

Democracy and National Identities: The Travails of National National Security in Nigeria

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Abstract

Nigeria embraced of democracy in 1999 was seen as one of the mechanism for addressing monopolization of power by single ethnic group in the country as well as the restoration of political stability which has been largely elusive in the country since the emergence of Military and authoritarian rule in the country. Democracy has failed to reduce ethnic agitation and tension as the re-resurgence of ethnic militia has now taken a metamorphosis and a new dimension in the quest for power relation in the country. The paper examines the complex problems in Nigeria's democracy in relation to how the democratization of the political space has engendered security problem for the country. The study argues that the resurgences of "Boko Haram" (a perceived terrorist group) and other related groups in the struggle to impose new power relations and advance the interest of their ethnic groups among others in relation to their countervailing reactions against the state are the manifestation of the democratization of the political space, leading to intense competition among ethnic group. Nigeria national security faces a serious challenge and it is the internal division which is fatal to Nigeria's survival. The study concludes that a consociational power arrangement crafted through a convocation of National Sovereign Conference would reduce social division and partisan confrontation which is capable of undermining national security in Nigeria

Keyword: Democracy, Boko Haram, National Security, Consociational Power

Introduction

Nigeria by its complex web of politically salient identities and history of chronic and seemingly intractable conflict and instability can be described as one of the mostly divided state in Africa. (Smyth and Robinson: 2001) Nigeria's plurality and secular characteristics therefore offers a wide ranging and fertile ground for group relations, explaining why national diversities have been vigorously transformed and contested against the politics of national integration and stability. These politically salient identities became more pronounced and transformed since the emergence of democracy in 1999 in the country, given that the expression of identities for sectional or group sentiments during the military rule was effectively suppressed and the political spaces for agitation were contrived barring any interest groups and social-political formations from making any claims on the state. While interest groups and social-political formations of the military years indoctrinates into the democratization process, the expression of ethnic grievances and diversities only gained wider expression since the enthronement of democratic rule. This resurgence is instructive given the spate of communal clashes, ethnic agitations, ethno-religious politics and violence which have excercebate tremendously since the democratization era. The mobilization of ethnic tendencies and nationalism had given rise to the metamorphosis of different ethnic identities and militias all in the context of advancing their long suppressed interest in the democratic space. From the violent protest of the Niger delta over the perceived injustice for resource control and true federalism, the Itsekiri-Ijaw violence in the Delta over claims of land ownership and boundary claims, the Ife-Modakeke communal clashes, the menace of Oodua people's congress and its accompanying violence in Lagos and Shagamu areas, the formation of Arewa People's Congress(APC) the movement for the actualization of the biafra (MASSOB) continued agitation for Biafran state, Sharia conflict and the demand for confederation and the inter/intra ethnic religious sectarian which is more pronounced across the Northern part of the country, identities continue to expand in expression and dimension particularly as groups use it as bait to advance their interest in the power relation among various groupings contesting for control under the democratic rule in the country.

One frightening dimension to theses manifestations is the unprecedented rate at which ethno-religious and ethno-regional bent are used to advance the cause of these groupings, resulting in violent ethnic and religious conflicts across the country (Akinwumi 2005; Adebani: 2004) In Nigeria today the vigorous transformation of the ethno-religious identities had been the basis of many known violent conflict in the country and the basis upon which the national security of the country is stressed and overarched. It is the case that the security and survival of the country and its people cannot be guaranteed in the face of the growing conflicts and state collapse. The failure of the state which evinced from the construction of state character for the protection of certain interest is at the expense of the other interest. While democracy had expanded the political space for group and identities expression, it has further aggravated it by transforming identities into vicious cycle of violence and instability. In the statistics offered by Jega (2003, 6), Nigeria had witnessed forty major civil disturbances in the form of ethno-religious and commercial clashes between 1999 and 2002. Groupson-Paul (2003, 24-27) puts it at fifty-three between May 1999 and May 2003. The country has since witnessed many more deadly incidents of ethno-religious violence that have spared no part of the country (Omotola 2006; Akinwumi 2005).

