

Politics, governance and security: Reflections on the Nigerian State

Innocent Ugochukwu Owutu

Department of Political Science/International Relations, Caleb University, Imota Ikorodu, Lagos State, Nigeria

Accepted 4 November, 2013

ABSTRACT

Elements of Nigerian politics are widely recognized as contributing factors to instability and insecurity, which destroy human societies and impede nation building. At the same time, Governance which is the totality of the processes that constitute a government should serve as the organ that calm the nerves of a people facing instability and insecurity. The history of the Nigerian State shows glaringly the failure of these concepts that factor of insecurity to wit: corruption, assassinations and political vices as power rotation, revenue allocation, state creation, religious/ethnic violence reign supreme. The paper analyses these vices as impediment to state building many years after political independence. It equally holds the political class responsible for state failure so far, giving the spate of violence, insecurity and nauseating feelings of the generality of the citizens.

Keywords: Politics, governance, security.

E-mail: iowutu@yahoo.com. Tel: 08034623057, 08055787078.

If civilization should be destroyed and most of mankind killed within the next twenty to thirty years, we shall not be killed by plague or pestilence; we shall be killed by politics. Politics has become, literally, a matter of life and death. Deutsch (1970:4-5)

INTRODUCTION

Almost every issue in the society is politicized. It affects our lives in the fullest extent. Matters that did not involve politics in the past now are seen as political issues. That is why the former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo was quoted as saying concerning the 2007 elections, as "a do-or-die as far as his party, the PDP was concerned. It turned out exactly that; and the result has been a rash of judicial challenges to the mis-begotten polls (Tinubu, 2009)."

As stated above by Karl W. Deutsch, a renowned political scientist in America, that man will be killed by politics (Deutsch, 1970). He is rather saying the obvious because politics has killed so many Nigerians since independence and still counting. In Nigeria, issue of politics are widely recognized as contributing factor to instability and insecurity, namely, politics of power rotation, electoral politics/violence, revenue allocation, politics of state creation, federal character, political

corruption, ethnic/ religious politics and so on.

The nature of governance in Nigeria makes instability and insecurity possible. According to Gani Fawehinmi, "I must hasten to add that the fact that there is government does not mean that there is good governance" (Fawehinmi, 2007).

Attributes of good governance which this paper will espouse are quite novel and will address forms of insecurity. Therefore, "the structure, functions, purposes, powers and duties of governments must serve the interest and satisfy the aspirations of the people who must freely agree to the fundamental law of the country." (Fawehinmi, 2007)

CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Politics was derived from Greek word 'polis' meaning city-

state. It was first used by Aristotle (384 – 322 BC) in his book *POLITICS*, referring to the affairs of Greek city state, asserting that man by nature is a political animal. In other words, “the essence of social existence is politics and that two or more men interacting with one another are invariably involved in a political relationship (Ologbenla, 1998).” It is against this background that Harold Lasswell defined politics as “who gets what, when and how, the study of power or the study of influence and the influential (Ologbenla, 1998; Lasswell, 1951).”

Politics is about decision making, about public actions or goods, which concerns government as regards the direction and self-direction of large communities of people such as Nigeria. Therefore, any community larger than the family contains an element of politics. As Deutsch pointed out, that:

Political decisions also influence the quality of life, its security or insecurity, its ugliness or beauty and other political decisions determine the relations of countries with each other, and thus the likelihood of peace or war (Deutsch, 1970:4).

It is on the decisional aspect of politics that makes a man to choose to assassinate another to get to a political position in Nigeria thereby justifying the assertion that “politics is a dirty game” (Abia, 2002).

Governance is the totality of the processes of constituting a government as well as of administering political community. It is the umbilical cord that links the governor and the governed. Government means “the government of the federation, or any state, or of a local government council or any person who exercises power or authority on its behalf. (Fawehinmi, 2007).

Good governance guarantees security where the structure, functions, purposes, powers and duties of government must serve the interest and satisfy the aspirations of the people. Society tend to be well secured when government in power evolve and sustain economic policies and programmes capable of preventing crises and conflicts.

