mallam Kagu Damboa shortly before the declaration of war on Biafra “No one should kid himself that this is a fight between the East and the rest of Nigeria, it is a fight between the North and the Ibo...the rebels would be flushed out of Enugu within six weeks” (cited in Awoyokun, 2013:16). The civil war in all intent and purpose was fought as an avenue for the North to assert its dominance over the rest of the country. However, Weber (1949) is of the opinion that conflict is part and parcel of social life. This means that conflict can be negative and positive depending on the context in which conflict is brought to bear with social realities in the society. This was asserted by Ademola (2006) who argues that conflict can be used constructively to investigate different solutions to a problem and motivate creativity by recognizing and thoughtfully exposing conflicts as a way of bringing emotional and non-logical argument into the open when deconstructing long standing tension.

For example, the case of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and government decision of granting them amnesty after a very protracted conflict between them and government over resource control. We have to be careful here because in this kind of approach the contending groups must understand each other, must be ready to dialogue, must be ready to sheathe their swords, and must be ready to embrace peace and harmony as the only way for progress to be achieved in the society. We note that National Security entails the ability of Nigeria to advance her interests and objectives, to contain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, improve the welfare, and quality of life of every citizen (Obasanjo, 1999).

Among the core issues of national security are law and order. National security has also been defined as the aggregate of the security interest of all individuals, communities, ethnic groups, political entities and institutions which inhabit the geographical landscape or territorial boundary of Nigeria. Thus, National Security irrespective of the perspective is all about safeguarding the interests of the citizenry and providing the type of atmosphere that is free of threats of violence that could inhibit the pursuit of the good of all. It is about the processes and measures required to preserve law and order (Mohammed, 2006). Thus, ‘security’ is often equated with national security because the contextual meaning of both applies to human security. We note that the Federal Constitution of Nigeria Section 14(2)(b) of 1999 stipulates that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. The implication is that government has the onerous task of providing safe haven for her citizens, aside from securing the territorial integrity of her borders from external aggression.

However, McNamara (1968) noted that security is not a military force, although it may involve it; it is not traditional military activity, although it may encompass it; security is not military hardware, although it may include it. Security is development and without development there can be no security. We would rather say that without security, there would be no development. No meaningful development can take place in the midst of insecurity in a democratic society. Today, North East Nigeria has been deserted by Southern Nigeria citizens due to insecurity. The Sabongari areas of Maiduguri, Bauchi, Yobe and Kano have been abandoned as a result of general insecurity that had bedeviled the region.

In line with the United Nations Charter on Human Rights in 1948. The Nigerian strategic plan of the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo articulated that “the primary objective of National security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interests and objectives, to ascertain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, improve the welfare and well-being and quality of life of every citizenry. It is saddening to mention that government policies and actions since the restoration of democratic rule in 1999 tend to manifest glaringly the opposite of the objectives of the strategic plan. The continual downward trend in unemployment, poverty, corruption, epileptic power supply, increased general insecurity and crime in the country are core indices of a weak and failed state. This is further demonstrated by executive ineptitude and heightened tension of terrorism, communal conflicts, political – religious conflict and capital flight with depeened economic depression and debt burden. The United States recently described the security situation in Nigeria as worse than Somalia while the British Government warned its citizens against travelling to Northern region of Nigeria. These are coming at a time when we feel Nigerian foreign profile is on the positive trend.

It is important for us to stress that security must be patterned in a way that the individual is the primary focus of any security formulation. That is, security must be people driven or oriented to assure citizens that government is competent, capable and efficiently ready to guarantee their safety and freedom of movement, association that enables them to carry out their socio-economic activities without molestation, intimidation, harrassment or violent threat from any person within and without the polity. The United Nations Development Programme Report of 1994 encapsulated what in its view constitute security and in this way it suggest ‘human security’ as a concept that can address the issue of security in the society. Human security can be seen to mean, safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression or protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life experiences. It therefore means that human security involves not only physical protection from harm but also protection from emotional and psychological harm. Thus, human security should form the fulcrum on which national security and integration must be built and sustained as it is the only assurance that democratic dividends will cut across all sectors of the human strata. It is certainly true, that conflict and insecurity hinders progress and development in a democratic society. It there means that people’s freedom and development cannot be guaranteed in an atmosphere of conflict and insecurity.

Theoretical Framework

The fundamental argument underlying this explication is the fact that conflict is inevitable in every healthy human society, although it depends on the nature, intensity, dimension and goals involved. We may therefore explore some theoretical bases on which scholars have focused their discourse while explicating conflict in the society. There are various approaches to the theoretical explanation in the society. We may be considering only a few of them in other to lay a good foundation for our discourse.

Scholars of structural functionalist looked at conflict as a function of the structural constituents of the society. Thus, poverty, unemployment, crime, social inequality, marginalization, relative deprivation, corruption, injustice, oppression and exploitation are regarded as sources of conflict. The general thought therefore, is that conflict exists in the society as a result of struggle for scarce resources (Ake, 1981, Nnoli, 1978, Chinwuiwu, 1975; Lenin, 1972; Engels, 1970; Marx, 1948).

The psycho-cultural conflict approach is premised on the fact that conflict emerged from socio-culturally provoked stereotype that are innate in people's perception of each other. Thus, identity based conflicts, such as ethnic or religious conflicts are psycho-cultural in nature and dimension which explains why conflicts are difficult sometimes to manage. The fear of extinction or dominion of one group over another is a great problem in managing conflict in societies especially in Nigeria. This identity issue also forms the basis for ethnicity which has heightened Nigeria's struggle for nationhood. According to Nnoli (1978), social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of the largest possible competing communal groups seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. Thus, the whole essence of mobilization of people on the basis of identity is to eliminate the tendency of marginalization, especially in the allocation of resources (Ikejiani-Clark & Agbo, 2008). So it is obvious that the fear of dying, fear of exclusion and fear of the future are underlying causes of conflict in our society especially when 'identity' comes into play. It must be mentioned here that one of the greatest obstacles that has been facing Nigeria in its effort of having a common lingua franca (based in Nigerian cultural language) has been the fear of dominance, exclusion and loss of identity.

