

# AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS ON SECURITY, GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA

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**Abstract**—The paper examined the security, governance and leadership challenges in Nigeria with a view to proffering appropriate recommendations towards stamping out the inherent lapses in them. The paper posits that for balancing to be actualized within the confines of Nigerian security and governance systems, the citizens have to be educated with the knowledge of ensuring the maintenance of peace and security of their country as well as avoiding the promotion of threats to national unity. The implication of this is that education of the citizens through moral training has to be intensified. Knowledge and the consciousness of nationhood among citizens must be promoted so that illiteracy and ignorance would be reduced to a barely minimum level. Security, the paper construes, is the sole of any nation without which the development of the nation's economy in terms of governance and leadership would be impaired. For good governance to be achieved in any nation, security of that nation has to be given a pride of place. The paper adopts the analytic method of inquiry in the course of developing it. It also finds out that the major cause of insecurity in the country is tied to bad governance and maladministration orchestrated by the insensitivity on the part of the leaders in positions of authority. The paper concludes by emphasizing that morality and public knowledge must be imbibed and intensified among leaders and citizens of Nigeria in order to bring sanity to the security arrangements in the country.

**Index Terms**—Security, Leadership, Governance, Knowledge and Education

## I. Introduction

After the civil war in 1970, security situation in Nigeria has been relatively stable. People had peace and can move freely from one part of the country to another without harassment or molestation. Live was easy going. No problems among different ethnic groups living together. Everybody struggled to make two ends meet. Lives and properties of the people were secured because of security agents like the police, soldiers and different societal vigilante group. People feared causing problems because of the wrath of the law. Security in the country was highly maintained.<sup>1</sup>

However, the case of insecurity was noticed in Nigeria as far back as the year 2000 in some local governments areas in the country but the negligence of this evil act by the constituted authority then made it spread to different part of the country. May be the governments then were unable to realize its adverse effect at the long run. Recently, their actions have constituted a lot of threat to the entire population and seem to have worsened with high security agents in the country?

Security, according to Nwagboso, is the act of being safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection and preservation of values, and the absence of threats to acquired values. Security is about survival and the condition of human existence.<sup>2</sup>

Security also exists when people live together in a certain environment without disturbance or violent. In the same vein, Adejumo states that security is the act of keeping peace within the governing territories. This is usually done by upholding the national law and defending the internal security threats in different areas of the country.<sup>3</sup>

After decades of dictatorship, Nigeria saw its fourth democratically elected president take over in 199. Today, the country's nascent democracy is being tested by rampant crime an unprecedented campaign of terror such that in the south, civil unrest threatens safety and stability, to east; gangs who kidnap expatriates for ransom lie in wait on the roads', in bars, and cities; and to the North, the Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram is growing both in number and brutality hence the group has posed brazen challenges to the government and issued the ultimate "leave or die" to Christians living in the northern Nigeria and confidence that the government can protect the people is at aall-time low. Fundamentally, insecurity is a major problem confronting Nigerian security system.

## 1. Conceptual Clarification of Key Words

### Epistemology

#### What is Epistemology?

The word "Epistemology" derives from two Greek words, "Episteme" which means knowledge and "logos" meaning theory. That is why epistemology is also known as the theory of knowledge. Epistemology is the study of human knowledge, the study of the nature of human knowledge its origin, its scope, its limit, its justification, its reliability, or otherwise, its certainty or otherwise. It is like knowledge taking a critical look at itself to justify itself. We claim to know, but how do we know that we know? How are we sure that what we claim to know to be true is really true? How reliable is our knowledge. How can we prove that we know? How can we justify our knowledge? What is the guarantee of the certainty of our knowledge? The skeptics contributed a great deal to the development of epistemology in western philosophy by challenging the claim to know and the basis of such knowledge. The critical and sometimes devastating challenge of the skeptics spurred the epistemologists on to continually re-examine the nature, the basis and the justification of knowledge. Epistemologists had to do this in order to find answers to the challenges of the skeptics and to refute them.<sup>4</sup>

Epistemology can be said to have begun with the sophists, the fifth century B.C itinerant teachers of philosophy. The philosophers before them, i.e. the pre -Socratic philosophers were not interested in epistemology but in cosmology. Thus they were cosmologists, and they lived in the sixth century B.C. But

when the sophists came to the scene in the fifth century B.C; they changed the focus of philosophy from cosmology to man and the society.

The sophists were very critical, skeptical and relativistic in their conception of knowledge. Their contribution to epistemology was their criticism and scepticism. By being critical and skeptical they threw a challenge to epistemologists, like Socrates and Plato, who in order to refute them tried to justify knowledge, to prove that objective knowledge was possible. The sophists criticized many of the traditional beliefs of the people and cast doubt on them. “What is the proof that such beliefs are true”? they would ask. They also claimed that knowledge was relative, that truth was relative. What is true from one point of view may be false from another point of view. They denied objective, universal knowledge or truth. “What is true for you may not be true for me”. In fact, one of them by name Protagoras of Abdera, said that man was the measure of all things. “Man” he says, “is the measure of all things, of things that are that they are, of things that are not that they are not”. Everyman, in other words, decides for himself what exists and what does not exist, what is true and what is not true.

