THE RISE OF ETHNIC MILITIA, BANDITRY AND IMPLICATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

BY

[1]ABARE YUNUSA KALLAH,

Department of Religious Studies,

Federal University Kashere, Gombe State.

abarekallah@gmail.com. 07036449985

[2]ADO AHMED IBRAHIM,
Department of Sociology
Nigeiran Army University Biu, Borno State.
Abilamad518@gmail.com.08033868518

[3]MAKBERE ARTHUR JACOB
makberejacobarthur@gmail.com
Department of Sociology,
Nigerian Army University Biu,BornoStae.

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is experiencing increasing waves of ethnic conflicts,Since 2015 while its leaders engage in a series of 'dialogue of the deaf'. For now, a great deal of literature has explored the causes of ethnic crisis and unsuitable solutions are being proposed for a wrongly diagnosed structural social malaise. Thus, this article examines the fundamental causes of ethnic violence, being championed by the various ethnic militia movements in post-military Nigeria, by emphasizing the impacts of institutional failure. Hence, it contends that the extreme dissatisfactions of some ethnic nationalities with the Nigerian post-colonial state are clear manifestations of the government failure to provide the necessary infrastructure and enabling environment required to ease the inordinate human degradation, disillusionment, anger, rural decay and high crime wave prevailing in the country. Thus, ethnic such as IPOB,OPC violence is created and maintained by militia movements in a vicious circle of frustration and repression as the Nigerian leadership tries to consolidate itself in power while the marginalized categories (ethnic minorities) of the population claim for their fair share in national resources. Frustration aggression theory and Relative deprivation theory was used. Finally, the study suggests that for the interest of peace and stability, there is the urgent need for immediate redress to the inherent lapses in Nigeria's inherited federal structure, through a programmed professional participation that would be reflective of its peculiar socio-historical experiences.

Key Words: Ethnicity, Ethnic-militia, Conflict, Military,

Democracy, National Security

Introduction

Security of lives and properties of the citizen is the social contract between the state and the citizen that can be achieve through balancing the need to protect fundamental human rights with the desire to promote social justice and human fulfilment. The goal of security is thus focused on how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities and whether they live in conflict or in peace.

One of the major challenges that have constrained development in Nigeria is sovereignty is power of ethnic militias which is now a threat to democracy and security of the country and also eclipsed the nation for over a decade now. The lasting presence of violence expressed between these groups who feel excluded and unimportant from existing power structures on one hand and central authority on the other hand have seriously affected not only

peace and security but also undermined and weakened the countries national development. Also, the violent conflicts with security personnel, and the deliberate destruction of public properties by both ethnic militias and insurgency seriously undermines the safety of lives and properties of the people, and infuse fear and sense of insecurity on the majority. These negatively influence the development of the Nigerian state. Presently in Nigeria, the formation of ethnic and religious have completely taken over the stage and also have played a noticeable role with socio-political interactions of the Nigerian state occasion by ethnic militia.

The scenario of this ethnic militia has posed itself to be a threat to Nigerian democracy and security, spanning from the North, East, and South of the Nigerian state. In the Northern state, the exertion of Boko Haram sect which has destroyed millions of lives in the region cannot be ignored. The Obatse Cult activities in Nasarawa

and Niger state in North Central , Banditry in the North West and North East Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna which are out of control . Taking it to the East, the frequent kidnapping by bad men/criminals remains dangerous in that region. In the South-south area, the activities of Niger Delta militants who in spite of the amnesty offered to them by the late President YarAdua is still not steady, The current issue of IPOB and the arrest of their leader Mr. NnamdiKanu, OduduaPeople led by Sunday Igboho who are still facing trials, for this reason the environment still remains threatened day by day.

Nigerian as a developing country has in recent times been at the receiving end of the frequent rise of ethnic militias. It has been pointed that this has also been a huge challenge in a significant number of African and Asian countries seeking to migrate from the stage of electoral politics to the consolidation of democracy. The weight of confirmation shows that democratic openings have often

annoyed ethnic and communal tensions in divided societies. It is now at the back of every citizen's mind that we live today in an "era of militant ethnicity", with its grave social, economic, political and human costs because of the challenges facing the state.

