The Role of Mediation in Security Management in Nigeria

Dr. Mavalla, Ayuba Gimba Mavalla
Senior Lecturer, Peace and Conflict Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Veronica Adeleke School of Social Science, Babcock University, Ilisan-Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria
Adenuga, Gbeke A.
Lecturer & Head of the Department, Tai Solarin College of Education, Ogun State, Nigeria
Dr. Joan Mbagwu
Senior Lecturer, International Law and Diplomacy, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Veronica Adeleke School of Social Science, Babcock University, Ilisan-Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract:
The paper is on security management in the Nigerian state. Drawing extensively from secondary sources of data on security management, including the internet and journal articles, and with the use of conflict transformation theory as the theoretical framework of the study. The paper examined the management of some selected security challenges in Nigeria including the Niger-Delta crisis, and the agitations for the creation of a Republic of Biafra out of the Nigerian state. It submitted that the preferred security management option in Nigeria is coercion and that this option has become ineffectual in managing security issues. However, this study showed that mediation is the most preferred way of managing violent conflict including militancy, for the desired peace and the conflict transformations of the crises into a sustainable peace. Furthermore, the study identified one of the major causes for the choice of a military approach to addressing violent conflict as; the sanctity of human life is not so valued by government and her agencies. The use of mediation will restore relationship and also give skill for identifying incoming violent conflict and avert the potential violent conflict. Therefore, the study thus recommended that mediation should be fully adopted as the preferred strategy for security management in Nigeria.

Keywords: security management, coercion, mediation, conflict transformation

1. Introduction

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria has survived many security challenges, including ethno-religious crisis, political and economic based violence, and other crisis often associated with a developing multi-ethnic and multi-religious society (Okpaga, Chikioke, Eme& Innocent, 2012). It even went through a civil war between 1967 and 1970 to reintegrate the Eastern Region; which had seceded, back into the Nigerian state. Despite all these challenges which are capable of breaking up federations, as experienced by Sudan, India/Pakistan, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Yugoslavia, Nigeria was able to weather the storms and continued with the uphill task of nation building through national integration and unity (Oyeneye&Adenuga, 2015). However, these security challenges have become more intensified in Nigeria's fourth republic and much more capable of bringing the state to her knees.

2. Statement of the Problem

Nigeria has always managed to grapple with and manage security challenges. However, these challenges have become very intractable in recent times, especially in the fourth republic. This may be adduced to be the inability of the conventional method(s) used by the Nigerian governments to solve security problems. Nigerian state has always used the military as the best alternative in dealing with both social, and internal security matters. Therefore, the focus of this study is that nonviolent methods, such as mediation, is a preferred method of dealing with internal and social insecurity in the country.

2.1. Objectives of the Study

1. Explain security concept
2. Discuss the socio-economic and political factors that are responsible for insecurity in the country;
3. Explore the consequences of wrongly applying purely military means to non-military causes or sources of insecurity and
4. Determine the relevance of adopting peace processes in managing insecurity in the country

2.2. Justification of the Study

The academic and policy relevance of this article cannot be over-emphasized considering the current security realities in the country. Security is a pre-condition for development of all sorts, therefore, whatever effort that must help to promote it must be pursued. Security management in Nigeria has been more military than non-military in its intervention strategies. There is a need to shift paradigm because it is not effective. The casualty level is very high, the impact in terms of ameliorating the situation is very little and citizens all over the world are calling for a change of approach. Scholars like O'Connor (2012) and Haberfeld (2009) are proposing the expansion of the strategies to go beyond just military to include non-military components like mediation as a method of intervention in violent conflict.

Mediation is a process of resolving violent conflict using a third party who takes an intermediary role between and among conflicting parties (Mavalla 2016). The presence of other better approaches for handling internal security issues has led some international actors to call on nations that pursue an approach that is not yielding dividend to change their approaches. The most recent call came from two former US Presidents, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton in December 2012. They argued that the US ess of resolving violent conflict working because 60,000 Mexicans have been killed between 2008 and 2012 and still the US drug problems are not abated. They proposed that the government of America go back to the drawing board because the US approaches are not effective.