The concern of system theorists is that a change in people's social structure will result to conflict in the society. As a result, environmental pollution, scarcity of resources, uncontrolled population growth, breakdown of family institution and traditional values will greatly influence the nature of social structure thereby leading to conflict in the society. Thus, according to Ademola (2006:53), "sources of conflict are found in every aspect of life and affect large numbers of people even though their influence on the emergence and intensity of conflict are not always so visible to people". The experiences of Nigeria in the Niger Delta and the struggle of the Ogoni and Ijaw people over environmental pollution and the destruction of their water resources and land degradation by multinational corporations in the zone is a source of constant conflict in that zone.

One conceptual theoretical framework that provides an insight into the Nigerian case study is the human needs theory as formulated by John Burton to the study of social conflict. Burton explains that in analyzing conflicts one must distinguish among interests, values and needs. In trying to resolve conflicts it should be understood that only interests are negotiable in the short term; while values can only change over the long run in an atmosphere of security and nondiscrimination, and needs cannot be negotiated away under any circumstances (Burton 1990: 36). Rosati et al (1990) contend that all human beings have basic needs which they seek to fulfill and failure caused by other individuals or groups to meet these needs could lead to conflict (cited in Faletti, 2006).

For Burton, the implications of these formulations are far reaching. For example, it suggests that there are limits to the extent to which the human person, acting separately or within a wider ethnic or national community, can be marginalized or manipulated, and that there are human developmental needs that must be satisfied and catered for by institutions, if these institutions are to be stable, and if societies are to be significantly free of conflicts. Among other requirements to satisfy some of their needs, he said humans require some control over their environments. If these are not met, the institutions lose support and legitimacy, and confront increasing opposition. Government or political authorities irrespective of the kind of political structure in place tend to react with oppression and coercion in order to gain the support of the ruled. These theories so far mentioned are very critical to our analysis and understanding of the conflicting forces which acts as 'pull and push' factors in the country and the basis for which conflict management should be sustained for peaceful existence amongst the ethnic groups.

Violent Conflicts and Insecurity in Nigeria: Retrospective Review

It is important for us to remark that since the withdrawal of the British overlords from Nigeria in 1960 and 1963 as a result of our independence and republican statuses respectively; Nigeria has witnessed various kinds of conflicts and insecurity situations. According to Chinwokwu (2012c:420), "insecurity and social vices resulting from political and religious tensions among rivalry ethnic groups dominated the geographical landscape of the country emanating to the present state of terrorism and acts of violence being experienced".

This can easily be testified by the 1966 pogrom and the aftermath Biafra-Nigeria war or other words ‘the Nigeria civil war’ 1967-1970. Consequent upon this, democratic rule was truncated in Nigeria as men in kharki uniform abandoned their barracks and usurped political powers from bloody civilian politicians. There was a swift change of baton of political governance of the country. However, the military stepped aside from the political scene between 1979-1983 to test the readiness of our political elites in handling the affairs of the country away from the experiences of the past. This was never to last long, as the military struck again sacking the government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1983. It is important to note that these political experiences produced severe conflicts and general insecurity resulting from political violence, assassinations, armed robbery, ethno-religious and communal violence and other violent crimes.

However, it was not until 1999 that the military relinquished power once again to democratically elected government. We have to stress that the long period of military rule changed the psyche of the people with new trends and challenges confronting security and conflict management emerging from the new found freedoms as enunciated in the fundamental human rights under the 1999 constitution. Basically, we stress very importantly that the operational methodology of tackling insecurity and managing conflict in military regime was defective and so did not manifest the social justice, fairness and equity expected by the citizens. Issues of insecurity and conflict were shrouded in mystery and secrecy as they were dealt with despatch in a military way or tried in military tribunals which in most cases failed to provide rooms for fair hearing and trial. This created conflict management problems as unresolved injustices were bottled in the hearts of men waiting for an opportunity in which those angers will be unleashed on the people. A very important case in point to mention here is the case involving the trial of Ken Saro Wiwa and the Six Ogoni elders that were killed amidst international condemnation. Instances of cases of miscarriage of justice abound across the country, aside from violent silencing of political opponents and peaceful protesters over government policies. In other words, conflict management was poorly handled during that period thereby heightening general insecurity and conflict in the country.

The ushering in of democratic governance into the country in 1999 was a great relief especially in the area of handling conflicts and insecurity in the country, at least due process that seem to work in dousing tensions are put in place. However, it is important to emphasize that as the new political dispensation was grappling and gaining experiences on the best way of effectively dealing with issues of conflict and insecurity, inversely was the Nigerian state increasingly witnessing complex and myriad of insecurity and violent conflicts across the country. If we trace back on the part of history not long ago we might say for example; first, it was a communal clash between the Odua Peoples Congress (OPC) and the Hausa community in Lagos state over the leadership of the Abattoir located in New Oko Oba Area of Lagos state in November 25, 1999. Appendix 1 shows various cases of ethno-political/communal violence that has bedeviled Nigeria from 1980-2008 (Chinwokwu, 2012c:442-443). It was based on the prevalent security situation in the country that made Tyoden (2006) to argue that the state of insecurity in the country manifested in increase in crime rate; the emergence and spread of politically motivated violence and assassinations; increased importation of arms and ammunition; an upsurge in ethnic, communal and religious conflicts; proliferation of ethnic and sectional militias; and the deteriorating standard of living of the people. In his opinion, he inferred that the state was heading to the precipice unless something drastic was done to address the situation. Some scholars summarize the above situation as signs of a weak and failed state (Rotberg, 2004; Patrick, 2006; Ottaway & Mair, 2004 cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). Indeed, we cannot argue otherwise because the facts speak volumes of evidence before our very eyes.