In responding, Socrates rejected the relativism and skepticism of the sophists and maintained that there was objective, universal knowledge. He was very critical of the sophists and precisely because of their skepticism and relativism which he opposed. For him, knowledge is certain, objective and universal. It is quite possible for man to acquire objective and universal knowledge which is certain.<sup>5</sup>

More so, man derives its curiosity from admiration and wonder of the beauty of nature and the events and things observed in the universe. He begins to ask questions; how did these things come to be? Why do they exist? How come the orderliness or disorderliness? How come the nexus between objects and events, and between one event and the other? Am I really sure of what I think I smell or see, feel, taste or hear? Then, reflection and deeper critical and analytical thinking begins about the issues raised. This curiosity has led into what is now referred to as philosophy and all boils down to how knowledge is being acquired.

Epistemology is that part of philosophy concerned with determining the basis of knowledge claims. In epistemology, the typical questions pertaining to the justification of beliefs, the sources of human knowledge, the scope and extent of knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Traditionally, the basic problem in epistemology is that of

whether we can know at all. That was what has earned the field of epistemology the name “theory of knowledge”. The issue here is not that of affirming or denying the appropriateness of the name. The fact is that today, the problems in contemporary epistemology have shifted to that of justifying our knowledge claims and of determining the scope and limits of knowledge. Epistemology is interested in the question of the grounds for human knowledge claims, including providing criteria and applying them to claims about the sources, scope and extent of knowledge.

According to the Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, epistemology “is the theory of the origin, nature and limits of knowledge”.<sup>7</sup> It is the branch of philosophy that investigates the process of human cognition and all problems associated with its acquisition and justification. It is the task of epistemology to refute or justify cognitive claims. D. W. Hamlyn aptly defined epistemology as the “branch of philosophy which is concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge, its preoccupation and basis and the general reliability of claims to knowledge.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Security**

Adelakin views security as freedom from danger or threats, and the ability of a nation to protect and develop itself, promote and cherish values and legitimate interests and enhance the well-being of its people. This can be maintained through internal security system.<sup>9</sup> Usually, internal security system in any society is very important because it is used to prevent violence and criminal activities in different societies. Internal security also ensures freedom of people from any criminal disturbances and ensures the absence of criminal tendencies which can undermine internal cohesion and co-perate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its core values and meet the legitimate aspiration of the people.

In general terms, security is the act of seeing the survival of all and sundry in the society. Usually, general peace and security in any society is associated with lack of violence, absence of civil disorder and insurgency to mention but a few. However, this study attempts a philosophical appraisal of Nigeria security system by examining the causes of insecurity and violence in Nigeria, cost and effects of insecurity, security challenges in Nigeria and national transformation.

### **Governance/Leadership**

Governance, according to Encarta Dictionaries is the system or manner of governing. It is an act or state of governing a place.<sup>10</sup> Within the confines of Nigerian experience, governance is about how political leaders administer and manage the country and its citizens.

One of the main thrusts of this paper is to critically examine leadership and governance in Nigeria. The paper posits that government is about true leadership and good representation. It further opines that Nigeria must be put above ethnic sentiment and sectionalism with a view to ensuring that all the ethnic majorities and minorities co-operatively and collectively work together by promoting and protecting the territorial integrity of the country as well as fostering national growth, development and security. It stresses that for

Nigeria to develop, Nigerians must eschew the habit of wanting to promote regionalism above nationalism. The paper views the mentality of regionalism and ethnicity based on sentiment as the bane to national cohesion and development of the country. The country needs to be seen as one entity that had been put together by our forefathers who fought gallantly to ensuring its freedom from the European masters. The paper envisages that if the various regions of the country mutually and co-operatively work together, Nigeria would eventually become a society that would be regarded as an atomic family and insecurity will be a thing of the past. The paper reasons that if this is done, neo-colonialism, corruption, ethnic sentiment, insecurity, mistrust, and other vices would be, if not completely eradicated, reduced to a barely minimum level, and thus the spirit of re-discovery and national consciousness/re-awakening would be reinvigorated among the nationals. As far as this paper is concerned, Nigeria as a country is bigger than any individual or region and the citizens need to see themselves as one regardless of their ethnic origins and cultural backgrounds. Whichever area that produces the leadership of the country, other regions need to harmoniously work together with that region to ensuring that that government is successful in its bid to develop the country. The sovereignty and the constitution that bind the country together must be respected by the citizens, until then the country can move forward. To this end, Nigeria will become a great nation if all hands are on deck in promoting its economic, social, and political.

