

**NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY
JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES**



Volume 2 Number 1 April 2018 ISSN: 2536-73



A Publication of the Faculty of Humanities,
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil - Kano

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A Publication of the Faculty of Humanities,
Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil - Kano by
Gwatex Publishers, Makurdi, Benue State, Nigeria.
Website: www.gwatexpublishers.com
Email: gwatexv@gmail.com ; Phone: 08069263543

NIGERIA POLICE ACADEMY JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES

Volume 2 Number 1

June, 2018

ISSN 2536-7374

A Publication of the Faculty of Humanities, Nigeria Police
Academy, Wudil - Kano

EDITORIAL NOTE

Police Academy Journal of Humanities (PAJH): A Journal of the Faculty of Humanities, Nigeria Police Academy Wudil, Kano State. It publishes well-researched and peer-reviewed articles in all areas of humanities broadly defined including but not limited to English Language, French, English Literature, Linguistics, Nigerian Languages and History. The Journal is published twice a year. All materials submitted for publication should be typed in Microsoft Word format in Times New Roman, 12 point font on A4 paper. An article for submission to the journal should not exceed 8,000 words in length. It should also include in the main text an abstract not exceeding 250 words, an introduction, main body and conclusion depending on the type of subject covered or disciplinary orientation of the paper.

Subscription Rates are:

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THE UNRESOLVED MINORITY QUESTION IN AN ELECTIONEERING SOCIETY: THE IGBOMINA DILEMMA

Aboyeji, Adeniyi Justus, PhD

Abstract

The thesis of this paper bothers on the dilemma of the Igbomina people and the yet-to-be-resolved lingering minority question, within the electioneering society she finds herself. The long siege on the political will of the marginalised minority peoples, particularly Igbomina, should not be misconstrued as a resort to fate; but a "muted brouhaha" or at best, a bottled explosive! Or is it not a fool that loves his chains even if ornamented with gold? Only timid men prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty. The paper adopts the historical, narrative and multi-disciplinary approach, with a combination of primary and secondary sources of data collection. The findings in this study point to the fact that despite the myriads of accolades, following the 2015 General Elections, much is yet left to be desired, particularly by the aggrieved minority who seem not to be getting the best from the electioneering society. The paper concludes that the micro-revolution experienced during the 2015 General Elections, which came as a rude shock to the political power brokers, might just be the beginning of a Macro-revolution, from the minority and unjustly 'schismised' people. This paper, on one hand, recommends an urgent attention from a responsive government to the plight of the marginalised minority groups in Nigeria. On the other hand, it challenges the Igbomina and other minority groups to be more spirited in their pursuit of the ideology of the "effacement of man's inhumanity to man"; for there the victory lies!

Keywords: Igbomina, electioneering, schismised, minority question, dilemma.

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Introduction

Not until Nigeria had witnessed a peaceful hand-over from the then ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), now opposition, to the then opposition, the All Progressives Congress (APC), now ruling party, on May 29th, 2015 did the nerves of most Nigerians begin to relax and de-flex from the fears of electoral violence that threatened the very existence of Nigeria as a nation. The fears were particularly exacerbated by series of secular predictions and religious prophecies of blood-shed, violence, killings, maiming, irregularities and the possible break-up of the country. This was supposed to put to an end the 100 year-amalgamation treaty of Nigeria's nationhood. The United States of America's prediction of the disintegration of Nigeria by 2015,¹ was particularly most destabilising. Political parties and the media particularly made matters worse with unguarded actions, speeches or statements, campaign flashes and counter measures which only helped to heighten the political tensions.

However, against all scepticism, "the rancorous electioneering that paved the way for one of the most fiercely-fought elections in the history of this country"² eventually came to shock all cynics as it was applauded and reputed as one of the freest and fairest³ in Nigeria's electoral history both internally and internationally. Prof Lai Olurode, the National Commissioner of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) South-West Zone, has described the 2015 Polls as "Most credible in Nigerian History".⁴ World leaders and organisations such as the United States President Barack Obama, the United Kingdom Prime Minister David Cameron, French President Jacob Zuma, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, the European Union, the ECOWAS Election Observation Mission headed by former Ghanaian President John Kufuor, the African Union and the Commonwealth have all applauded the conduct of the Nigerian General Elections.⁵

However, despite all the accolades from both local and international observers applauding the conduct of the elections by the Professor Attahiru Jega-led Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), yet, much more is still desired by the Nigerian masses. The menace of under-aged registration and

voting in a number of places as reported by the media, failure of card readers to work in some places and the lingering and unresolved minority issues, among other things, leave much more to be desired. Hence, although the much-awaited 2015 Nigerian General Elections have come and gone and have been won and lost, yet, some echoes of the exercise are still resonating. Since elections have been described as 'the hallmark of democracy' as well as 'the heart of the democratic order'⁶, a succinct discourse of the evolution and development of Democracy is deemed necessary.