This is further exacerbated by the reactions that followed the introduction of the Sharia legal system in some states in Northern Nigeria. According to Abdu (2010), the judicial commission that was set up to investigate the remote and immediate causes of criminal violence that resulted from the matter in Kaduna state reported that 1,295 persons were killed and unspecified number of persons were missing; 10,000 persons sustained various degrees of injuries; 123 churches and 55 mosques were burnt; individuals collectively lost over #4,927,306,603.00 and organizations lost a total of about #1,445,881,115.00. This is aside from the cases of communal and religious wars that has been ravaging some parts of Plateau, Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, and Kano states or the acts of terrorism that has painted the geographical landscape of Nigeria red. We must not fail to mention the insecurity and conflict violent situations that marred the peace of Nasarawa state especially that which occurred between the Eggons and Megili at Ayaragu or that between Eggon and the Fulanis in February, 2013 over farm land. It is important to stress that incidences of great proportion affecting the peace of the people abounds across Nigeria.

It is certainly obvious that the country is seriously confronted and threatened by various challenges of insecurity and conflict situations with diverse dimensions, pattern and dynamics. This is worrisome because the trends and the dynamic nature of conflict and insecurity has assumed a systemic pattern with increased intensity and dimensions that pose a great challenge to conflict management. The general consensus of the public is that government has failed in providing the necessary security which constitutionally they have been empowered to provide for the people.

On the otherhand, we argue that the general insecurity and conflicts that have been witnessed in the country is the handiwork of our political elites and the ruling class; who have failed to address the simplest and commonest issues of development in the country instead they are enmeshed in political struggle and corruption for their selfish-selves to the detriment of the people. An instant example that comes to mind, is the emergence of Boko Haram which has been attributed to the ruling Peoples Democratic Party in Borno State. This Party has by all intent and purpose moved away from being democratic to purveyors of peoples destructive programme. The continual ruling of the party since 1999 has really brought about large numbers of orphans, widows, widowers, impoverished families and destroyed many hopes and dreams as a result of the symphony of destructions occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram (a creation of the party). Instead of moving the country forward in this technologically driven world, Nigeria continues to be dependent on imported refined fuel products, lack of electricity supply, lack and disarray of social infrastructures with increased and brazen corruption in high places. These are great threats and challenges to insecurity and conflict management.

More so, between October 2010 and October 2011, the National Emergency Management Agency in Nigeria declared a total of 377,701 internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a result of violent conflicts with ethnic, religious and political undertones (Laden, 2012). Laden went on to say that in terms of absolute poverty line by geographical zone, the North-East has remained the home of the poorest zone in Nigeria since 1985, with the highest incidence of poverty (ranging below 54.9% to 72.0%). We should be reminded that this is the home of Boko Haram and it is important for us to reflect on this while trying to suppress the uprising.

At this juncture, it is imperative for us to consider some of the security related manifestations on conflict in our efforts to fashion a workable blueprint for conflict management in Nigeria.

1. Security Related Threats that Cause Conflict

Bad governance resulting from flagrant disobedience to rule of law, due process, fairness and enforcement of the law as entrenched in the constitution. Selective settlement/reward and selective punishment in line with those who are in the good book or bad book of government. Continual re-cycling of political offices amongst the political elites who grow pot bellies with corruption at the detriment of infrastructural development. Failure to address drastically and decisively cases of injustice, poverty, unemployment and marginalization; and the failure to eliminate all forms of violence against women. A typical illustration of some of these issues is the war between the National Assembly and the Executive over the exclusion of the Security and Exchange Commission's (SEC) budget from the 2013 National budget as a result of the executive's failure to remove Mrs. Oteh as the Managing Director of the exchange. These actions of both arms of government has affected the approval and signing of the 2013 budget. This can cause serious constitutional crisis that may even lead to demands for the impeachment of the President. This may lead further to serious insecurity and conflict as funds may not be available for developmental efforts.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons which has manifested in increased violent crimes - kidnapping, terrorism, armed robbery, murder, communal violence, border crimes and general insecurity. Lack of synergy amongst government security agencies coupled with inefficiency and corruption as evidenced in the unprofessional tackling of insecurity and conflict situations specifically in extra-judicial killings, escape of political and high profile criminals and wanton destruction of criminal exhibits. The involvement and proliferation of foreign mercenaries and criminal in home grown terrorism, violence and internally generated conflicts resulting in increased level of destructions thereby complicating conflict management as we have witnessed during the Nigeria civil war, religious riots in the North and the current Boko Haram outrage.

The emergence of various ethnic militias in the name of vigilante groups, most of which arose in defence of their ethnic and parochial political interests while others was established to complement governments efforts in providing security for the citizens but eventually turning around to be security threats to the people. The examples of Bakassi Boys, Odua Peoples Congress, Egbesu Boys etc. are cases in point. The new trends in conflict and violent attacks through the use of impoverished explosive devices (IED) or bombs and the emergence of suicide bombers which are used to attack worship centres, military/police barracks, market places, prisons, public leisure areas and security road blocks as witnessed by the activities of Boko Haram. This trend is dangerously moving to motor parks as witnessed recently in the Sabongari motor park suicide bomb attacks at Kano.

The sponsorship of terrorist groups by the political elites under the guise of thugs or vigilante groups pose a great threat to conflict management in Nigeria. This is basically because after they have been used during elections to win political votes for their masters, the group now becomes a little tough to dismantle. The deradicalization of militia groups after election is a key to conflict management in Nigeria. The meddling of foreign countries in our domestic affairs especially aiding, abetting and financing of terrorist activities in our country is a grave danger to our national security. We have seen how arms imported into the country were traced to Iranian citizens in the country. We have also seen how the Iranian citizens are recruiting and training Nigerians in their country to be used to cause terrorists acts in Nigeria. The part Nigériens, Chadians, Camerounians and Beninois (countries sharing borders with Nigeria) play in the internal security of Nigeria is very worrisome and pose serious security challenge to our country.