## Education

Education is a concept that has no univocal definition. It depends on the perspective from where it is being analyzed. Within the purview of this paper, it is used as a tool for enlightening the mindsets of the citizens towards ensuring that criminality and other attendant vices are stamped out from the society. It is the belief of this paper that an enlightened mind is a free mind. It is also a well known fact that education is an instrument for sharpening the mindsets of individuals as well as a potent force of orientation and information. Once an attentive mind is educated, it becomes possible, to some considerable extend, for him to refrain from unwholesome acts capable demystifying his integrity and personality.

## 2. An Overview of Nigerian Security System

Security has been seen as a situation where a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft, or deterioration. Some security experts argued that the concept of security has always been associated with the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction of from dangerous threats. Those conceptions generally hold that the state is the only institution with the primary responsibility and power for the safety of its territory and its people.<sup>11</sup> The concept of security in this paper is operationalized within the context of a nation hence the concept of national security.

According to Wolfer, the concept of national security is often misunderstood and as such elusive. Hence, strange phenomenon, subjective “feeling”, and therefore relational and relative rather than an objective “thing” than can be seen and handled.<sup>12</sup> However, 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.<sup>13</sup>

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. Measures taken to ensure national security include: Using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures (including ant-terrorism legislation); ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information; using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats.<sup>14</sup> Another alternative solution towards ridding the Nigerian society of various security threats is the employment of the services of spiritual priests such as pastors, prophets and prophetesses herbalists towards chanting incantations (in the case of herbalists) and intensifying special prayers to stamping out criminality from the country. From the foregoing, in this paper, we are concerned with security of life and property but nevertheless there are other types of security that are needed to be mentioned for the sake of it. These are social security, economic security, political security, food security, environmental security etc.

Next to the concept of security is the concept of insecurity. Insecurity only portrays the absence of security. The term insecurity is the antithesis of security. Due to the many ways insecurity affects human life and existence, the concept of insecurity has been variously interpreted. Insecurity threatens the stability of any nation. National stability, signifies a feeling of well-being or contentment among the citizens of any country; a contentment driven by the level of the citizens' engagement with the system that governs them. Such stability state must be built on a re-established relationship of trust between our politicians and the people they serve.

In Nigeria, Ogbonnaya and Ehigiamusoe in their study examined the security challenges posed to nation-states by these "violent non-state actors" such as Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy in international politics, especially since September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre in the United States. The terrorist groups have not only challenged the security of the Nigerian state but also threatened its unity, territoriality and sovereignty.<sup>15</sup>

The Nigerian system is slack and not adequately pursued for national development and transformation. Thus, there is the need to awaken security consciousness and also put in place adequate security measures in Nigerian system.

The problem of insecurity, which is used to be one of the lowest in hierarchy of social problems facing Nigeria, seems to have assumed an alarming proportion since the end of the Nigerian civil war which ended in 1970. So high is the rate of insecurity in Nigeria now that every facet of Nigerian life has been badly affected. Rampant among these are herdsman attack, kidnapping, armed robbery and a host of others just to mention a few. Fear and distrust of the other person loom large in the polity and these have bedeviled our developmental exploits as a country. The current state of insecurity has posed serious challenges and menace to Nigeria's macroeconomic environment. Not only has the country suffered colossal losses in terms of infrastructure, properties and human lives, her economic development has also experienced retardation. For any sustainable development, there must be security, which is not just an intrinsic aspect of development but an essential precondition for one. Most studies have granted evidence to this fact.

### **3. Peculiarities in Nigerian Security System: Boko Haram insurgency, Ethnic Militancy, Banditry, e.t.c.**

#### **Boko Haram Insurgency**

#### **Evolution of "Boko Haram"**

It is no longer news that the violent Islamic Sect popularly known as “Boko Haram” is the current threat to Nigeria and her economy. Their activities are so devastating that quite a number of lives and properties have been destroyed and annihilated by them.

Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad, better known by its Hausa name, “Boko Haram”, is a Jihadist terrorist organization based in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. It is an Islamist movement which strongly opposes man-made laws. The movement frowned at western education as the corruptor of man and it considers it (western education) as a sin initiated by the people. In the town of Maiduguri where the group was formed, the residents dubbed it “Boko Haram”. The term “Boko Haram” comes from the Hausa Language. While “Boko” means “Book” and the Arabic word “Haram” figuratively means “sin” (literally “forbidden”). The name, loosely translated from Hausa, means “western education is forbidden”. The group earned this name due to its strong opposition to anything Western, which it sees as corrupting muslims.<sup>16</sup>

### **Ideology of Boko Haram**

Boko Haram is an indigenous salafist group which only turned itself into a salafist jihadist group in 2009. The group does not only state that the interaction with the western world is forbidden, but that, it also contaminates muslims’ faith as if the said faith is not an imported one from the western world. The group publicly extols its ideology despite the fact that its founder and former leader Muhammed Yusuf was himself a highly educated man who lived an affluent life. In an interview with the leader in 2009 on a BBC<sup>17</sup> programme, it was gathered that the leader rejected scientific explanation for natural phenomena such as evaporation of water being the cause of rain according to the Darwinian theory and that the earth is spherical in shape. His rejection was based on the fact that these scientific explanations run contrary to the teachings of Allah. Before his death, the man reiterated the sect’s objective of changing the current education system and rejecting democracy.