Evolution of Democracy

Democracy was an entirely unknown concept and style of governance to the entire world till around 500 BC. It was undoubtedly one of the most important political discoveries and so, final outcome of constitutional experimentations consequent upon the governmental crises and political irregularities experienced in the Greek Peninsula. At first, the Greek city-states adopted Monarchy, where one person ruled. However, following the unrelenting clamour by people for a fair share in government, the kings were expelled around 700 BC. Monarchy, thus gave way for Aristocracy, where a few people (of the wealthy noble families) ruled. Meanwhile, the system soon became abandoned as the poorer members of the society felt often ill-treated. Hence, they reverted, once more, to a one-man rule. That man was called a Tyrant. The Tyrant, at the outset, was a good man, well-loved by his people as he did much to improve and better their lot. He was particularly helpful to the poorer classes in the ousting of the selfish nobles. But the tyrant also soon became as cruel and oppressive as the nobles they had criticised and repelled. This act might have given expression to our contemporary understanding of 'tyrant' or 'tyranny'. They were consequently overthrown too; and in the long run, further constitutional experimentation gave a trial to a governmental style known as Democracy, where all the people ruled.⁷ It should be noted, however, that suffrage was not enjoyed by all and sundry in the sense of it then as slaves, women and many were not part of the decision making body known as the Assembly.

Democracy contrasts with other forms of government, such as *Monarchy* (rule by one man: king, queen, or emperor), *Oligarchy* (rule by a few persons), *Aristocracy* (rule by a privileged noble class) and *Despotism* (absolute rule by a single personality) or *Dictatorship*, going by modern parlance. Apart from the fact that some of these institutions fashioned by the Greeks, especially the Assembly, were replicated in later democracies, the ideas have also greatly inspired later philosophers and political scientists to understudy how democracies actually operate and to reflect on the *preferability* of democracy to other forms of government. Democracy thus, came as the third and most enduring of the trio of governance styles experimented upon and adopted by the Old Greek City-states, notably Athens. The word, democracy draws its etymology from the Greek words *demos* ("people") and *kratos* ("rule") in the mid-5th century BC, which literally means "rule by the people".⁸

The evolution of Western Democracy began with the first famous revolution against Royal Absolutism in England, which attained its apogee with the execution of King Charles I in 1642. Political and revolutionary actions against autocratic European governments culminated into the establishment of Republican governments, some of which, though still largely autocratic, operated with increasing tendencies towards democracies. Since British politics was then the greatest single influence on the organisation of world democracies, a representative legislature modelled upon the British, for the most part, became institutionalised. The eventual success of the United States of America's democratic institutions has today constituted an alternative model for many.⁹

Following the worldwide crusade for democratisation by the Capitalist world led by the USA, by and large, democracy has become the norm for a large chunk of the globe. Even though America's eccentricity about the global democratisation crusade was borne out of ingenuity¹⁰, the larger chunk of the world now operates one form democracy or the other. While some follow the Classical direct model of the Greeks, meaning 'the rule of the people', for the most part, the indirect style of Western

representative democracy is the realistic model. Most parts of Africa fell for the Capitalist bait having been bitten by the bug of the campaign for democratisation, following harrowing years of military rule. For Nigeria, this came on 29th May, 1999 among much pomp and pageantry. This extravagant kick-off is reputed as the most extravagant hand-over the world ever witnessed.¹¹

Over the years, Nigeria's democracy has been described differently. While at its nascent stage, it was rightly prefixed as nascent¹², some saw it as a pseudo-democracy.¹³ In his own case, Abati dubbed it as 'flawed-democracy'¹⁴ while Onyibe chose to describe it as nothing but 'legitimised despotism'.¹⁵ Although many of these appear rather derogatory, they undeniably probed into the democratic content and extent of our democratic tenet. Or to make it more rhetorical, "How democratic is our democracy?" Although democracy, undoubtedly, is a Capitalist agenda, for many, the Nigerian style is nothing but a mockery of the ideal democracy which was defined by Abraham Lincoln as 'the government of the people, by the people and for the people'.¹⁶ It is notable, at this juncture, that the last phrase, 'for the people' obviously portrays the paradigm shift from the Classical model to the Representative framework, of course, necessitated by the ever-increasing explosive population and size of our societies today.¹⁷

