



Faculty of Social Sciences

**The Institutional ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and
Reintegration of Youth Combatant in Niger Delta part of Nigeria**

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The Institutional Ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and
Reintegration of Youth Combatant in Niger Delta Part of Nigeria

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DECLARATION

I Ayandeji Lateef Akanbi, 14010095, Faculty of Social Sciences hereby declared that the work entitled “The Institutional Ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Youth Combatants of Niger Delta part of Nigeria” is my original work. I have not copied from any other student’s work or any other sources except where due reference or acknowledgement is made explicitly in the text, nor has any part been written for me by another person. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature of any other degree.

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Name

Date

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ABSTRACT

The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) is a strategy programme designed purposely to re-orienting the former youth combatants into normal civilian lives including children, youths and adult involved in any form of violent conflict according to the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP). The youths that involved in the conflict need to be re-oriented into normal civilian status. The Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta part of Nigeria adopted DDR programme, similarly, to what it has been apply to any war affected areas and nations as a strategy to transfer the militants into the civilian status and be productive positively instead of being the agent of destruction. Despite the implementation of DDR as part of the post-conflict peace building process in the Amnesty programme, the Niger Delta violent conflict remains unabated. The impacts of institutions such as Amnesty Operational Framework, family structure, socio-economy structure, religious system, education, and community participation in the reintegration of the youth militants in the Niger Delta are largely ignored in most studies. This study examines the appropriateness, capacity, and capabilities of the institutions that are responsible including the operational framework of Amnesty programme for the reintegration of the youth militant into normal civilian. The Frustration-Aggression and Anomies theories approach were adopted to provide the in-depth explanations on the factors fuelling the crisis in Niger Delta of Nigeria. The study is conducted in Delta State and Bayelsa State of Nigeria as the core centre of the Niger Delta and as the operational base of the youth militants as well as being the hub cities of the multinational oil companies. These areas surrounded by the Lakes and Ocean that give the youth militants the advantages of escaping through the water after their nefarious operations. Qualitative and Survey methods of data collection were used to obtain the data from the stakeholders in the conflict. The methods include the in-depth interviews of 24 key informants, 12 focus group discussions, non-participant observation, 250 administered survey questionnaires and the descriptive statistics is adopted for the data analysis. Ninety per cent of the ex-youth combatants that attended the Amnesty programme have returned into their heinous operation activities while the region still

witnesses increasingly cases of insecurity of lives and property. However, the Western approach in the designing of the operational framework of the programme made it difficult to reflect the basic needs of these youth combatants. The Niger Delta still witness cases of robbery, burglary, vandalization of oil installations, piracy and other anti-social acts while substantive numbers of youths still roaming the streets of the cities without any tangible means to survive, which it is an indication that the DDR of Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta is still under-achieved. The findings indicated that the institutions that responsible for the reintegration of youth militants need to be identified and considered with their capacity and the capabilities in the operational framework of Amnesty programme for the effectiveness of DDR Programme in order to prevent the youth militants to return to their heinous activities. Recommendations include empowerment and strengthening the institutions to enable them to perform their roles effectively.

Keywords: disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, youth combatants, institutions.

Cabaran Institusi dalam Perlucutan Senjata, Demobilisasi dan Reintegrasi Para Penjuang Belia di Bahagian Delta-Niger Nigeria

ABSTRAK

Pelucutan senjata, demobilisasi dan integrasi semula (DDR) adalah program strategi yang direka khusus untuk mengorientasikan semula bekas pejuang ke dalam kehidupan awam termasuk kanak-kanak, belia dan dewasa yang terlibat dalam apa-apa bentuk konflik ganas mengikut Program Pembangunan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu (UNDP). Golongan belia yang terlibat dalam konflik ganas ini perlu diorientasikan semula ke status awam. Program Amnesty di Delta-Niger yang merupakan sebahagian daripada Nigeria menerima pakai program DDR yang telah digunakan dalam mana-mana kawasan dan negara terjejas perang sebagai strategi untuk memindahkan pejuang golongan belia ke dalam masyarakat awam dan menjadi produktif secara positif dan bukannya menjadi ejen kemusnahan. Walaupun terdapat pelaksanaan DDR sebagai sebahagian daripada proses pembinaan pasca konflik dalam program Amnesty tersebut namun konflik ganas Delta-Niger kekal tanpa henti. Di dalam kebanyakan kajian, kesan institusi untuk integrasi semula para pejuang belia di Delta-Niger sebahagian besarnya diabaikan. Kajian ini mengkaji kesesuaian, kapasiti dan keupayaan institusi yang terlibat dalam rangka kerja operasi program Amnesty bagi integrasi semula pejuang belia ke dalam masyarakat awam. Teori Frustration-Aggression and Anomies digunapakai untuk memberi penjelasan yang lebih mendalam mengenai faktor-faktor penyebab krisis di Delta-Niger, Nigeria. Kajian ini telah dijalankan di Delta State dan Bayelsa State, Nigeria sebagai pusat utama Delta-Niger dan tempat operasi pejuang belia. Tempat ini juga merupakan pusat utama beberapa syarikat minyak multinasional dan kawasan-kawasan ini juga dikelilingi oleh tasik dan laut yang memberi kelebihan kepada pejuang belia untuk melarikan diri melalui laluan air selepas aktiviti ganas mereka. Kaedah kualitatif dan survei telah digunakan untuk mendapatkan data dari pihak yang berkepentingan, dalam konflik itu. Kaedah tersebut termasuklah temu bual 24 informan utama, 12 perbincangan berkelompok,

pemerhatian bukan-peserta dan 250 soal selidik yang terkawal serta analisis data secara statistik deskriptif digunakan. Sembilan puluh peratus daripada bekas pejuang belia yang menghadiri program Amnesty telah kembali semula kepada aktiviti anti-sosial mereka dan wilayah itu ini masih menyaksikan peningkatan kes ancaman kepada nyawa dan harta benda. Walau bagaimanapun, pendekatan Barat dalam bentuk rangka kerja operasi program menyukarkan pemaparan keperluan asas pejuang belia ini. Delta-Niger ini masih menyaksikan kes-kes rompakan, pecah rumah, vandalisme terhadap infrastruktur minyak, aktiviti perlanunan dan perbuatan anti-sosial yang lain manakala jumlah belia yang masih berkelaran di jalan-jalan di bandar-bandar di Delta-Niger tanpa tujuan hidup merupakan petunjuk bahawa program Amnesty DDR di Delta- Niger masih tidak berjaya. Dapatan menunjukkan, institusi dalam Delta-Niger perlu diambilkira dalam program integrasi semula pejuang terutama kemampuan dan kapasiti rangka kerja operasi program Amnesty supaya program DDR menjadi lebih efektif dalam menyekat pejuang belia daripada kembali meneruskan aktiviti ganas mereka. Antara cadangan termasuklah pemberdayaan dan pengukohan institusi lokal supaya dapat melaksanakan peranan mereka dengan lebih efektif.

Kata kunci: pelucutan senjata, demobilisasi, integrasi semula, pejuang belia, institusi.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAW	Children Associated with the War
CBO	Community Based Organization
CPA	Child Protection Agency
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSR	Corporate Services Responsibility
CDF	Community Defence Force
CDD	Community Driven Development
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FTR	Family Tracing and Reunification
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquire Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICC	Interim Care Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IRB	Institutional Review Board
JTF	Joint Task Force
MDRP	Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Programme
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MNDA	Ministry of Niger Delta
NCDDR	National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration
NCRRR	National Commission for Reintegration, Rehabilitation, Resettlement
NDPVF	Niger Delta People Volunteer Force
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NNDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
PAL	Participatory Action and Learning
PDO	Pre-Discharge Orientation
PTSD	Post-Trauma Stress Disorder
SALW	Small and Light Weapons
SSR	Security Sector Reform
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TCC	Technical Co-coordinating Committee
TEP	Training and Employment Programme
IDDRS	Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Standard
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPK	United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSRSG	United Nations Special Representative to the Secretary General
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Conflict is an endemic feature for most of the societies in the world for years and one of the most sensitive tasks confronting humanity today irrespective of religious affiliation – traditional, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, or political inclination - democratic or undemocratic and economically - developed or undeveloped. Almost all the countries in the world have experienced one form of conflict or the other, sometimes in the past and some are still experiencing it. Conflict is the source of destruction to some nations and the degree and variation of the consequences depends on the internal management's capacity and capability of the affected nation.

The United States of America (USA), the self-acclaimed model of democracy had experienced several conflicts, internally and externally starting from the war of independence in 1776 to the present. European countries like Germany, Greece, France, Spain and United Kingdom are not excluded from this global phenomenon. The great old empires in Africa like Benin, Borno, Ghana, Mali, Songhahi, Oyo and Ibadan faced conflicts and fought wars to establish themselves as prominent states both in savannah and in the forest region (Fage, 1699; Stride and Ifeka, 1973). The implications and consequences of such violence conflicts are not only limited to the political arena but cut across the economic and social sphere. The violent conflict destroys political structures and cripple's national economies, high rate of deaths, causes inflation, unemployment, and poverty. It ruins human resources that would have been use for development as well as provision for basic services in the affected nation. Violent conflict destroys existing social structure, morally, unity, ruins and maims person, destabilizes

relationships, dehumanizes and humiliates people, brutalizes human psyche, destroy precious family togetherness and thwarts overall development (Udofia, 2011).

Each conflict is unique and has its own characteristics (Wallenstein, 2002). Naturally, differences in human perception, ideology, or worldview would inevitably trigger the conflict. In view of this, there is a notion that as far as human being exists there will be and always be a conflict. However, the prominent and concerned issue is not about the violent conflict occurrence, but how the parties involve attempt to deal with it (Boulding, 1977). One of the most sensitive tasks confronting humankind today is the maintenance of international peace and security. The twentieth century witnessed two world wars and other local conflicts, claimed the lives of millions of people. Unfortunately, despite the consequences and damages caused by these wars, many nations and communities still beats the drums of war while others still experiencing it. This gives the notion that as far as people existing, there is no permanent remedy to this enemy of humanity.

Table1.1: Geographical Distribution of Violent Conflicts in 2015

Region	Number of Countries	Number of Conflicts in region	Number of Countries hosting conflict	Countries hosting conflict (%)	World Conflicts (%)
Africa	51	10	11	24	41
Asia	42	9	6	15	31
Europe	42	3	3	5	7
Americas	44	2	1	2	3
Middle.East	14	5	5	35	17
Total	193	29	26	13	100

Source: Ploughshare, 2015, Armed Conflict Reports.

Table 1.1 indicates that conflict is universal and cut-across the nations irrespective of the region and status. The causes of all these violent conflicts are numerous and many authors have posited it but, it depends on the context, issues, society and stakeholder's positions, interest, and needs (Cuny, 1991, Brown, 1996, Adeyemo, 2000, Albert, 2001 and Nwolise, 2004).

Irrespective of the arrangement made under the League of Nations, which obviously failed, and the present arrangement under the United Nations (UN), wars and conflicts remain scourge. In addition, all the continents of the world had witness while some nations still experiencing the consequence of the violent conflicts despite the activities and efforts of the international communities to make the world at peace. It is notable that, present day's violent conflicts have changed in nature and pattern where most of them are neither between states nor between clearly identifiable armies with a clearly defined battle front, rather, today's conflict are mainly internal in nature, which is of religious or ethnic in characters and involving unusual violence and cruelty. The consequences of today's violent conflict have great effects on the civilians especially women and youths directly or indirectly and this has been aggravated by the nature of today's violent conflict which is intra-national conflict.

The present or modern time wars are primarily internally, where internal and international rules of war is totally being ignored. In the past, the Rules of Engagement is highly observed and respected. The present day's conflicts are no longer aim at defeating the opponent armies or rebels but rather inflicting pains, humiliation and destruction as well as maiming and killing. Despites several strategies to curbs the spreads of this enemy of humanity (war), it is unfortunate that this phenomenon remain unabated and cut across the religion, economy, and social sphere. The multi-dimensional causes of violent conflicts and their associated consequences cut across modern nation-states. Indeed, industrialized countries as well as developing and the newly industrializing countries face the same pressure of ethnic fragmentation arising from structural changes in their economies and political system. Young (1983: 657) stated that:

Whether we are considering the post-industrial welfare states of the world, the states socialism of the second, or the developmental status core of the third, the trend to state determination of the resources distribution is similar. In turn, this trends makes the issues of domination more momentous: the cultural groups that are prominent within the state apparatus are positioned to assure that the needs and interest of their communities are forwarded, and to impose their hegemony on others.

In the process and an attempt to change the status quo, the perceived suppressed or marginalized groups resort to violence conflict as the means of effecting the change. This has been witnesses and demonstrated in several parts of the world including Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East and South America. Imperialism and colonialism with its defective structural legacies, especially the divide-and-rule policies of colonialists helped to worsen the situation by producing over-polarized societies in the name of nation-states. Jinadu (2003: 5) stated that:

In many instances, the political economy of colonial rule placed the ethnics group into polarizing compartments base on their paternalistic and subjective perception or of missionaries traders, explorers, and colonial anthropologists who favoured some ethnics groups while other groups at the disadvantaged and sowed the seeds of post-colonial conflicts and internal wars.

This artificial creation (nations-states) led to serious ethnic problems as they raise vexing issues of injustice, inequity, minority rights, loyalty, citizenship, intolerance, freedom self-determination and autonomy and its manipulation to serve their particular interest by competing hegemonic ethnic groups.

In Africa, from late 1980 to 2010 over 17 violent conflicts were identified as ethnic based. There were some examples like Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia after several years of conflict among the Oromo, Amhara and Ogademan ethnic groups; in Djibouti, the Afars and Issars ethic groups were also in

conflict; in Somalia there was also violence conflict between Tutsi and Hutu; in Cameroun, the Beti ethnic also had conflict with other ethnic groups for control of power; in Cote d'voire Boule and non-Agni groups; in Zaire, it was between Nghandi of the West and other ethnic groups of the East. In Nigeria, there was also war of secession in Southeast of Nigeria (Nnoli, 1978). All these conflicts gave rise to the assertion by scholars that, the ethnic violence conflicts are perhaps the most prominent threats to the nation-states and international peace and security. In most of these conflicts, youth has been identified as prominent stakeholders in the intra state armed conflicts in Africa, even not limited to Africa as a continent alone, across the globe in the post-Cold War era.

In Africa, large numbers of youth combatants are found in the heart of modern warfare, in Angola, youth under the age of eighteen comprised 52 per cent of the population while 3,000 youths were involved as combatants in the conflict (Machel, 2001: 19). In Mozambique, the youth involved in the violent conflict was estimated between 8,000 and 10,000 (Honwana, 1999: 6). The youth were tags as the perfect weapons operators in the violent conflict, easily manipulated, intensely loyal and fearless (Daily Trust, 2007: 28). In Somalia, within the month of April 2007, more than 1,000 people killed in Mogadishu, the capital city of Somalia, in a complex civil war compounded by warlords who command armies of youths.

In West Africa, the use of youth as a militant in the violent conflict dated back to the beginning of Liberian violent conflict in 1989. Taylor's NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia) that became infamous for the abduction and use of youth including boys and girls as combatants in the war, a tactics later adopted by other Liberian fighting factions as well as other fighting groups in West Africa and beyond. Between 6,000 and 15,000 youths were estimated to have been taken up arms from 1989 to 1997 (Human Rights Watch in Africa, 1994:2). The Sierra Leone War was known for having the worst record of using youth in violent conflict. It was recorded that about 50 per cent of the population of fighters are under 18 years old and more than 10,000 youths served as combatants for the various fighting factions (Kelly, 1998: 39). Similarly, the Boko Haram crisis in Northern part of Nigeria, the

youths have been the principal actors in the conflict. However, the use of youth as a combatant has now assumed a magnitude that portends grave consequences for long-term peace (Awodola, 2004).