Security, they say, is everybody’s business; the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of core values and the absence of threats to acquire values. For David Francis, security is about the survival and conditions of human existence, about peace, development, justice, whose absence create the condition for conflict and insecurity (Francis, 2006).

It is a direct threat to humans as a result of physical and psychological abuses inflicted upon non-combatant individuals, including children, the aged and women in the environment of armed conflicts. The condition above, Bassey Ate confirmed is characterized by forced exodus of populations, creating refugee flows, genocide, rape of women, ethnic cleansing, organized killing of the unarmed, child soldiering, anti-personal mining of farmlands (Ate, 2001).

METHODOLOGY

This paper intends to conceptualize politics, governance and security. It will devote enough time analyzing different components of politics such as ethnic politics, power rotation, religious politics etc, that have been impeding state building in Nigeria. Equally, hindrances to good governance and over all implications to state security shall make up the study. Indeed, the study adopted content analysis in historical perspective as secondary source materials made major impute.

This methodology involves analysis, evaluation and interpretation of written materials from several authors which assisted to validate the statement of the problem, findings for generalization and corroboration. It took into consideration the objective of the study, review of literature related to the three major components of politics, governance and security. Lastly, the research considered the vacuum it tend to fill in the problem area by pre-testing and comparatively analyzing the secondary materials to ascertain the trend of information contained therein for validity and reliability.

Having conceptualized the study and profiled the methodology in the preceding sections, the paper will now situate the study especially the different dimensions of politics, that is, issues that constitute insecurity in Nigeria, beginning with ethnic politics.

ETHNIC POLITICS

Ethnic politics is one of the divisive factors causing insecurity in Nigeria which can well be located in the early activities of the Nigerian Youth Movement of 1936. According to Nnoli:

In spite of its good intentions, however, the NYM could not escape the inevitable consequences of the inexorable power of ethnic clannishness generated by the activities of the ethnic unions and their fundamental underlying basis...It (NYM) became the first major political casualty of interethnic hostility and strife...set(ting) the stage for events which propelled the country irretrievably into the politicization of ethnicity (Nnoli, 1978).

Equally, constitutional development in Nigeria, in another way, created the condition for separateness and ethnic division. If one should bring in the 1946 constitution of Sir Arthur Richards to buttress a point. The new constitutional proposals then, which according to the publisher, “were designed to promote the unity of Nigeria, to provide adequately within that unity for the diverse elements which make up the country.” (Olusanya, 1980) Also the regional elections of 1951 revealed the divisions which were to continue to plague all attempts at political unity of Nigeria despite its federal principles. Consequently, she entered upon her era of independence

with a constitution unsuitable for a country with such diverse group of peoples who had not yet attained full national unity (Owutu, 2011a).

Supporting the above point, Bala Takaya submitted that:

The ensuing patchwork constitutional conference of London and Lagos only resulted in formalizing Nigeria's polarization through the 1954 constitution in which the regions became not only autonomous but even stronger than the centre, with the apparent consequence of bitter competition for supremacy, mutual suspicion and inter-regional tensions and conflicts (Takaya, 1996).

It will be good to add here that the trends in ethnic politics of Nigeria are available in many literature and need not delay us here. It is the understanding in political quarters that the British tutored the northern elites about the leadership of Nigeria which by share number have fallen to them. This, nonetheless, aided the evolution of political tension, ethnic sentiments and suspicion across the political divide.

Ethnic conflicts are caused by historical legacy of mistrust between ethnic rival groups, even biblically speaking. This mistrust and hatred are not genetically transmitted but visibly part of immediate reality occasioned by myth, socialization and education. Indigeneship and settlers division, as Dipo Akowonjo described it, remain the most significant cause of ethnic violence. This is an entrenched division between people considered 'indigenous' to an area, and those regarded as 'settlers'. Settlers are consistently discriminated against in the predominantly Christian Plateau State. Their rival, the Hausa Fulani Muslim nomads complained that the Christian farmers steal their cattle. One also notices that there are indigenous Muslim ethnic groups who fiercely opposed the perceived expansionist tendencies of the Hausa Fulani (Akowonjo, 2011).