In the same vein, this work is proposing that the Nigerian government go back to the drawing board to develop a strategy that goes beyond military force. Without the right strategy on the issue of managing security, the Nigerian government will continue to go round and round in circles trying to fathom a workable solution to the problem of insecurity. This study aspires at helping to provide that right perspective so that policy makers can quickly initiate and implement policies that will be the needed antidote for the prevalent insecurity in Nigeria.

So, proposing a policy change based on academic research is important considering the challenges that Nigeria is facing today with the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) counter terrorism program that is leading to human rights violations as recorded in Baga, Borno State. The Human Rights Watch (2013) report of satellite images reveal massive destruction of civilian property from a military raid on April 16 and 17, 2013, in the northern Nigerian town of Baga. According to the residents, soldiers ransacked the town after the Boko Haram militant Islamist group attacked a military patrol, killing a soldier. They said that immediately after the attack they counted 2,000 burned homes and 183 bodies. Also, the military operations in the Niger Delta is full of woes and violations leading to displacements, deaths and destruction. Reports have it that the Amnesty Program of President Yar'Aduaand continued by President Jonathan had positive influence on the conflict. But, since the government of President Buhari initiated military action in the region, there are escalations of conflicts and blowing up of oil and gas pipelines.   The ongoing call by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPoB) for secession of the Igbos from Nigeria is also attracting military force by the government leading to deaths and destructions. There are increased number of casualties and the situation is not abated. Mediation could be instructional that could lead people to change of attitude (Mavalla 2015). Not only is the study relevant, it is timely.

2.3. Scope of the Study

Although the phenomenon of terrorism, militancy and agitation have come to be major security issues nationwide. The scourge of the problems has spread across the whole length and breadth of the country. The geographical areas of study are Borno and Yobestates for the North-East zone, Imo and Abia states for South East zone and Delta, Bayelsa and Rivers states in South-South zone. The period of study covered is the Nigerian fourth republic.

The thematic scope of the study explains the security concept and discusses the socio-economic and political factors that are responsible for insecurity in the country. The study will also explore the consequences of wrongly applying purely military means as opposed to the use of mediation which is a non-military method of handling sources of insecurity and determine the relevance of adopting peace processes that yields better dividend in the country.

3. Methodology

This study employs the library research method which pulls its data purely from secondary sources. Information are derived from scholarly materials on the internet, in libraries and other secondary sources. The study adopts qualitative narration method in the analysis of the insecurity problem in Nigeria and also make recommendations to address the problem.

3.1. Theoretical Premises

The theories adopted for this study are the Structural Theory of Conflict and the relative deprivation theory of conflict which show the relationship between frustration and aggression in the causation of conflict. The conflict transformation theory explains the relevance of adopting peace processes that resolve violent conflict. The radical structural theory was represented by the Marxist Materialism Theory originating from Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, and V.I. Lenin. Karl Marx in its thesis on historical materialism argued that conflict is hinged on the economic structures and social institutions of any state and that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. The theory attempts to explain conflict as product of the tension that arises when groups must compete for scarce recourses. For Relative Deprivation Theory, the first sets of scholars to link frustration to aggression were Dollard, Millard, et al. (1939) when they proposed the frustration–aggression–displacement theory. They postulated that frustration leads men to act aggressively, but Relative Deprivation Theory was pioneered by James C. Davies in his work, 'Towards a Theory of Revolution' in *American Sociological Review 25* (1962). The theory essentially holds that "feelings of deprivation and frustration underlie individual decisions to engage in collective action." (Davies 1962: 5-19) The Frustration-Aggression theory posits that