The issues that generate the fiercest contestation among ethnic diversities are those considered to be fundamental to the existence and legitimacy of the state, over which competing groups tend to adopt exclusionary and winner takes all strategies. (Osaghae and Suberu: 2005) From the Biafra secessionists bid, to the Niger-delta agitation for resource control, the southwest quest for sovereign national conference, and the sectarian religious crisis Nigeria has faced perennial crisis of territorial or state legitimacy which has often challenge its national cohesion democratization, stability and economic transformation. (Maier; 2000). In spite of the emphasis on political accommodation and inter-segmental balance, increase in revenue allocation, appeasement of the southwest with the presidential position and state creation for minority ethnic groups, ethnic tension and agitation is yet to

abate. Conflict has become more intense and pervasive with the new phenomenon of boko haram. Boko Haram (a perceived terrorist group) bent on imposing a new power relations in the context of ethno-religious and political conflicts. Nigeria national security faces a serious challenge and it is the internal division which is fatal to Nigeria survival. The challenge of democratic process and unmanaged national diversities would therefore pose serious threat to national security and the implication for the disintegration of the country.

The paper is organized into five sections. Section one is the introduction, section two undertake a conceptual framework of democracy, diversities and national security. Section three addresses historical trajectory and nature of identity in Nigeria. Section four shall deal with democratic space and identity transformation in Nigeria. Section five, deals with Boko Haram, insurgents or terrorist group: the travails of national security. Finally is the conclusion of the paper, where a consociational measures is advocated in the context of sovereign national conference for addressing the challenge of identities in Nigeria.

Democracy, Identities and National Security: A Conceptual and Theoretical Discourse

The relationship between democracy and identity has been extensively debated in the literature over the years. (Omotola 2008, Bomhoff 2011, He 2002, Lewis; 2007) .Whitehead, a leading comparativist had contend that democracy itself is an essentially contested concept, and it is hard to agree on the core meaning, as the meaning will depend on the specificity of historical context in which it is used (Sandve: 2009) whereas democracy is also a process where we should use multiple meanings in order to understand this historical context.(Williams 2003) For the benefit of this paper Mostov definition of democracy would be adopted. According to Mostov (1994) democracy requires that political participation and government offices be open to all citizens without distinction that all citizen be similarly afforded the right and protection associated with political liberty and equal citizenship, that restriction of citizenship be minimal, impartial and consistent and that social choices be made through public decision processes that support and promote the equality and independence of citizens. In other words, democracy promotes popular participation and accord political freedom to the citizens and groups without marginalization and alienation irrespective of their groupings and affiliations etc. This conception provides the framework for democracy as mechanism for conflict resolution and integration of identities especially in plural societies where identity is constantly being transformed in the case of group competition for state benefits. (Williams; 2008: 75, He 2001) The equality of rights accorded to citizen especially in a multiethnic society by democracy makes it an instrument for addressing power relation and conflicts which in part emanate from group competition. In a way democracy is a process and strategy for resolving national identity questions in such a way that these problems are transformed into constructive dialogue between groups and the state instead of leading to violence or exclusion of groups (He; 2001). The global experience of many state including Spain/Basque, Mindanao and Philippine Germany (East and West) portend instances where democracy have been used to resolve competition between two contending groups. While the, the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria was seen as one of the strategy for addressing power relations in a way that ethnic, religious and sub-ethnic diversity can be managed for national cohesion and nation building. It is believed that the interest of different identities would be adequately accommodated through the basic principle of democracy such as rule of law, political liberty and popular participation. Unfortunately the steady marginalization of the major elements of the society by a single ethnic composition has undermine this believe as other identities feel threatens with the aim of transforming one identity or the other to advance their interest either in objective or parochial form on the state. (Aluko: 2010) In the circumstances where power relation in a multiethnic society is awkward, civic national identity does not seem to be promoted as identities are mobilized for instrumentalist and conflict. Although, identity sometimes is not wholly interest begotten and instrumentalist (Osaghae and Suberu; 2005) nor is it “conflictual”, rather it is “always anchored both in physiological ‘givens’ and in social roles...” (Erickson 1968) Its attributes comprise “commitment

to a cause”, “love and trust for a group”, “emotional tie to a group”, as well as “obligations and responsibilities” relating to membership of a group with which a person identifies. (Ibid). Most general studies of identities emphasize that identity implies sameness and differences at the same time (Jenkins 1996). Identity typifies a person sense of belonging to a group if it influences his behaviour (Jega; 2000: 14). As he elaborate, identity serves as a rallying and organizing principles of social actions within civil society and in state-society relations. Yet identities are neither uniform nor stable among groups or individual, it could be cross-cutting depending on its internalization (Castells: 2004). Individual have arrays of identities that he/she can decide to adopt or play up depending on the perception of the situation, including identity adopted by competing actor. Some self definition of identity can also coincide with roles; identities are stronger sources of meaning than role because identities organize the meaning while roles organize the functions. (Ibid). Thus that is why a member of a group can decide to identify themselves as religious rather than ethnic- as group in the Northern Nigeria do from to time depending on the level and scope of conflict. This further explains why identities can be “intrincally interconnected and mutually reinforcing”