POLITICS OF POLITICAL POWER

Political power struggle in Nigeria remains a matter of life and death, ultimately the reverse in advanced democracies. Here, the struggle is either between political parties or between ethnic groups fighting for the position of the presidency. As Nnoli observed:

By 1953 the major political parties in the country, the NCNC, AG and NPC had become associated with the three major regions of the country, Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, and the three regions of the country, East, West and North respectively (Nnoli, 1978).

The political parties history in Nigeria are abound in many

reading materials which show the trends and implications for the society. But the most worrisome is the importance attached to the office of the President of Nigeria. One has noticed that the struggle, which seemed deadly, has affected more ethnic groups than the former regional groupings of the first Republic. More worrisome, which lately suggests 'gentleman agreement', is rotational presidency since the return of democratic governance in 1999. Incidentally, a victory by any of the present registered parties in a federal election was seen as victory for one ethnic group over the others.

This gentleman agreement 'willed' the presidency to the north after the eight years tenure of President Olusegun Obasanjo from the Yoruba South. As the late President Umaru Yar'adua took over the mantle of leadership and was suffering health complications, it created the 4th Republic constitutional crisis. Elsewhere, the constitutional crisis of the present national government has in the main elements that have hampered Nigeria's progress over time (Owutu, 2011b).

Giving the health condition of the late president, the Nigerian senate passed a resolution asking the then Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian from the oil rich South region to start acting as President. Then, Nigeria was mired in a political logjam that tend to threaten its fragile, nascent democracy unless the government addresses the power vacuum created by the absence of President Umaru Yar'adua and its nagging effect on governance (Oriyomi, 2010). At the heat of the crisis was the President's refusal to delegate power to his deputy.

The political tension generated by the constitutional crisis forced the National Assembly to invoke the 'Doctrine of Necessity' to pass a resolution mandating the Vice President Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to move up as an Acting President. The contentious position of the presidency created feelings in the South that the country is being held hostage by the North, somewhat a resurgence of the long standing suspicion that has dogged the relationship between the two regions since independence. But with the senate resolution, power is back in the South and 'the Northerners are really hurt', submitted Oriyomi (Oriyomi, 2010). This paper advocates that it does not matter where the president of Nigeria comes from, in so far as the dividend of democracy is felt by everyone.

RELIGIOUS POLITICS

Where did this country get it wrong that religious issues are now so contentious as to breed insecurity? Religion with its moral principle and values are expected to direct societies and the lives of its adherents. Christianity and Islam, two adopted alien faiths in Nigeria, have from their entry into this society made social welfare services and educational development an important component of their

activities. What is worrisome is the violence associated with this “proselytizing religions”. (Akinola, 2010) Violence started from the Maitatsine uprising of the 1980s to Boko Haram of today. It is associated with religious beliefs, which is almost bringing government to her knees (Owutu, 2012).

Religion relate to issues and workings of the supernatural or a system of beliefs and practice, by which a group of people interpret and respond to what they feel is supernatural and sacred (Gofwen, 2004). It is the interaction between it (religion) and society which affects social behaviour and influences other institutions of society, not letting some people hide under it to wreck havoc to the society.

Historically speaking, religious conflicts never blew up during the colonial era with their (Christianity and Islam) ideological hold remaining dominant and exclusive in their respective regions. It was cool as well during post-colonial times, when regional political parties tend to plead on the sensibility of religion in their political struggle for power.

However, the return of civilian democracy, religion became politicized especially the Sharia law as several states in northern Nigeria introduced or announced plans to extend the application of it to criminal offences as they have predominant Muslim populations. Despite assurances that the application of Sharia will be restricted to Muslim Nigerians, due process issues and the nature of some punishments imposed by Sharia, notably amputation and flogging, mean that the many thousands of Christians living in the north are deeply concerned that Sharia law and punishments will be applied to them also.

