

# Democracy, Terrorism and the Paradox of Insecurity Vortex in Nigeria

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## Abstract

This study examines security challenges in Nigeria and its growing effects in the nascent democracy. The cardinal objective of this study is to juxtapose the interconnectivity between Democracy, Terrorism and the insecurity vortex in Nigeria. Using a dynamic generalized method of moments panel data analysis, the study finds that political instability arising from the absence of an enviable political culture, religious intolerance and fanaticism, bad governance, ethnic rivalry, uneven distribution of development projects and amenities, abuse and misuse of power, unemployment and concentration of wealth in the hands of a disproportionate lazy few are some of the factors that threaten security in Nigeria. The study concludes that without viable alternative options for checkmating the activities of terrorists in the country, it is unlikely that democracy cannot thrive well and human rights cannot be sustained. It therefore recommended among other things that; Nigerian politicians while seeking political power should endeavour to play the game of politics by the rules, government must always strive through good policies and programmes to impact positively on the life of the people, there should be a national philosophy that would serve as a national impulse and guide individual actions and domestic intelligence and surveillance should also be applied as counter-terrorism strategies.

## *Index terms—*

## 1 Introduction

In this democratic dispensation, the issue of security has remained topical and indeed constituted a serious course for concern not only to the private but also to public individuals in the country. Succinctly put, the security question has, in recent times, emerged as a key concept in Nigeria's struggle for good governance, sustainable democracy and development (Nkwede, 2011). As noted by Agbaje, Diamond and Onwudiwe (2004) its appeal cuts across the nooks and crannies of the society. Despite successive attempts by Nigerian government to address the cancer worm through public policy alternatives such as regional and state mechanisms, federal character principle, inter alia, the security problem still remains a thorny issue in the country and has taken a staggering dimension. Nyeoziri (2002:26-31) aptly accounted for the centrality of the character of the Nigerian state to the abysmal failure of the management strategies of the security question in the country. Borrowing from Claude Ake (1986) he identified four characters of the Nigerian state that have disabled it from effective response to the security issues. These are the coercive nature of the state because it has been an exploitative state. Secondly, the Nigerian state is quite indifferent to social welfare, thirdly, the state has an image of a hostile coercive force, as a result of its colonial origin as exacerbated by its post-colonial abuses; and fourthly, its lack of autonomy. Consequent upon the above, the state was not seen as a protector of public interest and as such deserves no respect and loyalty.

Apart from the above reasons, it can safely be argued that the efforts to build a virile democracy in a heterogeneous culture with fear of political domination and perceived insecurity, social injustice and absolute

neglect to the principles of rule of law have resulted to several unrests, frustrations, deep seated hatred, insinuations and killings which indeed culminated to the current security challenges. As Okpata and Nwali (2013:173) puts it; Political struggles among the political class, politics of rancour and bitterness, ethnic based politics and intimidation of opposition groups, the use of state apparatus to undermine others are the major source of insecurity in Nigerian state.

The picture painted above has led to various terrorist tendencies in the country as witnessed in many parts of Nigeria via; Niger Delta militias, Boko Haram insurgencies in the North, kidnapping sagasm in the South-East, spate of bombing and killing of innocent souls with reckless abandon and without recourse to the protection of human life which was the foremost reason for the social contract ??Hobbes, 1957).

It is against this backdrop that this paper is devoted to periscoping into the juxtaposition of democracy, terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria with a view to proffering a solution to the menace in the country.

## 2 II.

### 3 Conceptual Elucidations a) Terrorism

The term "Terrorism" is often used imprecisely. Although there have been many attempts by various law enforcement agencies and public organizations to develop more precise working definitions of terrorism. Like all political ideas, the meaning of terrorism has evolved in response to circumstances. It originally referred to methods employed by regimes to control their own populations through fear, a tactic seen in totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

Etymologically, "terrorism" comes from the French word *terrorisme*, which is based on the Latin language verbs *terrere* (to frighten) and *deterreere* (to frighten from). It dates to 1795 when it was used to describe the actions of the Jacobin Club in their rule of Post-Revolutionary France, the so-called "Reign of Terror". Jacobins were rumoured to have coined the term "terrorists" to refer to themselves. They were primarily concerned with the cases of arrest or execution of opponents as a means of coercing compliance in the general public.