One pertinent and significant factor on identities transformation is the perceive threat to an identity, real or imagine, often generate a reaction from the affected ward off the threat, which compel identity transformation (Omotola 2008:78) Identities are subject to manipulations, depending on the prevailing social, political, economic and cultural realities. This is predicated on the fact that ethnicity provide a better platform for strategic action for access to and or control of state power and national resources. As Turton (1997) point out, in many cases rival for power make use of ethnic differences a political resources, but the “differences are not responsible for war”. The instrumentalist conception of ethnicity that is fluid and manipulative in defense of collective actions in the pursuit of individual and collective interests, however contrast with the primordial sentiment (tribe, kingship and ethnicity and other civil ties which hinges on industrial society type aggregations like class, political party affiliation, interest group membership) that ethnicity is an inherited cultural inventory and the product of longue “*duree*” historical process, which although not permanently fixed or naturally given, is difficult to change. (Hindley 2001: 282).

While social constructivism theorists of ethnicity viewed ethnicity as constructed, expression of this nature is usually exacerbated through the struggle for power in the democratization process. As power contestation get intense, group reach out to their diversities and the potential for conflict become imminent in the potential changes that the struggle generate manifests, the outcome of which is capable of escalating to distrust and conflict. As Bomhoff assert (2011) democratization process will fail if the prevalent level of distrust is high and national identities problem remains unresolved. In his view having a sense of national unity is a precondition for democracy, but democracy is not a condition for peaceful relation and stability among identities. While it can be said that democracy can cope with political question about major inequality in social economic issues, it not equipped to deal with antagonistic relation between religious, national and racial group (Rustow 1970). Ake was one of the boldest optimists when he argued that “far from being prone to generating ethnic conflict, democratization is actually an antidote to those things, which promote ethnic identity and what passes for ethnic conflicts in Africa. What are these causes? The most important is the character of the post-colonial state in Africa...its power over economy and society is enormous, arbitrary and it is largely privatized. For all but a few of its citizens, it is alien and remote, uncaring and oppressive...many of them have turned away from the state and given their loyalty to sub-national formations ‘(2000: 114). The implication of Ake’s summation is that, while democracy allows for expression of identity interest, it does not have the capacity for resolving identity problem. Indeed, it exacerbate ethnic identity, promote conflict and capable of undermining national security in the context of these vociferous manifestations.

The basic notion of national security emphasizes the overall security of a nation and nation-sate in the context of the protection or safety of country secrets and its citizens. (Fagbohun: 1990)

National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, diplomacy, power projection and political power. The concept developed mostly in the United States of America after World War II. Initially focusing on military might, it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society. Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category. In Nigeria today, the national security of the country has been under perceived threat as there is breakdown of law and order, lack of economic security due to political instability affecting investment climate as well as the democratization of violence, ethnic sectarian which manifest in the contest of identity transformations and political instability are common denominator to the country's security dilemma.

Historical Trajectories and Nature of Identities in Nigeria

The question of identities in Nigeria is as old as the state formation itself. The plural nature of Nigeria society and its variant compositions were the basis upon which identities thrive. That the Nigeria state as a composition of so many identities is not a coincidence, rather it is as a result of its historical construction by the colonial master. Although, the Nigerian nationalist were pessimistic on the foundation on which the Nigerian state was built. The fact that Nigerians were forcefully integrated by the British against their wish and the lack of understanding of identities by the different ethnic groups further confirms this pessimism. As Arazeen and Saka (2007:28) observed the union of ethnic groups in Nigeria through the 1914 amalgamation was a marriage of inconveniency because the whole process was conceived and executed without due respect to and for social-cultural and political differences embedded in the political, economic and social structures of the wedded couple. The pessimism observed was reinforced by the reality of pre-colonial identity construction where identity was mobilized along ethnic and sub-ethnic line against migrant settlers who were displaced either by natural occurrence, war, artificial boundary, lack of resources which continue to generate conflict due to the discrimination against the immigrants by the original settlers. (Osaghae and Suberu: 2005). For example Modakeke migration to Oyo due to the internecine wars in Yoruba land crisis, Urhobo and Ijaw into Warri where the Itsekiri people claimed to have been the original settler; the migration of the Jukun-Chamba from Cameroun to the present day Taraba state, originally settled by the Kuteb and the settlement of Hausa merchants in Zangon-Kataf within a territory occupied by the Kataf (Isomounah 2003, Mustapha: 2000). While it is imperative to identify these conflict, it can be argued that colonialism was the cradle of ethnicity in Nigeria (Nnoli 1978), and a key factor in the crystallization of contemporary identities. (Osaghae and Suberu: 2005)

