

Security Challenges and Management in Modern Nigeria

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Edited by

Ayodeji Olukoju, Olutayo Adesina,
Abimbola Adesoji and Saheed Amusa

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**To the Memory of Late Barrister Abosede Omowumi Olukoju, JP
(Nee Olorunda)
(1961-2014)**

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FOREWORD

Nigeria as a major player in global affairs and a leading nation in Africa has had its fair share of insecurity emanating/arising from diverse sources such as civil war, insurgency, recurring violent religious crises, ethnic and poverty-induced militancy as well as crises occasioned by clamour for self-determination. It is therefore evident from the history of Nigeria in the last fifty-five years that the issue of security remains in the front burner of national discourse. Developments around the world and specifically in Nigeria in the last five years have raised the stakes. What with the ballooning of incidents of domestic violence arising from chieftaincy conflicts, growing cases of sophisticated armed robberies, economic-induced kidnappings, incessant oil bunkering, sea piracy, rival cult groups' killings and ritual-related murders/killings. Like it was in the colonial period and even in contemporary Nigeria, government and the citizenry had responded to these challenges and had sought to manage them. What is observable, however, is the growing manifestation of insecurity, necessitating more complex responses.

Little wonder that nations of the world are now investing heavily in security infrastructure designed not to counter one another as was the case at the peak of the cold war rivalry but to confront threats to man's existence and well-being. What this book has done is to examine in a timely fashion the security challenges that the country has faced beginning from the colonial period in different ramifications and the strategies and techniques that have been used to address them. In a similar vein, lessons drawn from previous and related experiences are brought to the limelight. The obvious concern with security matters is understandable given the enormity of problems associated with or related to it.

Beyond the desire to properly situate security challenges in Nigeria in historical context, the pre-occupations of scholars and security experts with security matters examined from diverse perspectives and spanning different epochs has to do with relating past experiences with contemporary problems and suggesting new paradigms where applicable. Contributions to this volume were carefully selected from a long list of papers presented during the special 50th Anniversary of the Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife (founded in 1962) organised by the

Department of History of the University in Collaboration with the Network of Nigerian Historians (NNH) now Organisation for Historical Research in Nigeria (ORHIN), which held at the University. I am particularly delighted by the thematic arrangement of the chapters which provide easy access to essays within particular subthemes. Historicizing security challenges in Nigeria gives the reader the opportunity to access different essays which examine insecurity and its manifestations in diverse forms, its peculiarity to different parts of Nigeria, its impact and its management.

While thanking the editors of this volume for the honour of writing the foreword to such an important publication, I wish to commend this book not only to security experts but also to policy makers, politicians, public servants, historians, social scientists, opinion leaders and the general reading public.

Prof. A.A. Adediran,
Former Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic),
Director, Directorate of Linkages and Sponsored Research,
Obafemi Awolowo University,
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This book is a product of an international conference in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife, organised by the Department of History of OAU, Ile-Ife in collaboration with the Network of Nigerian Historians (NNH) now Organisation for Historical Research in Nigeria (ORHIN) held on October 28-31, 2012. The Conveners were Professor Ayodeji Olukoju (FNAL), the President of NNH and Dr. A.O. Adesoji, the Acting Head of the Department of History of OAU. The various activities marking the conference were put together and executed by the executives and members of NNH and staff of the Department of History of OAU. To this end, we appreciate the efforts of all members of the ORHIN and all members of the academic and administrative staff of the Department of History of OAU.

We are also grateful to all those who have shared and supported our vision of getting the conference organised in 2012 and seeing the essays published this year. We thank the management of the Obafemi Awolowo University under the Vice-Chancellor, Professor B.I. Omole for providing financial and moral supports towards the success of the conference in 2012. We also thank all our resource persons, keynote speakers, paper presenters, discussants, rapporteurs and other participants at the conference. We commend the efforts of the past and current students and staff of the Department of History of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife who served on different committees during the 2012 conference which culminated in this book such as logistics, registration, hospitality, entertainment, ushering and a host of other sub-committees.

Between 2012 when the conference was concluded and 2016, so many people contributed to the publication of this book. We thank our various peer reviewers at the Obafemi Awolowo University and sister universities in Lagos, Ibadan and the Ikire Campus of Osun State University. We appreciate Dr. M. Ademilokun of the Department of English Language of Obafemi Awolowo University who proof-read the essays after peer reviews and offered useful editorial assistance. We thank Professor Biodun

Adediran for agreeing to write the Foreword to the book in spite of his busy schedule.