The use of offensive lead stories and headlines which incites violence have been identified with the Nigeria media. We note that through the use of such inciting and offensive headline captions, the Nigeria media consciously or unconsciously contribute to the escalation of conflicts in the country. The passage of the freedom of information is an added leverage for Nigeria media to report uncensored news which may escalate violence and further stretch our conflict management.

2. Politics and Conflict Manifestations

It is a known fact that politics is significantly related to conflict in all its manifestations. Thus, political violence or conflicts resulting from power tussles within political enclaves abounds in Nigeria. Politics in Nigeria is militarised and violence conflicts are used as electoral tool, thus; leading to the inculcation of a culture of violence and conflict in the society. The assassinations of Bola Ige, Funsho Williams, Harry Marshall, Ogonnaya Uche, Ayo Daramola etc. were all politically related. The hijacking of a Nigeria Airways plane that killed the son of General Sani Abacha and fifteen others in 1993 as a fallout of the annulment of June 12, 1993 election, the post election violence experienced in April, 2011 general elections; power struggles between governors and deputy governors or between Presidents and Vice Presidents and several others are examples of conflicts manifesting in our political arenas and they are threats to conflict management in Nigeria. According to Ake (1996:16),

The African elite, besieged by a multitude of hostile forces which their betrayal of the nationalist movement and their political repression had created, the African elite developed a siege mentality. They became so absorbed in the struggle for survival that they could not pay much attention to anything else especially development. More often than not, the things which they did to hang on to power became impediments to development too. Among other things, they manipulated ethnic and communal loyalties to elicit loyalty and establish common cause with some communities.

Cases of land disputes between the indigenes and migrants/settlers as experienced in Modekeke and Ife, Aguleri and Umuleri, Zango and Kataf; boundary disputes between states and within states as experienced in many parts of Nigeria; state or local government creations resulting from agitations from the people, especially by the minority groups are all cases which impinge on conflict management. Government adamant positions in implementing previous reports of commissions of inquiry on conflicts or cases of insecurity. This has worsened conflict situations in the country and resulted to people's feeling that government gives backing to criminal impunity and conflicts between individuals or groups. Government failures to intervene promptly over chieftaincy disputes or successions in their domain have created serious security and conflict challenges to the people. More often than not, government deposes of paramount chiefs or village heads whose loyalties are in doubt and impose an unpopular ruler on the people thereby creating conflict situation in the area. We believe political security is a serious issue in the survival of a democratic government.

3. Economic Issues that Manifest Conflicts

Karl Marx (1818-1883) believes that the economy was the infrastructure on which the superstructure (other institutions of the society) stands. And so the struggle for economic resources (power) is the key to conflict in the society. Based on this reality, the issue of resource control or allocation especially over the liquid gold or otherwise oil revenue has been a source of serious conflict in the Niger Delta over the years. Government failure in addressing the issue of poverty, unemployment, inequality, marginalization and poor state of social infrastructures across the country has led to conflicts in the country. Government blatant involvement in corruption and mismanagement has been a source of conflict between government and the people.

The issue of land laws in Nigeria has been a source of conflict in democratic Nigeria. The Musa Yar'Adua led administration promised to tackle the land laws in Nigeria but death cut that policy short. People's access to land is limited and this has resulted to disputes between farmers and herdsmen in Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa states etc.

4. Socio-cultural Threats that Manifest Conflicts

Religious conflicts seem to be very prevalent in the history of Nigeria. As a result of the sentiment attached to religious symbols and identities. Our self interest and emotions betray us to see every appointment into government offices as basically religious. More to this, is the outright manipulation of religious doctrines to compel people towards violence and wanton destruction of life. Chinwokwu (2013a:1) has argued that "religion is pure in its origin but human societies have polluted it with greed, seeking for personal justifications to unleash brutality and terror on free and innocent citizens in the name of a higher being called 'God'". Chinwokwu (2012c:421) went on to say that "the North have in all matters of national discourse hidden under the sentiment embedded in religion to press home their demands through the use of threats and actual application of violence or force to actualize their parochial interest". Because of this, it is difficult to separate issues that are purely religious and those that are political. The case of Boko Haram is an instant example. Similarly, Udoide (1997) argued that Sharia crisis was more of political issue than religious problems, thus; according to him, religion was only being used as a foil. We have to note that Nigeria recorded over 200,000 cases of death in the last two decades occasioned by religious precipitated violence (Olasebikan, 2011; Soriwei, 2012; Obe, 2012; Chinwokwu, 2012c).

The high rate of unemployment which produced large army of foot soldiers and ready tools in the hands of our political elites who manipulate them for their selfish political interest. Ethnic and communal conflicts resulting from manipulations based on identity. Nnoli (1978) argues that ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of the largest possible competing communal groups (ethnic groups) seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. Thus, ethnicity is a source of group identity and a political force in which people rally round for their struggle concerning resource allocation in the country. Therefore, we often hear people speak that our state, zone or people are marginalized by the federal, state or even local government in its appointment of political office holders. Ethnic identity breeds consciousness of conflict and struggle for one's own and has been one of the root causes of Nigeria's perennial problems as found in insecurity and conflict violence.