Among the most critical and violent of this new brand of released political forces of which many have thought of as 'resurgence' is the intractable phenomenon of ethnic nationality/identity movements. Presently in Nigeria, this development has overshadowed and taken on the form of ethnic militia movements ostensibly standing in for and seeking to protect their different ethnic interests in a country in which the state is to a large extent perceived as unconcerned to the needs of the ethnic nationalities in the country. The most important and well pronounced among these militias include the plethora of the Niger Delta militias such as the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), the Niger Delta Volunteer Force, and the Chikoko Movement, ipob,. Other new and more

pronounced militias include the O'odua People's Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Arewa People's Congress (APC). Without any question, the move towards ethnic national self-determination, in whatever form it clearly shows itself, is the maximum challenge facing the security of the Nigerian nation from the 1990s onwards. In densely populated slums of Lagos, Warri, Port Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha, Kaduna and Kano, militant groups sporadically unleash extreme violence on civil society as well as on the symbols of governmental authority (Okechukwu, 2000). The weight of the killing of many people by these militant groups is better imagined than experienced. Agitating youths boldly overrun state security squads, ransack police stations and overtakes the streets for days. An order or law that requires people to be indoors are inflicted from time to time while embattled governmental authorities resort to shoot-on-sight orders to quell

riots and restore order in the volatile Nigerian urban communities. The sudden increase in ethnic militias ironically seems to be what unifies Nigerians against the excesses of the state after many years of pernicious rule. Generally, Nigerians do not have of faith in their government; they lack the rule of law and a sense of being oppressed. Common to these militant groups are the attributes of the uncritical use of violence, a preponderance of youth membership, ethnic identity affiliations, and movements of a basically pronounced and well-known nature and pressing change over the status quo such as the calls for a Sovereign National Conference or a National Conference as the case September be. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to unravel the interesting fact of ethnic militias and its threat to democracy and Nigerian security.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

National security

Refers to the protection of state and citizens. Security according to Baldwin is the low probability to protect value. Talukder (1982) opined that security, means protection and preservation of minimum core values of any nation political independence and territorial integrity."

The original state of man as posited by Jean Jacques Roussean an 18th century European philosopher is that man existed as a free gentle savage. In this state of nature, man was naturally good. However, this tranquil state subsequently became corrupted by human desire and greed this undermining the peaceful, pristine state of nature. Rousseau also make a scatting attack on private prosperity which he saw a major reason for the depravity of man. Peace is a process involving activities that directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict in society.

Security threat

A security threat is a malicious act that aims to corrupt or steal data or disrupt an organization's systems or the entire organization. A security event refers to an occurrence during which company data or its network may have been exposed.

Ethnic militia

This refers to organized group of people that seek to promote and protect the interest of their members**.**

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are divergent approaches to conceptualizing security which is the antithesis of insecurity. Security need was the basis of the social contract between the people and the state, in which people willingly surrendered their rights to an organ (government) who oversees the survival of all (Stan, 2004).

Several attempts have been made since the cold war ended to redefine the concept of security from a state-centric perspective to

a broader view that places premium on individuals, in which human security that embodies elements of national security, human rights and national development remain major barometer for explaining the concept. At the heart of this debate, there have been attempts to deepen and widen the concept of security from the level of the states to societies and individuals, and from military to non-military issues (Nwanegbo&Odigbo, 2013; Kruhmann, 2003).

According to Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) the divergent approaches to the conceptualization of security in the theoretical literature can be categorized into two major strands. One is a neo-realist theoretical strand that conceptualizes security as primary responsibilities of the state. The second strand, a postmodernist or plural view, conceptualizes security as the responsibilities of non-state actors and displaces the state as a major provider of security. Proponents of this approach argue that the concept of security goes beyond a military determination of threats. They are of the view

that government should be more concern with the economic security of individual than the security of the state because the root causes of insecurity are economic in nature.

In this light, security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic conditions (Stan, 2004). It is all about liberating humans from physical and artificial hindrances such as war, poverty or political oppression, which prevent people from choosing freely and acting freely on what they have chosen. In this regard, human security as a concept encompassing all kinds of threats to human survival, human life and human dignity, and requiring strengthened measures to tackle such threats.