whenever disparities exist between aspirations and achievements, people often become frustrated and that frustration ultimately breeds aggression. For this theory, therefore, aggression is the product of frustration (Adenuga, 2003; Ilo&Adenuga, 2013). This theory is deemed appropriate for this study because it provides a psychological insight into the forces that cause conflicts in the Nigerian state. The examination of the case studies lends credence to this assertion. The Niger-Delta is arguably the 'goose that lays the golden egg' of the Nigerian economy as the economy is largely predicated on the crude oil extracted from the region. Rationally, that region should be the most developed region in Nigeria given its economic importance to the country; however, it is the most neglected region in Nigeria and one of the most degraded regions of the world (Oyeneye&Adenuga, 2015). The decades of neglect of the region by successive Nigerian governments made the people of the region frustrated and ultimately led them to commit terrorist acts against the Nigerian state. In the same vein, the genesis of the Boko Haram menace can be traced to a number of factors including religious fanaticism which breeds aggression in the Northern region. The recent agitations for the Republic of Biafra may not be unconnected to the frustration of the Igbo nation over the perceived continued marginalization of their region in the allocation of resources in the Nigerian state. Conflict transformation is a process that seeks to positively transform the relationships of the actors involved in a conflict from being antagonists into partners for peace, security and development through the identification and the resolution of the root causes of the conflict (Mavalla, 2014; Botes, 2003). This study adopts this theory because of its inherent possibilities to change the underlying conditions of conflicts in a way to ensure enduring peace and security between conflict-prone actors.

3.2. An Overview of Security Challenges in Nigeria
As stated earlier, the analysis of security management in Nigeria will be based on three case studies including the Niger-Delta crisis, the Boko Haram terrorism and the on-going agitations for the Republic of Biafra.

3.3. The Niger-Delta Crisis
Oyeneye&Adenuga (2015) argued that a very good analysis of the Niger-Delta crisis must take cognizance of the fact that the region has been suffering from exploitation even before Nigeria attained independence in 1960. During the colonial era, Britain, Nigeria's colonial master, forcefully subjugated the region in order to have unhindered access to the palm oil which the region was famous for and which Britain needed for her industries. With the discovery of crude oil in the region, the exploitation became more intensified without any worthwhile development in the region. The first armed rebellion in the region was an insurgence led by Isaac AdakaBoro in the mid-1960s. He was later arrested, prosecuted and executed. In the early 1990s, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSSOP) led by Ken Saro-Wiwa, demanded for the development of the region and threatened to disrupt oil exploration in the region if their demand was not met.

3.4. The Boko Haram Terrorism
Scholars have adduced many factors, including religious fanaticism, endemic poverty, bad governance, oppression, political alienation, and a high level of illiteracy, for the formation and the activities of the Boko Haram group in Northern Nigeria (Onyebuchi&Chigozie, 2013; Animasawun&Saka, 2013; Tonwe& Eke, 2013; Okedele, Adenuga&Aborisade, 2014). A write-up on the formation and activities of the group will be an exercise in triteness. However, it is pertinent to note that religious fanaticism and bigotry, especially by adherents of some Islamic sects have long been a major cause of insecurity in the region. This section will however focus essentially on how mediation at the level of states' interaction has helped to stem and to roll back the Boko Haram terrorism. Nigeria sees herself as the champion of the African continent and to this end, her foreign policy is essentially Afrocentric. In the West African sub-region, she plays a 'big brother' role to other countries by helping them out of their crisis. This can be witnessed in the enormous human and financial resources she expended in resolving the Civil Wars in Sierra-Leone and Liberia. However, these countries do not always readily support Nigeria in her times of need. This may be attributed to their colonial past. Nigeria was colonized by Britain while about twelve of the sixteen countries in the sub-region, especially all her close neighbours, were colonized by France and they still maintain closer ties with their colonial master than with Nigeria. Nigeria's neighbours, especially those at her northern borders tend to be of security concern to her national interests. Danjibo (2009) reports that MuhammedMarwa, the leader of the Maitatsine group which unleashed a reign of terror on Northern Nigeria in the 1980s was actually an immigrant from Northern Cameroun. He also reports that Mohammed Yusuf, the first leader of the Boko Haram group, though a Nigerian, prior to the formation of the group, spent many years in Chad and Niger republic and that the group has many members from these countries. Campbell (2010) also notes that the choice of Borno as the headquarters of the Boko Haram group was strategic because of its close proximity to the Sahara which is a gateway to influences from Chad and Sudan. The rate and ease with which members of the Boko Haram moved between Nigeria and these countries suggest that these countries, overtly or covertly, had sympathies for the Boko Haram cause. Thomson (2012) also avers that the Nigerian government had dealt decisively with the leadership and the rank and file of the group in 2009.Many of them fled to Chad, Niger and Cameroon, only for the group to bounce back better coordinated and more invigorated. This suggests that they had received material, financial and psychological encouragements in their retreats. It should also be noted that these countries made no formal approach to help Nigeria stamp out the Boko Haram terrorism until France arranged a meeting between them and Nigeria early in 2014.