Crisis over the question of citizenship between indigenes and settlers. Our constitution has failed to address the issue of conflict arising from citizenship rights or migrant's rights. The government has even compounded the case by demarcating areas of Sabongari, Alausa, Amausa as the case may be in various states of Nigeria. It even went further by enthroning the status of permanent and contract staff to so-called indigenes and immigrants respectively in their state appointments. Furthermore, it has also gone ahead to introduce discriminatory school fees for indigenes and non-indigenes. These discriminatory rules are meant for Nigerian citizens who may in one way or the other find themselves outside their states of origin. The question is "in Nigeria who is an indigene and who is a settler? If we believe Nigeria is one and we are one Nigeria and one people, should the issue of indigeness or settleship cause fear, insecurity and violent conflict. Is there any Nigerian who moved into another state with a visa? But these are sources of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria. But the most astonishing aspect of the Nigerian case is the fact that even if somebody is born in a particular state, he is still regarded as a non-indigene after leaving in the area for over fifty years. In some cases, people don't really know where they really come from because they never left the place to their real home or village, and yet they are classified as non-indigene. Thus, it is apt to say that our constitution needs a real overhaul to reflect some of these perceived injustices found in our leaving together with people.

Social dislocation and displacement which affect mainly the weak and vulnerable members of the society – the aged, women and children. In many instances women and young girls are subjected to sexual violence (rape) by even our very law enforcement officers that are sent to protect them in areas of crisis. Families are sometimes disorganized especially the absence of real parents. Children are left without guardians or anyone to fend for them while young girls and women are forced into sexual trades. Conflict and insecurity has great toll on the weak in society as we have demonstrated in this paper.

Challenges of Conflict Management in Democratic Nigeria

It is imperative for us to consider the issues that impedes conflict management in democratic Nigeria with the view to proferring solutions. It is vital to stress that Nigeria's problems to conflict management are both internal and external sources which push and pull to affect its growth and development.

1. Internal/Domestic Sources

One of the greatest challenges of conflict management in Democratic Nigeria is the internal or domestic sources otherwords called 'forces' which are anchored on bad leadership and governance. Although, historically Nigeria inherited a system of government which was anchored on oppression, suppression, marginalization, divide and rule, and violent terrorism from the colonial master. Subsequent leaders in government in Nigeria – be it military or democratic regimes failed to change some of the draconian political rules of the political masters or their pattern of leadership to reflect the people's popular demands instead they intensified them and packaged it in a modern way with different brand names. For example; the issue of the minority rights, resource control and true federalism has remained a mirage and an intractable issue in the wheel of development in Nigeria. Thus, the absence of good governance based on our own indigenous political formulations have produced massive corruption, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, war, starvation, lawlessness, inequality, injustice, diseases, and even emerging terrorism and ethnic militias. These has introduced mistrust and lack of confidence in the ability and capacity of government to contain the issue of conflict and insecurity in the country and also destroyed the capacities of the public and the private institutions to function effectively in addressing the contradiction inherent in our human society.

The inability of government to address the menace of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the polity with functional policies or legislations. This is worsened by the extent that when nationales of Iran were involved in the importation of the 13 containers of arms and ammunition in 2012 no drastic or stringent measures were taken to sanction the country, at least recalling our diplomatic missions in that country. This government non-challent attitude has created rooms for Nigeria to be seen as weak and failed state. The global dynamics and pattern of conflict and violent criminalities are becoming more complex and complicated for security agencies to cope. The trends and pattern of violent behaviours which criminals adopt in their operations are quite alarming and new operational approaches and blueprints to combat them must be articulated.

Government failure to address early warning signals and early response systems has greatly affected conflict management in Nigeria. Check out the 1st October, 2010 bomb blast in Abuja and the Christmas eve bomb attacks in Jos in 2010 and you will discover that they occurred due to failure in addressing early warning signals and operational inefficiencies. One of the greatest headache of security and conflict management in Nigeria is the emerging proliferation of foreign mercenaries in our domestic conflicts especially the involvement of the nationales of our neighboring states – Chad, Niger, Cameroun, Benin, and countries like Somalia, Libya and Iran with Boko Haram and other militia groups in Nigeria. The introduction of suicide bombers by Boko Haram, the use of bombs to attack churches, schools, military bases, motor parks, police barracks, prisons, public places etc. pose great security threat to the peace and unity of our democratic state.

Government failure to tackle or address the immediate and root causes of conflict holistically after many years of neglect is a smack on government ability to really solve the many cases of injustice, poverty, unemployment and issues of resource control in Nigeria. The porosity of the country's borders especially land and sea borders pose a great challenge to internal security of Nigeria. Our security agencies are loose and weak to ckeck the infiltration of foreigners into the country through land and sea borders. Aside from that, Nigerian passports are freely issued to foreigners without screening of applicants especially in Northern Nigeria. How can we address the issue of insecurity and conflict in Nigeria under this scenario?

The provision of security is only for the rich and politicians in the society. In a situation where the UN provides a standard policing ration of 1 policeman to 400 citizens, but in Nigeria it is 10 policemen to one Senator, House of representative, Minister, Chairman, Business man respectively etc. When you multiple the numbers of national legislators, ministers, local government chairmen, judges, etc. and the number of policemen in the country, you can but imagine the kind of security common Nigerians face each day in the country. People have no way of reporting to the policemen because they are no where to be seen. When you call a police emergency response unit while in distress for assistance, it is either there is no manpower or there is no vehicle, if there is a vehicle there will is no fuel. Where did our policemen go? What happened to police operational vehicles? Of course, it is only in Nigeria across the globe that you can find a Senator with conveys of policemen and vehicles visiting his constituency whereas the constituency has no police post to ventilate their angers. It is also in Nigeria that you can find Senators who visit their constituencies in helicopters and tries as much as possible to avoid having physical contact with those who voted him to power. These are serious problem for conflict management.