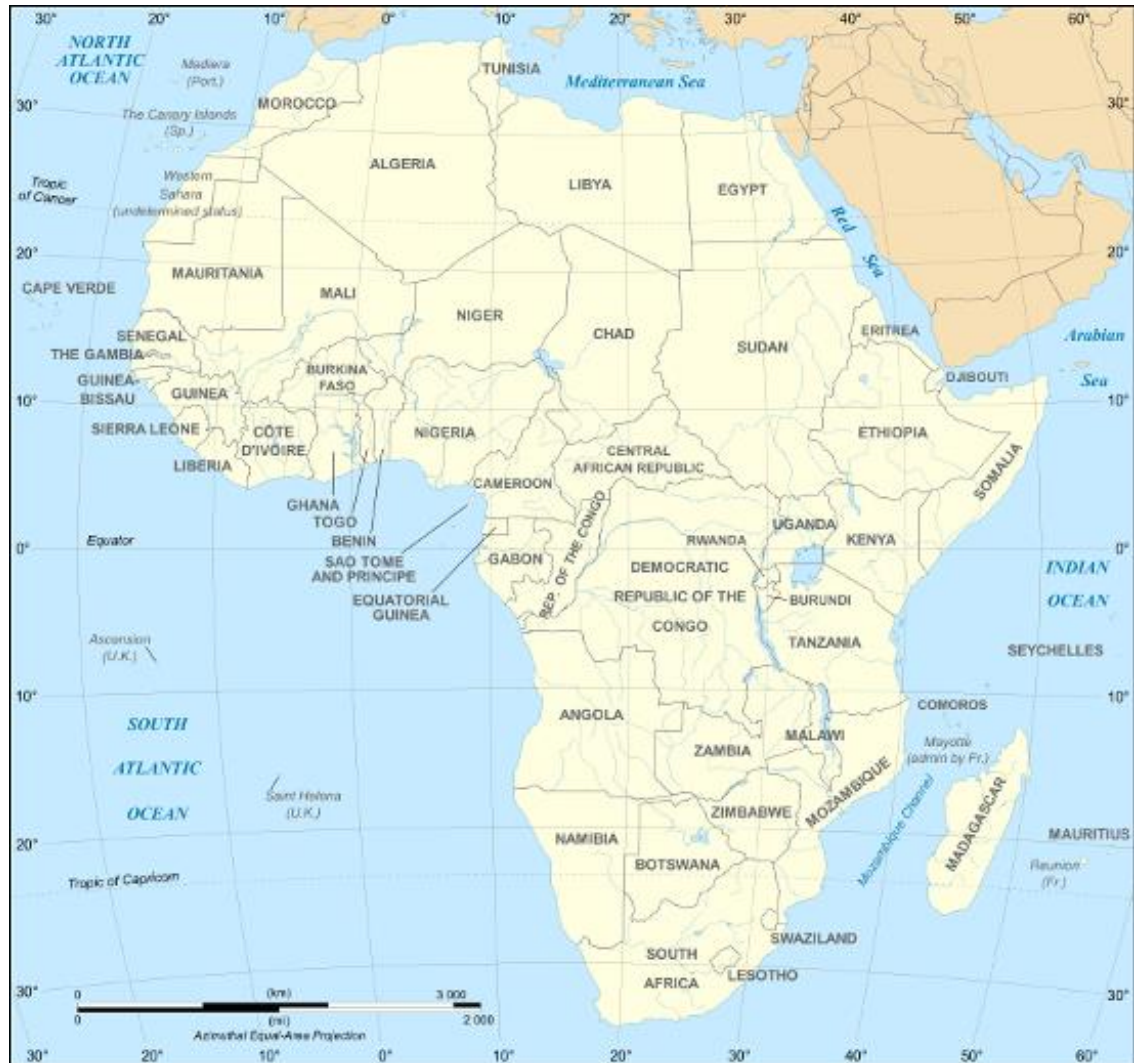


Figure 1.1: The African's Nations Affected by the Conflict
Source: Ploughshare, 2015, Armed Conflict Reports.

As indicated in Figure 1.1, generally, in all present day violent conflicts in the whole Africa, the children and the youths have remained the stakeholders in the conflicts. The issues of youth combatant phenomenon in Nigeria crisis was similarly to what existing in other war affected nations across the globe. In a move to forestall the continues use of youth as a combatant, the Convention on the Right of the Child and Youth legislated in 1990 by UN against recruitments of youths as soldiers

(Malan, 2000: 8) In addition, legal obligation were also placed on the parties in conflict (Rebel or Commander) who engaged the youths as a soldier. In the Fourth Geneva Convention, there was additional Protocols 1, II that included the rules governing the recruitment and participation of the youth in hostilities and there was culpability for the commanders who used the youth as combatant, including the obligation to bring them into justice.

In attempt to have panacea and sustainable peace in the war-affected areas, the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants has been adopted by international communities as an initial step in the transition from war to peace to ensure the safe environment and transferring of ex-combatants back to civilian life. However, this strategy has remains a viable solution in returning peace, security and sustainable environment to war affected society. According to Massino (2003:1) the phases of the DDR are all interconnected like human system, the successful and completion of each phase is essential to the others, and the failure in one phase of the programme would have great effects on the generality of the programme. It was also based on the involvements of the various programmes of protections, empowerment, and relieves for traumatized war affected people and those who have been denied the access to formal education and social lives.

The importance of DDR of ex-combatants to the sustainable peace process has been underscored in scholarly literatures (Godwin-Gill & Cohn, 1994; Kelly, 1998; Adekanye, 2001; Williamson & Carter, 2005). For instance, Adekanye (2001) considered the danger of letting loose upon society, hundreds of thousands of organized groups of angry men and women previously engaged in war without undergoing a proper reintegration and rehabilitation programme. Such oversight, he opined poses a serious security risk for any state, at any time, and anywhere (Awodola, 2004).

The reintegration of youth-combatants into civilian lives is one of the major challenges confronting the post-conflict peace building programme in peace building process. Apart from the fear of rejection by their communities, which is borne out of the widespread atrocities committed during the war, the

reintegration of the youth-combatants is as important for the sustainability of peace and security (Awodola, 2004). Authors, such as Malan (2008) have conceptualised the reintegration as a social-cultural process. Massino (2003) also argued that, the reintegration process should ordinarily go beyond keeping the youth combatants in the schools or in the vocational centres, the psychological support also paramount and imperative as part of their reintegration process due to their involvement in a series of heinous activities in the battlefield during the crisis.

Verhey (2001) provided insight into the reintegration process in Angola, El Salvador and Uganda by considering the importance of traditional healing rituals for the acceptance of the youth ex-combatant back into the society in the reintegration process. Williamson and Carter (2005) reviewed the progress report made by the International Rescue Committee of the United Nations in the implementation of the project “Vulnerable Children and Youth Protection and Development” in which several measures were considered as elements of successful reintegration of the former youth combatant into society such as the involvement of traditional cleansing ceremonies, traditional healing and the religious support for the ex-youth combatants. In the reintegration process, the reunification of the ex-youth combatants with their families and communities has been the core objectives of the organization involved in the reintegration exercises. In an attempt to achieve these goals and objective, the peace-building programme encountered several challenges. Following the violent crisis in the Niger Delta part of Nigeria, the adaptation of several projects as strategies for peace employed, despite all these strategies, the people of Niger Delta still experiencing intermittent violent conflict leading to destruction of lives and property, kidnapping of oil workers, inflation, unemployment, piracy activities and high rate of criminal’s activities in the region, that made the region tagged as one of the unsafe region in the country. Against this backdrop, this study seeks to examine the challenges to the failure of the DDR programme as part of the peace building process and the panacea solutions to achieve durable peace in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. This is necessary because without durable peace the search for sustainable development will remain a mirage.

The persistence violent in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria has reached the dangerous situation in which all sphere of live were affected negatively not only limited to the Niger Delta as a region alone, but also to the nation of Nigeria. Nigeria is located in West Africa, and shared borders with The Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north and has total area of 923,768 km (356,669 sq miles) making it the world thirty-second largest country. Nigeria is known as the giant of Africa due to its large population and huge economy.



Figure 1.2: Map of States in Nigeria.

Source: Delta State & Department of Regional Planning (2015).

Nigeria with over 180 million people is the most populous country in Africa and seventh most populous country in the world. It is inhabited by over 500 ethnic groups of which the three largest groups are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. It is identified as a regional power in Africa because its economy in 2014 is the largest in Africa worth more than \$500 billion. The country's oil reserves have been playing a major role in its growing wealth and influences in the continent. The most popular religions in Nigeria are Islam, Christianity, and Traditionalist. The main rivers in Nigeria are the Niger and Benue Rivers which converged and empty into the Niger Delta. Nigeria has varieties of landscape. The far south is defined by its tropical rainforest climate where annual rainfall is 60 to 80 inches (1,524 to 2,032mm) a year. Coastal plains are located in both the southwest and the southeast. These forest zones are also known as mangrove swamps because of the large area of mangroves in the north and fresh water swamps.

The Niger Delta (see Figure 1.3) as a region in Nigeria that has a habitat for a vast biodiversity from its rich resource base. The Delta region has a steadily growing population (see Table 1.2) that covers an area of 70,000 square kilometres, encompassing the greater part of the south-south region of Nigeria. It has a population of about 15 million people and more than 40 ethnic groups with links to the linguistic groups of Ijaw, Edo, Igbo, Efik, Ibibio and Oron. There are seven states that made up the Niger Delta region namely Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Edo, River and Ondo (Brisibe, 2001).

The region has natural gas reserves of about 163 trillion cubic feet and harbours crude oil reserves of 33 billion barrels (Ogege, 2011: 18). The region comprises of different ethnic tribes that include the Ibibio, Ijaws, Urhobo, Efiks, Isoko, Nembe, Ndom, Andoni, Itsekri, and Ikwere (Badmus, 2010, Opo and Eze 2012). Its topography contains the varieties of vegetation, salt-water swamps, and the rain forests. The discovery of oil in Nigeria's Niger-Delta Region in 1957 triggered a chain of events that has led to the political and economic marginalization of the inhabitants. The oil rich Niger-Delta region of Nigeria has been embroiled with crisis between multinational oil companies, the Nigerian

government, and the communities in the region over the unresolved fundamental issues that affecting the region.

The ethnic unrest and violent conflict in the region began in late 1990s between the Ijaw, Urhobo and Itsekiri ethnic groups. The unrest and conflict spread rapidly due to the availability of small arms and other weapons that led to increasingly to the militarization of the Niger Delta region. In the beginning, the local communities in the region and state officials had offered support to their youths as Community Defence Force (CDF). They believed that CDF would enforce their own agenda particularly on the issue of marginalization in which the region is agitating for from the government of Nigeria and the multi-national companies following their perception that the region has been short-change based on the contribution of the region to the national economy.

Thereafter, CDF became threats to the whole region and to Nigeria as a nation. The youth militants under CDF involved in various forms of heinous activities such as kidnappings, vandalizing, rapes, piracy, illegal arms dealing, attacking oil company's staff, bombings of oil installations and other nefarious activities in the region. In an attempt to curb and stop the youth as combatants from their nefarious activities, the Nigeria government established military formations in the region purposely to 'checkmate' the activities of the militants. The military operation tagged Joint Task Force (JTF), comprises the Nigerian Army, Air Force and Navy.

Despite the confrontation option and other several strategies applied and adopted by the Nigerian government to curbs the activities of the youth militants in the region, the militants continue wax stronger and pose more threats to the people of the region. Followings the interventions of International Communities like Commonwealth Union, African Union, Government of United States of America, British government and other International organizations such as United States Agency for International Developments (USAID) and Rotary International. However, the Federal Government of Nigeria was compelled to have dialogue with the militants for economy and social wise. The

outcome of the dialogue gave birth to several new projects as consolidation to the region, such as derivation formula for the oil producing state, Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), Ministry of Niger Delta for the region and Amnesty by the government of Nigeria as strategy to attain peace in the region. The Amnesty programme is parts of the peace-building process in which DDR process as a component of post conflict building to prevent the reoccurrence, restore peace and promote sustainable development in the region and economy development for the whole nation. This strategy partially succeeded to reduce the insecurity of region to the minimal at the beginning of the programme. Nevertheless, due to some challenges, the region still witnesses and experiencing the heinous and nefarious activities of the militant's due to the persisting activities of the youth combatants in the region.



Figure 1.3: Map of States in Nigeria

Source: Delta State & Department of Regional Planning (2015).

Table 1.2: Niger Delta estimated population

State	Area of Land (Square Kilometers)	Population projected by 2015 (Million)	The State Capital
Abia	4,877	4,350,000	Umuahia
Akwa Ibom	6,806	4,500,000	Uyo
Bayelsa	11,007	2,300,000	Yenagoa
Cross River	21,930	3,700,000	Calabar
Delta	17,163	4,800,000	Asaba
Edo	19,698	4,000,000	Benin
Imo	5,165	4,500,000	Owerri
Ondo	15,086	4,100,000	Akure
Rivers	10,378	6,600,000	Port Harcourt
Total	112,110	38,850.000	

Sources: Niger Delta Survey based on population on 1991 census & NDRDMP Agriculture and Rural Development sector study (2000).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Following the persisting of violent conflicts in the region of Niger Delta of Nigeria, the various stakeholders in the crisis have attempted to resolve the conflicts in the region through several measures such as community meetings, dialogue, petitions, mass media, and litigations (Onosode, 2003). These strategies have resulted in popular demands for political empowerment, mitigation of environment degradation, resources control and sustainable development (Oshagae, 1998).

The conflicts in Niger Delta have contributed negatively to the economic and social structure of the region including negative implication on the Nigeria government as it was categorised as one of the unsafe nation in Africa. The consequences of the conflicts on the region are immeasurable particularly on the family structures, value system, economy and religious on the youths of the Niger Delta. However, the most hazardous aspect of this conflict is the involvement of the youths in the crisis. Youth that regarded as future leaders and the agents of positive change and development are now been use as agent of destruction. The damages will have a very long and lasting implications due to the engagement of the youths as combatants in the violence conflict. However, the youth that involved in

the violent conflict still have an opportunity to re-engage and rehabilitate back into normal and civilian lives and contributes positively to the society. In an attempt and effort to achieve this goal, the DDR is adopted and initiated as the vibrant mechanism to reintegrate the youth combatants back into civilian and productive lives as post-conflict peace building strategy. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the DDR is mandated to be integrated into the peace process from peace negotiation through peacekeeping as a component of the peace building. The main objective of the DDR is to create enabling environment for political and peace process by proffers solution to the security problem.

The DDR programme was implemented under the Amnesty programme as a post-conflict peace building process. The state endorsement of the Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta violent conflict is an indication of a paradigm shift in the management of conflict in the region. Under the Amnesty programme of the Niger Delta conflict, all the necessary phases of the DDR were applied and implemented. Consequently, the people of the Niger Delta still experiencing the consequences and phenomena of these youth combatants and violent conflict persisted in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

Scholars have identified several factors responsible for the failures of the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta conflict. According to Akinwale, (2009) the major loophole in the programme is lack of wide consultations with the majority of people in the Niger Delta. As a result, the civil societies, including non-government organizations (NGOs), Community-Based Organization (CBO) and religious group have no impact or contribution toward the Amnesty programme of the Niger Delta as part of peace building programme. However, the impact of institutions such as Amnesty policy, religious, economy, family, and indigenous local structures was ignored. Therefore, this study posed to unveil and to consider the importance of various institutions of Niger Delta as a gateway and inevitable tools and mechanisms for the DDR to achieve its goal and objective.

Sawyer (2005) emphasised on the importance of the institutional consideration, particularly, Amnesty operational framework, family structure, religious, economy background and local indigenous structure in the achievement of the DDR programme's aim and objective in which this study did not controvert. However, this study aims to look at the effectiveness of the institutions that responsible for the reintegration of the youth combatants in the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta and other factors responsible for the continuous crisis and the activities of these youth combatants in the region of Niger Delta. The region is still experiencing the insecurity of lives and properties as well as witnessing of the roaming about of the various streets in the cities of Niger Delta area. It is against this background that the study examines the capacity, capability and the challenges of the institutions that responsible for the DDR programme of the youth combatants of the Niger Delta region. Based on the above discussion, this study guided by the following questions:

1.2 Research questions

- i. What are the causes of the conflict and the capacities and limitations of the institutions responsible for DDR process?
- ii. To what extent does the operational framework of DDR address itself to issues relating to youth combatant in the Niger Delta?
- iii. Why the youth combatant's activities persisting in the Niger Delta despite the DDR initiatives?
- iv. In what ways can the DDR be better structured to achieve greater effectiveness?

1.3 Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the factors involved in DDR implementation with a view to determine how the process would be fared in healing the wound and pains caused by conflicts and determining their capabilities and limitations.

- i. To identify the factors that led to the conflict and the institutions involved in DDR
- ii. To examine the appropriateness and the effectiveness and of the institutions involved in DDR programme.
- iii. To examine the level of involvement of the youth combatant in the DDR.
- iv. To assess the level of social constraints confronting youth combatant in the causes of the DDR.
- v. To provide innovative strategies that will assist in accomplishing a genuine DDR programme.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Personally, as an ex-military personnel who had taken part in several peacekeeping operations locally, regionally and internationally under United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operation (UNDPO) and African Union as a peacekeeping force in several violent conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Darfur crisis in Sudan including several intra-national conflicts in Nigeria and, who had witnesses and experienced the damages and consequences of this phenomenon of violent conflict (war), definitely, it is absolutely truth and generally agreed upon that, there is no amounts of sacrifices that enough to prevent this enemy of humanity (war). However, the damages and the consequences as a results of this phenomenon (war) is irreparable.