The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 was basically for the economic interest of the British rather than a deliberate attempt at integration of identities. This has generated blame on colonialist as been responsible for the woes of the country. Although Ekanola (2006) buttressed this opinion when claimed that colonialist imperialist objectives were only committed to their economic interest with no responsibility to develop new nation-states in Africa and but that the Nigeria leaders who gained power after independence had an opportunity to promote the integration of the diverse ethnic groups. Whether colonialist are to be blamed for identity problems in Nigeria or not the truth however is that the amalgamation of Nigeria promoted modern economic opportunities in emerging colonial centre (Osaghae and Suberu 2005) leading to the influx of people from the Yoruba and Igbo into northern cities such as Kano, Jos, Kaduna and Zaria and also people from the North to the southern cities like Lagos and Ibadan. The British reaction was to prevent inter-ethnic tension by creating a culturally artificial political entity called "Strangers Quarters" or "Sabon-Gari" for preventing non-Muslims immigrants from interacting with Muslims in the North. Similarly

the same policy also applied to Muslim from interacting with Christians in the South. The sense in this is to prevent the destabilizing effect of the cultural incursion of other identities. Coleman (1958) characterizes this new artificial colonial construction as “aggregation of tribal unions” where these associations provided members of their ethnic group with social security and welfare generally denied them by the colonialists and equipped them to compete with other members of other ethnic group. (Ibeanu: 1999) This eventually allows the ethnic group to coalesce into pan-ethnic national organization such as the Igbo Federation Union (later Igbo state Union), Egbe Omo Oduduwa (organization of the descendant of Oduduwa and the mythical founder of Yoruba race) and the Jamiyyah Mutanen Arewa (Northern People’s Congress). The implication of this transformations and ethnic alienation from one another became one of the strong bases for conflictual identity formation and discriminatory practice as could be seen in the ethno-religious crisis in Kano in 1953 and 1966, Maitatsine religious crisis in 1980, Faggae inter-religious violence in 1982, Behead the Infidel-Allah Akbar conflict in 1994, Jos-Pleateau Carnage in 2001, In support of Afghanistan” the ethno-religious killing in 2001, Sharia crisis in 2000. (Abdu: 2011, Osaghae and Suberu: 2005). In Southern part of Nigeria, the Shagamu reprisal attack in 1999 and myriads of ethno-religious conflict in Lagos, Ibadan and many other places in the southern part of the country.

The ethnic segregation strategy of identity integration of the colonialist was further exacerbated by the establishment of federal structure of three units. That is the North region, West region and East region. The regional structure was constructed to accommodate the identities of the major ethnic formation, Hausa-Fulani, (North) Yoruba (West) and Ibo (East) without adequately capturing the ethnic minority components in the major ethnic group. According to Otite (1990) there are 374 ethnic diversities in Nigeria. The majority ethnic is the three largest groups mentioned above and they comprises of 78percent of the entire population. (Paden 2008) All other ethnic groups fit into the minority category with varying degree of political status depending on their numerical size and political influence. (Okpanachi; 2010). The establishment of the federal structure led to the incessant minority agitation for their own autonomy and the growing feelings of nationalism among these groups. Since the federal structure does not ensure the protection and security of the minority interest, their agitation became deepened. According to Osaghae and Suberu (2005:16) the federal arrangement encouraged an enormous degree of ethno-regional polarization as the imbalances tripartite ethno-regional structure even with the creation of Mid-Western state) inexorably collapsed into bipolar north-south confrontation.

The post colonial Nigeria had witnessed two contradictory tendencies. The first is the continuation and aggravation as well as proliferation of colonial conflict legacies. The second is the tendency in post colonial Nigeria to manage identity conflict through federalist practice. (Osaghae and Suberu 2005:16) The aggravation of ethnic identity after independence in Nigeria was due to the lopsided federal structure which eventually implicated on the violent ethno-political discontent prevalent during the post-colonial Nigeria. In deed the incessant disenchantment and frustrations of the ethnic minority under the federal structure accounted for the Tiv riot 1962 1964 the secessionist campaign of Isaac Adako Boro and his Ijaw group. Other ethno-regional conflicts were also expressed through the Census crisis of 1963/63, 1964 federal election, sectional military intervention and the counter coup of 1966. Rather than the lopsided structure of the Nigerian federalism to be restructured by addressing the minority question through the creation of sub-federal regional units, the crisis of the federation was deepen with unification decree leading to the attempted secessions of the Biafra republic and the eventual outbreak of 30 month civil war.