Forces of Globalization

Globalization is “the spread of worldwide practices, relations, consciousness, and organization of social life” (Ritzer, 2011:574). Globalization is the view that the world is dominated by economics and that we are witnessing the emergence of a new world order based on capitalism and neoliberal ideology. The world is coming to terms with the ideologies of Karl Marx (1818-1883) who had taught that the economy was the central determinant of the other social institutions in relation to power and that conflict was a result of the struggle which goes on between those who had the means of production and those who had not. Becks (2000) is of the opinion that the multidimensionality of global development –ecology, politics, culture and civil society is wrongly reduced to a single economic dimension which involves a lineal direction of ever increasing dependence on the world market (cited in Ritzer, 2011). We note that the advancement in technological development especially as in information communication technology (ICT) has made the world a small village in which case the world economy, culture, and political space are being integrated into a world economy. Thus, globalization has affected virtually every aspect of man, culturally, economically, politically and institutionally. And so we can say generally that globalization has “spread neoliberalization, capitalism, and the mwrket economy” (Antonio, 2007a cited in Ritzer 2011:575). The pressure for a globalized world economy is being foisted on the rest of the world by the world economic powers using the instrument of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The implication is that the public space that once created gap between human societies are disappearing or simply shrinking away. The result is that the gulf between the rich and the poor has widened with increased poverty, unemployment, injustice and dependence. Globalization is therefore a great challenge to insecurity and conflict management. Aluko (2000) contends that globalization is a two edged-sword. It has brought benefit to some, but miseries to an increasing number of others. It has concentrated wealth in the hands of a diminishing few while denying access to such wealth to an increasing many. Shehu (2000) concludes by saying that it has created opportunities for crime and criminality. It has therefore been one of the major sources of international economic crimes and conflict. We have to emphasize that for a democratic country to key into the pressure of globalization, it would hit its task of governance very hard and complicated, stretching even its capacity to protect effectively her citizens and provide basic democratic dividends as required by law and the oaths of office. Aside from that, globalization has also caused the emergence of fundamentalist groups with variant ideologies of violent nature which further heightened the issue of insecurity and conflict management. The reason is that instead of creating wealth, globalization in Nigeria is producing massive poverty, unemployment, , corruption, executive lawlessness, youth restiveness and cruel injustice.

Government Responses to Insecurity and Conflict in Nigeria

There are various strategic and operational mechanisms in which government may adopt in addressing issues of insecurity and conflict in the country. One of the foremost strategies of government in response to insecurity and conflict is the use of government intervention agencies established under the law. Some of the agencies created to respond to cases of insecurity and conflict in the country include: National Orientation Agency (NOA); National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA); and other government agencies. It is important to mention that the activities of these agencies are reactionary in nature.

The deployment of force to contain incidences of insecurity and conflict as we witnessed in the Eggon – Megili in Aryaragu and Eggon – Fulani Herdsmen conflicts in Nararawa state in February, 2013. The use of the Military Tasks Force (JTF) to quell violence and maintenance of peace in troubled zones in Nigeria. In some instances, a state of emergency are declared as it was in the case of Plateau state and even in some fifteen local government areas of Brono, Plateau and Yobe states in 2011. The establishment of panels or commissions of inquiry which act as Ad Hoc measures to mitigate tensions and restore peace in trouble areas. Unfortunately, after huge amounts of money and time had been spent for such panels of inquiry, their reports are never looked upon, reviewed or implemented. This is the bane of conflict management in Nigeria and a setback for our dream of becoming a peaceful nation.

The government has also responded to conflict and insecurity through dialogue or use of mediators. It is often said that after war comes peace. In the use of dialogue government have utilized the services of elder statesmen or men of integrity in the society to negotiate peace among warring factions. We recollect the granting of amnesty to the Niger Delta militants and how Chief Edwin Clark and other prominent leaders in the Niger Delta played leading roles in the reconciliation and mediation between government and the Niger Delta militants. Such mediating role had been initiated by General Olusegun Obasanjo for Boko Haram and government but this was rebuffed by Boko Haram.

Aside from sending the police and soldiers to maintain peace and order in trouble areas, government has also responded through full military action. In doing so, government military officers have sacked whole communities and rendered people homeless. This was the case of Odi and Jesse in Bayelsa state which was aimed at silencing the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) in November 20, 1999. In October 22, it was the turn of Zaki-Ibiam and Gbeji in Benue state. In both instances, the villages were razed down while over 500 lives were lost. It would be seen from the above that sometimes, government management of conflict and insecurity has not really brought about the expected desire rather what they have ended up achieving is suppressing the problem which later re-surface in future with greater intensity and feriously causing severe havoc on the people and government. Government should therefore be more aggressive in pro-active governance and act swiftly within a short time lag to intelligence reports of early warning to avoid or prevent conflict and insecurity outrage in the society. Recommendations

As a matter of fact, there is no alternative to good governance that is able to deliver the dividends of democracy on the plater of people's welfare. Good governance is sine- quo - non in conflict management especially when it is based on accountability, rule of law, social justice and equity that is capable of accommodating the rich and the poor within the polity. Government must realize that the responsibility of peace makes and peace building lies squarely on their shoulders and not on any foreign collaborator or allies. Therefore, government must resolve to have less external interference or reference in taking decisions that borders on our national security and the well-being of her citizens. One way to do this, is for government to be able to distinguish between national security interests and foreign interests in handling conflict management. More often than not, government relies so much on foreign aid or assistance (dependency theory) in taking decisions bordering on our national security interests. Government agencies like NEMA and NOA must launch an enlightenment campaign whereby citizens are educated on the need for peace building and peacemaking. Peace building strategies have no alternative to preventing and resolving conflict and insecurity situations. This must be stretched further to our institutional learning curriculum in which peace education should be incorporated. This will be complemented with peace seminars, lectures, workshops organized by the above mentioned and other agencies of government on a quarterly basis.

Our political elites must be encouraged to play politics of tolerance and not do or die affairs. Our legal institutions must be empowered to strip off any politician or political party of their victory in any election they are found to have used force or threat of force to secure without fear of favour. There must be an equal ground for all to express their popularity before the electorate. Politics of bitterness, win – win politics must give way to fairness and justice and popular choice. Government must begin to hold traditional leaders/rulers, governors, political office holders and political elites responsible for any breach of peace in their domain or political entity. It has been muted that most conflicts and insecurity are formented by these groups of people for their political greed and interest.