In other word, there is consensus believe that the present young generation are future leaders and they are the instruments of positive change and development. However, it is regrettable to see the same youth regarded in any community as future leader being use as the instrument of destruction, by engaging them in the violent conflicts as combatants. Initially, the people of the Niger Delta engaged their youths in a conflict in order to protest and express their grievances to the concerned authorities in what they perceived as an injustice melted on them by oils companies and the national government of Nigeria. However, the same youths now became the threats to communities in the region of Niger

Delta and to the whole nation in general. In the attempt and efforts to re-engage and reintegrate those youths back into normal civilian and be productive rather than destructive agent is now a challenge and a big task.

The central objective of DDR is to create enabling environment for post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building leading to the sustainable growth and development. Inevitably, DDR programme is the fulcrum. DDR focused on ex-combatants as an inclusive unit that encompasses adult and youth, male and female as combatants. Similarly, the DDR measure has been adopted by International Communities and United Nations Development programme (UNDP) as a tool to reintegrate the ex-combatants into normal civilian irrespective of the age and sex categories. However, as a youth with experience in the uses of gun at their tender age as a fighter coupled with their exposure and experiences in the theatre of war. However, in the process to re-orienting them back into normal civilian and have total reintegration in them as a normal civilian will require extra sacrifices and unrelenting efforts.

Following the activities of DDR as part of post-conflict peace building in the Niger Delta crisis in returning the sustainable peace to the region, the cities and communities of Niger Delta are still experiencing the anti-social activities of the youth combatants and they have constituted themselves into societal miscreants. The growing numbers of these youths-combatants in the various streets and going by volumes of atrocities attributed to these youth combatants therefore it underscore, the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the DDR programme in Niger Delta. Therefore, the visible ineffectiveness of the DDR programme in Niger Delta can be inferred from the large number of unengaged number of the youth combatants in the various streets of the cities and communities of the Niger Delta.

- i. This study attempts to unveil and identifying the effectiveness of the institutions responsible or as platform for the reintegration of the youth combatants in the region of Niger Delta. In

addition, the study involves into policy implementation that put in place in the address the basic needs of the youth combatants and reason for its formation and mode of operation as observed in the political and economic dimension in the operational framework of the DDR with the reference to Niger Delta crisis.

- ii. The solution proffered by this study could also serve and addition to the scopus of knowledge, due to paucity of literatures on the consequences of ethnic militia activities of militia in Niger Delta part of Nigeria and it will also be assisting in determines the factors to the institutional strength and weakness in every reintegration process. It will also provide perspective on the limited role of various institutions in the content and context of DDR especially as it relates to youth combatant.
- iii. It proffers suggestion to DDR challenges with the hope of assisting authorities in Amnesty to reform their organization and attempt to change the vilified view of DDR.
- iv. The solution proffered by this study could also serve as a model to other affected nations and various organizations involves in DDR process.

1.5 Scope of Study

The scope of this work covers violent conflicts and challenges of the Amnesty DDR process in Niger Delta part of Nigeria between the periods of 2009– 2015 with regard to the Amnesty Programme of Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ministry of Niger-Delta and the implementing bodies of DDR of youth combatants. The main focus of this study is on the challenges of DDR on the reintegration process of the youth combatants. The reintegration is viewed as a process that is dependent on several social and cultural variables.

The institutional challenges of reintegration therefore are construed as those factors and conditions that hinder the institutions from its functional for the reintegration of Niger Delta youth combatants.

However, there are several phases of the Niger-Delta conflicts for instance, the disarmament followed immediately after cease-fire agreement between the combatants and the Nigeria government spearheaded by President Musa Y'ardua. Moreover, the research focuses on activities of stakeholders, selected government and non-government organizations and the youth as combatants.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Difficulties in various dimensions were encountered during the fieldwork exercise, mostly; the conflicts in the region are still going on during the fieldwork exercise. The prohibition in the use of any form of recording such as recording tape, video, and camera in the field during the exercise also posed a challenge. Moreover, there was a serious economy and political crisis in the region during the study. In addition to this, the security situation in the region was too tense due to the approaching time for the election and change of the government. The logistic also posed a problem due to the bad roads and scarcity of petroleum product for transportation and domestic use including insufficient fuel in the circulation for fuelling the car which instigated high charges for all services such as accommodation, transportation and other daily needs. Nevertheless, these challenges were surmountable and considered as challenges but not an obstacle.

1.7 Organization of the Chapters

Chapter 1 overviews the purpose of the study and the inevitability of the conflicts in all societies which was highlighted and buttressed irrespective of status. The motive of the study also expressed particularly, the danger and the consequences of the violent conflict and the reasons why violent conflicts should be avoided. In this chapter also, the trends of involving youth as a combatant also revealed and the efforts and reasons to prevent the act. The implications of the involvement of the youth in the violent conflict and the characteristics and activities of the youth combatants of Niger

Delta were also expressed. The chapter also emphasized on the mechanisms to return peace to any violent conflict area. Subsequently, the questions were asked in which the objective of the study was set to be answered.

Chapter 2 is a review of literatures and theories that germane to the study. The literatures review covers following areas: the relevant past work on the issues of the study including the views of the various authors on the subject and their loophole was discovered in which this work pose to unveil and address. However, the factors that may instigate conflicts also examine under the concepts including, the ethnic conflict and identity politics, the ethnic militia formation and operation, youth militants, why youth are targets as combatant, small arms and light weapons in armed conflict and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration where all these are germane to the subject under discussion. All the above concepts shed more lights on why the violent conflicts become more popular among the people, particularly, in developing nations. Under the theoretical framework, the Frustration – Aggression Theory and Anomie Theory were discussed to unveil the factors that fuelling the violent conflict in Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

In Chapter 3, the Research Methodology and Design are discussed. This chapter remains the crucial stage of any research study. This stage emphasized on how reliable, accurate and reliable data collected including population sampling method, and procedure, justification for the choice of study area, methods of data collection, and methods of data analysis.

Chapter 4 enlightening on the origin of militancy in the region of Niger Delta and various attempts taken to maintaining peace in the region including the capacities, capabilities of the institutions that responsible for the reintegration. The structures of the various institutions such as Amnesty policy, economy structure, family structure, religious structure, education structure in Niger Delta were examines and their impact and roles in the reintegration process of the youth combatants. This section also unveils the clear picture of the various institutions in Niger Delta as a basis for every society that

influences and dictates ways of lives that suit their environment. The objective of institutions in all society purposely, to maintain the orderliness and as a society mechanism that regulates and guiding people behaviour. Therefore, the failure or weakness of any of these institutions from its primary obligation is capable to cause the disorderliness and chaos in that society. The chapter also covered the capability and capacity of the various institutions and how they structured and their responsibility to the society. This chapter answering the research question 1.

Chapter 5 spell-out how the weakness and challenges of the various institutions in Niger Delta affected the DDR process including the Amnesty operational framework. All these institutions were interconnected, and the weakness in one sector has impact on the others. This chapter provide answers to the research question 2 and 3.

Chapter 6 unveils the comprehensive structures of the DDR programme including the responsibility of the various sector of the DDR programme. In the chapter, the responsibility and functions of every sector was highlighted and spell-out in other to achieve desired result. The chapter also emphasized that with absolutely and comprehensive implementations of the comprehensive DDR structures to the core, is capable to provides panacea peace, security, and sustainable environment in any war-affected area and capable to prevented the relapse of the violent conflict which remains the goal and objective of the programme as a strategy for post conflict peace building project due to the provisions and the involvement various programme of empowerment, security, and motivation. This chapter provide answer to research question 4.

Chapter 7, contains summary, conclusion, and the recommendation of the study

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

For any reliable research work, there is always a need to trace its linkage through previous study for any researchable problem, and there will be no study done in isolation. Rutterdam and Newton (1992) stated that the literature review essence is to determine what addition can be made to existing knowledge and the new knowledge that has become known and what appears to be in conflict with pre-existing belief. In addition, the literature review is a systematic analysis of documents containing information about the problem being studied. Moreover, literature review is to evaluate the existing body of knowledge in order to discard, harmonize and fill gaps on issue or problem investigated to aid continuous expansion of knowledge and proffering solutions.

The importance of DDR to a sustainable peace process has been underscored in scholarly literatures such as Godwin-Gill & Cohn (1994), Kelly (1998), Akinwale (2009), Adekanye (20010, Williamson & Carter, (2005); Adebajoko & Takim, (2013). For instance, Adekanye (2001) considered the implication of letting loose upon society of thousands of organized groups of angry men and women particularly the youths who engaged in violence conflict without undergoing a proper reintegration and rehabilitation programme poses a serious problems and security threats to any state at anytime and anywhere.

A dominant view in peace and conflict studies is that conflict is inevitable in human societies and their causes and effects are numerous. Their resolutions are even more challenging. Thus, the needs to conceptualize theorize and review some available literature on the broad nature of the concept.

In the attempts to proffered panacea solution to the Niger Delta violent conflict, several studies subscribed to the causes and solution to the Niger Delta violent conflict. For instance, Ogbodo, (2010); Ekpeyong and Dienye, (2010); Ogege, (2011); Okuyade, (2011); and Idowu, (2012) highlighted the importance of the role of culture in the reintegration process. Meanwhile, Badmus (2010), Etemike (2012) suggested that the equitable structure of the federal system and equal representative including equal distribution of the resources as the main solution to the violent conflict of the Niger Delta region. Akanji and Oyitso (2012) recommended the meaningful development of infrastructures in the region and economic empowerment of the indigenes of the region as strategy to curb the lingering violence conflict in Niger Delta. Although, following the recommendations and findings of all these studies as strategies to halt the violent conflict in the region, the violent conflict of Niger Delta remains unabated. However, in the comprehensive and carefully perused of the relevant literatures, the impacts and contributions of local institutions for the reintegration process of youth combatants in the region of Niger Delta is largely ignore and not fully considered as a key factor in the reintegration process. Furthermore, Sungkharat et.al (2010) considered the importance of the culture of the people affected by conflict in passing as a panacea solution to the crisis and went further by assuming that, the development cannot occur when social, cultural, and economy problems are isolated from each other, therefore, people can only respond to the governmental policy only when they allow and encourage to find right way to solve their own problems. In view of this, this study considered the ineffectiveness of the of the institutions that responsible for the reintegration of the youth combatants as encompassment findings of most previous study on the Niger delta violent conflict.

The literature review concludes with the conceptual discourse of the following: ethnic conflict and identity politics, ethnic militia formation and operations, why youth has been targeted as combatant, small arms proliferation and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. The essence of these discourse is to offer explanation and insights on the factors that aids the topic under study and the considerations for post-conflict peace-building and sustainable peace and development of Niger Delta part of Nigeria.

2.1.1 Ethnic Conflict and Identity Politics

Conflict is an inevitable fact of social existence and in any social formation, it is as necessary as cooperation. Therefore, it is an integral part of society and could be brought about by myriad of factors. It is usually a product of human needs and fear in society. In other words, conflict is propelled by unfulfilled needs of the people: in terms of self –identity, autonomy, sense of justice, and satisfaction of other personal or group needs. Most of these needs are of collective character and are often provoked by official neglect, persecution, denial of human rights and insensitivity of those in power to the positions interest and needs of the populace. Consequently, conflicts manifested into ethnic, political, economy, religious, environmental and territorial.

According to Lund, (1997) conflict is present when two or more parties perceived that their interests are incompatible, express hostile's attitudes, or pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. These parties may be individuals, small or large group, and countries. Interest can be diverged in many ways

- i. Over resources – territory, money, energy sources, food and how they should be distributed.
 - ii. Over power - how control and participation in political decision-making are allocated.
 - iii. Over identity - concerning the cultural, social and political communities to which people feel tied.
 - iv. Over status - particularly those embodied in systems of government, religion, or ideology
- (Lund, 2009:12)

However, causes of internal conflicts are multifaceted and go beyond postulations and typologies by authors, competition over resources seem to wield a bigger influence over other causes. In line with this, Cuny (1991) noted that most conflicts are rooted in economic disparities. Later, they may represent a context for control over economic assets, resources or system with ethnic covers. The

origin of Nigeria crisis is rooted in the inequality in political, social and economic distribution of the nation's resources, which executed through ethnic platform. Generally, most of the sources of the conflicts in African sub-region have to do with ethnicity in nature. For example, the war between the Arabs Tuareg and Black African in Mali, Niger and Sudan; war between Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda; Itaba crisis in Burundi; Turbi Village massacre in Kenya; Ituri and Kivu conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo; Metabale crisis in Zimbabwe; Herero genocide in Namibia and many wars in the continent that have ethnicity in characteristic. In order to have an in-depth understanding of ethnic conflict, there is a need for brief definition of ethnicity through the accepted definition of the concept, which is saddle with contention due to multiplicity and fluidity of ethnicity. According to McIellan (2003), one of the generally accepted working definitions of ethnicity is that it involves the consciousness of shared origin and traditions. It originates from the Greek word 'ethnos' meaning 'tribe' or 'nation'. Horowitz (1985) posited that ethnicity is connected to birth and blood but not absolutely so. Smith (1991) in his own view elaborates that six main attributes of ethnic communities capturing the essence of the concept. They are a collective of proper name, a myth of common ancestry and shared historical memories. One or more differentiating element of common culture is association with specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sector of population. Our conceptual definition of ethnicity in this study is a shared cultural identity that has a range of distinctive behavioural and, possibly, linguistic features that are passed on through socialization from one generation to the next.

Differences in conceptual definition of ethnicity are further polarized with theoretical divide between promordialist, constructionalism and instrumentalism theories. Ethnicity originates from birth and human race naturally divided into different races. Tribes or nation and each group are bound together by common genetic heritage, reinforced by shared culture and that such units have existed more or less time immemorial (Barth, 1969; Geertz, 1973; Nnoli, 1978; Campbell, 1997). The social constructionists (Young, 1965; Kasfir, 1976; Anderson, 1983; and Ranger, 1985) referred to ethnicity

as social construct created by man to appropriate his goals when found appropriate. They stressed the elasticity of ethnicity and fluidity which accommodate various issues. Ranger (1985:19) argued that:

It is important to show that, the tribal identity is not inevitable, unchanging given, but a product of human creativity which can be re-invented and re-defined to become once again open, constructive and flexible, subordinate to other loyalties and association which relate more directly to suffering and its relief.

Instrumentalists (Bayart, 1993; MacGaffey, 1993; Osaghae, 1994; and Smith, 1998) with close ties to social constructionists posited that at any given point of time, ethnicity is manipulated by elites to achieve their goals. They see ethnicity as imagined identity by groups especially in Third World communities to secure access to resources. Thus, instrumentalist is a philosophy of ethnicity as a survival scam. To Bayart (1993: 5), existence of large communities in pre-colonial Africa is a myth. He observed that:

..the very notion of ethnic groups, at least in the form in which it is usually imagined, that a given entity going back over centuries and corresponding to a limited geographical area does not square with fact.. If this extreme diachronic flexibility of ethnicity were recognized historically, one would see that the pre-colonial black Africa was not, strictly speaking, made up mosaic of ethnic groups.

He further maintained that they do not seem to have existed for much longer than independent state itself. He suggests instead that the imagination is prioritized since for him, “there may even be such a thing as an ethnic awareness without an ethnic group. These theories show the dynamism and fluidity of the concept. Campbell (1997: 8) opined that:

...In modern conception, the ethnicity appears fluid because so many different agenda have been attached to it. It can be therefore being portrayed as fragmentary and dangerous, as well as mystical of moral force that perhaps can coerced or disintegrate the society. hence, ethnicity like conflict has both positive and negative attributes depending on its usage by any particular group.

Hutchinson & Smith (1996) emphasizes on the functional aspect of ethnicity where they stated that cultural contribution of myths, memories and symbols are vital tools for social integration. They further stated that “there is no necessary connection between ethnicity and conflict” (Bayart 1993: 3).

Ethnic conflict according to Schmid (2000) is a label given to various types of communal or intra-state conflicts arising in the post-Cold War period. For him it can be characterized by primordial clan, tribal, linguistic, religious or racial identity group which have re-emerged as main source of division within states. The operational definition of ethnic conflict in this study is that it is the breakdown of accommodation among ethnic group either internally or externally created overtly or covertly for propagation of particular group interest over the other. It is a creation and utilization (construction/instrumentalism) not necessarily ascribe (primordial) to any society. McLean and McMillan (2003) note that ethnic conflict takes various dimensions. It can be the same thing as conflict between nations or races as it can also be conflict between religious groups. They cited as example ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland (Catholic and Protestant) Lebanon (where Christian Arab have been in conflict with Muslim Arabs) and Balkans (where Orthodox Serbs differ from Catholic Croats from Muslims principally in terms of religious beliefs). Furthermore, the fluidity of ethnic conflict is exemplified with the Basques, Welsh or Georgians who see language as more important badge of ethnicity than race, nationality or religion. This differs with Burundi where physical features like pointed nose and slender physique by Tutsi are used against Hutu with broad nose and round body-built to exacerbate socio-political and economic conflict in the country.