Without the contributors, there could not have been an edited book of this nature. Therefore, we appreciate all our contributors for responding timely to the review suggestions and other publication requirements.

Finally, we thank our spouses, children, family members, colleagues and associates for their encouragement and support toward the success of this publication.

Prof. Ayodeji Olukoju (Lagos) February 2016

Prof. Olutayo Adesina (Ibadan)

Dr. Bimbo Adesoji (Ile-Ife)

Dr. Saheed Amusa (Ile-Ife)

EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Like it was before the attainment of political independence, security remains a major challenge in Nigeria. But unlike what obtained in the pre-independence period, security problems have escalated partly due to the diverse nature of the country and its peoples and arising from issues and problems of nation-building. With the end of prolonged military rule in 1999 and the exercise of freedom associated with civil rule, bottled-up problems and repressions of past years were freely given expression resulting in several crises and conflicts ranging from ethnic, economic, political to religious. Whereas some of these crises and conflicts arose out of genuine desire for justice and change, some border on pure criminality. The effects of these problems are as numerous as the crises that gave birth to them and the country has been the worse for it, having been at the receiving end of these challenges.

Premised on the above-stated background, this Book *Security Challenges and Management in Modern Nigeria* is a collection of selected essays from papers presented at an international conference in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife, Nigeria jointly organised by the Department of History of OAU, Ile-Ife and The Network of Nigerian Historians (NNH) held at the Conference Centre of OAU on October 28-31, 2012. The Conference was on the theme "Nigeria and Security Challenges" and it attracted scholars from diverse academic and professional backgrounds who presented well-researched papers on the various conference sub-themes. The essays in this book are some of what we adjudged the best ideas from the numerous papers presented at the conference. It must also be noted that a number of other paper givers at the conference have subsequently published their papers in other scholarly outlets.

In choosing the theme of the conference and selecting the various sub-themes, we were convinced that insecurity of life and property has remained the bane of socio-economic and political development of modern Nigeria. This is because no meaningful developmental strides can be made in an atmosphere of political crises, social violence, ethnic and sectional rancour and religious disturbances which pervaded the country. We were also persuaded that academics who are engaged in aspects of security

studies have critical roles to play in the national efforts towards addressing issues of insecurity. Therefore, the participants at the conference engaged several security issues derived from the main theme and the various sub-themes of the conference which comprised: Methodologies, Historiography, Theories and Concepts in Security Studies/Management; War, Peace and Security Challenges in Pre-Colonial Nigeria; Security Challenges in Colonial Nigeria; Military Rule and Security Challenges; Ethnicity, Gender and Security Challenges; Migration, Urbanisation and Internal Security Challenges; Economy and Security Challenges; Nigerian Foreign Policy, International Relations and Challenges of Security; Education, Mass Media, Culture, Entertainment, Sports and Security Challenges; Police, Policing and Security Challenges; Religious Crises, Boko Haram Insurgency and Security Challenges; Elections, Violence and Security Challenges and; Towards Minimising and Managing Security Challenges in Nigeria.

We were not, in any way, disappointed by the quality of papers presented at the conference and in fact, we were impressed by the depth of theoretical and empirical bases of the various papers presented. To this end, we are, indeed, convinced that the conference has contributed significantly to a proper understanding of issues related to security challenges and management and to charting new directions to addressing them in contemporary Nigeria. This conviction informs the publication of this book in order to disseminate the conference deliberations, discussions and resolutions to a wider reading audience. We are confident that the essays put together here will provide a rich insight into, and aid a better understanding of festering security challenges in Nigeria. This is meant to promote an appreciation of why the country is unable to address concretely its myriads of problems and why its development in virtually every sector has been arrested or delayed. The volume, in addition, suggests why old methods and strategies meant to address security challenges have not produced desired result and introduced paradigm shifts. Given the fact that contributors to the volume come from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, each brings his/her disciplinary backgrounds, methodological leanings and rich wealth of experience to bear in exploring critically the issues discussed. Data utilised range from literary, oral, archival to secondary materials. Appropriate frameworks, theories and concepts were employed where necessary. The volume presenting a rich array of sources is a blend of materials covering past and mostly contemporary issues. Essentially, however, much of the chapters are written/explored from historical perspective.