Some scholars in conceptualizing security placed emphasis on the absence of threats to peace, stability, national cohesion, political

and socio-economic objectives of a country (Igbuzor, 2011; Oche, 2001; Nwanegbo&Odigbo, 2013). Thus, there is a general consensus in the contemporary literature that security is vital for national cohesion, peace and sustainable development. It is therefore apparent that national security is a desideratum, sine qua non for economic growth and development of any country (Oladeji&Folorunso, 2007). In the intelligence community, there is a consensus that security is not the absence of threats or security issues, but the existence of a robust mechanism to respond proactively to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency, expertise, and in real time.

On the other hand, in the context of this paper, insecurity is defined as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts, and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property. It connotes different meanings such as:

absence of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety. According to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Achumba (2013) defines insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen, but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur.

Consequently, security is a situation or condition that is free of injury or threats to individuals, groups, or communal wellbeing. These include freedom from threat and direct attacks on physical

and psychological integrity. What therefore motivates the dissatisfied to agitate and their beliefs as being marginalized individuals should be seriously taken into consideration instead of merely imposing on them the concept of the government of the day. Peace building with a view to alleviating insecurity involves transforming the social and political environment that fosters enduring equality, encourages the resolution of historical grievances and nurtures continuous engagements and interactions. This may mean the development of social, political, and economic infrastructure that produce tolerable inequality and prevent future violence. When the above is addressed realistically taking into consideration the political, socio- economic, cultural and other environmental conditions, the quest for true peace building will be realized.

Sectorial Types of Security

Security has been seen by analyst and researchers to be agreeable into sectors. According to the works of Buzan, Ole, and Wilde (1998), five major sectorial securities were identified including Military, Political, Economic, Societal and Environmental.

The military sector or military security is concerned with the concept of the use of arms, ammunition and other weapons of the state in handling national security within an international community for the safety of the people. In other words, military security is a two-level interplay of armed offensive and defensive capabilities of state, and state' perceptions of each other's intentions. Notwithstanding, state with greater military capability emerges as the dominant power. More so, within this perception also exist regional power that may eventually develop into the

emergence of regional and local security concerns (Buzan, 1991).

The political sector emanates from concern of treat to state sovereignty. As a result, political security has an interplay with military security. However, political security is concerned with the organizational stability of states systems of government and the ideologies that gives them legitimacy. Buzan, Ole, and Wilde (1998), opined that there are many bilateral political security constellations that sometimes link up into regional patterns. However, the principle that create this link, may as well be global. The main dynamics of this sector operates from the level of bilateral to regional with various smaller constellations including those that will often register as sub complexes in other sectors especially the military sector. The dynamics also become tied to bigger complexes due to interaction among sectors. Notwithstanding the various constellation and complexes, the

main referent of political security is the issue of state, power, security and sovereignty.

Economic security concerns access to resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare of people and state powers. In other words, economic security has an interplay of people and state referent. According to Buzan, Ole, and Wilde, (1998); the ability of state to maintain independent capability for mobilization of resources is affected by the globalization of production which gives state the choice of having lower quality, more expensive domestically produced weapon or higher quality, that are wholly or partly produced abroad. This logic also applies to the issue of security of supply. The possibility of economic dependence between the global market being exploited for political ends is offset by the existence of surplus capacity in nearly all commodities as well as buyers' market.

Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, religion, national identity and customs. It is thus a push for globalization in real sense. There are two main forces in the society that push forth the trends of globalization: the first is the circle of poverty and migration related poverty; while the second is the clash of civilization which is a trend towards cultural homogenization and reaction against it. These forces are also a societal security problem which are likely to take on increasing power in the future. However, some regional problem which are multicultural in nature also exist. These regional problems generated by social dynamics are essentially the same and are heavily inter-mingle with those in the military and the political sectors. Notwithstanding, security issues in the social sector will be of increasing importance relative to other sectors and that this

will be the case at least as much as in a regionalizing fashion as in a globalizing fashion (Buzan, Ole & Wilde, 1998).

Environmental security involves the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprise depends. Crucial for environmental security is whether the state as the major economic actors and local communities embrace the scientific agenda. In other words, even when the concerns are global, it political relevance are decided at the local level. A difficulty in analyzing environmental security in terms of region is that causes and effect of environmental issues frequently involves different region and different actors which causes environmental damage and are distinct from those who suffered from it. There may be one set of actors in one region, which security interdependence is high if one wants to deal with the causes of a specific eco problem. Whereas, other set of actors

in another region may be involved in a case of failure caused by the spillover of negative development, e.g. environmental refugees fleeing hunger after crop failure.