In the year 2000, Constitutional Rights Project (CRP) organized a seminar with the title “the place of women under Sharia”. Justice Ambali, in a paper opined that people are asking a lot of questions among the adherents of Islam and the followers of other faiths especially Christianity, ‘what is this Sharia? Why Sharia? What is it out to achieve? What problems is the agitation capable to cause?’ etc (Ambali, 2000).

One disturbing effect of this religious issue is high number of people killed especially today’s Boko Haram Islamic sect. Islam laid down a universal fundamental rights for humanity which are to be observed and respected under all circumstances whether such a person is resident within the territory of the Islamic state or outside it, whether he is at peace with the state or at war:

Human blood is sacred in any case and cannot be spilled without justification. It is not permissible to oppress women, children, old people, the sick or the wounded. Women’s honour and chastity are to be respected under all circumstances. The hungry person must be fed, the naked clothed, and the wounded or diseased treated medically irrespective of whether they belong to the Islamic

community or are from amongst its enemies (Mawdudi, 1976).

Recent demands of Boko Haram that Nigeria be made an Islamic state have been seen as against the secularization status of Nigeria backed by the constitution. It is also absurd for Boko Haram to demand that Christians leave their abode in northern Nigeria. Due to this they have been bombing churches in outright disregard of universal fundamental rights laid down by Islam, thus:

The life, property and honour of a “dhimmi” (non-Muslim citizens) is to be respected and protected exactly like that of a Muslim citizen. There is no difference at all between a Muslim and a non-Muslim citizen in respect of the civil or criminal law. The Islamic state shall not interfere with the personal rights of the non-Muslims citizen in respect of the civil or criminal law. The Islamic state shall not interfere with the personal rights of non-Muslims. They will have full freedom of conscience and belief and will be at liberty to perform their religious rites and ceremonies in their own way. Not only can they propagate their religion but they are entitled even to criticize Islam within the limits laid down by law and decency... (Mawdudi, 1976:11).

GOVERNANCE

The activities of the Nigerian state as captured by all the political ‘jigsaw’ evidenced above concerns government and good governance. As pointed out by a scholar, good governance guarantees security, and before a country can talk about development and good governance, certain basic infrastructure must be put in place such as energy (electricity), good road, qualitative education, well-fed citizenry and developing a healthy agricultural sectors (Danjibo, 2012). Governance, as I have argued elsewhere, means an act or manner of governing, it is the activity of the political organ responsible for the day-to-day running of a society. Government is synonymous with governance; government is synonymous with sovereign (Owutu, 2012b).

Power is synonymous with government because it is a local concept in government and politics of a state. It is one of a number of values, which men seek, and in many instances, it is sought only as an instrument for realizing some other more valued goals. Power is the probability which an actor have in a social context to carry out his own will, an ability to make others do what they would not have done left alone (Abia, 2002). In the context of this exposition of power, the Nigeria state becomes a contest of winner takes all, given the politicization of almost every issue that exists.

Governance is broader than the concept of government even though they have the same etymological roots. Government and governance are derived from the word 'to govern'. Government is a group of people who govern a country, or the action, manner or system of government. The concept of governance usually carries the adjective 'good'. This qualification is so because history has shown that the end as well as the means of attaining that end is not generally shared or understood in the same manner by all and sundry. As large as Nigeria, not every one has the same frame of mind or action, as to what is the purpose of the state and its direction. That is why everyone is scrambling to get his share and display of culture of impunity ever seen in the history of political cultures (Abia, 2002; Babatunde; 2011; Deutsch, 1970; Obasa and Achugbue, 2004).