The book has a total of 40 chapters divided into seven sections. Section One: *History, Theories and Concepts in Security Studies and Management* comprises five chapters. The First and Second Chapters are texts of Keynote Addresses delivered by I.O. Albert and B. Alao at the 2012 conference. In these essays, the two authors put the issues of insecurity in Nigeria in proper historical perspective and argue that a historical understanding of the root causes of security challenges in Nigeria is sine qua none to their successful management in the contemporary time. Chapter Three is a joint contribution by D.O. Apeloko, O.O. Ayeni and A.B. Adegbami. The contributors of this piece who are scholars of Nigerian public administration attempt to offer new theoretical explanations to the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria away from the dominant religious fundamentalist explanation of the phenomenon. They analyse the Boko Haram insurgency from five theoretical perspectives namely Marxism, Pluralism, Youth Bulge Theory, Relative Deprivation Model and Power Transition Theory. In Chapter Four, A. Osondu a specialist in International Relations argues that there is a dire need of placing emphasis on human-centred security measures rather than military-centred security currently emphasized in Nigeria. The fifth chapter is authored by K. Onipede who is a scholar of African traditional culture. His central argument is that there is a need for recourse to African indigenous conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms in the contemporary efforts to prevent security challenges in modern Nigeria.

In Section Two, four chapters are grouped together under the caption: *War, Peace and Security Challenges in the Pre-Colonial and Colonial Nigeria*. S. Ogunode, in Chapter Six, appraises the roles of the warriors' guild in addressing security challenges in pre-colonial Yorubaland with emphasis on Okaland of Ondo State. He argues that the security challenges faced by the people of Okaland in the pre-colonial times were promptly tackled through collective efforts of the people and not only the military class. He therefore makes a case for multi-sectoral and collective security responses in Nigeria in the face of a myriad of security challenge it currently faces. M. Oladejo historicises the security institutions and settlement patterns in the 19th century Ibadan city in Chapter Seven. Her major contention is that Ibadan was able to weather the storm of security challenges which confronted it in the 19th century because of the cooperative security endeavours of the early settlers and later immigrants into the city. The lesson from the 19th Ibadan model, according to the author, is that institutional cooperation is a major factor of successful and efficient security interventions. In Chapter Nine, A.A. Lawal brings into fore the security challenges which faced Nigeria during the Second World

War and how the British colonial government responded to them. These challenges included internal peace of the colony, shortage of food and strategic war materials, border porosity, and extra-territorial security among others. The British government responded to these challenges by serious mobilisation of all classes of Nigerians and secured their loyalty, support and cooperation in successfully addressing these challenges. M. Muritala, in Chapter Ten, examines the nexus between urbanisation, poverty and armed robbery in colonial in Lagos and submits that the British economic and urban development policies resulted in deprivation and marginalization of the indigenes and migrants and caused insecurity of lives and property.

Section Three is captioned *Security Challenges in Post-Colonial Nigeria: Military Rule and Democratisation Process* and it has seven chapters. In Chapter Ten, Olufemi Omobuwajo recollects the causes and course of the Nigerian civil war of 1967 to 1970 and posits that the impact of the war still reverberates while the issues that led to it are still rearing their ugly heads in modern Nigeria. He, therefore, argues for building strong institutional frameworks that will satisfactorily address contentious national issues in Nigeria for the nation to avoid another civil war and make giant developmental strides. Halimat Somotan attempts a critique of Western press reportage and characterisation of the Nigerian civil war with specific reference to the *New York Times* in Chapter Eleven. Her contention is that *The New York Times* from the civil war era has continued to misrepresent conflicts in Africa by painting glooming pictures and disseminating falsehood about the nature of African conflicts with grave consequences for African image in the contemporary time. In Chapter Twelve, Kehinde Olayode looks at the implications of long years of military rule in Nigeria for democratic consolidation in the country and calls for strong professionalism of the military to discourage future military intervention in politics and promote mutual civil-military relations in Nigeria. O.S. Afolabi, in Chapter Thirteen examines the interplay of canvas for votes, electoral contest and election administration in Nigeria and argues that violence arising from electoral is a manifestation of the constraints against the electoral body and the influence of the ruling elite and political godfathers on it. G.C. Ihemeje, M.O. Adeyeye and F.O. Fagbohun appraise how the conducts of local government elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic since 1999 constitute threats to national security in Chapter Fourteen. It is posited in the paper that political office holders at the Federal and State levels now merely use the local government areas to circumvent funds and settle political scores. In Chapter Fifteen, N.H. Obah-Akpowoghaha examines the disruptive influence of 'godfatherism'

in Nigerian politics and holds that it remains the bane of violence-free electoral and political process in contemporary Nigeria. In a similar vein, Damilola Fagite reflects on ‘godfatherism’ complex in Nigerian political history since independence in Chapter Sixteen. Her submission, based on critical historical evaluation of this phenomenon, is that ‘godfatherism’ has a toll on effective performance of elected officials who are under the control of the ‘godfathers’.