Two major Security Referent

The common denominator in all the sectorial security discuss is a referent to either state or people or both. Thus, we can view the concept of security from two major referents, the state and the people. In the following sections, the researcher will attempt to dialogue on the two referents of security as posited by (Lee & Jack, 2015).

a. Security as a State

The state is the political unit usually employed in security referent. This may also be conceptualized in terms of national security. This is because within the academia, studying security has traditionally involved finding ways to promote and realize state or national

security(Arnold, 1952). It is the norm that for states to prosper within the model of world politics, they are expected to vigorously defend their national interest, the first and foremost is national security, which is seen as the precondition for the achievement of further elements of the national interest.

State or national security can be defined in terms of the physical protection and integrity of the state primarily through military power, the maintenance of economic and political structures as well as the avoidance or elimination of threats to shared values. In 1947, the United States of America enacted the National Security Act which led to the creation of contemporary architecture of American national security, such as the National Security Council (NSC), Central Intelligent Agency, and the Department of Defense. The context of the creation of these security architectures centered on the United States' role as victor of World War II and its emergence as a leading superpower on the international stage,

for in the moment following the slaughter of the war, it was clear that military capability lay almost exclusively in the hands of states (Barry, Ole, &Jaap, 2015).

Apart from military capability being the prevalence of the state security conflation, another lies in the assumption that agency resides principally with the state in the international system. The composition of the United Nations Security Council alludes to an underlying military logic and power. Even though the agency of states extends beyond relative material capabilities, those states with minimal capabilities are taken seriously on the world stage by virtue of their recognition as states. This element of Westphalian sovereignty which is the external, legal recognition of the state ensures that states are granted a voice in international political dialogues (Krasner, 1999).

The state concept of security is also dominance in the study of security for the continued prominence of national, (that is state)

identity. The state remains the most common form of collective identity: people, citizens, and states persons. Security analysts and so forth, still frequently view the world through this lens. The current era is dominated by a desire to identify, often quite personally, with the state. As Cohen (1996) argues, national identity is an expression of self-identity. Thus, the resonance of national identities remains a powerful explanation of the state's dominance as security referent. It is an explanation that moves us from realist premised arguments on national interests and relative material capability towards a more constructive account of international relations (Wendt, 1992).

b. Security as a People

In 1994, the UNDP published a "Human Development Report" that explicitly attempted to broaden the logic of security by shifting the referent object away from the state and associated concerns to people. By making people as referent, security becomes detached

from traditional discussions of the national interest and military capabilities, to how people live and breathe in the society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities(Obasi, 2005)

The report refocused security and broadened the security agenda, opening it up to include the environment and food, as well as health and economics more broadly, alongside political, personal and community security which will help deal with the issue of militia in Nigeria. These components are arguably interdependent within a universal struggle to achieve human security. As the report posited, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, and a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons but a concern with human life and dignity. (UNDP, 1994).

The UNDP Report reflected the progress made by Human Security, Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Feminist Approaches. These three approaches conceptualized and prioritize the shared referent of people in different ways. The CSS argues that individual humans are the ultimate referent of security because, states are unreliable guarantors of security and too heterogeneous to serve as the foundation of a universal theory of security (Booth, 1991; Buzan& Hansen, 2009). On the other hand, feminist approaches frequently share with CSS an epistemology based upon experience and situated knowledge, and a desire to replace the state as security's referent with people and particularly women. More to this is a desire to emancipate individuals from conditions of oppression and insecurity.

These developments in security studies were both drivers of and response to the increasing prominence afforded to human security

by some middle-power states (Booth, 1991; Buzan and Hansen, 2009). The 1990s saw some countries such as Canada, Japan and Norway speaking the language of human security. For example, Canada provided global leadership on emerging human security issues such as the International Campaign to ban Landmines. Strong support from Canadian Foreign Ministry gave backing to a coordinated transnational campaign driven by INGOs and civil society actors. This led to the Ottawa Treaty where 158 signatory states banned the use of landmines which was lauded as a success by the proponents of human security and as evident of new beginning of a new era of security orientation around human referent.