In the wake of 2009, the crackdown on its members and its subsequent re-emergence, the growing frequency and geographical range of attacks attributed to “Boko Haram” have led some political and religious leaders in the North to the conclusion that the group has now expanded beyond its original religious composition to include not only Islamic militants, but also criminal elements and disgruntled

politicians as well. According to Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno State<sup>18</sup>, 'Boko Haram' has become a franchise group that anyone can identify with or possibly join. It is like a Bermuda Triangle.

The group was formed by Muhammed Yusuf in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri, Borno State of Nigeria with the aim of establishing a Shari'a Government in the state under the leadership of Governor Ali Modu Sheriff. He built a complex where there was a mosque and a school to enrol and train all interested people in his vision; and information had it that, many people especially the poor, across the nation with special bias to the North, enrolled.<sup>19</sup>

Before long, there was a strange development as the group seemed to derail from their set goal(s) in that the centre became the arena of recruitment of future jihadists to fight the state. The membership of the group, as later found out, included citizens from neighbouring countries namely Chad and some Arabic speaking nations. In 2004, their meeting arena was relocated to Yusuf's home state, Yobe in the village called 'Kanamma' near Niger Border.<sup>20</sup>

Human Right Watch Researcher, Eric Guttschuss<sup>21</sup> told IRIN News that Yusuf successfully got members or followers from the unemployed youths "by speaking out against police and political corruption". In like manner, Abdulkarim Mohammed, a researcher on this violent so-called Islamic sect, opined that, violent uprisings in Nigeria are ultimately due to the fall out of frustration with corruption and the attendant social malaise of poverty cum unemployment.<sup>22</sup> This is a great challenge and food for thought for the governments at all levels in the country as well as rich Nigerians. One good turn, they say, deserves another. So, one bad turn must equally deserve another and for every action, there must necessarily be corresponding reaction. This suggests that if unemployment continues to be on the increase in lieu of nipping it in the bud and corruption keeps escalating and spreading like harmattan fire in the country, then the 'Haramic' activities in multiple forms are inevitable.

## MAJOR Attack Profiles

The underlisted are some of the noted sect's activities that can be recalled at this auspicious time of writing this paper, with special bias to the beginning of their violence cum the timeline of their incidents:

1. 7<sup>th</sup> September, 2010 - Bauchi Prison Break.

2. 31<sup>st</sup> December, 2010 - Abuja Attack.
3. 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 2010 - The sect freed 14 prisoners during a jail break in Yola, Adamawa State.
4. 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2011 - Northern Nigeria bombings.
5. 16<sup>th</sup> June, 2011 - The group claimed responsibility for the 2011 Abuja Police Headquarters bombing.
6. 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2011 - Bomb attack on a Restaurant in Maiduguri.
7. 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2011 - Bomb attack on All Christians' Fellowship Church in Suleja, Niger State.
8. 11<sup>th</sup> July, 2011 - The University of Maiduguri's closure due to security Report on Boko Haram intending attack.
9. 12<sup>th</sup> August, 2011 - Prominent Muslim Cleric, Liman Bana was shot dead by the sect.
10. 26<sup>th</sup> August, 2011 - Abuja bombing.
11. 4<sup>th</sup> November, 2011 - Damaturu attack.
12. 25<sup>th</sup> December, 2011- Bombing of a Catholic Church in Mandala, Borno State.
13. 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 - Kano bombing.
14. 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2012 - The group claimed for bombing at the Army Headquarters in Kaduna. What a tragedy!  
When the camp of those to defend the country's territory against terror was bombed, what then is the fate of the bloody civilians?
15. 16<sup>th</sup> February, 2012 - There was another jail break by the sect in Kogi State; 119 prisoners were released and 1 warder killed.

16. 8<sup>th</sup> March, 2012 - This was the day an Italian Engineer, Franco Lamlinara and a Briton, Christopher McManus The violent Islamic Sect were abducted in 2011 and killed in an attempt to rescue them by people.
17. 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2012 - Bayero University bombing.
18. 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2012 - Jalingo bombing.
19. 1<sup>st</sup> May, 2012 - The sporadic shooting between Boko Haram and the military Joint Task Force. The incident claimed many lives.<sup>23</sup>
20. 11<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 - Twenty seven persons including 9 policemen, were killed by gunmen.<sup>24</sup> (12<sup>th</sup> June, 2012, The Nation Newspapers).
21. 17<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 - Suicide bombings of three Churches in Kaduna.<sup>25</sup> (19<sup>th</sup> June, 2012, The Nation Newspapers).
22. 18<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 - Damaturu (Yobe State Capital) Gun Battle<sup>26</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 The Nation Newspaper).
23. 24<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 - Attack on a satellite prison by Boko Haram in Damaturu freeing 40 inmates. (25<sup>th</sup> June, 2012, The Nation Newspaper).<sup>27</sup>
24. 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 - Guns boomed in Kano, the North's commercial engine room, and Damaturu, the Yobe State Capital. The terror strike coincided with the resumption in Abuja of the newly appointed National Security Adviser (NSA) to the President of Nigeria, Col. Sambo Dasuki. 17 suspected Boko Haram terrorists were killed in the gun battles.<sup>28</sup> (27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> June, 2012 – The Nation Newspaper).