The Place of Elections in an Electioneering Society

With the representative democracy came the challenge of and need for choosing such representatives in a way acceptable to people. Plausibly, it was this exigency that birthed the concept of election and launched mankind into an electioneering society. Although the Electoral process had been in use in the Ancient Greek peninsula, particularly Athens, as well as in Rome and in the selection of Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, the modern form of elections could only be traced from the 1600s, with the emergence of representative governments across Europe and North America. Etymologically, the word election itself is derived from the Latin verb *legere*, meaning "to choose.... Elections are the process through which citizens choose who will represent

them in government or what will be done about a particular issue".¹⁸ Essentially therefore, alternatives are the essence of elections. It is the acceptable procedure for choosing for a public position by voting. It is the means by which the people choose and exercise some degree of control over their representatives. It is also the action or an instance of choosing by vote one or more of the candidates for a position especially for a political office.¹⁹ Olaniyi also sees it as "the essential ingredient of transitory process from one civilian administration to another...it is incomprehensible in contemporary times to think of democracy without linking it to the idea and practice of elections."²⁰

Bye and large therefore, much of our societies today, have become largely electioneering. Nigeria is an electioneering society where elections empower the electorates to choose leaders and to hold them accountable for their stewardship in office. The necessity of elected officers to acquiesce to periodic elections is an essential element of democracy. Elections educate the general public, making government more responsive and accountable to the electorate. Apart from conferring legitimacy, which demonstrates the transfer of governmental authority from the electorate to the elected representatives, elections constitute the means of political participation in an electioneering (i.e. democratic) society.²¹

For the Igbomina and other minority groups, to enjoy a sense of belonging in the electioneering society they find themselves, those who wield power through the mandate of the electorate which of course includes of the minority groups, need to demonstrate their responsiveness and accountability to the aspirations of the governed. Despite the reported long-term decline in the turn-out of national elections in western democracies since the 1970s²², in a society with growing political consciousness such as ours and where elections are competitive, issues of importance to voters need not only be given wide public discussion but sombre attention. Since the inclusion of elective principles in the 1922/23 Constitution by Sir Hugh Clifford, elections had been introduced into the Nigerian political scene as a means of filling political positions.²³

Geography

It is rather superfluous to say that Nigeria is a heterogeneous nation-state, housing three major ethnic groups, some 250 different ethnic nationalities and well over 500 languages and dialects.²⁴ Yoruba is one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. But, during the 19th century, when internal division became endemic among the Yoruba, the various Yoruba groups - the Oyo-Yoruba, Egba, Ondo, Ijebu, Ekiti, Ife, Ijesa and Igbomina - to name only a few, began to regard themselves as distinct groups and rejected the eponymous label, 'Yoruba' to which they all now answer. But not only did they emphasise sub-ethnic identity, they also turned their country into a war theatre, a phenomenon, which has misled many historians to see Yoruba history in the 19th century in predominantly military term.²⁵

The Yoruba are said to form the largest ethnic group in the forest-belt of West Africa, although geography-wise, monolithically positioned. The Igbomina are a distinct dialectic unit of the Yoruba. They are pure Yoruba²⁶ and one of the major ethnic groups found in eastern Yorubaland.²⁷ Indeed, the term 'Igbomina' refers to the people, the land they occupy and the language they speak.²⁸ They are made up of many sub-units such as the Ila, Ipo, Oro, Aran, Iyanga, Isin, Irese, Esisa, Ile-Ire, Oke-Ode and Share. There are well over 250 Igbomina towns and villages, straddling between Kwara and Osun States.²⁹ Indeed, all Igbomina towns, apart from the Oke-Ila, Ajaba, Ila-Orangun sub-unit and Ora-Igbomina, in the present Ila and Ifedapo LGAs of Osun State,³⁰ are presently located in Kwara State of Nigeria. They are particularly found in the whole of Isin, Ifelodun and Irepodun L.G.A of the State. However, other pockets of Igbomina towns have been discovered in other districts of Kwara State, including Jeba in Lanwa District, Apado in the Iponrin District, Apa-Ola, Joroma, Ilota, Fufu, among others in Akanbi District and Ogbondoroko in Afon District, now classified as Ilorin Emirate some of which have been referred to as "Igbomina in Diaspora".³¹ Dada revealed that the mother of *Sulu Gambari*, the ninth emir of Ilorin was an Igbomina from Agbeyangi in Iponrin District of Ilorin East L.G.A.³²