The United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention has proposed a short legal definition of terrorism as the "peacetime equivalent of war crime". It is their believe that the malice associated with terrorist attacks transcends even that of premeditated murder. For the United States Department of Defence, terrorism is conceptualized thus;

The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

The above definition tend to be more precise and relativist because views toward particular acts of political violence are often only subjective, and rarely show satisfactory objectivity.

Contemporaneously, terrorism is broader and relies more on the example of the 19 th century revolutionaries who use the technique as assassination, particularly the anarchist and narodniks in Tsarist Russia, whose most notable action was the assassination of Alexander, II. Political leaders from Europe, North America, Asia and the Middle East have placed the phenomenon of terrorism within the context of a global struggle against systems of government perceived by those accused of using terrorist tactics as harmful to their interests. Besides, European Union perceived terrorism as destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country.

In Nigeria, part 1(2) of the 2011 Terrorism Act (as amended) comprehends terrorism as an act which is deliberately done with malice, aforethought and which; a. May seriously harm or damage a country or an international organization; b. Is intended or can reasonably be regarded as having been intended to; i.

Unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; ii. Seriously intimidate a population; iii.

Seriously destabilize or social structures of a country or an internal organization; otherwise influence such government or international organization by intimidation or coercion; and c. Involves or causes, as the case may bei.

An attack upon a person's life which may cause serious bodily harm or death; ii.

Kidnapping of a person iii.

Destruction to a government or pubic facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a pubic place or private property, likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss; iv.

The seizure of an aircraft, ship or other means of public or goods transport and diversion or the use of such means of transportation for any of the purposes in paragraph (b) (v) above. v.

The manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or not nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of biological and chemical weapons without lawful authority; vi.

The release of dangerous substance or causing of fire, explosions or floods, the effect of which is to endanger human life; vii.

Interference with or disruption of the supply of water, power or any other fundamental natural resources, the effect of which is to endanger human life; d. An act or omission in or outside Nigeria which constitutes an offence within the scope of a counter terrorism protocols and conventions duly ratified by Nigeria.

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Importantly, it should be noted that terrorist attacks are usually characterized by indiscriminate, targeting of civilians or executed with disregard for human life. As disparaging as it may be, terrorist rarely identify themselves as such, and instead typically use terms that refer to their ideological or ethical struggle, such as; separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, militant, paramilitary, guerrilla rebel, Jihadi and Mujaheddin (both meaning struggler), or fedayeen (prepared for martyrdom).

Whichever way one looks at terrorism, it is understood as an attempt to provoke fear, and intimidation in the main target audience, which may be a government, a whole society or a group within a society. Terrorist acts are essentially designed and may be deliberately timed to attract wide publicity and cause public shock, outrage and fear. The intention may be to provoke disproportionate reactions from government, and the civil society.

## 4 b) Democracy

The term "democracy" is perhaps one of the most polemical words in the political dictionary. It has been subjected to so many interpretations and adaptations in various parts of the world, that overtime, it has become value-ridden. Again, it has become an alter on which everyone hinges his or her own exvoto (Eliagwu 2011, Wiseman 1990 ?? Adams 2004). This is in view of the fact that the concept has undergone various shades of definitions and modifications by scholars of our times and has generated controversies among its adherents based on the interpretations, which they proffer to the terminology (Nkwede, 2011).