Ethnic conflict in contemporary world leads to international conflicts in four ways:

- i. Ethnic conflict and (its) resulting instability may tempt outside power to intervene in order to maximize their self-interest;
- ii. When an ethnic group is spread over than one state but is majority in one, it can cause ethnic strife arising in one state to the other;
- iii. Conflict can arise in a situation where a dominant group in one state is separated from co-national making a minority in another;

- iv. Disaffected ethnic groups can resort to terrorism in their effort to attain their objective (Taras, et al. 2015).

The multiplicity of ethnic conflict is categorized into eight typologies by Weiner (1992) cited in Goor (1994: 26) as follows:

Irredentism: a form of nationalism, which claims that group living outside the border of a state, actually belongs to that state and ought to be brought within the state borders by means of annexation of the territory in which they lived. The claim may focus on related group or on the territory itself.

Two types of irredentism are possible. Firstly, the group outside the state may form a minority in the territory claimed for annexation. Secondly, the group may form a minority in two territories. In Weiner's opinion, the driving force of irredentism may be an ideology, political movement, or government policy;

Separatism: a group desire to separate itself from the state to which they belonged. If the desire of a group concentrated in a particular territory of a state is to acquire greater influence over the government of that territory. According to Weiner (1992: 6), the desire for autonomy is often seen as the first step toward separatism:

The demand for interest group - here, it is referring to groups that are spread throughout the country but whose members have common interests in educational, religious or economic fields, such groups often strive for education in their own language, religious freedom, and end to discrimination;

Ethnic Corporatism - the demand of an ethnic group to be recognized as such and to obtain certain rights on the basis of this recognition, such as the right to a proportionate share in the country's government;

- i. Nativism - the demand of a group that regards itself as indigenous for greater political, cultural, or economic authority as other groups in the running of the

state. People who do not belong to the original population are excluded from as far as possible. This group adhere to slogans such as “X-land for the X-landers”,

- ii. Hegemonic demands - the demand of one group for the right to dominate others based on cultural or racial arguments often accompanied by an appeal for the survival of the state; and
- iii. Fundamentalism - the assertion of the fundamentalist groups that some former golden age will return provided the community revert to its fundamental religious values. Fundamentalism can assume various forms, not all of them are very radical, and including what refers to as religious reformism and religious nationalism.

Weiner's identify some factors that instigating the Niger Delta violent conflict as demand for autonomy, the demand of interest groups, ethnic corporatism, and hegemonic demands However, these are the outcome of other hidden factors of conflict, which buttresses Campbell's (1997: 3) submission:

On the surface, many conflicts do seem to resolve around ethnic religious, cultural or linguistic division, and these divisions will likely dominate the perception of the protagonists. Yet, to gain a better understanding of the nature of these conflicts, we need to look beyond the easy excuse of ‘ancient hatred’ and tribal bloodletting to detect the underlying stress factors that help cause fighting. Disputes are often sharpened or even triggered by glaring social and economic inequalities-explosive conditions that exacerbated by the growing pressure of population control, resources depletion and environment degradation.

Most of the conflicts generally referred to as ethnic conflicts are not really so. Many factors such as demographic explosion, poor governance and elite strife for power, micro and macro social structures,

struggle for scarce resources, especially land, poverty and unemployment are responsible. However, what makes them look like ethnic conflict or lend credence to the claims that they are ethnic is the fact that the contestant belongs to constructed ethnic group. The contestants do not attack each other because of their ethnic background since they are all from one stock but rather on the mere personalized issues. The conflict starts on individual rather than ethnic base but, usually when such issues escalate, the newly constructed ethnic members become fully involved.

2.1.2 Ethnic Militia Formation and Operations

Globally, the phenomenon of ethnic militia has become a major concern in national and world of politics as group identities begins to voice out the need for recognition through either peaceful means or recourse to violence. Militia as a concept is not very new since it has existed for centuries and its purpose of opposing government for the interest of members is still upheld in the contemporary world though with some modifications. It exists in the developed as well as underdeveloped world. In the US, it is known as Militia Movement with the status of political and paramilitary association. Myers, (1996) noted that there are several militia movements in the US having opposing goals from the Federal Government. She listed Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as the first militia movement in US, which came into being between 1865 and 1867 with the ultimate of eliminating black populations and white government officials that added policies of equality between white and black Americans. She further pointed out that in modern US, other groups such as Michigan Militia Corps, Militia Montana, and Texas Constitutional Militia exist with more diverse interests, though all see the armed forces as the primary threat to the well-being of their members and US citizens. Militia existence and impact in US is further buttressed by Hagedorn (2008), though he referred to them as gangs. For instance, he mentioned Conservatives Vice Lords (CVL) in Chicago, Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation in New York City as popular gangs in the US.

According to the New Lexicon Webster Dictionary of English Language, quoted in Ozekhome (2003), militia is a reserve body of citizens, enrolled for military duties, called upon only in emergency. He went on to explain that these forces are all able-bodied male citizens, between 18 – 45, who are not already members of the regular armed forces, and who are declared by authority subject to a call to military service. Hence, militia formation is a universal phenomenon. The ethnic angle attached to it only depict its origin and goal of being tied to particular group with ethnic identity or perhaps appendage. Other scholars define the concept as “soldier who are also civilians” reserve military force’, and unauthorized military group (Meyer, 2007: 12). Their purpose is to forcefully change or attempt to change the status quo for group advantages.

In Africa, the purpose and emergence of militia movement in the early 1950s was not a deviation from the known foundation objectives which ultimate goals was to wrestle power from colonial authorities. The Mau Mau Movement of Kenya that fought for the independence of the country serves as a cogent example. However, after independence, early African political elites retained the character and structure of colonial state, which was represented and meant to extract domestic surpluses for the overriding purpose of servicing metropolitan needs. This led to formation of new wing to topple various governments in the continent. According to Agbu (2002), ethnic militia is the extreme form of ethnic agitation for self-determination as various groups assume militant posture and gradually metamorphose into militia groups, each of which bears an ethnic identity and purpose to act as the machinery through which the desires of its people are sought to be realized. The common features of these ethnically inspired movements are the resort to violence, preponderance in youth membership, ethnic identity affiliation, and the fact that they are mainly popular movements demanding change in the status quo. Thus, dissatisfaction with structure, operations and power configuration of most nation-states whether military or civilian regimes and the use of force as the most vital instrument of governance propel their formation and proliferation. The civilian regimes most often seem to be more repressive than the military using state military structures and formation of new dreaded ones to remain in power. Maduagu (2000: 6) put it poignantly:

The nature of politics, whose ultimate form is the struggle for power. Compels every political organization at certain stage in its development to acquire an armed detachment, or be militarized. Some political organization utilizing their entrenchment in the state use of national armies, the police and other security forces as arm wings. There should be no hypocrisy, self-righteousness, or attempt at falsification of history here. All political formations in our history, which had developed to the point of directly pushing for power as an immediate political project (not as a mere distant hope) had been armed or militarized in form or another...it does not matter what you call the armed group: youth-wing, thugs, intelligence officer or bodyguards.

Several factors that may not be mutually exclusive have advanced the development of ethnic militia in Africa. Fayeye (2003: 21) listed eleven factors that may advance the development of ethnic militia namely: boundary-related, resources-related, political-motivated,, poverty and unemployment, psychosocial, accident and retaliatory, government, indigene-settler, poor crisis management, intolerance, and availability of small arms and light weapons factors.

2.1.3 Youth as a combatant in the violent conflict

The involvement of youth as a combatant in any violent conflict not new in the national and international world of politics with the radical transformation in the nature of present armed conflicts that led to increasing number of youths became combatant that changed their contribution as the agents of positive change to the society in other way as agent of destruction due to their constantly involvement in every violent conflict around the globe as stakeholder. According to the United Nation Children Fund (2007: 6). It was estimated that about 300,000 youths fought in armed conflict around the world.

The use of youths as combatant could be dated back as far as 1212 during the Crusades. In 1813, France also used a large number of youth as combatant for fighting against Russian and Prussians. King Henry V of England served as combatant at the age of 14 in his father's army in the war against Wales (Oluwaniyi 2003: 141). In Napoleon's army, youth as small as 12 years old took part as combatants (Honwana, 1999: 4). The "War to End War" of 1915 also recorded many youths recruited in the British Royal Navy where Jack Cornwell along with about six hundred youth fought in defending their country (Ennew and Mine, 1989: 78). In World War I and II, youth were also used as last line of defence by the Germans and their allies (Shananan, 1997: 20). The Liberia Civil War was prominent for the use of youth as combatant and Sierra-Leone Civil War where youth recruited to fight on the side of the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) rebel forces.

In Africa context, the youths remain as a stakeholder in history of war, fighting along their father to defend their communities and their farm's land among the pastoralist and in the Horn of Africa. Youths organized themselves in age-grade system in various African societies among the pastoralist of Africa purposely to defend their communities against internal and external aggression. This include military roles to their communities and that communities always acknowledgement and appreciates their various contribution by award them the tittles for their contribution as a hero (Waal, 1997).

The recruitment of youth as combatant is a global issue but only the pattern of recruitment varies from one country to another. The youth as combatant phenomenon exists everywhere irrespective of a country status. In the US, youth less than 18 years old are exposes to military training through programme such as Peace Corps and Young Marine which later elevated to the regular armed forces. In the Third World, where child soldier's recruitment takes form of force, conscription, intimidation and this can be ascribed to war torn societies. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, youth combatants were thrown to the battlefield immediately after conscription. Children as young as 12 years old served in the Mahdi Army of Iraq (McClay,2010: 3). Meanwhile, families in Iraq were

threatened with the loss of their food ration cards if they refused to enrol their children in the military training course.

In the heart of modern warfare, a large number of youth combatants were found in Africa. For example, in Angola, youth under the age of 18 comprises 52 percent of the population but over 3,000 were used in the conflict (Machel, 2001: 9). In Mozambique, the youths figure was between 8,000 and 10,000 (Honwana, 1999: 6). In Mozambique context, there is a notion that the youths were the perfect weapons users in terms of easily manipulation, intensely loyal and fearless and most importantly in endless supply (Daily Trust, 2007: 28). Within the month of April 2007, over 1,000 people were killed in Mogadishu, Somalia capital in a civil war compounded by armies of youths. In Congo Civil War, the Human Rights Watch issued a report in May 2007 alleged that President Mobutu Sese Seko and the rebel forces used mainly youths as combatants. In Uganda, crisis under 18 years old represent over 56 per cent of the population of 20 million people where between 8,000 and 10,000 youths were recruited as combatants in the North by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), led by Joseph Kony (Sudan Tribune August 6th, 1987). There was an indication that thousands of children were forcibly recruited into the Ethiopian army particularly during the build-up to the major offensive in May 2000 (Stop the Use of Children, 2000: 4). Meanwhile, in Sudan, both groups in the Civil War had recruited not less than 100,000 children as combatant (McClay, 2006: 3). In West Africa, the use of youths as combatants could be traced back to the start of Liberia Civil War in 1989. The leader of National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) Charles Taylor, adopted the use of the youths as soldiers as well as other fighting groups (Awodola, 2009: 21). In Sierra Leone, more than 10,000 children and youth has been involved and served as soldier (Kelly, 1998: 39).

Generally, the youth combatant's phenomenon in Niger Delta of Nigeria was similar to what obtained in other countries irrespective of economy status. It was understandable as the vast majority of them were born into the family of poor and lower income background with no or little education. This

largely is due to the inability of the family to provide basic needs as a result of the economic implications on their parents including the consistently environmental degradation and pollution from the oil companies to their traditional agriculture system as a means for survival in the Niger Delta region that affected their economic power negatively.

2.1.4 Why youths are targeted as combatants

Youth according to the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) categorized as those persons who fall between the ages of 15 – 24 as youth or in between the period of transition from the stage of dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence (United Nations Children's Fund, 1981). However, this study adopted the youth as the stage of transition from dependence childhood to adulthood stage of independence. While combatant is the one who accompanies armed groups, or recruited directly or indirectly participate in regular or irregular armed conflicts through their roles such as combatants, cooks, porters, messengers or sex slaves (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, 2007). The involvement of the youth in the present day's violent conflict is the present and modern-day phenomena that threatening the co-existence of humanity. The modern day violent conflicts have been dominated by the using of children and youth as fighters and as stakeholders in any violent conflict irrespective of the status of that particular nation.

Many reasons has been given for involvement of youths in conflict as combatant. Karl (1998) posits two broad and plausible explanations for this course: firstly, due to the impoverished in nature of some war affected countries. In Africa, Asian, and Latin American conflicts, children and youth are cheaper and more pliable soldiers while adults are more difficult to control because they can migrate, hide, refuse or resist the pressures of armed factions or commanders. Secondly, youths are easier to indoctrinate and can more easily emotionally attached to adult soldiers. Richard and Williams (1996) stated that with limited access to education, employment and political power, many young people and

youth became alienated from the state and mainstream society. Due to these reasons, some youths joined the military faction as a means of survival. Owing to the fact that most of the affected nations are invariably poverty stricken with a large percentage of their population lived below US \$2 per day. Those youths that interested to joining the armed factions are those that have been affected by the poor economic condition of that country. They form the bulk of the less privileged in the society, whose parent could not afford to send them to school or learn meaningful handwork to cope up with economic challenges of the society. This has to do with the inability of the state to run a vibrant economy that will benefits ordinary citizen. Many of these youths have ended up as miscreants, vagabonds, labourers and beggars, hawker of petty goods, thugs, perpetrator of petty criminal activities such as stealing, drug abuse, drugs trafficking on the streets. Large numbers of the youths enlisted into the armed faction as an opportunity to ameliorate their poor conditions.

Furley (1995) noted that in selected African cases, rather than convincing political or military ideology, many youths join armed groups because of the personal gains including prospect of looting. According to the UN official report, in the Liberian crisis, the youth joined the conflict because the economy was bad and saw the conflict as an opportunity to enrich themselves and the motive was not to liberate their people but to loot the property by the use of gun (Ellits & Stephen, 1998: 158).

It was also observed that many youths join the conflict as combatants because of the loss of their families in the war and decided to avenge the death of their families or their relationship loss to the conflict which leads to the case of reprisal killing and vengeance as occurred in Liberia and Sierra-Leone. The fact was, the youth combatants see their membership in rebel groups as an opportunity to avenge the death of family members and loved ones (Sesay and Ismail, 2003: 141). It was also observed, that the availability of light weapons, especially AK47, and Kalashnikovs and the proliferation of these weapons by factions contributed immensely to the involvement of youths in the armed groups.

Another significant reason for the involvement of youth in the armed conflicts had to do with “social ecologies” which described as how a community or family values the conflicts, either as a form of social justice, religious duty or ethnic service. In some parts of Africa they saw fighting in the war as a prestige and pride as well as a mean to raise their status in the society.

Another factor that necessitated the use of youths in the armed combat is the nature of arms used in the conflicts. The technology revolution in weaponry especially small arms since 1945 had encouraged under-age soldiering, especially the operation system in small arms which is very simple and light in nature and easy to be maintained. The use of small arms in conflicts has scarred and traumatised generations of children, both physically and emotionally.

2.1.5 Consequences of the youth as a militancy

Psychologically, war experience tends to have negative impacts on the youths both physically and spiritually, and social implication due to the fighting experience at their importance stage of learning and development in life (Bracken, Giller, & Ssekiwamka, 1996, Humphreys, 2009). In the battlefield, the youths were exposed to several atrocities including human rights violation during the violence (Humphreys, 2009). It is also very crucial to note that with their participation in the conflict at that stage, it would likely expose them to the challenges that will remain with them for the rest of their lives. The further implication of the involvement of the youth in the war as combatant is that most of the youth combatants had affected with the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) including, nightmares, anxiety sleeplessness bedwetting, depression and flashbacks (Whiteman & Fleischman, 1994). According to Aster (2008) in the study conducted in Liberia on the former combatant's state of health, it was found that the worse mental health was among the former combatants both boys and girls who were victims of sexual violence compared to those of non-combatants who had no sexual violence history. Klasen, Oettingen, Daniels, and Adam (2010)

asserted that among the former youth combatants in Uganda, the mental health disorder was prevalent among the youth combatants such as post-traumatic, depressive, and stress disorder. The study revealed that out of 330 former combatants selected, 36 per cent of them had PTSD and other major disorders, and 61 percent of them had behavioural and emotional problems. It was also reveals that in Sierra Leone Civil War, those former combatants that had head injuries were prone to experience major depression disorder symptoms, and suicidal ideation and attempts. However, those former combatants with suspected traumatic brain injury were five times more likely to develop traumatic stress disorder. It was also important to note that in any war affected area, the youth combatants experience disorder and trauma or psychological effects of the conflict. However, the youth combatants had more psychological and trauma compared to non-combatants youths. According to Blattman and Annan (2010). In Northern Uganda, approximately 37 per cent of former combatants experienced trauma events as compared to 25 per cent of youths who were not former combatant. In addition, it was also concluded that the 16 per cent of former youth combatants always feels sad compared to 13 per cent of civilian who have no fighting experience.