It must be important to know that there is no crisis of conflict that has not been traced to someone within the political environment and because of government attitude of looking away from the substantive issues, culprits are allowed to go while injuries continue to deepen until it explodes and becomes a major disaster. Government must articulate policies that are aimed at addressing the root and trigger causes of insecurity and conflicts in the society. Government must sincerely tackle the issue of corruption in order to demonstrate their willingness to alleviate problems associated with poverty, unemployment and infrastructural dilapidation in the country. The constituency allowance allocated to national assembly members for the development of their constituencies should be stopped because most of the elected representatives never visited their constituencies until the next election period when they go to use the constituency money to buy thugs for ballot snatching or vote thumb printing.

Conclusion

The consolidation of our nascent democracy and even the sustenance of the Nigerian State have come to depend on the ability of the federal government to manage these contending pressures which seem to pose great challenge upon its ability to govern. To present date, the response of government to conflict management has been mainly the use of police and military force. Root and trigger causes of insecurity and conflicts have been allowed to persist over time without any sign in sight of their solutions. In order to preserve our democracy and our entity as a country these root causes of insecurity and conflicts need to be addressed instant with a wider range of policy responses considered. The failure of government to address basic issues relating to resource control will give impetus to the current cycles of violent conflicts and insecurity in the country to persist beyond our imagination. Let us therefore stop the war or fight, ‘dacchou haure’; ‘jama’ a ku daina fada’; ‘kwusi ilu ogu’; ‘ema ja mo’; ‘me ki jajo no’; ‘kubirlar dokwa’; ‘ama-unu’; ‘komo – koyu’, and ‘me tu umbugu’. Lafia.

References

- Abdu, H. (2010). Clash of identities. Kaduna: DevReach Publishers.
- Ademola, S. F. (2006). Theories of social conflict. In Best, S. G. (Ed.), Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa: A reader (pp.50-55), Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Akanji, O. O. (2007). The politics of combating domestic terrorism in Nigeria. In Wafula, O & Botha, A (Eds.). Domestic terrorism in Africa: defining, addressing and understanding its impact on human security (pp. 55-64). Pretoria, South Africa: Institute of Security Studies, Terrorism Studies & Research Program.
- Ake, C. (1981). A political economy of Africa. London: Longman.
- Ake, C. (1996). The marginalization of Africa. (Notes on a Productive Confusion) Center for advanced Social Science, Monograph, No. 6, Lagos: Malthouse Press.
- Aluko, S. (2000). The failure of economic globalization in Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.allafrica.com>.
- Atiku, A. J., & Shaw, T. Y. (2003). An empirical profile of weak states in Sub-Saharan Africa. CODESRIA's Africa Development, XXVII(3/4):168–185.
- Awoyokun, A. (2013). Biafra: The untold story. The News. pp.14-27
- Chinwokwu, E. C. (2012a). Crime and criminal investigation in Nigeria: A study of police criminal investigation in Enugu state. African Journal of Law and Criminology, 2(1):45-55.
- Chinwokwu, E. C. (2012c). History and dynamics of terrorism in Nigeria: Socio-Political dimension. International Journal of Innovative Research and Development. 1(11):419-446. Retrieved from <http://www.ijird.com/>
- Chinwuiwu. (1975). The west and the rest of us white predators, black slaves and the African elite. New York: Random House.
- Coser, L. (1956). The functions of social conflict. New York: Free Press
- Deng, F. M., & Zartman, I. W. (Ed.). (1991). Conflict resolution in Africa. Washington, D.C :The Brookings Institution.
- Engels, F. (1970). The origins of the family, private property and the state. New York: International Publishers.
- Faletti, A.S. (2006). Theories of social conflict. In Best, G. S (Ed). Introduction to peace and conflict Studies in West Africa (pp.49-56). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

- Hazen, J. M., & Horner, J. (2012). Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity in Nigeria: The Niger Delta in perspective. Occasional Paper No. 20, Small Arms Survey, Geneva. Retrieved from <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/Security-Sector-reform/>
- Ikejiani-Clark, M., & Agbo, H. N. (2008). Darfur conflict and the dynamics of identity politicks: An evaluation. *Journal of Liberal Studies*, 12(1-2), 3-20.
- Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (2008). Sociology: Themes and perspectives, (7th ed.). London: HarperCollins Publishers Limited.
- Laden, M. T. (2012). Impact of insecurity in the North on internally displaced people and migration flows between Nigeria and neighbouring countries. Being a paper presentation made at the Forum of European Union working group on migration and development organized by the Delegation of European Union to Nigeria at EU Meeting Room 1, Portakabin 21st Crescent off Constitution Avenue CBD, Abuja on May 31, 2012. Retrieved from <http://docs.google.com/impact+of+terrorism.html>
- Lenin, V. I. (1972). Collected works, Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- McNamara, R. S. (1968). The essence of security. New York: New York Press.
- Mohammed, A. (2006). Meeting Current Challenges of National Security. Lecture Delivered to Participants of National War College, Abuja, Nigeria, February 14.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2007). Weak states and the growth of private security sector in Africa: Whither the African state?. In Sabelo Gumede (Ed.), Private security in Africa: Manifestation, challenges and regulations. Monograph No.139. Retrieved from <http://www.issafrica.org>.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). Ethnic politics in Nigeria. Enugu: Fourth Dimensions Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Nte, N. D., Eke, P., & Igbanibo, S. T. (2013). Street children and the challenges of national security: Evidence from Nigeria. Retrieved from
- Obasanjo, O. (1999). Grand strategy for national security. Abuja: The Presidency.
- Obe, E. (2012, January 12). Boko Haram leaders defends attacks. The Punch, p.8
- Olaosebikan, D. (2011, June 3). Jonathan and unfolding Afghanistaization of Nigeria. National Mirror, p. 17.
- Patrick, S. (2006). Weak states and global threats: fact or fiction? *The Washington Quarterly* Vol 1, 29(2): 27–53.
- Ritzer, G. (2011). Sociological theory (7th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill Higher Education
- Rotberg, R. I. (2002). Failed states in a world of terror. *Foreign Affairs*, 81(4):127—140.
- Rotberg, R. I. (Ed.). (2003). State failure and state weakness in a time of terror. Washington D.C: The World Peace Foundation and Brookings Institution Press
- Shehu, A. (2000). Money laundering: The challenge of global enforcement. Paper presented at a seminar of the Criminology Society of Hong Kong, November 9. Retrieved from <http://www.khu.hk/crime/moneylaundering.doc/>
- Soriwei, F. (2012, January 18). Boko Haram plans to take over North-FG. The Punch, p. 8.
- Stedman, S. J. (1991). A conflict and conflict resolution in Africa: A conceptual framework. In Francis M. Deng and I. William Zartman, (Ed), 1991, Conflict resolution in Africa. (369-3730). Washington, D.C: The Brookings Institution.
- Tyoden, S. G. (2006). State and security in Nigeria's fourth republic. In Gana, T. A., & Omelle, Y. B. C (Eds.), Democratic rebirth in Nigeria 1999-2003. Vol.1, (pp.17—176): Abuja: AFRIGOV.
- Udoidem, S. (1997). Religion in political life of Nigeria: A survey of religious related crisis in Nigeria since independence. In F. U. Okafor (Ed.). New strategies for curbing ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria (pp. 152-183). Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Uzuegbunam, A. O. (2010). The role of non-governmental organizations in conflict prevention and peace-building in Nigeria. In Nnadozie, O. U (Ed.), Topical issues in social sciences (pp.73-92), Enugu: Rek Books.
- Weber, M. (1949). Methodology of the social sciences. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 3(4), New York: Macmillan Company and Free Press