The Igbomina area, perhaps, to lend some credence to Johnson claim,³³ was said to have included Illofa, Ekan, Odo-Owa, Osi, Oshin, and Obo, whose peoples are no more particularly keen in joining their Igbomina brethren.³⁴ This might provide a historical rationale for the inclusion of Ekiti and Oke-Ero LGAs in the recently proposed Igbomina state, with a projected population of 708, 220 people in 2010.³⁵ The projection was drawn from the approximated 625, 966 population figures based on the available 2006 census (although controversial) – a population which is higher than the projected 516 176 population of Cape Verde, a sovereign country by the beginning of 2015.³⁶ It also projects a population of 781, 737 by the end of Year 2015 – a rationale to exist as a state within a country based on that international criterion. The 2006 population census' results published in 2007, corroborates the above population figure. The populations of Ifelodun (206, 042), Irepodun (148, 610), Isin (59,738) LGAs in Kwara State, with Ifedayo (37, 058) and Ila (62, 049) in Osun State total 513, 497 people. Adding Oke-Ero (57, 619) and Ekiti (54, 850) LGAs, the census figure stood at 625, 966;³⁷ not counting other Igbomina communities that appear to have been subsumed and acculturated into the LGAs of the fast-expanding Ilorin emirate.³⁸

Hogben and Kirk-Greene noted that the 'powerful' Igbomina predominated in the area to the south and east of Ilorin town.³⁹ The Igbomina reportedly formed at least, three-quarters of the inhabitants of Ilorin province, occupying a large area extending as far as Ila-Orangun in Oyo province; Ila being the most southerly town of this area. The population of Igbomina particularly attests to its indispensability in an electioneering society.

Dosunmu reveals that Igbominaland falls between Longitude 8° and 9° North and Latitude 4° and 6° East, with an area of land covering about 66, 709²kms.⁴⁰ Igbominaland is bounded to the west by Ilorin; to the north-east by the Yagba; to the south-east by the Ekiti; to the north by the Nupe; and to the southwest by the Ibolo, while she shares her northern boundary with the

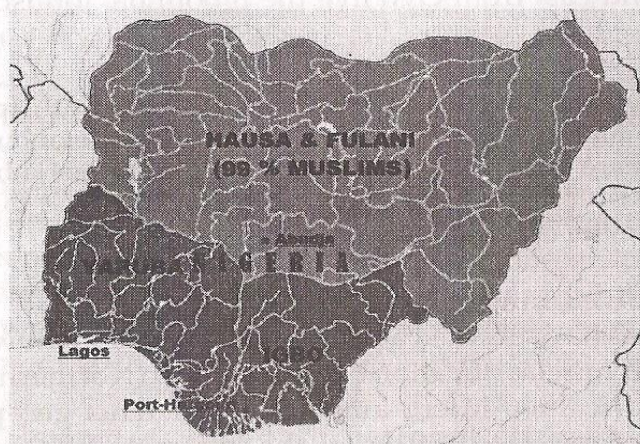
Yoruba of present Osun State.⁴¹ To the north of the Ijesa and the Ekiti, and east from Oyo live the Igbomina. Johnson noted that:

Before the advent of the Fulanis, the powerful [northern] Igbomina sub-tribe ... virtually occupied some of hundred of a square miles reaching from the southern Nigeria border on the south of the Yagba Districts, on the east, and to within a few miles of Ilorin on the north.⁴²