- 25.2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2013 - Gunmen suspected to be Boko Haram members killed the Secretary of Dikwa Local Government Council, Alhaji Kachallah Umara at his residence at 8.35 p.m.<sup>29</sup> (4<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, The Guardian Newspaper).
26. 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2013 - Four gunmen suspected to be Boko Haram members kidnapped Elder Statesman, Alhaji Shettima Ali Monguno, at the Mafoni Central Mosque in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria.<sup>30</sup> (4<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, The Guardian Newspaper).
27. 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2013 - Eruption of a fierce sectarian violence in Wukari, Taraba State – Religious clash which attended the burial procession of high ranking Jukun Chief –Locked in the bloody battle were the Jukun (Christians) and the muslim Fulani. 39 people were reportedly said to have lost their lives while 30 others got injured.<sup>31</sup> (5<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, The Nation Newspaper).
- 28.7<sup>th</sup> May, 2013 - Boko Haram gunmen killed Policemen and Prisons officialsIn Bama, Borno State.<sup>32</sup> (11<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, The Guardian Newspaper).

**and many attacks are still going on till present the time.**

To this end, if we are to continue the revelation of these systematic and consistent operations of this violent Islamic sect, it may pose much threat to us as one can guess that some people may be thinking that they can even blast right now since it seems their operation is on daily basis. It is noteworthy that the group

conducted its operations more or less peacefully during the first seven years of its existence but this changed in 2009 when the Nigerian government launched an investigation into the group's activities following reports that its members were arming themselves. Prior to that, the government reportedly ignored warnings about the increasingly military officers. When the government came into action, several members of the group were arrested in Bauchi, sparking deadly clashes with Nigerian security agents which led to the deaths of an estimated 700 people.<sup>33</sup> Also, after the killing of M. Yusuf, the group carried out its first terrorist attack in Borno State in January, 2010 and this resulted in the killing of four people. Since then, the violence has been escalating in terms of both frequency and intensity.

### **The Cause(s) of Boko Haram Insurgency/Terrorism – Psychological and Political Causes**

Various scholars had given insights into what could have brought about this ugly phenomenon. Boko Haram, to them, is a manifestation of and bad leadership that resulted from corruption in Nigeria. Security is a serious business. Buhari opines that “if a nation wants to tackle the problem created by this insurgent group, we must ask ourselves why we have arrived at this state of insecurity. We must discuss and identify what are the causes so as to find solutions to it. The fight against extremism should not be construed to mean a fight against Islam and Islamic tenets. It is not what the extremists are doing by their action that is our concern. It is the action that we take individually and collectively as people and leaders”.<sup>34</sup> The major cause of this menace is political and it is tied to the apron of bad leadership problem bewildering Nigeria as a state. However, the poor state of the nation cannot be ruled out as part of the cause of the emergence of Boko Haram in the country. Also, the gap between the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria in terms of infrastructural and educational development is one of the causes identified. More so, the 2011 Presidential Elections is also seen in some quarters as the major primary cause of the Boko Haram upheaval in the country. The expectation of the North was to have won the presidential elections. Immediately the results of the election were announced by the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), Boko Haram insurgents commenced their dastardly operations by attacking the southern indigenes residing in the Northern part of the country, unleashing terror on their lives by killing, hanging and destroying their properties. This singular act of these terrorists made people to believe that the cause of the mayhem orchestrated by the

insurgents was political. However, the secondary cause, to us, is psychological; psychological, in the sense that, it bothers on the mindsets of the insurgents. When we talk about these people (insurgents) they are people with ideology and can die or kill in the process. To us, the secondary cause is based on the human anatomy of the insurgents.

To this end, the secondary cause remains innate and is dependent on the mindset of every member of the group. The insurgent group is not faceless; those that are in government know them and they do protect them from being arrested and prosecuted. Government is not faithful in arresting these people. Also, ahead of the 2015 General Elections, the political atmosphere is already tense as intrigues, permutations and scheming appear to have taken the centre stage instead of good governance. Politicians have started running for their dear lives as some of these insurgents have started unleashing terror on them and their cohorts/lieutenants. Moreover, some politicians in the country are the financiers of this group paying them monthly ransom, for their dastardly acts.