3.5. The Agitations for the Republic of Biafra
The recent agitations for the creation of an independent Biafra from the Nigerian state can best be understood in the context of the Civil War. It was fought between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the then Eastern Region between 1967 and 1970 over the

latter's bid to secede from Nigeria. Oyeneye&Adenuga (2015) enumerated the factors that led to the Civil War to include; the structural imbalance of the Nigerian state which favoured the Northern Region over and above the other regions, the discovery of oil in commercial quantities at Oloibiri in the Eastern Region. Also, the Coups d'état of January 15 and July 29, 1966, the refusal of Col. OdumegwuOjukwu, the Military Governor of the Eastern Region, to recognize Col. Yakubu Gowon as the Military Head of State, Other factors include the pogrom of Igbo people in the Northern region, and the refusal of the Military Federal Government to implement the terms of the Aburi Accord. Subsequently, on May 30, 1967, Ojukwu declared that the Eastern Region had pulled out of Nigeria and that it had become the Republic of Biafra. On the heels of this declaration, the Federal Government declared a war which it termed a "Police Action" to re-integrate the Eastern Region back into the Nigerian State.

The Civil War, as most wars are, was prosecuted with much bitterness as expressed in the torture and wholesale murder of captured combatants and non-combatants, the rape of girls and women and other forms of degrading and beastly acts which often accompany wars (Oyeneye&Adenuga, 2015). The Eastern Region felt the brunt of the war as it was the major theatre of the war and after sustaining heavy human and material losses, it surrendered to the Federal Government on 15 January, 1970. The Federal Government thereafter embarked on a policy of Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction to fully integrate the Eastern Region back into the Nigerian State. Since the 1970s, there have been various calls for a re-creation of the Republic of Biafra but these calls assumed the form of agitations often accompanied by violence as from 2014.

4. Government Response Strategy and Its Effects

4.1. Niger Delta
Nigerian governments often employ coercion to resolve security challenges but this method has become largely ineffectual. In the case of Niger Delta, the government responded by arresting and executing Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other leaders of MOSSOP. Different armed groups, of which the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) was the most notable, thus sprang up to frustrate the activities of the government in the region. The activities of these groups drastically reduced the capability of the federal government to exploit the crude oil in the region and the economy took a downward slide. Successive Nigerian governments tried to use the military option to quell the rebellion to no avail until June 2009 when the Late President UmaruYar'Adua unveiled an amnesty plan which included a dialogue process between the representatives of the region and the government, the creation of the Ministry of Niger-Delta to ensure the development of the region, increase in revenue allocation to the region, and creation of job opportunities for the youths of the region (Okedele, Adenuga&Aborisade, 2014). However, the amnesty plan of 2006 became the magical wand that helped to effectively resolve the conflict. This study argues that the amnesty plan was, and still is, a process of conflict transformation through mediation. Firstly, the amnesty plan was packaged to address the fundamental problems of the region which centred on sustainable development and resource control in such a way as to positively transform the relationships in the region and between the region and other regions in the Nigerian state. Secondly, it satisfied about four out of the five conditions given by Sargsyan (2003) for a successful mediation process. The disputants in the conflict, that is the federal government and the militants, realized that they were unlikely to achieve their goals through continued violent actions. The economic and political costs of the crisis were becoming unbearable for both sides. The region had leaders who possessed sufficient authority to negotiate with the federal government on behalf of the people of the region. National and international non-governmental organizations were also interested in the peaceful resolution of the crisis and in this wise, the amnesty plan was a process of mediation. An analysis of the management of the Niger-Delta crisis will reveal that the conventional method used by successive Nigerian governments to manage crisis is the military option. While this strategy of using the military to subjugate opposition worked in the pre-independence era and in the 1960s/70s, it woefully failed to curb the militancy that erupted after the hanging of the 9Ogoni people in the late 1990s. Successive governments between 1995 and 2006 tried to militarize the region in order to quell the insurgency but all to no avail.