The Unresolved/Lingering Minority Question

The Igbomina have claimed a history of oneness and indivisibility prior to their misclassification by the British to Northern Nigeria in the historic 1906 Micro-amalgamation. This geo-political aberration of misclassification of the Igbomina by the British, with the people they shared no community tongue, culture and origin with, such as the Baribas, Nupes and Fulanis has resulted into the infiltration and adulteration of history and cultural anthropology of the Yoruba nation. Ever since then, the people have been subjected to a second class status on their own native land. This continued until Lugard eventually sailed through with his Amalgamation ploy in 1914. Calling for the restructuring of Nigeria, the Igbomina argue that the 1914 British amalgamation of Nigeria was nothing but a fraud.⁴³ From his own perspective, however, Akinwumi traces the origin of the minority issue to the colonial period when regionalism was institutionalised in Nigeria. The three Regions created in 1939 thus became

dominated by the three major ethnic groups in the country,⁴⁴



Map of Nigeria showing the Three Major Ethnic Groups in Nigeria

The Ijaw ethnic stock in Nigeria has equally alleged Nigeria's federalism of lopsidedness. Under the auspices of the Ijaw National Congress, the embittered Ijaw recently decried the current arrangement of the Nigerian society, which is tilted in favour of the majority ethnic nationalities. In their squabble, the present arrangement of the state does not create adequate socio-political and economic space for the minority ethnic nationalities to thrive.⁴⁵ In an attempt to address this wagging problem of inequalities arising from the lopsidedness and arbitrariness in state creation, the Movement for Unification and Creation of Igbomina State, has argued it this way:

Events from 1906 to date on exercises for creation of states and local government areas have also shown lopsidedness and arbitrariness by successive military administrations. These creations have never addressed the issue of political and economic domination, strange bed fellowship and estrangement from the cultural and linguistic origin of the people. Unfortunately, these issues have become a national question and an albatross plaguing the development of the

country. As a point of fact, it has resulted into what is called a "Minority Question" begging for an answer.⁴⁶

The Movement even became rather more vociferous in its discourse as it argued that the Jonathan-led administration has witnessed more violence than any other due to the aforesaid unresolved issue of MINORITY QUESTION. Such crises include, though not limited to the Boko-Haram insurgency basically in the north, herdsmen menaces, particularly in the south and kidnapping all over. It is rather unfair and unwholesome that culturally knitted sub-ethnic groups were and remain divided along state and even international borders; a scheme which has hitherto made such apparently unfortunate groups perpetual minority groups subjected to servitude in their states. The Movement for Unification and Creation of Igbomina State, itemised the following:

- i. Igbomina people divided between Kwara and Osun States
- ii. Awori people divided between Ogun and Lagos States
- iii. Nupe people divided between Niger and Kwara States
- iv. Idoma people divided between Benue and Anambra States
- v. Okun people divided between Kogi, Ekiti and Ondo States
- vi. Ekiti people divided between Ekiti and Kwara States
- vii. Ijebu people divided between Lagos and Ogun States⁴⁷

What is the rationale for divorcing these groups proven to be kith and kin? Kwara State comprises of people with diverse historical and cultural identities coerced together by a combination of arms, political oppression, religion, threat of violence and intimidation in an unholy matrimony. A proper analysis of the composition of Kwara State reveals the heterogeneity and their nostalgia for re-unification with their kith and kin, outside Kwara. While the Fulani look up to Gwandu, as their ancestral home, the Nupe people are mainly concentrated in Niger State. The Baruten and Kaiama in Kwara North look up to their homeland in the Republic of Benin. Rather than Kwara, obviously they would have been more at home in Kebbi or Sokoto State in Nigeria. The Jebba and Shao people

look up to Oyo as their original home just as the bulk of people in Kwara South refer to Ketu, Oyo, Egba and Ile-Ife as their ancestral homes.⁴⁸

Part of the dilemma of these *schismised* peoples is that of the gradual erosion of their culture and identity. The Igbomina, for instance, have a problem of identity and the dilemma of which direction to look when it comes to aspiring for national political offices; in the name of either Yoruba or Northerner. They cannot aspire for any position allotted for the Yoruba because then, they would be regarded as 'Northerners'. Yet, neither can they aspire for that which is meant for the North because by then again, they would be treated as Yoruba. It is, indeed, absurd that the larger bulk of the Igbomina land and people, historically and unanimously agreed to be a part of the Yoruba stock were wrongly ceded and cut off from their kith and kin in Western Nigeria in the arbitrary boundary delineation of the British Colonial Administration and politically merged with the Northern Region, since the 1906 micro-amalgamation.⁴⁹