What is good governance to the proverbial man on the street? For the late legal luminary Gani Fawehinmi (SAN), good governance means that the affairs of state are conducted in such a manner as to give happiness and security to the people which is a constitutional requirement. According to him, there can be no welfare where:

- (a) the man in the street cannot find employment.
- (b) the man in the street cannot have access to good education.
- (c) the man in the street cannot be housed.
- (d) the man in the street is denied good infrastructures (rail, road, waterway, etc for his business and other needs).
- (e) the man in the street is denied good health delivery system.
- (f) the man in the street is thrown into darkness and there is no power for his business and other needs.
- (g) the man in the street does not enjoy National Minimum living wage and when he is out of employment, the man in the street cannot have employment benefits.
- (h) the man in the street when he is weak as a result of old age, he cannot get old age care.
- (i) the man in the street is not allowed to determine who should govern him and make those in governance accountable to him.
- (j) the man in the street is inhibited by no locus standi in a court of law to question the corruption of the government or to question the other acts of misgovernance.
- (k) the man in the street wants stability in the prices of petroleum products.
- (l) the man in the street is not safe even in the street. (Fawehinmi, 2007)

However, it is pertinent to state that this proverbial man in the street, who has failed to enjoy the dividend of democratic governance has certain inhibitors responsible for his fate in society. They have been identified as three fundamental inhibitors of good governance and rule of law in Nigeria.

- a. Corruption in government and the immunity of its chief executives
- b. Structural defects in our system of dispensation of justice
- c. the undemocratic structure of the institutions which conduct elections at the centre and in the states. (Fawehinmi, 2007)

SECURITY CHALLENGES OF NIGERIAN STATE

Of many challenges facing the Nigerian state, the quest for security is undoubtedly the most pressing. Many states in the society are hard hit in this vicious circle of orgy of violence with its attendant consequences. Some security challenges of the Nigerian state include armed robbery, political assassination, kidnapping, cross-border crimes, small arms and light weapons proliferation, communal violence, Boko Haram terrorism etc. Security is about the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquire values. It is about survival and the condition of human existence. Violence is a universal phenomenon sometimes employed by people to express their grievances. In Nigeria, both politicians and citizens have had to resort to violence in certain situations to vent their frustrations. This situation in Nigerian politics poses some interesting questions for political inquiry. That is, from what sources and by what processes it arose and how it affects the political order (Fawehinmi, 2007).

Armed robbery

This is basically theft through the use of violence or threat of violence. Perpetrators are usually armed and frequently dangerous. This threat has been with us over time, causing untold hardship and lost of lives. Indulgent into robbery remain the fallout of decadent society where many youths cannot be gainfully employed while the elite lives in affluence (Akinade, 2007).

Political assassinations

This has taken a worrisome dimension since the return to democratic governance in 1999. The belief that politics remains the surest way to wealth and fame, citizens stake their lives and resources to it. That is why, politicians hire assassins to eliminate perceived political opponents. According to Abia "assassination means murder by treacherous means...physical, non-justifiable liquidation of a human being" (Abia, 2002). It is worthwhile to mention some of those who are recorded victims, Chief Bola Ige, Mr. Odunayo Olagbaju, Osun State House of Assembly; Chief Marshall Harry (ANPP)

South; Chief Aminasoari Dikibo (PDP) Rivers; Barr. Barnabas Igwe and his wife Abigail (Anambra State); Mr. Alabi Olajoku (ACN) Osun State; Mr. Funso Williams (PDP) Lagos; Dr. Ayodeji Daramola (PDP) Ekiti; (Akinade, 2009) and so many others too numerous to include here.

Kidnapping/hostage taking

Recently, in Nigeria, especially in South-Eastern part, the spate of kidnapping or hostage taking and related criminal acts was on the increase day-by-day. This aspect of insecurity has been blamed on political elites who armed youths and dump them after elections. Curious enough, "the incidences of kidnapping, hostage taking for ransom, armed robbery, sexual violence and complicity of security operatives among others are common in Aba and environs" (Mejabi, 2012). Other parts of the country witnessed one incident or the other resulting in lose of lives and parting of huge sums of money.