The aftermath of the civil war was the relative period of peace and stability for the country in terms of ethnic conflict. The stability was a measure of transformation of the federation into a horizontally balanced union (Osaghae and Suberu 2005). The dissolution of the four region into twelve state and nineteen respectively, the use of oil revenue to douse inter-group resource conflict through ethno-distributive measures, including (provision of infrastructure in the new state

administrative capital and the expansion of the general distributive pool account (DPA) under the revenue allocation system) and innovative statutory mechanism of ethnic conflict accommodation (federal character principle and the interregional distribution requirement for the election of the federal republic) (Ibid: 18). In spite of the measure of stability during this period, it was still mark by semblance of sectional tension as dispute over 1973 and 1975 killing of the head of state was the flash point. However, the relative peace and stability enjoyed during the period was broken by the Maitatsine which claimed lot of lives and the Kafanchan-Kaduna ethno-religious crisis which reawaken the age-long Muslim and non-Muslim tension in the North.

The Nigeria military as a stabilizing force to the manifestation of ethnic-nationalism were able to curtailed and bottle up the aggravated ethno-religious and regional diversities in the country between 1983-1999, suppressing the diverse tendencies and maintain the corporate existence of the country through creation of more states and review in revenue allocation formula as well as the sub-regional creation of the six geographical zone. The military however were not immune from the ethno-nationalist aggravation which has remained a dominant factor in Nigeria politics. (Duruji, 2010:93) The perception of some section of the society is that the military is serving the interest of the Hausa-Fulani major ethnic group since they dominate the military institution of Nigeria exercising hegemony over its major institutional structure of the security apparatus of the state. This has further explode and excercebate contemporary ethnic tension and identity relation in Nigeria.

Democratic Space and Identity Transformations

The emergence of democracy in 1999 no doubt opened up the democratic space for identities expression and transformation which hitherto had been bottled up by the Military and authoritarian regime before 1999 Nigeria. One of the most appealing aspects of democracy as a system of governance is the expendable system of rights that must be guaranteed, even though it brings with it its peculiar sets of problem.(Duruji 2010:98) The peculiar problem becomes more obvious in a multicultural compositional society because while managing identities problem in a multi-ethnic society poses a challenge, the truth however is that democracy offers opportunities for groups to express their feelings and putting their demand across to the state irrespective of their diversities. By this democracy is seen as the instrumentality for addressing monopolization of power by 'single ethnic group' or a 'group of ethnic groups' in the country as well as the restoration of political stability in a multi-ethnic society. The Hausa-Fulani hegemony and the marginalization of other ethnic group during the military era was the issue that dominates the national political discourse prior to 1999. Of the 50 years rule, the military had rule for 29years and the Hausa-Fulani ethnic extraction has, had more benefit from the federal power at the expense of other ethnic groups. The tactical alienation of the Ibo in the federal power on account of their suspicion after the Biafra attempt at secession by the federal government had continue to be a source of agitation on the part of the Ibo major ethnic group. More generally the North-South divide shows a picture of a marginalized south given the control of the political machinery of the state by the North over a long period of time. For instance the annulment of the June 12 1993 election acclaimed to have been won by MKO Abiola believed to be Yoruba's opportunity for the presidency also raises issues on the deliberate scheme of the Hausa-Fulani major ethnic group to held on to power at the expense of other major ethnic group. The event of 1993-94 must be seen in the context of an enduring pattern of ethnic antagonism and inequality where the Hausa-Fulani is perceived as 'other' (Adebanwi 2004:15). Due to the unprecedented agitation against the North and the fallout of the June 12 to the south. Attempt to deliberately allow candidate only from the south without candidate from the North to contest election. This is a negation of democracy which gives equal opportunity for political contestants without restricting anyone. This view goes to argued that democracy is not a panacea for resolving ethnic contestation, for democracy will be undermine in a multi-ethnic society where majority interest are as important as those of the minority interest. The democratic opening therefore provides the platform and space for the resurgence of long-repressed demand for the restructuring of the Nigeria federation on a more equitable basis and calling