However, critics of human security expressed skepticism at the degree to which a new agenda had been realized. Such includes limited take-up, growing disinterest, bias support, susceptibility to abuse, and limited scope for policy formulation (Suhrke, 2004).

These are important critiques which have garnered responses from various strands of human security literature. They have also inspired a set of related academic critiques of human security, which pertains to the definition and nature of human security, as well as resultant implication for the study and possibility of security.

Security is underpinned as the condition or a state of survival or a situation where a people or a state survives in spite of danger. However, this research work will essentially focus on security as the survival of people in accordance with the title of this thesis – security management strategy and herders- farmers conflict in Benue State.

Let us consider this analogy:

In medieval time, when war breaks out between two estranged communities, and

the army goes to the war front, the battle protocol is such that the captain of each

army will go out in company of two or few other lieutenants to the battle line.

The captains will call out to each other for compromise of peace bringing words

from their Kings. Such dialogue is to exchange words for sword or vice versa. In

most cases however, the sword usually prevails at that level. In other cases, the

words prevail when the kings had sent elders for mediation to each other prior

to the calling out of armies. In such medium, the elders usually achieve success as

words prevail. When words prevail, the people survive and peace reign. When

sword prevail, the people are destroyed but peace reign too. However, the

former ensures the survival of people, while the later leads to their destruction.

In the analogy above, peace reign either by words or swords, but the fulcrum for the survival of people is the act of mediation which is a conflict management strategy and a security management

strategy. Mediation has proven to be very effective in conflict resolution (International Peace Institute, 2009). However, there are other security management strategy platform that are usually adopted for building lasting peace between communities and state.

In section 2.1.8 and 2.1.9, we shall look at various security management strategies and the existing security management strategies that are being adopted in Nigeria in dealing with Ethnic militia(Duquet, 2011)

Factors responsible for ethnic militia in Nigeria

Several factors accounted for the formation of ethnic militia in Nigeria among which includes,marginalization, injustice, politics of exclusion, ethnicity, Religion, poverty unemployment bad governance etc. .As the ethnic militias increased in strength after the transition to democracy, voices were raised whether they could pose a threat to the consolidation of democracy. In order to

understand the problems that ethnic militias pose for the consolidation of democracy we try to show how they were established and how they have influenced the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Further, we ask if the ethnic militias have outplayed their role in Nigerian society. The main results show that the ethnic militias arose because of necessity, in an environment where ethno-nationalism was prevalent because of a repressive state's inability to take care of its own people. The violent activities of the ethnic militias was not good for democracy in the short run, but as a counterweight to the state the ethnic militias played an important role in what can be described as civil society taken up arms. This militarizing of society seems to have forced the state to take the ethnic militias more seriously. Hence, it can be claimed that the ethnic militias served as a midwife to the current Nigerian transitional democracy. However, as the state recognized the ethnic militias as a part of the political realm, and not just

violent groups, the legitimacy for the ethnic militias eroded. The Oodua People's Congress (OPC) now champion by Sunday Igboho , which was the most influential ethnic militias in Nigeria, has now changed its agenda, and has not gone back to being the socio-cultural organization as they were formed as. There is an important role for the OPC and the Niger Delta ethnic militias as a counterweight to the state, but dialogue should be the main way of communication, as violence will only foster violence. It seems clear that the state needs to take the first step in order to make this happen (Adenubi, 2018).

Relationship between ethnic militia and insecurity

Ethnic militia and security has a symbiotic relationship,because one affect the other, ethnic- militia in any country posed a security threat to lives and property and national security as a whole .The conclusion is that ethnic militias have had, and still have an effect on security and the consolidation of democracy by holding the

state responsible for its actions, and by punishing the state when it does not act according to its people's wishes. It can be claimed that they forced out democracy by highlighting the flaws of the Nigerian state even if the way they operated, was not democratic. By highlighting corruption, lack of law enforcement and unnecessary use of force, they were able to bring down the authoritarian rule and make way for the transition to democracy. However, they do not seem to pose a threat to consolidation in the short term, rather they can have a positive effect, as they can act a counterweight to the ruling elite and other forces obstructing democracy. As we show, ethnic militias are and have been a part of civil society, and the focus of the future should be how to incorporate them into civil society, especially the Niger Delta ethnic militias as they are still active. Ethnic militias (except for some ones in the Niger Delta) were a brief phenomena in Nigerian