Indeed, throughout the 20th century, and till date, prominent Yoruba people, particularly Igbomina monarchs and elder-statesmen, have made heaps of demands to both the colonial and post-colonial administrations to be reconstituted into an autonomous Division or Province. A few of these were documented in the archives, but only ended in the trash-can, as not only being unrealistic but impracticable. Some described the agitations as being by a "disgruntled minority of Igbomina".⁵⁰ Indeed, Oba Dr E.A. Adeyemi, the present monarch of Oke-Aba, an Igbomina community did extensive and impressive work on this in his Master's thesis titled: "Protests and Agitations in Igbomina, 1933-1952".⁵¹ The Igbomina, throughout the colonial and post-colonial epochs never relented efforts in demonstrating their repugnance to this ill-fated pattern of political arrangement. The demand for the Igbomina State is an on-going struggle, to which the Igbomina have vowed not to rest on their oars until their age-long request is granted. Igbomina, as it is today, could

perhaps, be best described as a British "artificial aberration". And as noted in an archival document: "*The fact is, Ilorin is not entitled to any Igbomina village except by virtue of old wars, and in my view, it is our duty to sort the tribes out and keep them separate.*"⁵²

If the alien colonial authorities could realise this but did nothing to right this wrong, the post-colonial governments by our own people who are expected to have a good sense of history and tradition ought to have realised that it must have been a serious blunder that these people are still in Northern Nigeria.⁵³

This paper regrets the unwillingness and/or inability of successive administrations in Nigeria, from the colonial to post-independence, to accede to the untiring demands of the minorities, particularly the Igbomina, who had sacrificed their self-determination for the self-determination of Nigeria as a sovereign nation, to be re-united in homogenous political entity with their kith and kin. It started with the various 1893 boundary delineation exercises between the North and South under Captain R. Bower up to the 1914 mega Amalgamation, the 1950 revisit of the matter by the Egbe Ibile Yoruba, the resolution of which was forwarded to Sir John Stuarh Macpherson, the Colonial Governor who pledged to address the lingering issue at the 1951 Legislative Council meeting.

By 1957, the minority problem had become so wild that the colonial government could no longer silence it. The minority issue was revisited in the 1957 Constitutional Conference in London. There, a Minority Commission of Enquiry, headed by Sir Henry Willinck, was set up to ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities and to propose means of allaying those fears. The report of the Commission, published on 18th August, 1958 was favourable but had to be suspended to allow for the attainment of Nigeria's independence.⁵⁴

Although various platforms and fora, including the recent National Confab, had been exploited hitherto for the purpose of fighting for her liberty and self-determination in a bid to correcting this aberration, for the Igbomina, the time has come when that distorted history must be corrected! Oyedepo strongly believes that if, today, nostalgia for ancestral origin is allowed to grow into political belief and action, the ethnic war of Jos

Plateau type would be imminent in Kwara. And if various group consciousnesses in Kwara achieve the freedom of political association or affiliation, the fizzling out of what today answers Kwara would be a certainty.⁵⁵

The Balkanisation of Igbominaland

Ever since this ill-fated schism, or better still, balkanisation of Igbomina people between the North and South in the 1914 Amalgamation of Nigeria, which resulted into what is today known as 'Igbomina North' and 'Igbomina South', the people have remained painstaking and undaunted in their quest for reunification. Igbomina delegates in the 2014 National Confab described the Fulani hegemony on Igbomina, Ekiti and Ibolu as a misnomer – the same position which was acknowledged and upheld by the imperial overlords, except Luggard.⁵⁶

This study is therefore an extrapolation of the interplay between history and the esoteric law of cause and effect on the people called Igbomina. The Igbomina have had to suffer the consequences of their past. Afolayan revealed that, in the pre-colonial times, the Igbomina were truncated into three unequal sectional entities: the south-western group under the Fulani, with its headquarters at Ilorin; the north-eastern sect under the Nupe-Fulani based at Lafiagi; and the south-eastern Ila group, which precariously remained under Ibadan influence. Local agents, representatives or District Heads assumed different titles in their respective provinces.⁵⁷ While the Ibadan agents in the Ila District were called "*Ajele*" or *Baba-kekere*,⁵⁸ those of the Lafiagi Province in Share, Oke-Ode and Oro-Ago, Igbaja Yoruba Districts were called "*Shaaba*" or "*Maiyaki*". The Fulani representatives in the Omu-Isanlu District were known as "*Ajia*".⁵⁹

Perhaps, most appalling of all was the fact that the British who were thought to have come to initiate peace had only succeeded in strengthening their fetters and consolidating the powers and authorities of the overlords of the Igbomina. This was particularly achieved through the Lagardian style of Indirect Rule system in the 20th century, which was rooted in British parsimoniousness and tight-fistedness, among other impetus.