to question the domination of the Hausa-Fulani hegemony. The emergence of ethnic militant organization was seen as platform for bringing into the open complaints that were previously mouthed with hushed tones, thanks to the transition to democracy. (Ubani 2006, Jason 2006) The manifestation of insurgencies in the name of ethnic militia such as Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) Arewa People's Congress (APC) (While the first two were keen on the restructuring of the Nigerian federation (based on the outcome of sovereign national conference) to allow for autonomy, self-determination, resource control and social emancipation. (Ibeanu 1999:82, Akinyele 2001:627), the third APC is keen on maintaining the status quo and preventing the marginalization of the North. The impoverish condition due to the neglect and marginalization of the Niger-delta region where the country major resources-oil is been generated has also spiraled minority ethnic militant groupings, such as the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC)-which arose from the Ijaw National Congress), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND)- which arose from the Niger-Delta Volunteer Force (NDPVF)- and the Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC). These militant groups predicated their struggle on resource control and regional political autonomy. The phase of their struggle has however changed with time as their struggle against the Multinational Corporation later change to targeting the state and its national heritage. Apart from the prevalence of ethnic militant, there was also flashpoint of sectarian and communal clashes. Hardly as the democratic government settled down that Ijaw/Itsekiri clashes exploded, Ife/Modakeke, Kaduna and Jos were all evidence of communal and identity clashes in 1999. These crises were further compounded by the Sharia crisis in the North, pitching the Christians against the Muslims and put to test the secularity of the Nigerian state (Obi; 2000). As Obi suggests, Nigerian democratic space is hotly contested terrain, which partly feeds into the interrogation of the hegemonic nation-state project and the escalation of violent conflict across the country.

While some of these ethnic group have been appeased with innovative federal principles such principle of derivation (13percent as in the case of the Niger-delta state, Development Commissions and Amnesty) and power sharing quota system to foster equitable distribution and opportunity among diversities in the country, the government has sustained a long pattern of repression of local resistance demanding for autonomy, by unleashing the might of the state to suppress these ethno-nationalist manifestations. (Obinor and Obayuwana 2006). The incidence of Odi Massacre, Zaki-biam, Onitsha Gbaramutu Nigerian troops raze down the town in a manner not conformities with rule of law, were indicative of the repressive tendencies of ethnic agitation by the state. A unit of the joint task force (JTF) is permanently stationed at oil rich region of the Niger-delta to protect oil installation which has been the target of the militia organization. In Lagos and Onitsha government gave a shoot at sight orders for OPC and MASSOB members because of their notorious activities in Lagos and Onitsha. MASSOB claimed that about 700 of its members were killed as a result of the order, a clear violation of the rights of individuals. (Duruji 2009) Such disposition by the state call to question the extent to which state officials have imbibe rule of law and due process which are critical element of democracy. As if this was sufficient to suppressing ethnic militant activities and tension, restive youth are yet to give up on destroying oil installation. In 2007, the federal government of Nigeria pledge a renew commitment to resolving the Niger-Delta crisis where the militant had not give on their agitations. The government takes a bold step by creating a Niger-delta ministry and in 2009 budgetary allocation of N444, 60:00 billion was allocated for security in the region and a programme for sustained dialogue between the community and the federal government. (Akpan and Ering; 2010) The Amnesty deal was the outcome of this dialogue. While the amnesty deal was fairly successful, the lack of cognizant to the factor that ignited the conflict in the first place as contained in the Ogoni Bill of Right, the Karma declaration and the Memoranda of Oil producing state underscores the continued crisis in the area and the implication for the instability and resurgence of conflicts in other part of the country.

Insurgents or Terrorist Group, Boko Haram and the Travails of National Security in Nigeria

The resurgence of a BOKO HARAM a faceless ethnic militia or a perceive terrorist group(due to the usage of terrorists tactics, strategies and ammunitions) from the Northern part of the country was instructive, given the fact that the North has really not shown the tendencies for any organized ethnic militant group. Although the Maitatsine group in the 1980 whose penchant commitment to religious bigotry and violence-relation to non-Muslims, shows similar tendencies but it differs in terms of strategies and methodology. While the Maitatsine uses dane guns, cutlass bows and arrows as its instrument of violence, the strategic, methodology and tactics adopted by BOKO HARAM makes it more complex to as a terrorist group or ethnic sectarian, due to its claim to be fighting for the imposition of Sharia penal code under the Islamic religion. As it were the group causes wanton level of destruction of life and properties in the several part of the country, especially in the Northern part of the country. In its destructive tendencies boko haram had destroyed the Nigerian Police force headquarters in Abuja, several churches and several other police post spread across the Northern part of Nigeria, given rise to serious security concern in the country. In deed there are profound threat that the group is preparing to storm the southwest.