4.2. Boko Haram
Danjibo (2009) records that the initial response of the Nigerian government to Boko Haram crisis was that of trivialization as President Yar'Adua chose to go to Brazil while a large section of the country was on fire. On his return, embarrassed by the "Boko Haram" violence, the President set up a Commission of Inquiry headed by the National Security Adviser to the President, retired General Abdul SarkiMukhtar, with a mandate to look into the crisis. But most importantly, to look into the circumstances of the death of Yusuf and other leaders of the sect. Like most other Commissions of Inquiry, it did not lead to any meaningful outcome.

But when the government decided to intervene, it adopted a crude response by use of force and tried to justify it by saying that the sectarian movement wanted to depose the government of President Yar'Adua. *News watch* magazine reported that the security forces, especially the Nigeria Army and the Nigeria Police were engaged in reckless killings of members of the sect. An eye witness recounted to *News watch*: *"They are killing these people like chickens",* obviously referring to the indiscriminate manner by which members of the sect were being killed by Nigerian security forces.   The Amnesty International Report (2009) describes how the Nigerian Police Force is responsible for hundreds of extra-judicial killings and disappearances each year across the country that largely "go uninvestigated and unpunished." (Forrest 2012:91) An example is the brutal killing of the original leader Mohammed Yusuf and other members. Human Rights Watch recorded that after Boko Haram militants attacked an army patrol in Maiduguri with explosives and gunfire on 9 July 2011, injuring two soldiers, locals reported that the army began burning homes and shooting unarmed civilians. United Nations Integrated Regional Information Networks news service reported that:

- Soldiers began shooting in the air...breaking into homes, singling out male occupants and shooting them, and driving women out of the houses which they set ablaze. (Forest 2012:91)

According to Omotola (2010), African leaders' counter terrorism strategies are full of controversies following human rights abuses. He argues that the strategies adopted for countering terrorism could constitute a threat to human rights and national security. The expansion of the strategies poses dangers to human rights, essentially because they create room for governments to enact counter-terrorism legislation whose latitude of power may be unlimited - powers of arrest, detention, prosecution, denial of bail, and so on. Even though national security, a cornerstone in a country's national interest, is usually advanced as the reason for heightening the war against terrorism, unfortunately, the military-like fashion in which the war against terror has been fought has compromised and complicated the security situation.

- As people's rights are flagrantly violated in the course of prosecuting the war, new sources of security threats develop. People will respond to the violation of their rights in some way, most likely in a violent manner, especially when they have explored available sources of local remedy without respite. While terrorism leads to the severe violation of people's civil liberties and state and societal security, the management of terrorism has the potential to degenerate into further human rights and security threats. This is particularly so when counter-terrorism measures adopt the ongoing excessively militarized direction championed by the US in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks. (Omotola 2010: 43)

4.3. Indigenous People of Biafra

The Federal Government typically responded to the IPOB agitation by arresting and detaining NnamdiKanu' the most outspoken crusader for the creation of the Republic of Biafra. The Minister for Information, Mr. Lai Mohammed sometime in December of 2015 announced that the Biafra agitation was 'completely legitimate' and blamed it on the poor economy but President Buharilater announced that "I therefore sound a note of serious warning that the corporate existence of Nigeria as a single entity is not a subject of debate and will not be compromised." With this statement, it is obvious that the President or the government has no plan to engage in any form of dialogue with these agitators. And in line with this understanding the leader of the group, Mr. NnamdiKanu has been incarcerated for months without being charged to court.   According to Sahara Newspapers, "there is a great clash between the pro-Biafra activists in Onitsha and the Nigerian army fired shots and many are feared dead". The Sun Newspaper of November 11th 2015, the Army authorities have directed General Officers Commanding (GOCs) of all its division across the country to issue a subtle warning to the agitators on the consequences of their actions and the likely penalty for such. The GOC, 81 Division in Lagos, Major-General IsidoreEdet, in a warning to those calling for separation of some states from Nigeria, said, "committing treasonable felony and arson, as well as wanton destruction of lives and properties would not be tolerated by the Nigerian Army." From the foregoing, it becomes apparent that some fundamental issues and conditions led to the Civil War. The Federal Government's policy of Reconciliation, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction was of immense help in enhancing national unity after the war. Conflict transformation. Track two mediation has the potential of addressing the issues and conditions that led to the war in the first instance. However, this was not adequately carried out. The policy also lacked the conditions for a successful mediation process as it was more of a magnanimous offer from a victorious party to a defeated foe. The inability of the Federal Government to address the underlying conditions that led to the Civil War has generated the repeated calls for the creation of the Republic of Biafra.