In Section Four on *Security Challenges in Contemporary Nigeria: Policing, Ethnic Crises, the Media and the Entertainment Industry*, eight chapters are presented. Chapter Seventeen is authored by Babatunde Adeparusi whose central argument is that police reform is not only the first step but the most critical issue in successful internal security response and management in Nigeria. Chapter Eighteen contributed by Shina Alimi and Arogundade Nurudeen makes a case for community policing in Nigeria by studying its comparative practices in Yoruba cities of Ile-Ife and Igbo-Ora in Southwestern Nigeria. In Chapter Nineteen, Pelumi Folajimi uses three literary works to describe the deteriorating state of policing in Nigeria, the challenges facing the Nigeria Police Force and its inability to efficiently maintain internal security in Nigeria. I.N. Amanchukwu traces the challenges of political succession in Nigeria to ethnic and sectional politics in Chapter Twenty and holds these responsible for the tough and often violent transition process in Nigeria since the First Republic. Chapter Twenty One is authored by K.E. Fakambi and the central thesis is that ethnicity is the main problem of nation building in Nigeria and the fundamental cause of major political crises in Nigeria since independence. In Chapter Twenty Two, O.S. Opadere and S.O. Adekogbe laments the negative impact of insecurity on the Nigerian entertainment industry while Toyin Ogundeji, in Chapter Twenty Three, analyses how security challenges have negatively affected live theatre in Nigeria. In the last chapter of the section, Akin Adejuwon discusses the ways through which insecurity constitutes a barrier to the visual art in Nigeria in Chapter Twenty Four.

Section Five is captioned *Security Challenges, National Economy and International Politics* and it contains five chapters. Ayodeji Olujoku opens the section with his analysis of the impact of illegal importation of illicit items such as arms, contraband goods, hard drugs etc into Nigeria through the major seaports on national security in Chapter Twenty Five. In Chapter Twenty Six, Paul Jato establishes a strong correlation between poor economic performance of Nigeria and rising security challenges and contends that poverty and unemployment must be addressed if insecurity

is to be successfully tackled in contemporary Nigeria. E.O. Akubor interrogates the security implications of the rising level of drug trafficking and addiction among the Nigerian youths in Chapter Twenty Seven while A.A. Apeh and C.C. Opatu assesses how corruption encourages insecurity in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic since 1999 in Chapter Twenty Eight and posits that corruption is the harbinger of insecurity in the country. Yusuf Babatunde historicises the question of crimes and drugs in Nigeria since independence in Chapter Twenty Nine and argues that there is a connection between rising youth unrest in Nigeria and drug addiction among them.

Section Six comprises seven chapters under the theme *Insecurity, Religious Crises, Boko Haramism and Terrorism in Contemporary Nigeria*. Chapter Thirty is authored by S.B. Amusa and the central contention is that the Boko Haram insurgency can be better checked if the security agencies de-emphasise its religious camouflage and respond to it as a terrorist act against the Nigerian state. In Chapter Thirty One, K.A. Hamzah and J.O. Bamgbose assess the seeming inability of the government to successfully curtail the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram insurgents and make case for national re-orientation of Nigerians as the best way to addressing the root cause of religious violence. In a similar vein, O.G. Adekola, in Chapter Thirty Two, traces the growing religious violence in some parts of Nigeria to financial corruption of the political class and the collapse of social security for the downtrodden and therefore argues that for insurrection to be minimized in Nigeria, corrupt political leaders have to be brought to justice through a strengthened legal system. O.A. Oladosu in Chapter Thirty Three argues that it is the ethnicisation and politicisation of religions that have caused most religious crises in Nigeria and that it is high time Nigerians used religions as a constructive rather than destructive instrument of nation building. Chapter Thirty Four is contributed by R. Odudele and O.E. Babalola and their central position is that religions are potent instruments of peaceful coexistence but have been largely used over the years for settling political scores by the Nigerian political class. M. Uadiale shows that the Boko Haram insurgency is a manifestation of the failure of the political class and class completion among the ruling elite in Chapter Thirty Five. In Chapter Thirty Six, M. Omotosho places the ethnic and religious crises in the Middle Belt of Nigeria in proper historical perspective and argues that most of these were instigated by the political elite for selfish political ends.