Boko Haram figuratively means, "Western or non-Islamic education is a sin". The boko haram group as an Islamist group seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the northern states of Nigeria (All Africa.com 2011) The group presently has an undefined structure and chain of command. The official name of the group is *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad*, which in Arabic means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad. (BBC News 2011) Boko Haram was founded in 2002 since in Maiduguri by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf. In 2004 the group move to Kanamma in Yobe State where it set out a base called "Afghanistan" use in attacking police post and killing police officer. (Vanguard Wednesday June 22, 2011). The membership of the groups is fractions of the almajiris-street kids and unidentified group from neighbouring Chad. Contrary to claims and the group condemnation of western education, some of the group members were educated. In 2009, the group clash with the Nigerian security leading to the death of about 700 people (ibid). The leader of the group Yusuf Mohammed was apprehended and handed to the Nigerian Police but was summarily executed after he was interrogated on the group philosophy method, backers and memberships. Similarly, his father in-law and the former commissioner in the state were also killed in a controversial manner without due process. Up till today no report came out in respect to the extra-judicial killings. This explains the continue demand of the group, for the release of the report of the execution of its members.

In the group countervailing reactions against the state it had targeted and bombed the national headquarter of the Nigerian Police force in Abuja, Maiduguri office of the Independent National Electoral Commission was bombed, and several people were shot in a separate incident, Boko Haram was also allege for a series of bombings in northern Nigeria on May 29, 2011 that left 15 people dead. (UPI May 30 2011) On June 26, 2011, the sect carried out a bombing attack on a beer garden in Maiduguri, militants on motorcycles threw explosives into the drinking spot, killing about 25 people (Reuters 26th June 2011) On August 26, the UN headquarters in Abuja was blown up by a suicide car bomber, leaving at least 18 dead and dozens more injured and Boko Haram had claimed responsibility. As it were not more than 1500 people have been reported dead in the attack masterminded by the group since 2009. The Human Right Watch estimated that about 2000 person's have died in BOKO HARAM related violence since 2006.

The terrorist strategies through targeting of innocent citizens had made it to be linked to international terrorist network whose aim is to use religion to address what is perceived to be marginalization and injustice. The metamorphosis of the group to guerrilla organization with ethno-religious tendencies further underscores the complex nature of the group, posing the question whether BOKO HARAM is a "terrorist group or ethnic identity". Although Madunagu had christened it "Nigerian terrorism" (The Guardian, Thursday July 14 2011) the truth is that BOKO HARAM

connection to terrorist network is yet to be fully established. While there had been connections to the Al-Qaeda network, such connections had not been fully founded. However, it is a truism to say that BOKO HARAM only reformulated and exploited the perennial ethno-religious tendencies which have been a problem in the country since the re-insurance of democracy in Nigeria for pressing home its objectives. Apart from BOKO HARAM being an anti-western education group, the core of their agitation is premised on the institutionalization of Sharia which they see as antithetical to western ideologies and that Sharia legal code represents a unique contribution to the history of ideas. It is the only lasting solution to the spiritual, political economic and social problems that beset the people' and perhaps the panacea for the misrule and poor governance which has characterized the country (Daily Independent 16, May 2007)

The Nigerian governments have failed in engendering the utilitarian essence of the state with the high expectation that accompanying democracy in 1999. This has given rise to the thesis of frustrations which is manifesting in ethno-religious transformation. The very idea of a Nigerian state had been challenged, and it was seen as part of the North-South divide in which the North is often described as 'Muslims' was pitted against the South described as 'Christians'. As post-colonial state Nigeria has fanned and fuelled the embers of divisive identities of differences to the extent that even those marginally identifying with certain group feel serious threat in supporting the symbolic groups that represent them, because of distrust and the multifaceted nature of identity itself. The trajectories of the defiance against Nigerian state had been manifesting in the North since the radical attempt to change the face of Nigeria by violent means. The 1945 Jos massacre and the 1953 Kano riots targeted at the southerner were early precursor, including the recent post 2011 election killings in major state in the Northern Nigeria.

The North anti-Nigeria defiance by the BOKO HARAM had been argued as reflection of the North's disenchantment with what it see as the increasing loss of power which under the military had been casted under their image. (Vanguard Wednesday June 22 2011 pg 47) As Gani Adams argued 'the struggle of BOKO HARAM is politically motivated for ethnic advantage' "the problem really is that they have calculated that power may not return to the North in the next 12 years" (Daily Sun, Wednesday July; 27, 2011) The reaction of the North therefore is the central principle held by political leadership from the North, that Nigeria must be governed by the Islamic doctrine rooted in the context of the Sharia question. BOKO HARAM agitation had been portrayed as religious hostility between Christian and Muslims from the North and south, however this is a surface manifestation of a much deeper cleavages of identities transformation in the quest to confront the state in a countervailing force in the course of imposing a new power relation and advance the interest of their ethnic groups. The group is a part of the avalanche of ethno-religious nationalism since 1999 whose challenge for the democratic administration had become huge.