history, and the focus should be on understanding the reason for them coming into being, in order to avoid it happening again. This thesis tries to give a holistic view of the Nigerian political situation. This research will fill a gap in the literature concerning ethnic militias, by incorporating the most important factors into a framework. This makes it easier to make an accurate conclusion on how they have affected democracy, and questions the opinion that militias were only harmful to Nigerian development. It is the author's opinion that this thesis will give scholars a more nuanced perspective of the ethnic militias, and lead to more accurate research in the future. Many of the killings and destructions from the Fulani herdsmen, the Boko Haram, the Maitasine uprisings etc, have ethnic undertone (Pieri&Zenn 2016). There are pieces of evidence of activities linked to ethnic militia that claim to protect the interest of their various ethnic groups against marginalization

from the Nigerian State (Sandve, 2009). The situation is so pathetic that the death of people of different ethnic stock seems not to elicit sympathy from an average person on the other divide.

.In 1993, free and fair elections were held and the popular Yoruba businessman M.K.O Abiola, was proclaimed the winner, but the sitting regime annulled the election, causing the country to go into civil disorder, and forming of militant groups (thus), the overall purpose of the militias is to draw attention to their cause when the state neglects their demand continued and likewise the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) representing the Igbo Nation now champions by NnamdiKanu though in DSS custody want the state of Biafra because of feeling of exclusion from the socio-economic and political mainstream of the Nigerian state. In other words, all these groups at one time or the other demanded separate existence from Nigeria as a result of marginalization from state power, economic control and social

provisioning. Citing Agbaje (2002), Onimajesin maintained that the activities of the groups have assumed a dysfunctional dimension and threatened the objectives of peaceful coexistence in Nigeria. In trying to diplomatically maintain a middle way stance, Oyvind (2009) concluded his analysis by stating that ethnic militias have had, and still have an effect on the consolidation of democracy by holding the state responsible for its actions, and by punishing the state when it does not act according to its people's wishes. It can be claimed that they forced out democracy by highlighting the flaws of the Nigerian state even if the way they operated, was not democratic. On the 6 December ,Bandit burned 23 people in a bus in sokoto state .on the 4th December, over 50 people were kidnapped while 3 were killed in chikun local government area of kaduna which posed a serious challenge to security agents in Nigeria.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The surveys research method was used for this study. This was considered appropriate because survey design generally can be used to effectively investigate problems in realistic settings. The survey technique also allow the researcher to examine several variables and use multi-variance statistics to analyze data.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Relative deprivation: Relative deprivation refers to the feeling or experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It is when people are discontented when the compare their positions to others. This is based on the evaluation of what people think they should have compared with what others have like opportunities, status or wealth. Relative deprivation theory by Ted Gurr stresses that sometimes people perceive themselves to be deprived relative to others and such perception leads to inter-group

hostility especially when conditions improve more slowly for one group compared to others (Lengmang, 2016). According to Gurr (1970), relative deprivation is defined as actor's perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. It is the gap between that to which people believe they are rightfully entitled and to which they think they are capable of geething and keeping. In Ted Gurrr's "Why Men Rebel" (1970), he said "the idea of relative deprivation has been used to measure fairness, inequality, or social justice, or to explain grievance, social hostility or aggression. Gurr's concern is with relative deprivation as a cause to aggression.

Relative deprivation is the foundation of multiple theories like the frustration and aggression theory. In other words, when desires become legitimate expectations and those desires are blocked by society, people fell frustrated and aggressive because they feel

deprived of something. There is bound to be conflict. This theory provides explanation to the causes of violent conflict and formation of warlord militia such as IPOB,OPC BokoHaram Terrorism which occur as a results of injustice, marginalization, ethnicity, tribalism, Nepotism on the part of government . This is because when people or a group of people feel relatively deprived, their desires are being blocked and this may emerge from collective feelings of being denied something, this can lead to frustration and aggression which can lead to violent conflict.