Small arms and light weapons

Small arms and light weapons (SALWs) proliferates everywhere and the effects are too numerous. For instance the war in Liberia and by extension Sierra Leone which are connected with the wider politics of the region remains the cause. The proliferations of SALWs are attributed to protracted conflict in these countries over the years. These arms became readily available for cross border bandits, criminals, political tugs etc, who misuse them and thereby increase threats to national unity and security. Col. Shobo Nojeem opined:

Besides being a direct cause of death and mutilation, the effects of small arms are far reaching when consideration is given to its economic costs, social upheavals, resource allocation away from human needs, undermining of the legitimacy of the state in Africa (Nojeem, 2009).

Communal/religious conflicts

Communal/religious conflicts are numerous in different parts of the country. One of the main causes of this problem is mostly the struggle between rival ethnic or religious groups seeking to maintain or gain control of resources available in a particular part of the country. Often, when one group gains access to power, it uses state institutions to distribute economic and political benefits preferentially to their ethnic brethren. In Jos Nigeria, indigenship and settlers divisions are rife and the most common cause of communal violence. There is an

entrenched division between people considered indigenous to an area, and those regarded as 'settlers' (Akowonjo, 2011:8). The government's attempts to resolve the conflict have never worked given the spate of killings and reprisal killings. It has claimed the lives of a senator, the majority leader in the Plateau State House of Assembly and scores of others in 2012.

Boko Haram terrorism or insurgency

Boko Haram terrorism or insurgency has become increasingly worrisome as the orgy of violence and blood letting stir us in the face making government seem helpless. Terrorism has no universally accepted definition. It relies heavily on who is defining the act and on what purpose. But it is any attack or threat of attack, against unarmed targets intended to influence, change or divert major political decision (Mejabi, 2012). It was in July 2009, when security agents battled members of this sect for six days, for allegedly attacking a police station in Bauchi State metropolis. The group also unleashed violence on the public in Maiduguri, Kano and Potiskum. Other parts of the country have been affected e.g Police Headquarters Abuja, United Nations office Abuja, Christmas bombings in Madalla Niger State, several churches in Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Taraba, Gombe, Bauchi States have been hit (Owutu, 2012).

We are all aware of the fall out of these bombings on the security leadership of this country as the National Security Adviser General Owoye Azazi (rtd) and the Minister of Defence, Alhaji Mohammed Bello were sacked.

CONCLUSION

There is clear correlation between the quality of governance Nigerians get and the degree of violent conflicts the country encounters. Lack of confidence in politics of the country, the politicization of almost every issue, state officials corrupt enrichment, epileptic or weak institutions etc make people resort to self help strategies to cater for themselves. The consequences remain insecurity mated to both the haves and the have-nots.

Issues raised in this paper are very glaring. Therefore, state building or lack of it, the leadership should be held responsible for instability, insecurity, corruption, assassination and all manner of violence. This is because an average Nigerian provides almost everything he needs for survival in the midst of plenty. Not until politics is played, the usual way that guarantees good governance and every one sleeps with his two eyes closed, we may be heading for a precipice.

REFERENCES

Abia, V. E. B. (2002). Understanding Nigerian Government and Politics.