Another critical experience and consequences of youth combatant was the self-identity and relationship with their families and communities. Qiushi (2010) asserted that the victims of youth combatants live in fear and lack of trust in others, based on their experience in the war and the due to the atrocities committed during the war especially from youth combatant. Bayer, Klasen and Adam (2007) stated that in the Uganda and Congo Wars, the former youth combatants with the PTSD symptom had the feeling of revenge and they were unwilling to reconcile. Meanwhile, Bentancourt, Agnew-Blais, Gilman, Williams and Ellis (2010) identified the community acceptance and stigma as the two major important factors that contribute to the youth combatants' psychosocial adjustment.

Another implication of the involvement of youth combatant in the conflict was the wasting of their education and learning period while fighting in the battlefield. According to Dukuly (2003) due to the longer period as a combatant, Liberian Civil War, about 800,000 children and youths were denied their

rights to education while some of them were compelled to be combatants while some fled from their communities. Based on their long period of time spent in the war, some of these youths found it difficult to return back to school as a result of their over-aged. They are now familiar with the violence rather than the education (Dukuly, 2009).

2.1.6 Small Arms and Light Weapons in armed conflicts

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons among other factors had played conspicuous negative roles in most armed conflicts of today. It is a generally accepted fact by the scholars, policy-makers and development workers that the violent conflicts whether national or international are mostly sustained by small arms and light weapons. The proliferation, easy access and misuse of small arms and light weapons endangered the security of people, communities and nations. Small arms are the main weapons used in intra and inter-communal feuds, local wars, armed insurrections armed rebel activities and smuggling and so on. Mungunya (2004) emphatically maintained that the small arms and light weapons have been responsible for the characteristic protracted and impunity that conflict has assumed in most of the conflict nations. Reasons for these assertions are not far-fetched, small arms and light weapons are portable, less expensive, and simple to manipulate. According to 1997 United Nations Panel of Government Expert categorized revolvers, self-loading pistol rifles and carbines, assault rifle, sub-machine guns and light-machines-guns as the small arms and light weapons as “firearms can be easily be purchased, easily conceals, easily carried and easily used.

The issue of the use of small arms and light weapons in conflicts is not new especially in the Niger Delta of south-south part of Nigeria. Phenomenon of these small arms has been a thing of concern since contacts with Europeans. According to Carland, cited in Ukeje (2006) the contacts and relationship between coastal middlemen and their slave-raiding partners in the hinterland was evident in the large number of weapons retrieved after one of the engaging expedition by the British colonial

authorities in southern Nigeria among the Aro people in 1902, which resulted in unprecedented casualties on both sides. The British reported capturing over 25,000 guns mostly riffles and cap guns. It is also reported that, the Aro people had one 75 mm battery gun, 62mm guns and ammunitions, and large quantities of small arms and ammunitions (Carland in Ukeje 2006:23). No doubt, small arms and light weapons are the greatest threat to international peace and security and humanity at large as it affects the intensity and duration of violence and encourage militancy rather than a peaceful resolution of differences. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons makes conflicts more complicated and challenging than reaching a ceasefire agreement and formally ending armed hostilities as occurs in Niger Delta conflict. The proliferation and illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons not only cause conflicts rather, it is a major factor that fuel and sustain conflicts, increase their lethality, and makes reconciliation more difficult.

In Africa, the proliferation was triple into the continent during the Cold War to equip anti-colonial fighters, newly independence states and super power proxy forces (Simbine, 2006). With the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union in 1990 coupled with antecedent reduction of prices of small arms by manufacturers as another reason including an absence of good government (military and civilian) creating room for this proliferation. Mugunya (2004: 43) proffered possible explanations for proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa as he gave the following reasons:

- i. Personal security reason;
- ii. Guns as means of live hood;
- iii. Importation by multinational business for their supernumerary police force;
- iv. Neighbourhood effects of conflicts in neighbouring countries;
- v. Porous borders and
- vi. International arms smuggling cartels.

These factors help to explain why it is relatively easy for people of Niger Delta part of Nigeria to acquire small arms and light weapons. In essence, there is a relationship between conflict and small

arms, which can be regarded as the tools of destruction during violence to kill, maim and rape and the displacement of many, fleeing for safety. Krause (1996: 7) asserted that about US \$176 billion worth of weapons were exported to the Third World from 1987 to 1991. He noted that the relationship between arms and conflicts averring that weapons availability was an independent variable, causing conflicts, as dependable variable following conflicts, or intervening variable acting as catalyst in conflict.

After the Cold War, the major causes of deaths in intra-state armed conflicts were small arms and light weapons. According to 2001 United Nations General Assembly Session on small arms noted that over 500,000 were killed yearly and approximately 1,300 deaths daily from small arms (United Nations report, 2001:5). The Russian made AK47, a family of the Kalashnikov, for instance, with over 55 million sold since it entered the Russian arsenal in 1947 (Louise, 1995: 10) is held as the most popular small arm. In the October 2000 Millennium Report of the Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to the UN General Assembly he stated that, the death tolls from small arms dwarf all other weapons system, and in most years, greatly exceed the tolls of the atomic bomb that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In terms of carnage they cause, small arms indeed, could be well being described as “weapons of mass destruction.” Small arms have been the major key players in the conflicts. It is estimated that, there are about 550 million small arms in circulating throughout the world in which above 100 million are estimated by Oxfam to be in Africa (Yakubu, 2003: 1) and substantial number of them could be found in West Africa. Despite the illegal transfer of arms from one place to another, it is noted that huge amount of arms supplies passed legally from nation to nation, for instance, most senior officers in military acquired the small arms for themselves after retiring from the military for personal use.

The quantity of arms in circulation in Africa, especially, West Africa region, constitutes one of the factors of instability in the African nations. Therefore, sustainable peace and development in Africa and conflicts zone could be achieved through the proactive and pragmatic approach to check the menace of small arms proliferation in post-war society.

2.1.7 The Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, and Peace building

After the war, all parties in the conflicts are often celebrate including civilians, warring parties, even the combatants and the international community. However, the sustenance of the peace and enabling environment remains the task to fulfil as post conflict building. The problems associated with the long period of violent conflict arises from the continues experience of the activities and misuse of weapons by the youth combatant due to their long time fighting in the theatre war.

The sustenance of the newfound peace remains a big challenge due to the tasks involved. In the efforts to return peace into war affected area and to the sustainable environment the DDR is the option and adopted by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as an initial step to return peace into war area.

The principal objective of DDR programme are to disarm, demobilize and prepare the combatants for sustainable social and economic reintegration as a major ingredient to maintain peace and security in post war (Ackerman, 2009). DDR is simply reffering to the process of collecting of arms and ammunition comprises of the small arms and light weapons from combatants after the agreement or cessation of wars and the process of returning combatants to civilian life (Ginifer, Bourne & Greene, 2004). The principal objectives of DDR programme are to prevent the resumption of armed conflict and help create conditions for post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. The DDR of former combatants as part of Security Sector Reform (SSR) has many important effects on the transitional process from the war to peace that constitutes one of the most critical activities in a peace-building context (Alpaslan, 2009). Meanwhile, ineffective and poor implementation of the DDR programme can also become the factors in the creation of future conflicts. The weakness and ineffectiveness of DDR Programme in Liberia contributed significantly to the conflicts in neighbouring countries like Sierra Leone and other regional war affected countries. Therefore, it was for this reason that, the World Bank embarked on the implementation of Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration

Programme (MRDP) in 2002 targeted over 350,000 former-combatants in nine countries (Muggah, 2004: 25).

Kingma and Grerewold (1998) opined that, the country that emerged from the war is particularly at risk of the re-emergence of armed conflict and widespread violence and intimidation. The sustenance of newfound peace has been a big challenge to all stakeholders because, sooner or later, new wars emerged within these parties with perhaps higher rates of casualties compared to the initial one. From Angola, Liberia, Iran, Rwanda, Iraq, Uganda, Indonesia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Sierra-Leone return-wars or recurring wars have been a major incident. Walter (2002: 45) argued that, societies that have experienced one civil or domestic war are significantly more likely to experience second or third war than societies with no prior history of violent conflicts. There are three explanatory reasons for the re-emergency of the conflict namely; (1) those that focus on why original war began, (2) those that focus on how the original war was fought and (3) those that focus on how the original war ended.

The study, suggests that the perhaps the most crucial stage is to focus on how ex-combatant were handled and managed (disarmed, demobilized, and reintegrated) at the end of the war to avoid relapse of the new war. During the post-conflict period, prevention of new violent depends largely on willingness of armed groups to lay down their arms, disband military structure and return to civilian life. When armed groups and warlords do not put down their weapons or disband their structures, peace is not possible. Therefore, DDR marks the beginning of long-terms transformation processes. DDR provides perhaps the first opportunity for armed groups, political parties, and men and women to renegotiate their identities and their relationship to pave way for the unity and development.

According to Massino (2003:2) DDR are independently and interconnected, the successful completion of one phase pave way to the other while failure of one phase has negative implication on the rest. Each stage is unique, functions, and with a process.

Disarmament stage: It involves the collection, documentations, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, light and heavy weapons of combatants and the civilian population. Disarmament programmes are considered as the first phase of an operation in post-conflict strategy, programme that aimed at facilitating the rapid disarmament of the fighters and withdrawing of the weapons in circulation and reducing the risk and likelihood resumption of conflicts. According to the UN, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration sector consists of four main phases namely information collection and operation planning; weapons collection; stockpile management and destruction (UN IDDRS, 2006: 2). All these processes are to ensure the complete elimination of the militants' activities and operations. Moreover, the disarmament in the conflict situation is to ensure a total collection and disposal of Small and Light Weapons (SALW). It is clear that the motive of the disarmament is to establish a secure environment. United Nation Security Council (2001: 1) also described the importance of disarmament as follows:

... even, if the full disarmament and demilitarisation prove unachievable, a credible programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme may nonetheless, make a key contribution to strengthening of the confidence between former factions and enhancing the momentum toward the stability.

At the same time, disarmament could be viewed as a measure to overcome the likely challenge of “security dilemma” in a war-torn or divided society. Disarmament is the first stage to assuring the readiness of factions' party in the conflict to embrace peace. Importantly, it is to establish and set up the criteria to be considered in the establishment of the real combatants' status including the type of weapons to be considered for real disarmament programme.

In other word, the screening exercise also must be liberal, not too strict to scare away the real combatants. Therefore, non-discrimination, fair and equitability treatment must be their watchwords. This screening remains imperative and essential to curb unnecessary registration of civilian as

combatants to avoid burden of civilian registration as combatants in order to save the programme from excess spending.

According to Pearson (1979), for Peacekeeping Centre to be effective and reliable disarmament programme, there are certain conditions that need to be fulfilled to enable the disarmament to achieve its goals and objectives. At the level, the peace agreement is the reference point for initiating disarmament, which should include and emphasize on the timing and scope of disarmament, procedure issues such as the sequence of disarmament and the extent to which it can be inspected. The proportion of forces to be disarmed at each stage should include, the disposal of weapons and the corresponding supervision of the disposal process. This stage is very crucial to the success of the programme and the supervision of impartial third parties with full power to inspect, investigate and enforce decisions with the consent of the warring parties and other stakeholders in the process of DDR where the international community observers must also be part of the exercise (Swarbrick, 2007). Planning strategic level involved numbers of issues such as identification of arms entering a region, the route they follow, and the ways in which the weapons are integrated into the economy and society (Poulgny, 2004; Ozerdem, 2002).

The disarmament operational planning must reconcile the parties in conflict and seeks the permission of all actors in the crisis. Moreover, the accepted means of collection of the weapon must fashion out amicable among the actors and the stakeholders. The collection storage, destruction and reutilization of weapons are the issues that need to be resolved at this level (Gleichmann, 2004). All these stages are paramount to the successful implementation of the disarmament process. The registration and verification methods during the submission of the arms and ammunitions must be transparent and as a source of establishing the trust among the actors and the warring factions. The failure in this level may have consequence on the outcome and the objectives of the programme as it occurred in the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta, where some youth combatants submitted unserviceable weapons for

money in return in the disarmament stage which latter led to the reoccurrence of the militant activities in the region.

Gleichmann (2004) asserted the important factors that need to put into consideration in the weapons destruction stage such as safety, costs, the effectiveness and the verification of destruction. Importantly, the suitable method to the weapons destruction according to the environment and conditions have to be considered among various options such as burning, burying in cement, crushing and cutting to deep sea dumping, smelting and dismantling and recycling. Moreover, the reutilization of these weapons should be considered to save the cost. For the effectiveness of the disarmament programme, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had set out a number of principles to abide with at the disarmament programme including transparency, sustainability, control, safety and legitimacy (Hughes-Wilson and Wilkson, 2001).

It also entails the assembly and cantonment of combatants, development of arms management programmes including the safe storage and final disposition of weapon which may involves de-mining and their destruction (Douglas and Hill, 2004). Dupuy (1986) considered disarmament as a process of elimination of arms usually following cessation of hostilities, voluntary or compulsory.

Demobilization Stage: This is the second stage of the DDR, where all parties to the conflict begin to disband their military structures and their combatants with the process of transformation into civil life. It generally entails registration of former combatants, count and monitor, and to prepare them for their discharged with identification documents. More importantly, to gather the information required for their reintegration into the community (Gleichmann, 2004) which involved both physical and mental process and removing the symbol of combatant's military life, such as weapons, uniform and rank. Other area of demobilisation activities also includes the survey of combatant's needs and aspirations, including the medical treatment, counselling, reinsertion and transportation to the various vocational centres. Therefore, other important aspect of the demobilization stage is finding the right inducements for each of the party to demobilize. This provision will encourage the confidence of the former

combatants in the sustainability of the peace process and the general security of the environment and financial benefits.

In the demobilizing stage, another critical aspect is to make provisions for the actual number of the expected former combatants that wish to demobilize and the accurate timetable for the programme. In the demobilization stage, also another critical issue is to put into consideration the reinsertion of the mentally and physical fit among the former combatants into national army. Therefore, the registration and identification of each combatant is an important aspect of the demobilization section. Provision of some kind of assistance will enable them to meet their immediate basic needs and transportation to their home communities.

It may also involve the recruitment of a new unified military force (Douglas and Hills 2004: 2). The process comprises different scenarios, from individual combatants flowing through temporary centres to the massing of troops together in camps designated for this purpose or subsequence registration for disarmament. It is also a formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The first stage of demobilization may extend from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centres to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose (cantonments sites, encampments assembly area or barrack). The second stage of demobilization encompasses the support packages provided to the demobilization, which is called reinsertion (UN Secretary General, 2006: 8),

In the demobilization stage, medical assistance also has a very significant role, as it is part of the demobilization activities to provide medical and health facilities to the former combatants in order to ascertain their health status. It is important to determine the former combatants who had infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and nutritional shortfalls. From the demobilization section, all the full details of information about the former combatants has to be documented at this stage to ascertain their demographic information which includes their age, sex, length origin, time spent as combatants and importantly, the level of their skills acquired in order to know appropriate training for the combatants

in the reintegration section. Counselling the former combatants also remains the aspect of the demobilization section, as this will enable the former combatants to have focus on what he or she like to be in the future and means of sustenance before he or she proceeded to reintegration section.

Reintegration stage: refers to the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income. Reintegration programmes are meant to increase the potential for economic and social reintegration of former combatants and their families (Berdal,1996). Kingma (2000) asserted that with social reintegration, the ultimate goal and objective of reintegration is to create an environment in which former combatants and their families feel being part of the freedom and accepted by the whole community. This includes the political reintegration whereby the former combatants will also have freedom of taking part in decision-making process. The economic reintegration will enable them to build their livelihoods by having access to the production mechanism and other types of gainful employment. Nobler (1997) stated that the long-term objective of reintegration is to enhance economic and human development and to foster and sustain political stability, security and peace. It is also essential that the reintegration process recognises and reinforces local reconciliation processes with strong believe that the reintegrating former combatants in society can contribute in the long term to the overall strengthening of peace and to the reconciliation through growing interaction between different groups and former warring factions (Kingma and Sayers, 1994). Moreover, the successful reintegration also helps in building mutual confidence among the former belligerent group and reduce the renew hostilities (Qzardem,2002; Humphreys and Weinstein, 2005; Peter, 2007).