Section Seven is themed *Toward Addressing, Managing and Mitigating the Impact of Security Challenges on Nigeria* and it has four chapters. In

Chapter Thirty Seven, P. Ukase considers new options and strategies of security management in Nigeria in the face of unprecedented security challenges of recent time. Chapter Thirty Eight is focused on historical lessons derivable from the judicial administration in old Ondo Province of Southwestern Nigeria during the colonial period and is authored by Afe Adedayo who submits that insecurity will be drastically reduced if the Nigerian judicial system is strengthened and effective as people would prefer to seek redress in the courts of law rather than resorting jungle justice which threatens national security. A.S. Adeniyi analyses the role labour union could play in mitigating the impact of insecurity on the ordinary Nigerian in Thirty Nine while F.E. Awoyera examines how the Nigerian Branch of the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) has been assisting women victims of insecurity problems in Nigeria in Chapter Forty.

Security Challenges and Management in Modern Nigeria is coming out at a critical period in Nigerian history when the nation is faced with serious security challenges and is in dire needs of scholarly inputs into the national security interventions and mechanisms. The contributors are professors, senior academics, research fellows and security experts drawn from Nigerian universities and colleges as well as Nigerian scholars based abroad who have been engaged in aspects of security issues over the years. We are confident that this Book will be a modest addition to existing literature on security challenges and management in modern Nigeria. We have no doubt that Nigerian political elite, security policy makers and practitioners, scholars and students will derive maximum benefits from the essays put together in this Book.

SECTION ONE:

**HISTORY, THEORIES AND CONCEPT
IN SECURITY STUDIES AND MANAGEMENT**

CHAPTER ONE

NIGERIA'S SECURITY CHALLENGES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE¹

ISAAC OLAWALE ALBERT
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

Introduction

Let me start with some brief compliments. The first is to felicitate the Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife for turning 50. I have to thank the Department of History of the University for bringing us on board this historic golden jubilee anniversary by organizing this conference. I equally have to thank the Network of Nigerian Historians (NNH) for the collaboration with the Department of History. This and other past activities of the Network show that indeed NNH has come of age in development-relevance and quality programming. Let me seize this opportunity to thank all of us for being part of this success story. The theme of the conference is very apt and timely: "Nigeria and security challenges". It promises to fill a big lacuna in understanding where Nigeria is today.

The security challenges of a nation could be internal or external. The internal ones in Nigeria refer to problems of armed robbery, sea piracy, kidnapping and hostage-taking. The problem also includes ethnic, religious and electoral violence as well as the Niger Delta crisis. On the other hand, the external security challenges are supposed to be coming from outside the nation. For now such problems are minimal. Apart from the Bakassi crisis between Nigeria and Cameroun over the ownership of the Bakassi peninsula, the country does not have much external threat. The problem of arms and human trafficking often reported by the media all

¹ Keynote Address at the Golden Jubilee Conference organized by the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, in collaboration with the Network of Nigerian Historians (NNH), 28–31 October 2012.

result from the country's inability to effectively police her borders. It results more from systemic failures and corruption than any other thing.

What the title of this chapter suggests is a historicization of Nigeria's security challenges. I would not go too deep into this otherwise I would be preempting the other presenters. Rather, I would establish a broad framework for understanding the security challenges in the country and what historians need to do in order to better impact in the study of the problems.