Essentially, in the context of the globalization of the world, the impression is often given that "Democracy" is good; to be undemocratic is bad. The Greek originators of the concept must be very confused about it today, based on the problems of Western democracy in Greece in the recent past. Nonetheless, irrespective of the bastardization of the concept in the globalized world, attempt would be made in this discourse to pin down the philosophical and intellectual meaning of democracy. Eliagwu (2011:172) opined that democracy is a system of government based on the acquisition of authority from the people; the institutionalization of the rule of law; the emphasis on the legitimacy of rulers; the availability of choices and cherished values (including freedoms), and accountability in governance. This definition has brought out the ingredients and principles of democracy, which included inter alia; the locus of authority in a democratic polity, the rule of law, legitimacy, element of choice and accountability. These ingredients may be seen as the minimum characteristics of democracy but the institutional framework for their operation may vary from one political domain to the other. Cunningham quoted in Nkwede 2011:72 postulated that; Democracy is justified primarily by reference to individual freedom, where freedom is interpreted as ability of individuals to act on their preferences, granted that individual preferences are also influenced by social norms.

The above definition suggests that what matters is the degree of democratic control, that is, effective control over shared environment. The more control individuals have, the more democratic institution involving their lives become.

For Amartya (2001:7) Democracy must not be restricted and identified with rule by the majority. This is because democracy has complex demands, which certainly include voting, but also requires the protection of liberties and freedoms, respect for legal entitlements and the guaranteeing of free discussion.

In essence, democracy is all about rights and responsibilities, but also about equality, justice and fairness. Focusing attention on social contract, democracy does not accept others as citizens and others as slaves; everyone is equal before the law and everyone has equal opportunity, be they male or female, rich or poor, members of the elite class or the masses, minority or majority (Danjibo 2006). Apparently, it is germane to state that it is unequivocally amenable to discern the fact that the concept of democracy has homonymity difficulties.

However, for proper internalization of democracy in contest of this discuss, it means liberty, equality, fraternity, effective citizenry control over policy, responsible and responsive government, honesty and openness on politics, informed and rational deliberation, equal participation, power and virtues. It is also important to note that democracy is not necessarily the most efficient and inexpensive system of government. Rather it is very costly and will really be wishful thinking to assume that democracy is the elixir to all problems of development. It only provides for relative place and a conducive atmosphere for developmental activities.

## 5 c) Security

Greene cited in Okpata and Nwali (2013) posited that security is a state of relatively predictable environmental conditions which an individual or group of individuals may pursue its needs without deception of harm and without fear of disturbances or injuries. Ipso facto, security is a man-made scenario covertly or overtly such that each side has its attendant consequence of peace and/or troubles respectively. Relying on the imperativeness of security and in the society, Rockely and Hill (1981) opined that the need for security is confirmed with unfailing regularity because the avalanche of problems emanating from lack of it is too enormous. Because of the enormity of problems which lack of security or insecurity creates within individuals and society, physical leadership rationalize their quests for security, raise and maintain military outfit in order to be strong and effective in the pursuit of its interest in the polity. It could be this that made Akpuru-Aja (1997) to aver that system maintenance against anarchy or absolute lawlessness is an index of peace and security, stressing that system in this view could be a community, a state, a nation or world as the case may be.

## 6 Balogun (2004:1) observed that

Man's primary and engaging concern has been that of survival and protection; from the vagaries of nature, natural disasters and from the ill-intentions and misdeeds of his fellow man. This is amplified by section 14(b) of the Nigerian Constitution (1999), which states inter alia that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". This view is further reinforced by the ascertain of ??sman (2002:15) thus;

A secure nation state is one that is able to protect and develop itself so that it can develop its them with the right atmosphere of self improvement. ??wolise (1988:61), ballary (1991:7) all viewed security as relative freedom from war, safety, freedom from danger or risk. The legitimacy and authority of the state over the people can be sustained only to the extent it can guarantee the security of life and property of the citizenry. This position relates to the positive school of thought represented by ??entham (1748 ??entham (-1832)), which sees a society as one that seeks to achieve the greatest good and happiness for the greatest number of its citizens.

Thus, the fundamental rationale of a state is about providing for the needs of the individuals or group of individuals. In a related view, Etzioni (1968:623) argued that; Societies are expected to provide one or more outlets for the basic needs of their members and to socialize them to accept this. Any society that is incapable of doing this is a deviant society that is; a society whose structure is contrary to human nature and does not allow the satisfaction of human needs.

In this wise, security in an objective sense therefore means the absence of threats to acquire values, while subjectively, it portends absence of fear that such values will be attacked.