Among the principal objective of reintegration is to allow former-combatants and their families to adapt economically and socially to productive civilian's life. It generally entails the provision of packages in cash or kind of compensation, training on job for income generating projects. These measures frequently depend on their effectiveness upon other broader undertakings such as assistance

to returning refugees and internally displaced persons, economic development of the community and national level, infrastructure rehabilitation, truth and reconciliation efforts, and institutional reforms as well as enhancement of local capacity for long term success (Douglas, 2004). It also includes the integration of the qualified ex-militants into national army. According to USAID (2005), the reintegration component is evidently more important, yet challenging because it involves implementing short-term and long-term programmes for protection and skills training, education for young ex-combatant, and psychological assistance to traumatize women and children. The objective of reintegration is to reduce the former combatants' ability and desire to become political spoilers, engage in criminal violence, or otherwise derail the peace and recovery process, to prepare ex-combatants and their families for civilian life, and to promote reconciliation between ex-combatant and civilian population. The former Secretary General of United Nations, Kofi Annan, reiterated the importance of reintegration while calling for support for Liberia DDR programme when he said, "... without an effective reintegration programme, the entire disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation programme could be seriously undermined, possibly resulting in renewed insecurity in the country" (UN News Centre, 2005:14).

A complete and effective reintegration programme should be able to achieve the following: (i) determination and motivation of former combatants, (ii) the support and acceptance of the community and (iii) the ability to facilitate employment or generating income for the former combatants. All these factors remain the goal and objective of the reintegration programme and at the same time, guarantee the peace and security of the war affected community.

2.1.8 Comparative international experience in DDR

The DDR of youth combatant is not peculiar to Niger Delta crisis alone, but to all countries involved in the conflicts and where children, youth and adults, males and females that have been used extensively in armed conflict as combatant. The process of retuning the youth and children who had

involved in conflict as a combatant is very important and necessarily as part of the peace building process to avoid relapse into violent due to their experience and the training in the use of the arms and the negative values they acquired during the violent period. Moreover, they required special attention and special treatment compared to the adult counterpart involved in the conflict as combatant. Failure to engage them in proper rehabilitation and complete reintegration would portend great insecurity and as wasted efforts to the affected society even beyond the geographical and region in which the violent conflict occurred. In recognition of this strategy, Article 39 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Article 6 (3) of the 2000 Optional under UN protocol emphasised on these importance aspect as a prerequisite for the panacea for the physical and psychological recovery as well as social reintegration of the youth and children that involved in the conflict as war victims (Oluwaniyi, 2003: 152). In line to this, the DDR of youths and child soldiers are often built into peace negotiation with positive result in many war affected countries.

The challenges of the reintegration of youth combatants and the child soldier differ from one country to the other. It has to do with natures of the conflict, the social factors and cultures of that particular society. For instance, in the Angola reintegration programme that lasted for two years (1995-1997) that has been tagged as one of the most extensive in the history of the United Nations. This marked the first time ever in which children were specifically included in a peace process. The position of children made explicit in the Lusaka Protocol. The DDR of the children and the youth are given priority in the first resolution adopted by the commission set up to implement the peace agreement. In addition, the partnership was also forged with local civil society networking in ensuring that many children return to their homes, accepted and forgiven (Verhey, 2001). The family reunification and accompaniment was adopted as a strategy in other to prevent the children from further recruitment.

The DDR programme in Angola featured an extensively community-based society network with responsibility to accompanying and the reunification of the youth combatants and the ex-child soldiers with their families. However, the Angola framework on child ex-soldiers and the youth combatants

also emphasised that the ex-youth combatants and the ex-child soldiers would not be subject to the Angola's compulsory military services. Furthermore, a legal framework makes it possible for ex-youth combatant and ex-child soldier to receive their demobilization documents and benefits outside of the formal demobilization assembly centre.

Beliefs and values played significant roles in the mainstream of DDR programme. In Angola, local culture proved useful for addressing the psychological impacts of conflict especially in traditional healing rituals for the ex-youth combatants and the ex-child soldiers. The traditionalist was consulted and a ritual was conducted for the acceptance of the former-youth combatants. The belief was, the ill spirits that associated with these child soldiers and youth combatants must be appeased to if they want to re-join the society, and the reconciliation with the ancestral and rituals was performed and contributed to the success of the DDR programme in Angola.

In Mozambique, conflict between the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) against the country's government, ended in 1992. During the war, all parties in the conflict involved youths and children as combatants. Military groups such as Naparamsa, a military religion movement enforced children and the youth and used them to fight in the war. Moreover, a substantial number of children and youth are believed to have fought on the side of the RENAMO rebels. Although, the government forces and the RENAMO rebels signed a peace accord in 1992 and organised democratic multi-party elections in year 1994 but the conflict took psychological and material toll on children, the woman and the whole populace of the society at large (Mozambique Country Profiles, 2005:7). In addition, during the conflict, it is very difficult and restricted to have access to the children and the youth combatants, so the implementation of DDR became a problem then. In February 1994, UNICEF initiated negotiation with the RENAMO authorities after which its UNICEF representatives were able to visit a group of sixty children living in RENAMO's base at Jordao, in Maputo province. Following the consecutive meeting with RENAMO by UNICEF, agreement reached and they allowed the UNICEF to have access to their military bases so that UNICEF and other partner organisations could proceed with the registration of children and their removal from military formations to civilian areas.

Following the agreement between RENAMO and UNICEF about 850 children and youths from 19 military based were registered. The photograph and other basic information of these youths and children were taken, their health status was assessed, and they were reunified later with their families.

Traditional beliefs played a significant role in the DDR programme in Mozambique. The religious leader and “Curandeiro” (traditional healer) performed some rituals as purification ceremonies for the former youth combatants with the aim that it will enable them to cope with their past. The ceremonies also served as forgiveness from their community ancestors. Therefore, the implicit consensus was that, whatever happened or occurred during the war must be forgotten and forgiven. This strategy represents an initiative for full involvement of the communities in DDR process. Similarly, other recent DDR operations have sought to identify local and regional implementing structures, strategy and mechanisms to ensure that the representation and inclusion of communities (including youths, women, elders and combatants) in the DDR dialogue, in the implementation and in the design.

In Rwanda, where three years of genocide took place, the government set up the DDR programme in 1997 for social and economic reintegration of former youth combatants (IRIN News 2004). The DDR was designed to assist and foster reconciliation among Rwandans after the 1994 genocide and to contribute towards poverty reduction and the strengthening of peace and harmony within the parties in conflict along the Lakes region.

The DDR in Rwanda took different direction and differs from those discussed above due to the nature of the crisis on the land. The DDR was carry out in phases, the demobilization of youth occurred in the second phase in which about 454 of the youths and child soldier fall under the age of 18 were demobilized. They were given special training and separated from the adult in the demobilization process which later followed by tracing the families of the youth combatants and child soldiers. Importantly, the reunification of the youth combatants with the family was given priority and health facilities such as trauma counselling, psycho-social care was given to them including access to the education. Most of the returning students of youth combatants were taken to school and those who had

completed their primary school were enrolled in technical schools or proceed to secondary school level.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) of West Africa, as applied to those countries inflicted by war, the use of children and the youth as soldiers are enormous. In 1997, the government of Democratic Republic of Congo initiated the DDR programme to reintegrate about 75,000 ex child soldiers and the youth combatants that took part in previous crisis in the country.

The UNICEF also played an important role in the process of reintegrate the youth combatants and children involved in the conflict as combatant. The UNICEF collaborated and worked with local authorities to develop the programme for reintegrate the ex-child soldier and youth combatants to civil society. In 1997, the UNICEF and other NGO's in conjunction with provincial authority carry-out the DDR in Goma (north Kivu), Bukavu (South Kivu) and Kisangani (Province Orientale) (UNICEF, 1998).

The DDR of ex-combatant in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) consisted of three phases. The first phase was involved and containing the psychological counselling and participated in community building activities. At this phase, they give room for family visiting, and the children with special need were identified and special attention was given to the youth combatant and child soldier that has special cases. This phase lasted for period of three months. The second phase was designed to last for six months, in this phase the children and the youth were reintegrating with their families or put with other care givers and were given literacy and vocational training. Phase 3 involved the close monitoring of the reintegration process with the continuation of counselling and they were receiving training on the capacity building.

According to UNICEF report, the DDR in DRC was not successful because the ex-child and ex-youth combatants who took part in the war were recruited back by armed forces. This happened as a result of the proximity of the location to the conflict area where the military authorities were yet to give

protection guarantees. This served as a big lesson to the other organisations that involving in the DDR programme exercise. It showed that reintegration in a state or during the crisis may not be successful, and that could not be a guarantee of success until the DDR was made official. UNICEF and other organizations involving in the reintegration exercises needs to work more closely with the political and the military authorities in order to secure their support for the successful DDR programme exercise.

In addition, the DDR in DRC was unlike other countries where the DDR had taken place, the experience showed that the family and community reunification was not succeeded and materialised. Reports according to UNICEF explained that the child soldiers and the youth combatants were afraid to leave the armed groups and the communities because; the families of these ex-soldiers and the youth combatants were ill-prepared to receive them. More importantly, the structures needed to reintegrate them into civil life were not available. In the Somalis crisis, there were large number of children and the youths involving in the conflict as combatant, especially in the southern part of the country. According to the United Nations Independents expert on Somalia crisis in 2002 there are large numbers of children and the youths assigned with military functions.

In Mogadishu and Baidoa, Somalia, a large number of children displayed with the militia roles and competition with adults in military activities. According to the United Nations Independent expert, it was estimated that about 200,000 of children were involved in armed conflict in Somalia, which was about five per cent of the children population in Somalia have carried gun, or being involved in militia activities at some point in their lives (United Nation, 2003:). In the year 2002, UNESCO helped and assisted in the DDR programme in Somalia, which about 450 militias between the age of 15 and 35 were reintegrated in vocational training provided in capital Mogadishu (United Nations, 2002).

The DDR in Somalia with collaboration of The Rule of Law and Protection Working Group of Somalia Coordination Body (SACB) requested the international support for the disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of tribes and faction parties in the conflict. In 2001 to 2002 about 118 former combatants comprised girls and boys were placed under the DDR programme by UNICEF

and Elma Peace Centre (A Non-Government organization) that offered vocational training for those ex-combatants especially ex-child soldiers and youth combatants that have been involved in the conflict since 1992. The second phase of the programme was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) with additional 420 more ex-child soldiers and the youth combatants in Mogadishu, Kismayo, and Merca centres of DDR (UNICEF, 2002).

The Sierra Leone conflict could be probably regarded as one of the world's worst in the recruitment of the children and the youths as soldiers. Between 1992 and 1996, the conflict and fight was very tense between the Government forces and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). It was estimated that about 5,400 children and the youth was recruited as combatants.

In 1997, about 60 per cent of the combatants screened by the DDR committee were children and the youths. In 2001, when the Sierra Leone crisis officially came to an end, the Sierra Leone Government with collaboration and supports from the International communities and welfare organizations initiated DDR programme purposely aimed at the rehabilitation and reintegration of all war affected children and the youths. The programme was adjudged successfully as a result of cooperation and the reunification of the youth combatants and the child soldiers with their families (Oluwaniyi, 2003:153). At the end of the programme, 4,892 children and ex-youth combatants were reunited with their families out of the total number of 5,037 that they went through the DDR programme (UNICEF, 2002). In Sierra Leone, DDR witnessed the significant weakness of excluding the girls from the DDR programme due to the fact that, most of the girls were remain with their rebel's captors. Although, the programme achieved its objective and goals (Becker, 2004).

In Liberia civil war, the first DDR of the combatants took place in 1997 after the cessation of hostilities. The exercise could not succeed due to the quick and unprepared approach adopted then, due to the improper planning and strategy adopted by UNICEF and its regional network. The reunification of ex-child soldiers and the youth combatants was left in the hand of the Save the Children Fund (SCF-

UK) and Don Bosco only (Kelly, 1998:48). These organisations were purely foreign-based orientation without considered local initiatives approach, unlike Angola which local initiatives and community-based approach was adopted and utilized. In addition, the importance of cultural element in addressing the psychosocial issues was not considered unlike Angola, Sierra Leone and Mozambique where the rituals and the traditional cleansing ceremonies was carried out and applied for ex-child soldiers and the youth combatants. The reunification of the ex-child soldiers and the youth combatant was not successful in the Liberia DDR programme exercise. There were other factors contributed to the failure of the implementation of the DDR in Liberia, for example, the improper education programme including the skills acquisition programme despite the youths and the ex-child soldier willingly to go back to the school and be self-independent through acquisition of skill as a yardstick of living independently. Moreover, the insufficient fund is also a challenge and obstacle to the DDR implementation programme in Liberia.

Based on the personal experience in a peacekeeping operation in the Liberia conflict, there were hidden factors associated with the unsuccessful of the DDR programme of Liberia, which are enormous, and some can be associated and linked to the implementing agencies involved in the DDR programme of the ex-combatants programme, this will be discussed in chapters six under military and security sector.

Meanwhile, the Burundi DDR programme of 2003 succeeded as result of the financial assistance to the families of ex-soldiers, whether they were biological relatives or foster parent. This strategy facilitated the reunification of the ex-child soldiers and youth's combatants with their families. Money was paid as a compensation for the reconciliation of the various families of youth combatants.

Following the outcome of the 1997 DDR programme in Burundi, which can be described as unsuccessful due to some factors mentioned above, it facilitated and paved way to the success and achievement of the 2003 DDR programme in Burundi, because all the mistakes made initially was taken into consideration and corrected particularly financial aids to the families of former combatants.

2.1.9 Peace-building and post-conflict societies

Peace according to Webel (2014:7) as a tranquillity state of freedom from outside disturbances and harassment. According to Evans and Newham (1992), peace is a political condition other than one of organized armed conflict (war), and often distinguished from a situation of non-war. Bank (1987) cited in Burgess (1997:6) gives four concepts of peace in broader perspective:

- i. Peace as harmony (stressing the absence of conflict);
- ii. Peace as order (stressing stability and peace through strength);
- iii. Peace as justice (stressing the absence of domination and poverty); and
- iv. Peace as conflict management (stressing peace as a process for obtaining interests and needs rather than as an end in itself).

Barash and Webel (2000) asserted two types of peace as positive peace and negative peace. It is a social condition in which exploitation is minimized or eliminated and in which there is neither overt violence nor the subtle phenomenon of underlying structural violence. Meanwhile, Galtung (1969) expressed the positive peace as the simultaneously presence of desirable state of mind in the society such as harmony, justice, equity and happiness. It involves the adherence by members and groups of society to rules of conduct, tolerance to each other, and the available of basic needs for member of the society. Meanwhile, negative peace could be referred or denoted as the absence of war. It is a condition in which there is no hostilities or organizes military hostilities or internal crisis. In other word, it can be referred to as a situation where the parties in conflict embraced the peace and stopped the violence. In negative peace, the cause of violence is either addressed or removed. Schmid (2000: 58) expressed the five characteristics of negative peace as: (a) imposed or involves the use of threat; (b) the outcome does not satisfy the needs, interests and concerns of conflicting parties; (c) it does not remove the cause of conflict; (d) it enhances escalation of conflict situation; and (e) it is not participatory and exclusive of conflicting parties.

There is no permanent peace as almost all the countries of the world operating under the characteristics of the negative peace which depended on the ability and capability of affected nations in the management of conflict either internally or externally. Peace is generally understood as the state of freedom from civil commotion, dissension, hostility, war or strife. Nwolise (2004) asserted that peace is a state of complete freedom, harmony, and happiness but they are impossible where injustice, violation of human rights, marginalization and coerce and display of power persist. Even though, many differences might exist in definitions, peace is a pillar and necessary conditions for security, production, and development. Any threats to peace are a threat to humanity.

The major motive of countries in coming together regionally or internationally is to achieve peace. The importance of peace to human existence is further expounded by the UN as depicted in the preamble of its Charter. Despite the efforts of International Organizations and Non-Government Organizations (NGO's) on the awareness of imperative of positive peace to human existence, negative peace still strife leading to the several internal and external violent conflicts that result in destruction of lives and properties. According to Lederach (1997), the only way out of this global problem is through peace building.

Peace building as a concept came into usage after 1992 during the reign of Boutros Boutros-Ghali as the UN Secretary General while he was delivering his lecture on the "Agenda for Peace" (Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Peace building connoting the process that facilitating the durable peace and possibly the removal of the root causes of the conflict with provisions to prevent the reoccurrence of violent through reconciliation, institution building, and political. It encompasses economic transformation, physical and social structure as part of post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction. It includes building the capacity of NGOs (including religious institutions) for peacemaking and peace building. The UN has emphasised on structural transformation with a primary focus on intuitional reform.

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the peace building includes a range of measurement targeted to minimize the risks of reoccurrence into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all level for conflict management and the establishment of the structures for sustainable peace and development. Peace building strategies must involve and tailored toward specific needs of the country concerned according to national ownership which should prioritized relatively narrow to achieve the set objectives and goals.