Defining “Nation” and “(National) Security”

Nigeria is a nation. The first step to understanding its security challenges is to ask if it is actually a nation. What is a nation? Existing knowledge shows that a nation can be construed in two basic ways: as a primordial or instrumental identity. In the primordial sense, a nation consists of groups with a common descent, common language and ways of life. The people in this case have been together from time immemorial and have national heroes and traditions that define them as a people. This primordialist conception of a nation comes from the Latin word *natio* which derives from *natus* “(of) birth”. The people therein have a common sense of history and can in fact name some “nation heroes”. Mythical traditions of origin bind such people together. This is different from the instrumentalist conception of a nation as consisting of some contiguous groups brought together by an accident of history to become a people. The people are placed into a particular setting (territory), with some laws and legal rules, and national metaphysics expected to give the people a unity of purpose.²

To summarize, the primordialists believe that nations emerge naturally and the people do not have to be told who they are and how they are related; they know it naturally. In the primordialist nation, people are conscious of how they were given a nation by God; they have a true sense of the native country, homeland, roots, national affiliation and identity that are shared in public through different forms of enactment ceremonies.

On the other hand, the contextualist understanding is that nations can be formed by bringing different groups together and giving them a national

² P.R. Brass, *Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison*, New Delhi/Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1991; B. Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 1991; F. Barth (ed.), *Ethnic groups and boundaries*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.

identity. A third force is needed for bringing about the latter. For example, the Nigerian “nation” emerged from two historical events: the allocation of Nigeria to the British at the Berlin West African Conference of 1884/5 and the effrontery of the British in amalgamating the northern and southern protectorates they had initially created for economic reasons. Outside these two events, the Western powers could as well have made the Yoruba people of the southwest to be in Benin Republic; Northern Nigeria could have been part of Niger or Chad; the present day Cross Rivers State could have been part of Cameroon. Colonial masters acted unilaterally in establishing the modern states in Africa. In the proclamation celebrating the defeat of the Caliphate on 21 March 1903, Lord Lugard made the following instructive statement:

Now these are the words, which I, the High Commissioner, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times under Danfodiyo conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn, have by defeat, lost their rule, which has come into the hands of the British. All these things, which I have said, the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of State will be appointed by the High Commissioner, throughout all this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs, but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The emirs and chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old times and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident. . . . The Government will, in future, hold the rights in land, which the Fulani took by conquest from the people, and if Government requires land, it will take it for any purpose. The Government will have the rights to all minerals, but the people may dig for iron and work it subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and may take salt and other minerals subject to any excise imposed by law. Traders will not be taxed by chiefs (Sultan or Emir) but only by government. The coinage of the British will be accepted as legal tender, and a rate of exchange for cowries fixed, in consultation with chiefs, and they will enforce it.³

Most Nigerian groups resist the Nigerian state today because their communities were taken by the colonial masters in a similar version or

³ Margery Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority, 1898–1945*, London: Longman, 1960, 128–129. See also R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804–1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies*, London: Longmans, 1971

provides for secession and that boundaries of a nation can also be redefined. He said: “If doubts arise about national borders, consult the population of the area in dispute. They have the right to an opinion on the issue.”

The meaning of security in a primordialist nation would definitely be different from the contextualist. In the former, the emphasis is most likely to be the preservation of what binds the people together: common language, tradition, quest for freedom and the like. But in the contrived nation state, security would be defined in the context of welding the people together into a complex whole. Insecurity would include attempts by groups to get out of the nation state most especially when their needs are not met. The task here is more difficult. For example, some existing studies show that it was easier to keep the Sokoto Fulani Empire together than to get the Hausa and Fulani people to be a contented member of the Nigerian state formed in 1914. As far back as 1905 and 1906, some Islamists organized the Satiru Rebellion to show that they were not going to make peace with any foreign political system different from what Usman Danfodio provided for the Muslims. The rebellion involved some radical clerics, disgruntled peasants and fugitive slaves who came out with both traditional and modern weapons to challenge the authority of the colonial state in the North.⁵ These Mahdists (Islamists) rejected Western political systems and traditions and advocated a return to the Islamic traditions of the old. But they were worsted by the colonial army assisted by the traditional rulers of the affected communities, including the Sultan of Sokoto. The issues raised by them and their fighting spirit are not too different from what is exhibited today by the Boko Haram sect members in some parts of Northern Nigeria.

Similarly, one would notice that the pre-colonial Yoruba people were more loyal to Ife and Oyo than they are to Nigeria. We are therefore not surprised by the agenda of the Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) which is to return the Yoruba to their “traditional state”. The national anthem of the militant group says it all:

Homeward journey
Homeward journey the sons of Oduduwa
If we don’t know where we are going⁶

⁵ Paul E. Lovejoy and J.S. Hogendorn, “Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1905–6”, *Journal of African History* 31(2) (1990), 217–244.

⁶ As a member of Nigerian society.