Appendix 1: Ethno-Political/Communal Violence in Nigeria 1980-2008

Date	Communities involved in the violence
1980	Communal clash between Kadara host communities and Hausa settlers in Kasuwan Magaric Kajuru LGA of Kaduna state over land dispute.
1984	Communal clash between host community and Hausa-Fulani settlers of Yarkasuwa in Saminaka/Lere LGA of Kaduna state over land dispute.
1987	Communal violent between Kurama local inhabitants of Lere and Hausa settlers in Lere town Saminaka/Lere LGA of Kaduna state over land ownership.
1991	Communal violence between Jarasaiyawa host community and Fulani settler community of Tafawa Belewa in Bauchi state over land dispute.
April 2, 1992	Violent clash between the Tayiawa (original owners of Tafawa Balewa) and the Fulani immigrants of Lere District Council of Bauchi state over leadership of the town.
May, 1992	Violent communal clash between Zango and Kataf of Kaduna state over farmlands. The clash saw many lives lost and property worth millions of Naira destroyed.
1993/1994	Communal violent between the Tiv settler community and the Jukun west community in Wukari Ibi Bali LGA of Taraba state over land dispute.
May 30, 1999	Renewed Warri communal clash in Delta state in which many lives and properties were lost.
July 18, 1999	Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and Hausa people clashed at Shagamu in Ogun State over the killing of an Hausa woman who was alleged to have dares the Oro festival. The aftermath of the violent clash left many people dead.
November 25, 1999	Communal clash between the OPC and the Hausa community in Lagos state over the leadership of the Abattoir in New Oko Oba – Lagos. Many people lost their lives.
January 25, 2000	Communal clash in Brass LGA of Bayelsa state.
January 29, 2000	Communal clash in Etsako LGA in Edo State.
February 2, 2000	Boundary dispute between communities in Akwa Ibom State.
March 5, 2000	Communal clash between Ife and Modekeke over land. This violent clash claimed many lives while properties worth millions of Naira were destroyed.
March 16, 2000	Communal clash between Eleme and Okirika in Rivers state.
April 8, 2000	Communal clash between two communities in Ovia South LGA in Edo state.
May 18, 2000	Violent clash between Local farmers/land owners and Fulani cattle rearers in Saki, Oyo state as a result of destruction of farm crops by the Fulani cattles.
June 5, 2000	Communal clash in Owo community in Ondo state.
June 12, 2000	Communal clash between communities in Isoko North LGA of Edo state over land.
June 23, 2000	Communal clash between the people of Ikot Offiong and Oku-Iboku of Cross River State over land.
July 1, 2000	This is the beginning of communal clash at Ikare Akoko in Ondo state.
July 21, 2000	Communal clash between the Ijaws and Urhobo communities in Delta state over land dispute.
August 22, 2000	Communal clash in Bende LGA of Abia State.
August 22, 2000	Violent clash at Agboma community in Epe LGA of Lagos state.
October 16, 2000	Igbos and Hausa traders clashed at Alaba Ram market area of Lagos state over leadership.
December 11, 2000	Renewed clashes between Ife and Modeke over land dispute.
May 12, 2001	Communal clash between the Ijaws and Itsekiri communities in Delta state.
June 2, 2001	Communal clash between Odimodu and Ogulagba communities in Delta state.
February 2, 2002	Clash between OPC and Hausa people at Idi Araba in Lagos State.
February 26, 2002	Communal clash between Apprapum and Osatura communities of Cross River state.
August 31, 2002	Communal clash at Ado Ekiti in Ekiti state.
September 2, 2002	Renewed communal clashes in Owo communities in Ondo state.
March 25, 2008	Violent clash between Jakun and Kuteb communities in Taraba state resulting to the death of 7 persons and destruction of property worth millions of Naira.
July 23, 2008	Violent clash between the Atagenyi and Omelemu communities of Benue state. This resulted to the loss of five lives.
December 28, 2008	Violent clash between Jekun and Kuteb when Kuteb was been prevented from holding their festival Kuchicheb. The clash resulted to mass destruction of property worth millions of Naira.

Source: Chinwokwu, 2012c:442-443.