The peace building can be explained from these two perspectives namely peace building as pre-armed conflict activities, and as post-hostilities activities. Pre-armed conflict peace building refers to as a strategy, which tries to avoid conflict through measures of attitudinal, socio-economic and political nature. This involves greater inter-party contacts that try to build bridges and reduce conflict among people. It advocates the development of diplomacy that reduces socio-economic deprivation and builds responsible political institutions. Reycher, (2010) asserted that it requires an investment in human rights of individuals and minorities, political democratization and socio-economic development. He further expounds that pre-armed peace building can be institutionalized through contact and forgiveness, contact and education for mutual understanding. Post-hostilities peace building operations to the whole aggregate of actions and measures that may undertake once the military phase of a conflict ends. The purpose and objective is to prevent any renewal of the conflict. Demurenko & Nikitin (1997: 119) outlined the following features and measures:

- i. Re-establishment of the trust among the previously warring parties;
- ii. Re-establishment of social and political structures and institutions capable of preventing the reoccurrence of the conflict;
- iii. Provision for at least a minimal guarantee that the population will survive, resolving problems of refugees and other categories of people who have suffered during the conflict; and
- iv. Restoring the economy and effective operation of civilian structures including those responsible for law and order, health care and education.

Schimd (2000) viewed the post-conflict reconstruction as an umbrella that covers the range of activities that need to be undertaken in the aftermath of conflict, including re-built government institutions, physical infrastructures, and treatment of psychological traumas of civilians and combatants. Moreover, it includes revamping the economy, repatriating of refugees, reconciliation between the belligerents, and unification of the combatants to the family. In this context, to achieve the objective of post-conflict peace building, all these aspects have to be fulfilled and taken place. In this regard, the peace building covers both civilian and the combatants with the main goals of stabilizing the post-conflict society and reduce the possibility of reoccurrence of the conflict, which involves the disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration in all ramifications. According to the United Nations, peace building covers actions which support reconstructing of basic facilities communication network, and transportation developing rule of law system and public administration, building health infrastructure and schools, capacities building and technical assistance, creating legitimate and democratic and accountable state institution, trauma counselling community dialogue, increasing human rights and gender empowerment. In other words, contention exist between pre and post-peace building process, while some argues that it is more appropriate to conduct the process after cessation of hostilities.

According to Nwolise, (2004), the process will be more meaningful after the cessation of hostilities and it will cater for emerging new challenges such as: refugees and internal displaced persons, removal of abandoned mines especially in residential areas, provision of water, food, drugs, clothing; activation of electricity and water supply lines, organization of elections, election monitoring, reconstruction of infrastructures like roads and bridges, rebuilding damaged schools and hospitals and re-training the army and police. He added, going by these, it is a long and painstaking process, which cannot have achieved in short period of time or in hurry. The advance peace building as a concept includes peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, peacemaking and confidence-building. Lund (1997: 2) stated that:

Lasting, positive or just-peace involving high level of cooperation and at the same time, the awareness and pursuit of conflicting interests. Party's value's separate interest are pursued within peaceful, institutionalized dispute settlement mechanisms; parties feel no need for military for cooperative, regulated conflict hinges on shared values and goals, accommodating political institutions, outlets for political expression and access for political expression and access to decision making. In the same vein, sustainable peace is the peace that can stand the test of time irrespective of turbulence in any particular society.

Phase 3 involved the close monitoring of the reintegration process with the continuation of counselling and they were receiving training on the capacity building.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical approach to any study is formulated in response to the specifics that influence the ways in which the research problems are posed and for any research work to be acceptable, it must be subjected to theoretical scrutiny with existing body of knowledge that has been tested and validated over period of time. This implies that knowledge does not exist in vacuum or isolation, rather in coordinated, organized, and generalized form. The theoretical framework is a logical network of generalization from which explanations or prediction of certain types of known events may be derived. In other words, the theoretical framework or theory provides a guide for organizing concepts, knowledge as well as generalization (Osuala, 1987).

The purpose of this work is to examine the DDR experiences of the Niger Delta youth combatants and to provide in-depth understanding of their experience and challenges. Due to the complex nature of youth combatant's experiences in the DDR programme of Niger Delta including, the shift relationship between youths, physical force, coercion, military power, social institutions therefore, more than one

theoretical perspective has to be used as theoretical underpinning for possible intervention that can help youths combatants of Niger Delta to successful reintegrate into the normal civilian life.

2.2.1 Frustration-Aggression Theory

This theory originated from the work of Dollard et.al (1939) with assumption that latent aggressiveness, rising expectation, conditioning relative deprivation, feeling of accumulated hatred and anger are the origin of the conflicts. Gurr (1993) also opined that the relative deprivation entails a perceived discrepancy between value expectations or the resources in which one feels entitled, and values capabilities, or the resources, which one feels capable of acquiring and keeping. He went further with a view that the greater the “average degree” of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities the greater the relative deprivation and the greater the scope and intensity among the members of some social collectively group, ethnicity, communities and the greater the potential for collective violence and anarchy. This is relatively essentials for the understand of the conflict in the context of underdevelopment. The theory is anchored on marginalization, neglect and inequalities, which may pave ways to the conflict due to the aggression that may leads to the frustration.

Morrison (1977) argued that the community groups often going into conflict to change the situation or draws the attention of the authority to what they perceived wrong or their grievances over their frustration and deprivation in the system. Therefore, the violence and conflict that are triggered by common identity and frustration are usually the most insidious and most violent. Identity also an abiding sense of self-hood, the essence of which makes life meaningful or otherwise and is conceived of more than psychological sense of self; it includes the feeling that one is physically, socially, psychologically, and spiritually safe and any events which threaten to erode these feeling of ‘safety’ that are tied to identity usually elicit defensive reactions aimed at avoiding spiritual and/or physical extermination (Nortrup, 1989).

Searborough (1998) asserted that in the situation where the existing structures is favour of one group while others at the disadvantage or where cultures are exclusive, unyielding to change or unwilling to acknowledge the right of other(s) to be different; or where prevailing political and economic ideologies are alien to the society they are meant to serve, the chance are the conflict (aggression) as results of the frustration. He further argued that changes, whether internally or externally driven are often resisted in the case of the former which may results to the conflict in the attempt to retain the status quo. In order words, when the social, economic, or political transformation are externally driven, the assumption is that pre-existing forms of these institutions have problems that need to be dealt with by imposing new radically and different ones, this means that, the adjusting to new changes becomes difficult. This replicates what is transpired in Niger Delta South-South part of Nigeria as a result of the underdevelopment of the region by the activities of the multi-national oil companies and the attitudes of the Federal Government of Nigeria to the region.

However, the of criticism of the theory on the Dollard hypothesis, in contention that, the innately that determined the connection between a thwarting and the resulting instigation to aggression. Their argument was any demonstration that learning can be modified likely hood of aggressive response to a frustration, which invalidates the hypothesis. Berkowitz, (1969:3-4), asserted that, the Dollard views holds that “built-in” behaviour pattern can be modifiable by learning without being entirely learned. Zillmann, (1979: 138) opined that, contrary to the widely held view, that the frustration produces aggressive inclination only when there is an “... involvement of supplementary factors such as personal attack or the instrumental value of aggressive reaction”. He went further, and stated that the blocking of goal-directed activity can create instigation to aggression in the absence of these particular factors. However, Azrin, Hutchinson & Hake (1966) viewed the frustration only as the omission of a customary reward or as a deprivation and this is not precisely what Dollard and his colleagues had in mind, for Dollard and his group to them, deprivation is not necessarily the same as frustration. Badura (1973) also opined that Dollard’s theory is a drive theory, holding that, frustration typically only create

a general emotional arousal in his view. He believes that social learning determines how the person will respond to the arousal after a series of arguments generated by Dollard work. Leonard (1989) came up with new modification as a reformulation with a question why frustration give rise to an instigation to aggression and proposes that the frustration-aggression relationship is basically only a special case of a more general connection between aversive stimulation and aggressive inclination. He emphasized that, thwarting produce an instigation to aggression only to the degree that they generate negative effect. He concluded with assumption that many (not all) of the factors affecting the probability of aggressive reaction to a goal blockage, such as the unexpectedness or impropriety of the interference, presumably have this moderating effect at least partly because they influence the experienced unpleasantness of the frustrating event. Cohen (1955) also see the Dollard view from a different perception, both suggested that only illegitimate frustrations produce aggressive reactions. In their various study, they came up with conclusion that the people were less apt to be aggressive in response to a non-arbitrary frustration in comparison with an arbitrary frustration.

Despite several criticism, modification, and suggestions from scholars, obviously, the basic formulation has not been altered and therefore, this proponent still germane to the source of the violence conflict in the Niger Delta crisis.

2.2.2 Anomie Theory

Anomie theory designed to explain causes of deviant behaviour and the problems of weakened common morality. It can be also referring to as a condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individual or the breakdown of social bounds between an individual and community. It refers to the psychological condition of ruthlessness, futility, anxiety among others that afflicting individual who live under such condition as in the case of youth combatants.

The Anomie theory was popularized with work of Emile Durkheim. In his work "Suicide" Durkheim (cited in Hibert (1986) emphasized more on the problem of a weakened of common morality. Meanwhile, Hibert (1986) opined that individual are said to be confronted with anomie when they are not faced with sufficient moral. That is to say, they do not have a clear concept of what is right or wrong in other words, no general acceptable norms. In the same light, no acceptable rules on how the people relates to another or the breaking down of acceptable rules and norms in which people do not know what to expect from one another. Anomie can also be referred to as a state where norms (expectation on behaviour) are confused, unclear or not present with perception. However, formlessness' society leads to deviant behaviour.

Durkheim (cited in Hibert, 1996) applied the theory of anomie in the phenomenon of industrialization in the division of labour among the people of the society. He adopted two concepts. to explain the sources of deviant behaviour in the society, first, he opined that, the society evolved from simple, non-specialized form or mechanical society to the developed, moved toward to a high complex specialized society, or organic society . In the former society, people behaved and think alike and more or less perform the same task and have the same group oriented goals. When society transform into more complex or organic, the work also become more complex. In such society, people are no longer tied to one another and social bonds are impersonal.

In Durkheim work of Anomie, Merton (1968) explained what accounted for many different kinds of deviant behaviour and what he perceives as anomies as a state of dissatisfaction which arise from the sense of discrepancy between the aspiration of an individual and the means that the person have or possess to realise these ambitions. Bynum & Thompson (1989: 15) argued that the Anomie, thus, referred to a breakdown of social norms and it is a condition where norms no longer control the activities of members of the society. It is a form of the societal incoherence, which takes place when there is significant detachment "between valued cultural ends and the legitimate societal means to those ends". It is a situation when an individual cannot find their place in society with clear rules to

guide them and changing conditions as well as adjustment of life that leads to dissatisfaction, deviance and conflict.

Anomie according to Durkheim, is the behaviour and expectation of human beings that are subject to social control and restrictions. He went further in explaining the two common ways in which war occurred. Firstly, which he refers to as the bastardisation or indeed disorientation of indigenous norms. In this aspect, the people come to conflict with hostility, rascality behaviour with individuals and the groups with these, social disorder. Durkheim also explain that the conformity to contradictory and inconsistency of social requirement as the causes of anomie. Due to the rapid transformation from simple or mechanized society to the complex or organic society as described by Durkheim, in which people find it difficult to cope-up with new societal demands, in other words it resulted to a state of anarchy as occurred in Niger Delta of South-South part of Nigeria

Secondly, Durkheim refer to the causes of the war, with the breakdown of law and orders as a result of inability to meet up with new societal demand, the aspirations of individuals and group increase at that moment, the hostility increased, including the economic and political criminality. For instance, the kidnapping of prominent people in exchange for money, looting, the breaking down of oil installations and insecurity of lives and property becomes more popular in the Niger Delta region.

Merton (1968) asserted, that in every society, there are institutionalised means of reaching culturally defines goals. In the normal society, the emphasis is placed on the cultural goals and institutionalised means of achieve specific goals, in which all members are satisfied with and abide with. Merton explained further that in any afflicted society both by conflict or war, the society will become unbalance, unstable and there is tendency to reject the institutionalised rules to acquires materials or possess their needs. In this case, people apply any means to achieve their goals and objective without following the established norms and values. due to the outcome of conflict in which the rules and order have ceased to operate then the society become formlessness and results to anomie or deviants.

Therefore, the norms is no longer direct behaviour and deviant is encouraged. However, individual will respond to a situation of anomie in different ways. In other words, their reaction will be shaped by their position in the social structure.

Merton further suggests five possible ways in which individuals and group could respond to anomie situation. First, through the conformity, this is situation where individual accepts goals and the means of attaining that goal. Second, through innovative, this is method of rejecting the normative ways and accepting the deviant means to achieve those particular goals. Thirdly is through ritualism and those who accepts this means also regarded as deviants because they have largely abandoned the generally accepted means, while Merton, refer the fourth one as retreatism. This means applies to psychotics, vagrants, vagabond and so on and the fifth one according to Merton is Rebellion. This is rejected in any society as institutionalised means of achieving specific goals. Those who adopt this means wish to create a new society. In which the youth combatants of Niger-Delta fall into this category as a means to achieve their specific goals. Merton emphasized that through the anomie situation, the society could generate deviant and disorganised the entire society as occurred in Niger-Delta South-South part of Nigeria.

Moreover, Akers (2000) opined that, the Anomie theory is widely applied to delinquency in many different sub-cultures. In the late 1960s and early 70s, the theory lost some of its credibility because some sociologist argued that the postulation was lacking in empirical validity. Based on this, Merton and his co-researcher Rasklin were able to produce empirical evidence that indicated the relevance of anomie to delinquent behaviours. In another dimension, the theory also criticised on the ground that theory failed to explain why an individual deviated while others do not and Merton responded in stating that the theory is not ultimately aimed at the individual level and placed more prominence on the deviance at the level of groups and societies. Therefore, it may not be suitable for individuals' behaviour but it remains a strong point for the work of youth combatant especially, who are mainly conceptualized as a social category. Although, Merton himself highlighted the weak points of his

analysis, he considered his essay on the structural sources of deviant behaviour as a prelude. The theory, according to him neglected these areas:

- i. A details treatment of the structural elements which predispose toward one rather than another of the alternative responses open to individuals living in an ill-balanced social structure, an
- ii. The social psychological processes determining the specific incidence of the response (Merton (1968)).

Merton (1968) also agreed that his work only touched briefly on the social functions performed by deviant behaviour. Importantly, the theory is relevant due to ability to shed light on the process, which generates the dysfunctional behaviour that ramifies among youth combatant. In addition, it could also be used in explain deviant behaviour of youth combatant of Niger-Delta.

2.2.3 Poverty Theory

Poverty according to Copenhagen, (1995) defined as the condition characterized by the insufficient of most basic human needs, including, food, clothing shelter, save drinking water, sanitation facilities, health services, education and information. It depends not only on income only but also including the accessibility to the services. However, poverty can also can be determine or categorized based on measurement as relative poverty or absolute poverty.

Relative poverty can be also referring to as moderate poverty where the standard of living or level of income is higher enough to satisfies the most basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing, basic health facility but still lower than most of majority population under consideration.

Absolute poverty according to UN index, refer to as a situation of absence of any two of these following basic needs:

- i. Food: body mass index must above 16
- ii. Housing: Accommodation room of maximum of 4 people and must not made of mud
- iii. Safe drinking water: drinking water must available at least 15 minutes walks way.
- iv. Sanitation Facilities: Latrines or toilet must accessible to every near every home
- v. Education: must accessible to everyone's
- vi. Health. Health facilities must be adequate for illness and pregnancy
- vii. Access to services: service such as legal, social services, financial services (loan facility)
- viii. Information: access to media, radio, newspaper, television and telephone.

All these characteristics mentioned above are prevalence among the people of Niger Delta as a major contributing factors to the Niger Delta violent conflict. Most of the local indigenes are negatively affected due to the activities of the oil company's on their means of their live- hood, particularly, farming and traditional fishing activities and neglected attitudes of federal government from her constitutional responsibility to the people of Niger Delta region. Although, the major undisputed reason why the conflict in region of Niger Delta became more tense has to do with availability of resources in the region that can make every individual member of the region to be self-sufficient and leave above the indicator of relative poverty, if the resources are well managed and, if the well-beings of the people were considered and given adequate attention. However, only few and privileged member of the community leave in abundantly and in flamboyant styles as an indicator that the wealth of the region is not equally distributed and failed to trick down to the most need ones in the region.

Based on the general condition and poverty rate among the indigenes of the region of Niger Delta, the poverty measure of the people of Niger Delta can be view from the perspective of geographical poverty. Therefore, any efforts to seeks solution to such situation should be on community basis against an individual perspective.

2.2.4 Theoretical Synthesis and Conceptual Discourse

In the efforts to understand the root causes of the violent conflict in Niger Delta, the Frustration-Aggression Theory and Anomie Theory explanation may be necessary for the outbreak of violent conflict in the region of Niger Delta. Similarly, the poverty theory may provide reason for the dysfunctional behaviour among the youth combatants. Although, these theories may be insufficient to offer complete clarification on why the institution of reintegration failed or succeeded. However, the poverty remains the useful entry points into the discussion of the causes of the violent conflict and the reintegration. For instance, the poverty as one of the causes of violent conflict in the region of Niger Delta and the economic empowerment as a tool to eradicate the poverty need to be factored into the post-conflict peacebuilding process.