### **Religious Overview of Boko Haram**

Boko Haram group are people who are committed to the propagation of prophet Mohammed's teaching and jihad. They were originally known as jihadist terrorists or orthodox Muslims based in the North-East of Nigeria. The group strongly opposed man-made laws and would want to abolish the secular system of government and establish Sharia in the country.<sup>35</sup>

At this juncture, if Boko Haram, as explained above, is formed purposely to propagate the gospel of Prophet Mohammed, how come has the Islamic group turned out to become social miscreants and nuisances? These and other questions are begging for answers in the views of Nigerians and international observers. Religion, as conceived, is a tool for entrenching peace and development in the world. How come has it turned to become a weapon of destruction in the hands of these disgruntled and unscrupulous insurgents in Nigeria and other countries of the world? The most fundamental question is that why are insurgents/fanatics always coming from the Muslim camps in the world? Is Islamic religion a tool for serving God or for destruction? Scholars from the Islamic world have sharply reacted to this and many other questions by emphasizing the supremacy of God in what they do. They have antithetical posture towards the

destructions being carried out by various insurgent groups in the world; claiming that God abhors killing in all its ramifications.

### **Political Manifestation of ‘Boko Haram’ Insurgency**

This paper had earlier posited that one of the secondary causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria is politics. What is very clear is that Nigeria is easing into a tyrannical leadership and gradually moving into a Civilian fascist with the attitude of our leadership.<sup>36</sup> In a number of ways, one of which is that it has disappointed Nigerians.

Second, it has weaved up and propagated regional sentiments. Under the secondary cause, Boko Haram is an arrangement that came out as a product of bad leadership and governance in Nigeria. There was no news of Boko Haram as a destructive organ when Nigeria evolved as a country. It is an aftermath effect of bad leadership. Most politicians heat up the polity by sponsoring this group thereby making the country not habitable to the people as well as wading off the would-be investors. To us, the President Jonathan's handling of the security challenges in the country has shown that his government lacks the capacity to deal with the crisis. The violence that Nigeria is witnessing today, if not checked, will push the country towards anarchy; hence, the need for well meaning Nigerians to step up immediately with a view to saving the country from going under. The nation is hopelessly a drift. But if we are to survive, this vicious circle of violence that has engulfed this nation, the act must be brought to an end; and we implore the National Assembly to take the lead in this quest for peace.<sup>37</sup> As we look round Nigeria, the signs we see are troubling, the situation on ground is worrisome, light and darkness have no meeting points, poverty has crippled the country and high rate of unemployment, while the ruling party has plunged the masses into a high rate of insecurity. For 15 years, Nigeria has not known peace and we are not at war as innocent citizens are being killed day and night as justice has become a scarce commodity. Despite Nigeria's abundant resources, the people have remained poor. Promises are made and yet the same promises are broken, the situation has become worst. The government has proved unable to secure the nation's internal environment: there is widespread and rising poverty and unemployment across the length and breadth of the country. There is spiralling lawlessness all over the country. There is a complete and total decline in the quality of social services and an irremediable dilapidation in the nation's socio-economic infrastructure across board. The

patience of Nigerians and the constituent parts have been severely tried and stretched to its limits and citizens now owe it a duty to salvage the situation.<sup>38</sup> However, based on the above characteristic posture of Nigeria, people indulge in various acts and commit offences that are inimical and detrimental to the progress of the country as a way of showing their annoyance on the bad leadership being witnessed in the country.

Corruption, embezzlement and a host of others, have become cankerworms that have eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigeria's life, while some people are becoming richer, others are becoming poorer; and for the poor to survive, they started unleashing terror on the lives of the richer; thereby making the country hot. Ethnic sentiments and regionalism are now being promoted as a result of these cankerworms. All these and many others have given rise to the various religious, social, and economic crisis being witnessed in the country now.

Other security challenges are numerous to mention. Nigeria has witnessed such security lapses like herdsmen's attack, terrorism kidnapping, armed robbery, rape, etc. The Northern part of the country such Benue, Borno, Kastina is evidently enmeshed in this challenges. The South South ethnic militancy and South West kidnapping cases are not exempted.

#### **4. Fostering Good Governance and Leadership in Nigeria**

In order to entrench good governance in Nigeria, this paper also examines ethnicity as a problem militating against true democratic governance and development of the country. It opines that in actualizing the overall development and true governance, ethnicity, tribalism, religious intolerance and cultural discrimination should not be considered as criteria in governing the affairs of the country. The paper is of the view that political leaders should be freely elected without considering the cultural affinity or background from where he or she belongs or hails from. However, the constitution of the country, which emphasizes no discrimination of any sort among the citizens of Nigeria, must be used as a parameter for choosing political leaders and ensuring the sanctity of electoral processes. In this paper, emphasis is placed on some of the challenging factors in the Nigerian political system that are capable of scuttling democratic efforts. These were viewed within the contexts of the negative influences posed by the character of the Nigerian state and neglect of nation-and-state building projects. Ethnicity, according to the paper, must not be employed in choosing political leaders rather; the continuity of the country should be everybody's business. The paper also examines the major rationales and reasons behind the clamour of each region of Nigeria for leadership position at the centre level of government particularly the position of the president. The paper posits that government is about true leadership and good representation. It further opines that Nigeria must be put above ethnic sentiment and sectionalism with a view to ensuring that all the ethnic majorities and minorities co-operatively and collectively work together by promoting and protecting the territorial integrity of the country as well as fostering national growth and development. It stresses that for Nigeria to develop, Nigerians must eschew the habit of wanting to promote regionalism above nationalism. The country needs to be seen as one entity that had been put together by our forefathers who fought gallantly to ensuring its freedom from the European masters. The paper envisages that if the various regions of the country mutually and co-operatively work together, Nigeria would eventually become a society that would be regarded as an atomic family. The paper reasons that if this is done, neo-colonialism, corruption, ethnic sentiment, insecurity, mistrust, and other vices would be, if not completely eradicated, reduced to a barely minimum level, and thus the spirit of re-discovery and national consciousness/re-awakening would be reinvigorated