## 7 III.

## 8 Elements of Security

The main elements of security that can be isolated from the various operational definitions highlighted above are: Protection Safety ? Freedom from danger or risk ? Security from external attacks ? Economic security ? Food security ? Social security ? Environmental security ? Technological security ? Growth and development Ipso facto, a common fact flowing from the conceptualizations of security is that, it is the life wire of any society and a mandatory task of any government that intends to continue to enjoy the support and legitimacy of the people.

Broadly speaking, security can be classified into two via; internal and external. External security has to do with the security of the nation's territorial borders and her protection from external aggression, while, internal security implies freedom from or the absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions.

IV.

## 9 Causes of Terrorism and Insecurity in Nigeria

Essentially, it is increasingly clear that causes of terrorism are synonymous with factors that threaten security. The two concepts are inter-twined and therefore can be used interchangeably. Apparently, there are many factors causing insecurity in the country and this include inter alia; incessant ethno-religious and communal conflicts, political instability, bad governance, decomposition and attendant lack of efficacy of state institutions, economic stagnation/decline, massive poverty, high unemployment, wide income disparities, social dislocation caused by massive rural-urban migration, breakdown of societal values leading to fraud and community unrest etc (Nwachukwu 2011: 75-76).

Similarly ??upolati (1990:321) submitted that Political instability arising from the absence of an enviable political culture, religious intolerance and fanaticism, ethnic rivalry, uneven distribution of development projects and amenities, and concentration of wealth in the hands of a disproportionate, lazy few are some of the internal threats facing this country.

Other scholars like ??jakaiye (2002:8), and ??ega (2007:199) are all in agreement that poverty appears to be the major greatest underlying threats to security in Nigeria. They further opined that a combination of widening gap in income inequality, worsening unemployment situation and perceptions of group discrimination and marginalization based on ethnic, religious, and communal differences, create rigid identity divides based on US versus them syndrome, fan the embers of group hatred and ignite tensions and even violent conflicts. ??dowu (1999:131) ? Abuse and misuse of power by some defence and security agents.

V.

## 10 Manifestations of Terrorism and Insecurity in Nigeria

The security situation in Nigeria is one of the major problems threatening the nascent democratic governance. From disturbing political killing to dare devil banditry, the result is the same helplessness. There is now a bizarre situation where the high and low are gripped by fear. Rather than ameliorating the menace, terrorists have graduated from attacking innocent citizens at night to bombing and kidnapping at will including the law enforcement agents at gun points in broad day light. The current posture of insecurity in Nigeria has become a serious threat to the peace, stability and development of the nascent democracy. Table ?? and II below shows some cases of bombing and kidnapping in some parts of Nigeria. Primarily, the tables are self expiatory but it is still germane to state that the phenomenon of terrorism in the country especially in Northern Nigeria and the

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precarious activities of kidnappers in South Eastern Nigeria have dovetailed into gangsterism in recent times. It is reasonable to state that their activities have tremendously destabilized the functions of governments at all levels. Even though the federal government has declared state of emergency in some states in the North, it is not yet clear whether that will bring to an end the activities of these terrorists hence, the need for alternative strategies.

## 11 VI. Alternative Strategies for Terrorist Assurance in Nigeria

From the analogy, the possible alternative strategies to the terrorist mayhem are set out below;

First, Nigerian politicians while seeking political power or office should endeavour to play the game of politics by the rules, demonstrate a high sense of spirit of sportsmanship, elevate politics beyond ethnicity and self-aggrandizement, and ensure absolute fulfillment of campaign promises.

Second, government must always strive through good policies and programmes to impact positively on the life of the people. This to a large extent will reduce anger and frustration on the part of the people, often vented in the form of violent demonstration against government and its agencies, and sabotage of public assets and facilities.

Third, there should be a national philosophy that would serve as a national impulse, and guide individuals' action. This philosophy should be one of purposeful leadership, predicated on probity, transparency, and accountability.

Forth, there should be a very one on one vigilant citizenry that is ever inquisitive, probing, evaluating and assertive. Good leadership closely monitored by vigilant citizenry will definitely bring about the best in governance.