For example NnamdiKanu the leader of IPOB accused the government of President MuhammaduBuhari of depriving the Igbo people and indeed the people of South East of depriving them from benefitting from Federal Government project, political position and injustice hence resulting to agitation for separation. Furthermore, a relationship has been drawn between relative deprivation and

violence. In this sense, the objective material condition is believed not to nurture violence but rather the sense of deprivation in relation to others around them, or their own past condition is believed to be responsible for violence with the intent to redress the situation (Dowse & Hughes, 1982). The greed and grievance analytical framework ascribes violent conflicts to grievances arising from limited economic opportunities, poverty and inequalities. There are two strands of contentions in this analytical framework. The first perceive violent conflicts as under-girded by irrationality originating essentially from hatred. In the second perspective, violent conflict is hinged on a number of grievances such as systematic discrimination and grows human rights violation, inequality in economic and political power, or dearth or resources especially in multi-ethnic state.

In this regard, violence is perceived as instrumental like any means for seeking redress. Violent conflict has also been explained from

the industrial perspective. It is believed that the dominant factor that propels violence is economic benefits and commercial interest rather than grievance. This presupposes that the preoccupation of the belligerents and insurgents is the economic spoils and booty that they appropriate from the protracted violence. Another theoretical explanation for the etiology of violent conflicts is systemic pathologies arising from the dialectical changes in the structures and processes of society. According to Potholm (1979:149 cited in Deeka 2003), when a system does not deliver what its leaders had promised and the political elites continue to ask the masses to make sacrifices that the elites themselves are unwilling to make, much of the aura of legitimacy gained during the decolonization period with be dissipated. The theoretical significance of this theory is its ability to concisely explain the reasons for ethnic militia such as OPC IPOB ,Boko haram ,Niger Delta A vengeance in the country resulting to violence conflict..

CONCLUSION

It is on record that Nigeria had witnessed a drastic and frantic insecurity challenges in the last few years and currently . This crisis is in various forms; communal, religious, political and socio-economic challenges with varying degree of casualty, mostly innocent citizens of this country. Some see this phenomenon as a calculated attempt by the international community to divide the country while others believe it is the phantom sectarian violence that is responsible. The above assertion in the opinion of the authors remains speculations and does not go to the root causes of insecurity as will be revealed below. The most worrisome fact is that this incessant violence apart from killing and maiming innocent souls has imprinted agony, tension and aggression in the minds of Nigerians. Today, we live in absolute suspicion and constant presentiment of an impending disaster. Most economic

activities have come to a halt and private businesses are crippling with the result of the inability of employers to pay their employees.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to address the rise in militancy and warlord in Nigeria,

1.Government should engage the youth in Dialogue,

2.There should be social justice in order to promote peace

3. Job creation and poverty eradication, as this will ensure stability and national development.

4.Inclusive government with equity and justice

REFERENCES

Adenubi, T. (2018). 21 Million Guns, Ammo Smuggled into Nigeria—Investigation. *Tribune*. Retrieved fromhttp://www.tribuneonlineng.com/21-million-guns-ammo-smuggled-nigeria-investigation/.

Aghedo, I., &Osumah, O. (2015). The Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings. *Journal of Asian and African Studies,50*(2), 208–222.CrossRefGoogle Scholar

Ajodo-Adebanjoko, A. (2017). Towards Ending Conflict and Insecurity in the Niger Delta Region: A Collective Non-Violent Approach. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution,17*(1), 9–27.Google Scholar

Akwash, F., &Nweze, A. (2013). Terrorism, Militancy and the Nigerian State. In O. Mbachu& U. M. Bature (Eds.), *Internal Security Management in Nigeria: A Study in Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism*. Kaduna: Medusa Academic Publishing Ltd.Google Scholar

Allen, N. (2019). How Boko Haram Has Regained the Initiative and What Nigeria Should Do to Stop It. *War on the Rocks*. https://warontherocks.com/2019/12/how-boko-haram-has-regained-the-initiative-and-what-nigeria-should-do-to-stop-it/. Accessed 25 December 2019.

Bekoe, D. (2005). Strategies for Peace in the Niger Delta. *Peace Brief*. United States Institute of Peace. https://www.usip.org/publications/2005/12/strategies-peace-niger-delta. Accessed 6 June 2019.