among the nationals. As far as this paper is concerned, Nigeria as a country is bigger than any individual or region and the citizens need to see themselves as one regardless of their ethnic origins and cultural backgrounds. Whichever area that produces the leadership of the country, other regions need to harmoniously work together with that region to ensuring that that government is successful in its bid to develop the country. The sovereignty and the constitution that bind the country together must be respected by the citizens, until then the country can move forward. To this end, Nigeria will become a great nation if all hands are on deck in promoting its economic, social, and political values. The method of critical-analysis is employed while various relevant literatures provided the background in developing the paper.

## **5. Epistemological Analysis on Security, Governance and Leadership in Nigeria**

The paper aims at using knowledge that is domiciled in Nigeria to examine and solve the myriads of problems bewildering the country. Emphasis in this paper is placed on how these problems such as insecurity, bad governance, economic retardation, corruption, despotism, war, Human trafficking, militancy and a host of others just to mention a few could be exterminated. It opines (the paper) that citizens of Nigeria who are renowned scholars could be called upon to participate in the ongoing developmental processes in their land. There are sagacious senior citizens of the country whose brains could equally be tapped in terms of revamping and revitalizing the ailing economy. Nigeria has vast resources that can be explored in developing its economy without necessarily relying on the so-called developed countries. The paper believes that effort needs to be intensified by the leaders in ensuring that there is unity of purpose among them so as to cooperatively work together to develop the country. Lip services, according to this paper should no longer be played in the administration and governance of this country. Leaders must eschew the habit of looting treasury by stashing money away into foreign coffers instead of ploughing the money back to better the lot of the people. Selfishness, greed, corruption, war and other similar vices must be avoided if Nigeria is to develop. The paper posits that the footpaths of African and ancient fathers such as Awolowo of Nigeria, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Plato, Socrates, John Dewey etc, must be followed in order to attain the goal of development set by them for the country. To ensure good governance and leadership in Nigeria, the best form of government is the one founded on reason and guided by reason; the best form of government is the most rational form of government, and the freest government; a government in which the individual live freely under the guidance of reason.

Based on the above assertion, the whole contributions of philosophers cannot be discussed this paper but some vital areas of their contributions will be mentioned and discussed in relation to how good government and leadership could be fostered in Nigeria.

Philosophy generally reflects the socio- political situation of its time and place. Socio- political situations generally raise many questions in the minds of people and thus give rise to reflection and philosophizing. Hence, there is always a close connection between the socio- political situation of a place at a given time and the philosophy of that place at that particular period.

Hence, in order to understand the philosophy of any philosopher, it is important to know the socio- political situation from which the philosophy arose. Contemporary African philosophy is predominantly a political philosophy, and this reflects the socio- political situation from which it arose. The socio- political situation of contemporary Africa raised questions in the minds of African thinkers and prompted them to force their thoughts on political issue. Government, according to John Locke, is the servant of the people and is responsible to the people. The government derived its power from the people, a mandate to carry out the wishes of the people. If the rulers are not fulfilling the wishes of the people, then the people reserve the right to remove them from power by rebellion and to elect new rulers who will carry out their wishes. Rulers should always keep in mind that they were elected into office by the people with the mandate to carry out their wishes otherwise they can be removed from office by the people through rebellion. Locke, moreover, advocates the separation of powers in the government. In his view, it would not be proper for the same people to be vested with the legislative and executive powers. For if the same group of people both make and execute laws, self-interest would dictate both the making and the execution of laws. The legislative and executive powers should therefore be separated.<sup>39</sup>

Good Governance can be a panacea for conflicts in Nigeria. Since most conflicts stem from extreme poverty, inequality, ethnicity alienation and bad governance, good governance is certainly indispensable in effectively defusing tensions and preventing conflicts within the polity.

Nigeria's failures have come about largely as a result of frequent leadership change, lack of ideology, policy reversal and weak institutional patterns. This paper also emphasizes leadership selection process in Africa. It (the paper) opines that the leadership selection process in Africa takes the imposition pattern and

that African leaders have frequently come to their positions with limited experience. Hence, the decline in moral and discipline caused by bad policies, eroded professional standards and ethics and weakened the system of government. A call for focus on Leadership and governance is timely, important and no doubt topical, reflecting the worldwide thrust toward political and economic liberalization. All about good governance is the need to organize society towards the achievement of common goal and the capacity of government to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies. Good governance has several characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective, efficient, equitable, all inclusive, and follows the rule of law.