Fifth, other stakeholders in the internal security arrangements should be fully engaged. The military, customs, immigration, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food, Drug, and Administrative Control (NAFDAC) and other agencies must continue to discharge their respective responsibilities very effectively since internal security is a collective effort and not the monopoly of the police. This can best be assured when every agency plays its own role very well. This is because, a police force operating inside a democracy is not an independent agency; it cannot enforce the law by itself ??Fowler, 1979:40).

Sixth, the media, electronic and print, should work to keep at the lowest harmless level, the inherent tension in the relationship between government and the people. They can do this by helping to mobilize, ventilate and channel public input into government policymaking process as a feedback role, the media which is the fourth estate of the realm can also help monitor and evaluate government performance, to ensure that they meet at least the minimum expectation of the citizenry.

Seventh, pre-emptive neutralization is another legitimate strategy. This includes capturing, killing or disabling suspected terrorists before they can mount an attack. Another major method of pre-emptive neutralization is interrogation of known or suspected terrorists to obtain information about specific plots, targets, the identity of other terrorists, and whether the interrogation subject himself is guilty of terrorist involvement.

Eight, domestic intelligence and surveillance is another most counter-terrorism strategies. This involves an increase in standard of police and domestic intelligence. The central activities are traditional; interception of communications, and the tracing of persons. New technology has, however, expanded the range of such operations. Domestic intelligence is often directed at specific groups, defined on the basis of origin or religion, which is a source of political controversy. Mass surveillance of an entire population raises objections on the civil liberties grounds.

Responses to terrorism are broad in scope. Recent development has seen a divergence in social and political responses to terrorism in Nigeria. Nigerians are now confronted with a domestic terrorism based within a domestic religious minority, some recent immigrant, but many native-born citizens. Common targets of terrorists are areas of high population concentration, such as mass transit vehicles (metro and bus) office building, churches and crowded restaurants. Whatever the targets of terrorists, there are multiple ways of hardening the targets so as to prevent the terrorists from hitting their mark. The single most effective of these is bag-searching for explosive, which is only effective if it is conducted before the search subjects enter an area of high population concentration.

## 12 VII.

## 13 Conclusion

Terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon and a persistent societal problem ravaging the country. It is tied to the stability, survival, growth and development of any country. A real and potential threat to democratic rule makes it an issue of constant review and discussion, aimed at devising appropriate mechanism for its extermination in the country. Without viable alternative options for checkmating the activities of terrorists in the country, it is unlikely that democracy cannot thrive well and human rights cannot be sustained. <sup>1</sup>

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Figure 1:

S/N	DATE	PLACE OF INCIDENTS	SUSPECTS	VICTIMS
1	19/10/1986	Dale Giwa's house: Ikeja, Lagos	IBB	Dele Giwa
2	31/5/1995	Ilorin Stadium	Unknown	Figure not known
3	18/1/1996	Durbar Hotel, Kaduna	Suspect killed but name not available	Figure not known
4	20/1/1996	Aminu Kano Int'l Airport, Kano	Unknown	Figure not known
5	11/1/1996	Ikeja Cantonment, Lagos	Unknown	Figure not known
6	25/4/1996	Air Force Base, Ikeja, Lagos	Unknown	Figure not known
7	14/11/1996	Murtala Muhammed Airport	Unknown	Chief security officer
8	16/12/1996	Not available	Unknown	Col. Marwa's Convoy
9	18/12/1996	Not available	Unknown	Task force on environmental sanitation
10	17/1/1997	Not available	Unknown	Nigeria Army bus hit.
11	22/4/1997	Evans square	Unknown	3 died, several people injured
12	12/5/1997	Abuja Airport	Unknown	Lt Col. Oladipo Diya escapes death.
13	27/1/2002	Ibadan	Unknown	Federal ministry of works and housing: human victim not known
14	26 th July 2009	Bauchi state	First clash with security agencies on Dutsen Tanshi.	39 civilians dead, 2 policemen dead, 1 soldier killed.
15	27 th July 2009	Yobe state	First attack in Yobe leading to invasion of potiskum divisional headquarters	5 civilians dead, 3 policemen dead
16	29 th July 2009	Yobe state	Confrontation with security men at Mamudo village	33 BH dead
17	29 th July 2009	Borno state	All night battle between BH and combined security operatives	Scores killed and operational base destroyed
18	7th Jan., 2010	Borno state	BH gunmen on motorcycle fired at a tea shop in Gazangi-Tashan Gandu	3 civilians dead
19	2 April 2010	Bauchi state	Attack on prison at Maiduguri	1 prison warder killed
20	15/5/2010	Warri, Delta state	Niger Delta militants	Figures not available
21	1/10/2010	Abuja	Boko Haram	Figures not available
22	8/4/2011	Suleja, Niger state	Boko haram	INEC office; human victim not known
23	26/4/2011	Maiduguri,	Boko haram	Figure not available