- Lagos: Concept Publications, p 28.
- Abul A'la Mawdudi (1976). *Human Rights in Islam*. London: Islamic Foundation, p.10.
- Akinade, A. (2007). *Handbook on Corporate and Industrial Security in Nigeria*. Lagos: Mukugamu & Brothers ent. p. 917.
- Akinade, A. (2009). *Legal and Security Control Models for Curbing Political Violence in Democratic Society*. In Salawu R. I., pp.86-87.
- Akinola, G. A. (2010). *Ambiguous Relevance of Nigerian's Adopted Alien Religions*. Paper presented at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, p.1.
- Akwoonjo, D. (2011). *Ethno-Religious Conflict and National Security in Nigeria*. Paper presented at the 6th Annual Security Conference, Institute of Security, Nigeria, University of Lagos, p. 8
- Ambali, M. A. (2000). *The Right of Women under the Islamic Law*. In Constitutional Rights Project, *The Place of Women Under Sharia*, Lagos: p.32
- Ate, B. (2001). Introduction. In Akindele and Ate (eds) *Beyond Conflict Resolution: Managing African Conflict in the 21st century*. NIIA Lagos: Vintage Publishers, p. ix
- Babatunde, A. (2011). *Governance, Election Violence and Nigeria's National Security*. In I. O. Albert, pp.117-118.
- Danjibo, N. D. (2012). *Democracy and Development: Evaluating Nigeria Social Indicators, 1999-2010*. In Albert, I. O. (etal) (eds), *Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria*. Abuja: Society for Peace Studies and Practice, John Achers Publisher, p 60.
- Deutsch, K. W. (1970). *Politics and Government: How People Decide their Fate*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company pp. 4-5
- Fawehinmi, G. (2007). *Creating a Sane Society: Imperatives of Good Government and Rule of Law*. Speech at the Annual Luncheon/Mid Year meeting of the Board of Fellows of the Pharmaceutical Society of Nigeria, Sheraton Hotel Lagos, p:3.
- Francis D. (2006). *Peace and Conflict studies: An African Overview of basic concepts*. In Best, S. G., (ed) *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Ltd, pp 22-23.
- Gofwen, R. I. (2004). *Religious Conflict in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building: The throes of two decades, 1980-2000*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor, p.32.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1951). *Politics; Who Gets What, When and How*. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.
- Mejabi, H. O. (2012). *Domestic Terrorism in the Niger Delta: A Case Study of Hostage Taking and Kidnapping in Abia State, Nigeria*. I. O. Albert et al. (eds), *Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria*, pp. 282-288.
- Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Enugu: Four Dimensions Publishers, p. 142.
- Nojeem, S. (2009). *Effects of Small Arms and Light Weapons*. In NIIS Newsletter. Lagos: Nigeria Institute for Industrial Security, v.2 pp. 6-7.
- Obasa O. S., and Achugbue P. E. (2004). *The substance of Citizens and the State*. Lagos: Promocomms Ltd pp.199-201
- Ologbenla, D. K. (1998). *Introduction to Political Science*. Lagos: Olucity Press, p.1
- Olusanya, G. O. (1980). *Constitutional Developments in Nigeria 1861-1960*. In Obaro Ikime (ed), *Groundwork of Nigeria History*. Ibadan: Heinemann, pp. 524-525.
- Oriyomi, R. (2010). *Nigeria's Constitutional Crises: The President's Absence and Political Turmoil*. www.islamonline.net p.i
- Owutu I. U. (2012b). *Industrial and Corporate Security, Governance and Societal Peace*. Paper presented at Anambra State University Conference on Security and National Development, Igbariam Campus p. 12.
- Owutu, I. U. (2011b). *Dictates of Globalization and management of Regional Conflicts and Security in Africa*. In Victor Ukaogo (ed) *Dilemma of a Bat: Contending with the challenges of Globalization in Africa*, (forthcoming).
- Owutu, I. U. (2011a). *Fourth Republic Constitutional Crises and the Manifestation of Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*. Lagos, NIIA *Nigeria Forum* Vol. 32 Nos 7 x 8 (fourth coming).
- Owutu, I. U. (2012). *Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the search for Elusive Peace and Security in Nigeria*. Paper presented at Samuel Adegboyega University, Ogwa Edo State, Department of History and Diplomatic Studies Conference, June, 2012, p.7
- Owutu, I. U. (2012). *Security and Safety in Railway Environment: Reflections on Boko Haram Insurgency*. Paper presented at Railway Compound Zaria, Security Awareness, Kaduna State, pp.1-8.
- Takaya, B. J. (1996). *The Structure of Conflict in Nigerian Federalism*. In J. Isawa Elaigwu and R. A. Akindele (eds), *Foundations Nigeria Federalism: 1960-1995*, Abuja: National Federalism: 1960-1995, Abuja: National Council on Intergovernmental Relations p. 73
- Tinubu, B. A. (2009). *Best Practices for ensuring Peaceful Elections in a Democratic Society*. In R.I Salawu, etal (eds), *Curbing Political Violence in Nigeria: The Role of Security Profession*, Institute of Security, Nigeria, Mukagamu and Brothers Ent. p.110.