## **II. The Way Out**

1. Re-orientation of the mindsets of Nigerians and other inhabitants by the various organs of the government so as to eschew bad conducts.
2. The Declaration of the State of Emergency by President Jonathan is a right peg in a round hole. But this method may not be enough to curtail the excesses of the insurgent group. Other measures considered fit to unravel the menaces perpetrated by this group must be adopted.
3. Government should create a programme through its organ that will bring about mass education of its citizens. This can be achieved through mass literacy programme. If it is not possible to educate the faceless insurgents, the citizens of the country must be educated so as not to continue indulging in wholesome acts capable of undermining the territorial integrity of Nigeria. This position was championed by Awolowo in his life time. He canvassed the bridging of the gap, in terms of education, between the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria.

## **4. Infrastructural Development**

There must be an aggressive infrastructural development in Nigeria if this cankerworm and other problems are to be nipped in the bud. If electricity is given a pride of place in the policies of the government, for example, investors will come and invest thereby creating job opportunities for citizens. “An idle hand”, they say, “is devil’s workshop”. If our youths are gainfully employed, they will not be thinking of unleashing terror on other people’s lives.

## 5. Creating Employment Opportunities

When the youths are employed, the society will be better-off. Crisis will be reduced and there will be peace in the society.

6. There must be a stop to corruption and embezzlement if Nigeria is to witness peace and development. In a country whereby corrupt people dominate the scene of politics, and they are leaders, the youths will revolt and various insurgent organizations will evolve.

7. Leaders in both government and the society must lead by example for the followers to emulate their good deeds.

8. In like manner, the electorate must stop the habit of praising, celebrating and extolling these “official Boko Harm” (i.e. money looters) who use their pens and offices to perpetrate corruption and thereby crawling and destroying our national economy.

9. As part of the measure to mitigate official Boko Haram in the country, it will be plausible to state that arrest and prosecution of these people should no longer be to fulfil all righteousness. Rather, it should henceforth be thorough and result-oriented.

10. Nigeria must be placed, in everybody’s mind above any personal or family life. Until then, the country can witness peace, tranquility and development.

11. Youths, generally, must be educated on how virtues are to be imbibed. It is not only these insurgents that need this but all the youths in our society.

12. Government and everybody must continue to intensify effort on how this ugly phenomenon could be wiped off from Nigeria. We must embark on in-house searching for possible solution to the menace.

## III. Conclusion

The crucial elements in the good governance being called for in Nigeria are accountability, transparency, predictability, human rights e.t.c. Nigerians can develop the common values necessary for the governance of their societies which in essence must be rooted in the spirit of cooperation, tolerance and adherence to constitutional rules and procedures. The long term salvation of Nigeria therefore, depends on the quality of its leadership. In this context, apart from improved quality of education so as to secure able

future leadership, the present leaders of Nigeria have a special responsibility to develop a new generation of leaders, tested in our era. This is the new challenge to Nigeria leaders and a necessary measure for the country's future that can sustain stability and development. As noted by Oputa (1995), leadership in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society like Africa should adopt secularism as its "magna carta".<sup>40</sup> It should not be seen to unduly attach to a particular religion. The necessary distinctions should be drawn between private religious life of the leaders and his public image as a leader of many different religious groups. This will give the leadership the credibility it so much require to inspire and win the confidence of the entire citizenry. Nigeria leaders should pursue useful economic policies which will benefit the country.

To this end, knowledge that is inwardly sought (i.e. within the confines of Nigeria) can be used to solve the myriads of problems pervading the country. That is, Nigerian solutions should be applied in eliminating various problems bewildering the country.

The [International Center for Ethno-Religious Mediation](#)<sup>41</sup> believes that an international conference on the Traditional Systems of Conflict Resolution is highly needed at this crucial time in world history. The traditional rulers are the custodians of peace at the grassroots level, and for a long time, the international community has ignored them and their wealth of knowledge and wisdom in the areas of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. It is high time we included the traditional rulers and indigenous leaders in the discussion on international peace and security. It is high time we gave them the opportunity to contribute to our overall knowledge of conflict resolution, peacemaking and peacebuilding.

By organizing and hosting an international conference on the traditional systems of conflict resolution, we hope to not only begin a pluri-disciplinary, policy, and legal discussion on the traditional systems of conflict resolution, but most importantly, this international conference will serve as an international forum where researchers, scholars, policy makers and practitioners will have an opportunity to exchange ideas and learn from the traditional rulers from various countries around the world. In turn, the traditional rulers will discover emerging research and best practices presented by scholars and practitioners at the conference. The outcome of the exchange, inquiry and discussion will inform the international community on the roles and importance of the traditional systems of conflict resolution in our contemporary world.

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