Nigeria national security faces a serious challenge and it is the internal division which is fatal to Nigeria survival. With the growing and exacerbation of ethno-religious expression, Nigerians national security is in serious dilemma and the security concern is heighten as the magnitudes of these manifestations had been overwhelming and continues to challenge the stability of the state. Throughout the country, the Nigerian state is grappling to contain the manifestation of these identities, the truth however is that government finds it extremely difficult to contain some of these groups because of their relationship with the state and the counter reactionary strategies being adopted by the state. It is the effective management of ethno-religious identities that are central to the strengthening of democracy and national security in Nigeria. The stability of the country is a fundamental ground norm to the well being and continued existence of the country. While Nigerian national security is under security threat by the intensity of violence orchestrated by ethnic militia in the country on the basis of transformed identities, the truth however is that such violence and transformations is having unprecedented implication for the stability and disintegration of the country. In the context of a perceive disintegration, the American intelligence report had warned that Nigeria might disintegrate

2015. (Daily Champion August 2, 2005). This intelligence report is becoming real than imagine as the current manifestation of insecurity in Nigeria is giving credence to such prophecy. While cognizant is to be given to the American intelligence report, it is also important to interrogate the basis upon which the American report is based? Again why is American interested in Nigeria? What are the indicators use to determine that Nigeria will disintegrate in 2015?. It is possible for such report to be based on fictitious findings and propaganda which does not represent the real security situation in Nigeria or a representation of America perceives interest. Nevertheless, the security situation in Nigeria is worrisome and deserves special attention if the country is not to disintegrate in the future.

Conclusion

The notion that democratization processes open the space for individual rights and disregarded group expression was not suitable for the African context where group rights are emphasized (Ake 2000, Jinadu 2004). Democracy does not have the capacity for addressing identity problem. It has failed to reduce ethnic agitation and tension as the re-resurgence of ethnic militia has now taken a new dimension in the quest for power control since the re-insurance of democracy in the country. Democracy has further exacerbate the transformation of identities, while several institutional response of innovative federalist arrangement had been initiated the truth however is that identity transformation is yet to abate and Nigeria national security is in serious threat. The resurgences of boko haram and other related groups manifests in the struggle to impose new power relations and advance the interest of their ethnic groups among others in relation to their countervailing reactions against the state are the manifestation of the democratization of the political space in Nigeria. Nigeria national security is therefore in serious dilemma and the security concern expressed by US on the disintegration of Nigeria is becoming a reality, as ethnic tension between diverse identities in Nigeria are pointing towards the fragmentation of the country. The fear is becoming rife and the national security is in critical stress and strain. More worrisome and instructive is the engagement of American CIA, Israeli Mossad and other western agencies in Nigeria's quest for internal security. This only depicts the inefficiency and ineffectiveness and vulnerability on the part of the Nigerian security operatives. According to Kumolu; "we don't have government that will protect us, it is only God that will save us because Nigeria is a permanent failure". (Vanguard Wednesday June 22 2011 pg 47)

It is therefore suggested that a consociational power arrangement would reduce social division and partisan confrontation which is capable of undermining national security in Nigeria. The consociational arrangement should be one framed within the context of sovereign national conference where different diversities convocates to draw a workable solution through consociational measures. There have been some measure of consociationalism under the Nigerian federation, but it has really not been effective, because it was not coughed within the context of a national political debate. The latest attempt made in this direction in 2003 (the national political debate) was scuttled by a personalist third term agenda being nurtured by the past president Olusegun Obasanjo. Consociationalism guaranteed group representation, and is often suggested for managing conflict in deeply divided societies.(Brendan 2005) It is often viewed as synonymous with power-sharing, although it is technically only one form of power-sharing, but the goals of consociationalism would bring about governmental stability, the survival of the power-sharing arrangements, the survival of democracy, and the avoidance of violence through consultation among the elites of each of its major social groups. By this the elite who constantly manipulate diversities for personal or ethnic gains can be motivated to engage in conflict regulation and display overarching loyalties to the state rather than to their identities since identity relations are cross-cutting and interrelated antagonism can therefore be checked. Therefore it is consociational power strategy that is capable of reducing and resolving Nigeria seemingly intractable ethno-religious and political identities.

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