5. An Appeal to Adopt Conflict Resolution Strategies for Security Management

With relevant case studies, this study asserted that mediation/negotiation provides a better option for security management as it positively transforms the relationships between the disputants through the resolution of the underlying conditions of the security challenges. The UNDP report (1994) describes security as safety from such chronic threats like hunger, disease and repression and from sudden disruptions in the pattern of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities. Okoli&Orinya (2013:68) gives a broad definition of security by describing it as:

freedom from actual and potential threats to human life, safety and survival which may arise as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disasters such as flood, earthquakes, famine, drought, disease and other non-man made calamitous events resulting in death, human suffering and material damage

For Nwolise (1988), security management is seen as the ability of a state to ensure national security and national security encompasses the measures, facilities and systems put in place by a nation to secure its citizens and resources from danger and risk. The United States Department of Defence (2005) also describes it as a condition that results from the establishment and maintenance of protective measures that ensure a state of inviolability from hostile acts or influences. The 1994 UNDP report also indicates that the concept on national security is basically seen as the ability of a state to secure its territory from external aggression or to use its foreign policies to protect and further national interests.

5.1. Mediation

Mediation, according to Ridley-Duff &Bennet (2010), is a process where an impartial third party encourages the actors in a conflict to agree to an acceptable outcome. They refer to it as "…a process by which an impartial third party helps two (or more) disputants work out how to resolve a conflict. The disputants, not the mediators, decide the terms of any agreement reached" (ibid. 4).

Mason (2007) describes mediation as the process of transforming conflicts with the support of an acceptable third party. He avers that mediation refers to:

- The intervention in a negotiation or a conflict of an acceptable third party…which assists the involved parties to voluntarily reach a mutually acceptable settlement of the issues in dispute. In addition to addressing substantive issues, mediation may also establish or strengthen relationships of trust and respect between parties or terminate relationships in a manner that minimizes costs and psychological harm. (P. 19)

From the above conceptualizations of mediation, this study aligns itself with conflict transformation. As explained under the theoretical framework, conflict transformation seeks to identify and resolve the causal factors of a conflict in order to transform the relationships between the disputants. In the same vein, mediation also seeks to establish or strengthen relationships of trust and respect between disputants. Mavalla (2015:47) also posits that a major responsibility of a mediator is "to improve the behaviour of conflicting parties towards one another…" which buttresses the stand of this study that conflict transformation finds full expression in mediation. There are basically two different kinds of mediation namely "Track One diplomacy" which is formal and carried out by state officials who are referred to as diplomats and the "Track Two diplomacy" which is informal and which is carried out by non-official mediators (Mavalla, 2015).

Sargsyan (2003:4) listed five conditions for a successful mediation process and these include:
  i. Disputants must realise that they are unlikely to get what they want through unilateral action;
  ii. Alternatives to agreement must involve unacceptable economic or political cost;
  iii. Representatives of the disputing parties must have sufficient authority to speak for their members and commit to a course of action;
  iv. Other international and regional interests with stake in the dispute must exert pressure for resolution; and
  v. A mediator must be available who is acceptable to all sides.

5.2. Negotiation
The scholars in this study conducted a field survey to measure what the citizens think about non-military strategies for countering insecurity, and this is the result.