2

S/N NAME		STATE	DATE	RANSOM PRICE	LOCATION
		OF KIDNAP			
1	Mr. Niu Quijang	Anambra	17/3/2007	N/A	Nnewi LGA
2	Mr. Shey Feng	Anambra	17/3/2007	N/A	Nnewi LGA
3	Mr. Sylvester Unigwe	Anambra	17/3/2007	N/A	Nnewi LGA
4	Chibuike Nkwegu	Enugu	16/12/2008	N5m	University of Nig. Nsukka
5	Rev. Joseph Okoye	Ebonyi	9/6/2008	N/A	Abakaliki Urban
6	Mr. Dave Agwada	Ebonyi	21/8/2008	N/A	Abakaliki Urban
7	Johny Okorafor	Ebonyi	8/11/2008	N10m	Auza Quarters Abakaliki
8	Chief Chris Nwankwo	Ebonyi	5/10/2009	N200m	Country home Ebya Izzi LGA
9	Mr. Juliana Adum	Ebonyi	14/8/2009	N80m	Meat market Abakaliki town
10	Maser Obinna Okpo	Ebonyi	13/11/2009	N/A	Country home Nkaliki town
11	Mr. Guiceepe Canova (manager marlum coy)	Ebonyi	13/06/2009	N20m	Afikpo Abakaliki road
12	Nkem Owoh	Enugu	26/04/2009	N/A	Nkanu LGA
13	Mr. Pete Edochie	Anambra	16/10/2009	N/A	Onitsha head bridge Onitsha
14	Comrade Wahaba Oba	Abia	11/10/2010	N250m	Umuafoku Obingwa LGA
15	Comrade Sylvester Okereke	Abia	11/10/2010	N250m	Umuafoku Obingwa LGA
16	Comrade Adophus Okonkwo	Abia	11/10/2010	N250m	Umuafoku Obingwa LGA
17	Comrade Sola Oyeyepo	Abia	11/10/2010	N250m	Umuafoku Obingwa LGA
18	Comrade Yakeen Azeez	Abia	11/10/2010	N250m	Umuafoku Obingwa LGA
19	Evangelist Jacob Achilefu	Abia	17/3/2010	N2m	Aba Ikot Ekpene highway
20	Prof. J. U. J. Asiegbu	Imo	20/2/2010	N/A	Okigwe Aba P-H road
21	Prof. B.E. Fakae (VC.RSUT)	Rivers	15/1/2010	N/A	Niger Delta
22	Mr. Victor Udosen	Ebonyi	4/7/2010	N500m	Ivo life camp Ivo LGA
23	Barr. Sylvester Chima Oduko	Ebonyi	6/3/2010	N/A	Okprojo Idima Edda Afikp S.L.G.A
24	Mrs. Grace Ola Oduko	Ebonyi	6/3/2010	N/A	Okprojo Idima Edda Afikp S.L.G.A
25	Dr. Sha Okorie	Imo	26/6/2010	N/A	St. Joseph Hospital Ahi-azu Mbaise LGA
26	Mrs. Grace Unatoru	Rivers	25/6/2010	N/A	Shell petroleum dev. Coy PH

Figure 3: Table 2 :



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