The danger of unresolved minority problem in the country could be very grave. The Tiv riot, a lingering minority issue, in the First Republic contributed to the collapse of that Republic. Major Gideon Orkar's unsuccessful military junta of April 22nd 1990 was another minority outburst. The recent upheavals in the Niger Delta region also form part of the country's minority questions begging for answers. Lingering unresolved minority issues, such as Igbomina's are political time bombs waiting to explode. If left to linger longer than this, minority issues are capable of setting our dear country, Nigeria ablaze.⁶⁰ Our leaders are warned!

Conclusion

At this juncture, it becomes plausible to note that the colonial secession treaties with the British authorities have lapsed. Lawyers, towards the end of Nigeria's centenary, legally interpreted the amalgamation document that birthed Nigeria in 1914 as a lease with a life-span of ninety-nine years, expiring in 2014.⁶¹ Consequently, the need to initiate the process of re-negotiating the basis for their co-existence with other nationalities becomes pertinent. From the fore-going analysis and discourse, unless bold and pragmatic steps are taken to address the unresolved lingering issues within the Nigerian polity, the micro-revolution experienced during the 2015 General Elections, which came as a rude shock to the political power brokers, might just be the beginning of a Macro-revolution, from the disgruntled minority and unjustly 'schismised' people. It is the contention of the Igbomina people that the Buhari-led administration proffers the long awaited answer to the yet unanswered Minority Question in Nigeria for relative peace to prevail. More importantly, these 'schismised' people will begin to feel the impact of the sacrifice and suffering for their electioneering society, called NIGERIA.

Recommendations

- i. This paper recommends an urgent attention to the plight of

the marginalised minority groups in Nigeria from a responsive government.

ii. The paper re-echoes and recommends a painstaking consideration and implementation of the resolutions of the twin socio-political associations that provide synergy for the Igbomina globally, as presented in the 2014 National Confab under the auspices of the Movement for Unification and Creation of Igbomina State, viz:

- a. That boundary adjustment be effected between Kwara and Osun States in favour of the unification of Igbomina people in a Yoruba Region or South West Geographical Zone, as the case may be.
 - b. That in the event of state creation, the Igbomina people of Kwara and Osun states be constituted into a political unit known as and called **IGBOMINA STATE**.
 - c. That the Igbomina people will support any presentation that favours the merger of Kwara Igbomina, Kwara Ekiti, Okun in Kogi or any Yoruba stock in the North that willingly expresses the wish to be merged with their kith and kin in the proposed Yoruba region or South West Geopolitical Zone, as the case may be.
 - d. That the Igbomina people wholly identify with the aspirations of the Yoruba nation as contained in a document titled, *"Yoruba Contribution to the National Conference 2014"*.⁶²
- iii. If the extreme alternative becomes the only plausible way, this paper challenges the 'powerful' Igbomina and other minority groups to be more spirited in their pursuit of the ideology of the "effacement of man's inhumanity to man"; for there the victory lies!

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UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM FOR WHAT IT IS: A CASE OF BOKO HARAM IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Terrorism over the years has become a worrisome global phenomenon and threat to both local and international peace and security. Scholars of the different backgrounds have advanced explanations on the causes and the implications of terrorism. Solutions that are mainly military in nature are often applied in tackling terrorism with relative successes. However, terrorism and its consequences defied military solutions only, even though it is necessary and important in providing immediate ease and slowed down their activities. The experience in Nigeria's war against *Boko Haram* is apt. The damages and disruptions caused by the *Boko Haram* group points to the fact that, military solution is far from adequate in tackling the menace of *Boko Haram*. This paper seeks to advocate for a paradigm shift in dealing with terrorism and other threats to internal security through proactive measures and the addressing of root causes: poverty, unemployment, ignorance, illiteracy, corruption identified as causes all hinged on bad governance, dirty politics, weak institutions and poor national consciousness from leaders and the citizens. For a country richly endowed, poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria is a product of bad governance and greed from leaders and the political class. This paper reviewed secondary data and analysed extensively the content of other similar articles. It is the conclusion of this paper that good governance is necessary in tackling insurgency and related security threats bedeviling the country.

Keywords: Bad Governance, poverty, *Boko Haram*, Terrorism,

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