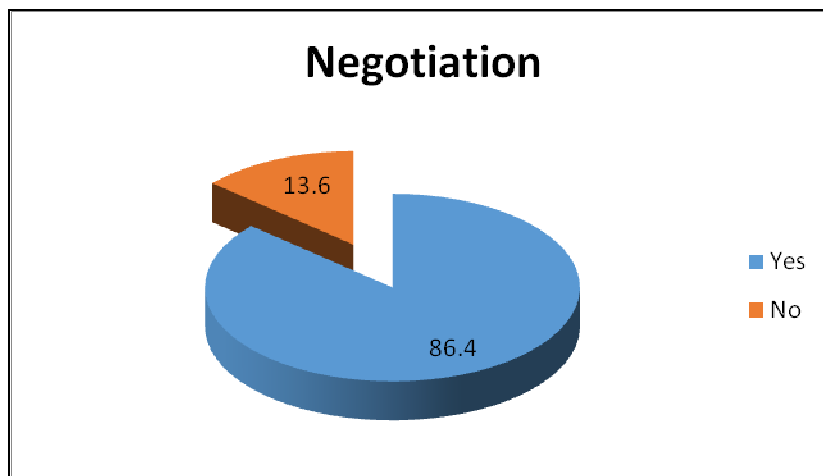| Major Issue of Investigation	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I think the government should negotiate with the terrorist groups to know what their grievances are.	207 (55.2%)	117 (31.2%)	27 (7.2%)	24 (6.4%)

Table 1

Figure 1

Negotiation is another non-military means that would help stem out terrorism in Nigeria according to the responses of the respondents. 324 (86%) of the respondents agreed that negotiation would be helpful in countering all forms of insecurity in Nigeria. Many of them believe that government should negotiate with members of terrorist organizations, militants and the agitators for Biafra to know what their complaints are.

Also, most of the respondents interviewed were supportive of the proposal that government should negotiate with them because it could afford the opportunity to know their grievances' and discussions to address them will ensue. The respondents argue that the beauty of negotiation is that it will help to address the root causes of the insurgency, agitation and militancy which will bring sustainable solution instead of just addressing the symptoms. A respondent from Borno argued that the military solution is leading to grave consequences as innocent civilians are caught in the crossfire and the death toll is very high. Apart from the deaths due to the crossfire, the military strategy is leading to poor economic activities as traders cannot cross the borders anymore, leading to further impoverishment thereby making the whole strategy counter-productive. He argued that if some form of negotiation is carried out, better result will be achieved. A Muslim cleric and an NGO operator interviewed on the 24th July 2014 in Kano State supported

negotiation. They even made reference to ShehuSani, the northern human rights activist who also proposed that the government should negotiate with the Boko Haram terrorist group. Even though, most of the interviewed respondents were of the view that negotiation is needed, they also identified the challenges of negotiating with faceless people who cannot be identified. The scholar who was also a member of the Federal Government Committee, did not hesitate to argue in favor of the government's efforts to negotiate with them.

6. Conclusion

This study has shown that mediation provides the most effective mechanism for managing security and thus, the Nigerian government should make mediation the preferred security option. On the issue of the Republic of Biafra, mediation should be fully utilized to address and, if possible, redress the fundamental fears of the Igbo people concerning their real and perceived marginalization in the Nigerian state. Any other security management strategy, especially coercive measures, may revert Nigeria back to the horrible days of the Civil War.

7. Recommendation

1. Government at all levels (Federal, State and Local) should engage communities and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in the fight against insecurity since these insurgents are drawn from these communities;
2. The Federal Government should adopt peace processes to counter insecurity in the country.