Bestman, W. (2007). Weapons of War in the Niger Delta. *Terrorism Monitor,5*(10), 8–10.Google Scholar

Duquet, N. (2011). Swamped with Weapons: The Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Niger Delta. In C. Obi, & S. A. Rustad (Eds.), *Oil and Insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the Complex Politics of Petro*

Violence (pp. 136–149). London: Zed Books.Google Scholar

Ekemenah, A. (2013). National Security and the Menace of Weapon Proliferation in Nigeria. *BusinessWorld*. http://businessworldng.com/web/articles/284National-Security-and-the—Menace-of-Weapon—Proliferation\inNigeria/Page1.htm.

Federal Republic of Nigeria. (2011). *The Terrorism Prevention Act*. Abuja. Google Scholar

Federal Republic of Nigeria. (2013). *The Terrorism Prevention Amendment Act: Explanatory Memorandum*. Abuja.Google Scholar

Felbab-Brown, V. (2018, May). In Nigeria, We Don't Want Them Back. *Brookings*.

Global Financial Integrity (2017). *Transnational Crime and the Developing World*. Retrieved from https://secureservercdn.net/45.40.149.159/34n.8bd.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Transnational_Crime-final.pdf.

Ibukun, Y. (2016). Nigeria's Boko Haram Caused $9 Billion in Damage Since 2011. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved from https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-04-04/nigeria-s-boko-haram-caused-9-billion-in-damage-since-2011.

Institute for Economics and Peace. (2015). *Global Terrorism Index*. New York: Institute for Economics and Peace.

International Crisis Group. (2019, May 16). *Facing the Challenge of the Islamic State in West Africa Province, Africa Report N°273*. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/273-facing-the-challenge.pdf. .

Iriekpen, D. (2008, May 6). Revealed: Why FG Opted for Secret Trial of Okah. *Thisday*.

Iroegbu, S. (2016, September 11). With 10 Major Security Operations Across the Country, Military Stretched Too Thin. *Thisday*, p. 1.

Isiguzo, I. (2007, August 6). Niger Delta: One Story, Many Sides. *Vanguard*.

Kaiama Declaration. (1998). *Being Communique Issued at the End of the All Ijaw Youths Conference which Held in the Town of Kaiama this 11th Day of December 1998*. http://www.unitedijaw.com/kaiama.htm#Kaiama.

Kwaru, M. (2013, May 29). Boko Haram: Senior Customs Personnel Arrested Over Arms Importation in Borno. *Peoples Daily*.

Lyman, P. (2019, July 27). How Nigeria May Become a Strategic Failure to the World. *Thisday*.

Mac-Leva, F., & Ibrahim, H. (2019, September 22). Bandits Kill More Nigerians ThanBoko Haram, Robbers, Kidnappers, Cultists, Others. *Daily Trust*. Retrieved from https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/bandits-kill-more-nigerians-than-boko-haram-robbers-kidnappers-cultists-others.html. .

Moore, S. (2007). *The Basis of Counterinsurgency*. Joint Urban Operations Office, US Joint Forces Command.

Musa, S. (2013). *Border Security, Arms Proliferation and Terrorism in Nigeria*. Retrieved from http://saharareporters.com.

O'Neill, B. (1990). *Insurgency and Terrorism: Inside Modern Revolutionary Warfare*. Washington, DC: Brassey.

Obasi, N. (2005). The Military and Management of Conflicts in the Nigeria Delta. In A. G.

Adedeji& I. S. Zabadi (Eds.). *The Military and Management of Internal Conflict in Nigeria* (p. 122). Abuja: National War College.

Odigbo, J., Udaw, E. J., &Igwe, A. (2014). Regional Hegemony and Leadership Space in Africa: Assessing Nigeria's Prospects and Challenges. *Review of History and Political Science,2*(1), 89–105.

Ogbogu, J. (2016). Nigeria's Approach to Terrorist Rehabilitation. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis,8*(4), 16–21.

Lippman Walter (1943) U.S Foreign Policy Shield of the republic Boston: little.

Laswell Harold D. (1962).The Garison-State Hypothesis Today P.G. 51 – 70 Sand Huntington
(editor) Changing Patterns of Military Politics New York – free press.

Walter, S. A. (1952) National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol. Political Science Quarterly by 481 – 502.
Definition of National Security from the Macmillan Dictionary (online version).
Macmillan publishes Ltd.

David, A. B. (1997). Concept of security 2010 journal review of international study 1997 No. 23, 5 – 26.