8. References

i. Adenuga, G. A. (2003). Global relations in the new world order: the implication for the international security system. A dissertation submitted to the department of political science in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of a Master of Science degree in the faculty of social science of the University of Ibadan.
ii. Animasawun, G. & L. Saka (2013). Causal analysis of radical Islamism in northern Nigeria's fourth republic. African Security Review. 22 (4), 216-231.
iii. Botes, J. (2003). Conflict transformation: a debate over semantics or a crucial shift in the theory and practice of peace and conflict studies. The International Journal of Peace Studies. 8 (2).
iv. Campbell, J. (2010). Nigeria: dancing on the brink. Lanham: Rowman& Littlefield Publishers.
v. Danjibo, N. D. (2009). Islamic fundamentalism and sectarian violence: the 'maitatsine and 'boko haram' crises in northern Nigeria. In Boutillier C. (ed.) Proceedings of the 2009 IFRANigeria Conference in Zaria.
vi. Ikerionwu, I. D. (2014). The global Islamic resurgence and book haram insurgency in Nigeria. Athesis submitted to the peace and conflict studies program in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts, university of Massachusetts.
vii. Ilo, M. I. O. & G. A. Adenuga (2013). Governance and Security Challenges in Nigeria: A Studyof the Fourth Republic. Journal of the National Association for Science, Humanities and Education Research (NASHER). 11 (2). P. 31-35.
viii. Mavalla, A. G. (2014). Conflict transformation: Churches in the face of structural violence in Northern Nigeria. Oxford: Regnum Books International.
ix. Mavalla, A. G. (2015). Mediation: an approach for healing broken relationships. Markudi: Berry Books Publishing.
x. Mason, S. A. (2007). Mediation and facilitation in peace processes. Zurich: Center for Security Studies.
xi. Nwolise, O.B.C. (1988). Nigeria's defence and security system today. In Uleazu (ed) Nigeria: the first 25 years. Ibadan: Heinemann publishers.
xii. Okedele, A. O., G. A. Adenuga& D. A. Aborisade (2014). The Nigerian state under the siege of terrorism: the implications for national development. The Scholars' Link. 2 (1). P. 125-134
xiii. Okoli, A. C. &Orinya, S. (2013). Oil pipeline vandalism and Nigeria's national security. Global Journal of Human Social Science. 13 (5), 67-75
xiv. Okpaga, A., U.S. Chijioke, Eme& O. Innocent (2012). Activities of boko haram and insecurity question in Nigeria. Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Oman Chapter). 1 (9).
xv. Onimode, B. (2000). Africa in the world of twenty first century. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. December 14.
xvi. Onyebuchi, E. E. & C. F. Chigozie (2013). Islamic fundamentalism and problem of insecurity in Nigeria: the boko haram phenomenon. IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science.15 (3). 43-53.
xvii. Otite, O. (1990). Ethnic pluralism in Nigeria. Ibadan: Shareson.
xviii. Oyeneye, I. O. & G. A. Adenuga (2015). The role of diplomacy, development and defense in ensuring peace and security in multi-ethnic and religious states: a case study of Nigeria.A paper presented at the 2nd annual international conference of the International Center for Ethno-Religious Mediation (ICERM), New York. Oct. 10th.
xix. Ridley-Duff, R. J. &Bennet, A. J. (2010). Mediation: developing a theoretical framework to understand alternative dispute resolution. Paper presented to British Academy of Management, University of Sheffield, 14th-16th Sept.
xx. Salawu, B. & Hassan, A. O. (2011). Ethnic politics and its implications for the survival of democracy in Nigeria. Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research. 3 (2). P. 28-33.
xxi. Sargsyan, I. (2003). International mediation in theory and practice: lessons of Nagorno- Karabakli. The American Center for National and International Studies. TheUnited States Department of Defence (2005)

xxii.   Thomson, V. (2012). Boko Haram and Islamic fundamentalism. Global Security Studies. 3 (3),46-60

xxiii. Tonwe, D. A. & S. J. Eke (2013). State fragility and violent uprisings in Nigeria: the case of boko haram. African Security Review. 22 (4)

xxiv.   United Nations Development Report, 1994

xxv.   Forest, James J.F. (2012). Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Florida: The Joint Special Operations University Press

xxvi.   Omotola, J. S. (2010). Assessing Counter-Terrorism Measures in Africa: Implications for Human Rights and National Security. Conflict Trends. 2, 41–48.

xxvii. Danjibo (2009)Danjibo, D. N. (2010). 'Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The 'Maitatsine' and 'Boko Haram' Crises in Northern Nigeria'. Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. [online] available from http://www.ifranigeria.org/spip.php?article156 [16 May 2013

xxviii. O'Connor (2012) O'Connor, T. (2012). 'Counterterrorism: Military and Economic Options.'MegaLinks in Criminal Justice. [online] available from   http://www.drtomoconnor.com/3400/3400lect08a.htm. [16 May 2013]

xxix.   Haberfeld, M. R., & von Hassell, A. (2009). Proper Proactive Training to Terrorist Presenceand Operations in Friendly Urban Environments pp. 9-22 Springer US