As stated, all the institutions are interconnected and interwoven as a system, the deficiency in one institution has impact and must reflect in others, however, the deficiency in the economic system as a source of poverty affected all other institutions responsible for the reintegration of youth combatant in the DDR programme, including, education, religious, Amnesty policy and family. For instance, due to the high level of poverty in the family structure contributed to the ineffectiveness of the family system from its fundamental roles such as provision of basic needs such as education, health, food, clothing and other necessities of live. The implications of economic factor (poverty) had a great effect on the failure of the DDR programme among the youth combatants of Niger Delta.

The conceptual discourse in the study includes, ethics conflict and identity politics, ethics militia formation and operations, youth as a combatant in the violent conflict, why youth are target as combatant, consequences of the youth as militancy, small arms and light weapons in armed conflict, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and peace building and peacebuilding and post-conflict societies. All these signifies the nature of most of the nowadays conflicts. However, in order to curb the spreading of this phenomenon all these factors must be given adequate attention.

2.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this theoretical framework, literature review, and conceptual framework is to elicit and unveil the factors that influence and facilitate the youth as a combatant including circumstances that may fuelling the violent conflicts and reasons why the conflict remain persisted in any conflict affected area. Although, a lot of work has been done on the sources of the conflicts and the likely factors that may instigates the conflicts in the individuals and the groups. However, in the efforts and attempt to restore peace into any violent conflict affected environment, the DDR programme is an option as part of post-conflict peace building programme.

The main goal of the DDR is to rehabilitate the combatants into normal civilian. Authors have emphasized the importance of the reintegration of former combatant into civilian status in any violent conflict situation as a strategy to prevent the relapse of the violent conflict and to the sustainable of post peace construction. Moreover, DDR Programme was implemented in the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta violent conflict accordingly, however, the DDR programme succeeded to the certain extent. The implementation of DDR programme as part of the post conflict construction where the people of the region still witnesses the impacts of these youth combatants as they were roaming about the streets of the town and cities which pose security threats and reflect in the bad state of the economy of the region and the nation as a whole.

In the attempt to have full understanding of the source of the Niger Delta crisis, the Frustration-Aggression theory and Anomie theory adapted to explain the root causes of the Niger Delta conflict. The Frustration-Aggression theory utilized to analysed the sources of the conflict in the Niger Delta region. The theory revealed how the Frustration-Aggression transfer into the conflict as applied to the youths of the Niger Delta, due to their lack of new societal demand (skill or high education qualification) and how the existing structure in favoured of a section while others at the disadvantage as occurred between the Nigerian government, multinational oil companies and the people of the Niger Delta. Therefore, in such situation, the conflict may occur as an option to correct what they perceive as an injustice.

Durkheim's Anomie theory also postulated that, a condition in which society provide little moral guidance to an individual or where there is no acceptable rules guiding individuals or breakdown of acceptable rules. The theory emphasis that changes is inevitable in every societies, as a result of development especially, from non-specialized (mechanical) society to developed (organic) society, therefore, the work will become more complex and the people will be looking for every means to achieve their objective without consider the already established norms, that is to say that norms will no longer control the activities of the member of the society as transpired in the Niger Delta, when the conflicts and violence was adopted as a means to sustain their living.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

In the attempt and process to achieve the set objective of this study, the observation method as research design is utilized to examine the implementation of the DDR programme for the youth combatants of Niger Delta. It is also employed to examine the factors that contributes to the failure of the DDR programme in Niger Delta part of Nigeria. In addition, the effectiveness and implementation of the operational framework of the Amnesty programme is also examined. The observation method concentrates on the holistic representation of the study as well as offer qualitative database. The research questions derived in order to unveil the reasons for the persisted of crisis despite all efforts by the stakeholder in the crisis.

However, the study also posed to uncover the factors that can enhance the success and attainment of the goal of the Amnesty programme as part of the peace building strategies in Niger Delta region of Nigeria including the factors that need to put in places in order to achieve the panacea peace and stability in the Niger Delta region. A gap in literatures responsible for this study due to ignoring and failure to put into the consideration the capabilities and capacity of the institutions that responsible for the reintegration in the Niger Delta violent conflict as part of post-conflict peace building project in the Niger Delta of Nigeria.

3.1 Research Design Rationale

Following the nature of this research study, the qualitative research method was adopted. In an attempt to provide reliable and acceptable answers to the research questions and the qualitative research techniques were utilised due to its exploratory, interpretive, and naturalistic methods to the research topic (Denzin & Licolin, 2000). It will also give room to explain and identify the social institutions and their effectiveness in the region of Niger Delta and how they contribute to the implementation of the DDR programme. Quiz (2011) contended that, the qualitative research method would give room to an ideal interpretative of the day-by-day activities of the study groups. According to Creswel (2007), the appropriate method the researchers should adopt should be the one to answer the research questions in the study while survey questionnaire method of data applied in observing the attitude and behaviour of the youth combatants. Adopted an observation approach, there will be an opportunity to unveil and focus on their day-to-day live activities, behaviour, social adaptation, economy status, religious activities, and family systems in the Niger Delta including the people experiences and the perception of the youth combatants to themselves and to the member of the society.

3.1.1 Justification of Qualitative Research Method

The qualitative method approach applied with aim to express the participants actions, views based on their cultural standpoint and believe toward the subject under study. Importantly, is to see things in their natural setting. This method will also enable the researcher to describe and reveal the situation in natural setting including the process, the setting, relationships, and belief system, including reasons behind certain attitudes and characters that associating with the specific behaviour of the participants. Accordingly, it also adumbrates the study group views, understanding, and perceptions toward the particular issues. It also gives room to gain insights about a phenomenon and discovered the existing

problem within it. At the same time, to develop a theoretical perspective or new concepts on the phenomenon. In other word, the fieldwork experience will provide a great opportunity to the researcher to have full understanding of the environment in their natural setting, and give the researcher opportunity to discover the true picture of their environment and factors instigates certain behaviours and attitudes of the people under study.

3.1.2 Justification for the Observation Case Study

Following the nature of this study, the observation method was adopted and utilized as the most appropriate method to achieve the credibility, reliability, and validity of in this nature of the study. Wilson & Chaddha (2009) argued that the observation case studies would reflect the theoretical insights that are inductive. In other word, the inductive reasoning will illuminate the reader's understanding on the phenomenon that is being studied. Creswell (2007) also asserted that, in the research study with qualitative method, the researcher's may explore and adopt multiple system in the data collection process. The observation research tradition focuses on the interpreting and describing the culture of a study group by observing and examining the group's learning pattern of behaviour, and tradition, interaction shared value, customs, norms and attitude of the group under study (Creswell, 2007; Leedy & Omrol, 2005).

3.1.3 Challenges of Observation Case Study

One of the challenges of the observation method is the time factor, the observation method may require long period of time on the field in order to achieve the set objective, the duration period in the field must justified accordingly. Observation method is preferable in any study that involves study of attitudes and behaviour of s study group under the study. It requires minimum and extensive average

period of time in the collection of the extensive data. Despite above mentioned challenge, it remains the best suited for this nature of this research work.

3.1.4 Roles of the Researcher

As a researcher, one of the fundamental principles and rules that the researcher needs to abide with, is ability to be neutral and free from bias in all his dealing throughout the study and to express high level of cooperation and understanding to the participant's in order to understand the meaning of their lives accordingly. Christensen & Johnson (2004) asserted that, the researcher must understand the meanings of social interaction according to the participant's cultural standpoint or orientation. In order to have access to require information, in most cases the researcher may need the services of internal as a key informant who may provide useful information on the subject under study.

It is pertinent and advisable for the researcher to make provisions and preparation or designed an alternative means of collecting of the data in case the proposed method failed due to the interferences factors or changes that may intervene or occurred unexpectedly in the field in the process of collecting data. Several approaches need to be planned for as a reserved in case one failed. Importantly, the questions must not be ambiguous, readable and ease to understand and safety of researcher and the participants should be considered and given maximum consideration. The comfortability and safety of environment is paramount for the participant's and the researcher. The consent of the participant must first be acquired and the willingly to cooperate without compelling as well as the agreement between the researcher and the participants must be met. Another important task is the identity of the participants must be protected, and both party should not endanger their lives or take any risk that may affect their live.

Another crucial role of the researcher's is to abide with the laws and traditions of the group's under study, therefore, the researcher's should avoid any actions or behaviours that are contrary to the

established norms and value of the group under study. The mutual trust, respect and courtesy must be established in order to pave ways for incoming researchers in the future. Researcher also needs to be vigilance and be at alert in the process of the study in case of any interruption in the study, which means that the friendly environment may suddenly became hostile. Lastly, the principle of “do not harm” must be adopted. Naeke (2011) explained that emic (insider) and eti (outsider) perspective are important to the particular subject under study based on the argument made by researcher, the finding of the study and the implications of the finding.

The personal experiences of the researcher during the four months of the fieldwork, including about two years of working experience as a military in a peacekeeping force in the conflict area of Niger Delta. Despite the familiarization of the researcher to the environment under study, the service of a Research Assistance who is an indigene also employed and utilized to achieve the set objective in the fieldwork. The service of the Research Assistance is useful and fruitful in having access to some stakeholders in the conflict and other important information. It is also, worth to be mentioned here that, in the process of the collection of data that the Researcher and Research Assistance got informed that any form of recording media(s) for recording is totally prohibited in the region, but verbally and jotting note is allowed. The physical environment of the Niger Delta during the study was unfriendly, wrought, and unsafe due to the on-going crisis and the deteriorating condition of the infrastructures in the region. While the cost of goods and services in the region are much more expensive due to the bad state of the infrastructures in the region compares to other regions in Nigeria.

The region has been facing numerous problems, ranging from polluted environment, impaired health sector, dearth of serviceable infrastructure and inadequate provisions for functional educational system. The living standard the in region highly expensive while the large numbers of local indigenes was living in a state of abject poverty as a result of environmental degradation on their traditional agriculture as a means to survive.

3.1.5 Establishing Working Relationship

In attempt of establishing good working relationship, the Research Assistant played tremendous role as an insider with wisdom and courage. We established good relationship with people in the communities and the participants, particularly, the ex-youth combatants and we had good familiarization and good relationship with the people of the communities that we had contact with. The Researcher made them understood that the work is for academic purpose not from any government or agency, or project. In most of the cases, they demand for money before grants an interview. Following the intervention of the Researcher Assistant who is an indigene, we were able to arrive at consensus, we secured their support, and they cooperate with us. In most cases, the researcher used to offer them token or kind of refreshment for their support and cooperation. The researcher' felt this is necessary in order to appreciate their contribution and their precious time taken especially, during the Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Their identity is highly protected and willingly gave us support and offered us information's without compelled.

3.1.6 Participants

In any study, the sampling frame remains one of the significant components of any research work. Denscombe (2007) asserted that a sampling frame is an objective list of the population in which the researcher makes their selection. Nachmias & Nachmias (2008) referred to the sampling as a subset of the population that is representing of the entire population. In this study, sampling frame consist the list of youth combatants from Niger Delta region, currently in the conflict as a combatant and those who have reintegrated to the society and working. Moreover, the sampling involves the member of Amnesty staff, who are working in the Amnesty office in Warri and few community heads and member of security agency in the region including the few members of the communities. Caution was taken to assure that the sample and population are relevant, precise, enough to justify and every segment was well representing. Gabbs (2007) posited that the sampling is a critical component of

research study that determines the quality of the study. Denscombe (2007) asserted the most prominent method of sampling techniques, which is probability and non-probability sampling. The participants were not selected randomly in this study. They were selected based on their involvements in the process of DDR in one way or the other or as stakeholders. The youth combatants were chosen and selected across the status such as age, gender, ethnic, and economy and religion background. Most of the respondents in the in-depth interview were real players in the process which including few Community Heads, Security Agency in the region, including, Army, Police and the youth combatants. The researcher decided to use the purposive sampling with intention of creating a realistic view of those who have better understanding about the subject under studied.

3.1.7 Sample Size

Castillo (2009) argued that the selection of sampling size depends on the durability and reliability of the sampling procedure. Sampling size in most case determines and depends on the objective and significant of the study. Cur, et al. (2009) contended that, the adequate number of sample size reflects the principle of theoretical saturation. Whereas, in most cases, it will be difficult to categorically define the numbers of participants in advance, but the ranges may be adopted. For instance, in a situation where a researcher has determined the specific and exact the number of participants. In this study 24 key-informants were involved and 250 questionnaires were administered and about 120 people participated in the FGDs exercise.

3.1.8 Primary Sources of Data Collection

In this work, the primary data was collected with in-depth interview, Focus Group Discussion, questionnaire and observation technique as they considered rich in details, depth, and capable of eliciting the respondent's perspective. The data is holistic and inductive in nature. The researcher was

able to presents the data according to the respondents point of views. In the process of collecting of data, the field notes compositions; Non-participant observations interview technique (face-to-face), discussion, questionnaire and Focus Group Discussion are utilized. The recording media (voice recording, and camera) are prohibited at the time of study due to the on-going and persisting of crisis in the region, the researcher took field notes during the interviews to record the information.

3.1.9 Secondary data

The secondary source of data collection is also utilized by the researcher based on previous work done on similar area of the study. The journals/publications, electronic downloaded materials (via internet). Media report such as newspaper, magazines government policy documents, publications and report/documents from Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) information on similar programme. All this information is presented and analysed using descriptive and narrative of reporting.

3.1.10 The Data Collection Process

A four month of fieldwork was conducted from 2 December 2014 to 30 April 2015. The study was carried out in Delta State and Bayelsa state where it was assumed that many of the youth combatants are residing. Data collected through the questionnaire techniques, in-depth interview with key informants, focus group discussion and non-participant observation to enhance the data quality.

Through non-participatory observation, the attitudes and behaviours of the youth combatants were observed and their day-to-day activities were observed and study. A good attention was paid to their family background, particularly, economic, and education wise and the traits they exhibited, especially, the anti-social behaviour and coping mechanism as it related to socioeconomic. Their relationship with members of the public and how the members of the public perceive them.

Field notes was utilized to captured their daily activities and this gave me great opportunity to gain better understanding and insight of the culture setting and information that the participant might have been decline or unwilling to respond to during the in-depth interview period. The observation guide was developed in order to guide me on what it is important to note and give priority to during the observation period such as participants' environment, culture and interactions.

3.1.11 Description of Data Analysis Process

The descriptive analysis was used for the data collected. The process involved examining the data in an inductive reasoning. The several steps involved in the process such as organizing, pattern, explanations, themes, and interpretation. Field note was used to collect the data during the non-participation observation including the review of documents relating to the Amnesty programme. After several reading of the data then the data organization remain very crucial stage for analysing. After several reviews of transcripts, the researcher was able to analyse and able to identify common themes that emerged from the study. It is important to note and ensure that all the research questions were adequate addressed. The raw data were grouped into several segments and coded as well as categorized according to the research questions and the way the participants responded to every question.

The researcher also made use of some selective reading to assist in identifying themes and meanings in the interview text that convey participants' views about the question. It is also important to mention that all the necessary efforts were made to see that the participant understand the questions and give their views toward the Amnesty programme which indicates that their responds was relatively to the Amnesty programme. It is also imperative to indicate that the written narrative interviews obtained from the field represented the participant's stories and understanding.

3.1.12 Evidence of Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research study including the addressing the transferability, credibility, conformability, and dependability. To establish the trustworthiness in this work the researcher re-checked the accuracy of the collected data from research participants especially in the interviews segment and in the non-participant-observation then, the researcher make sure that all the data collected were the views of the participants.

3.1.13 Credibility

Credibility in the research work is mainly to establish the findings of the study that they are dependable, credible and believable. In other word, the credibility in any qualitative research work also involving the competence of the researcher's. Employing triangulation methods in sourcing for data contributes to the credibility of the study. In most cases employing only one approaches to investigate research questions may reduce the credibility of that study based on the limitation and consequences of applying one approach but using many approach such as triangulation methods will give room to explore as much as many strategies to enhance confidence, credibility of that findings. In this work, the in-depth interview, survey questionnaire, and non-participant observation were utilized in order to get diverse view and authentic answers to the questions and accurate data.

3.1.14 Dependability (Reliability)

The dependability in research work signify the concept of reliability, indicates that if the same process under the same context were follow it is going to gives similar research findings For this purpose, the details of data collection methods, and process are provided. All these give rooms to the dependability (Reliability) of the work.

3.1.15 Confirmability (objectivity)

The purpose of the confirmability is to establish that the data and the interpretations of the inquiry have linking and logical. More importantly, how the researcher's predispositions and the self-interest did not affects or influences the research findings. In view of this, it is important to identify the researcher's position as a neutral person to the people under study.

3.1.16 Study Population

The study population include youth combatants; staff at Amnesty office (implementing agency), the village heads, Military stations and members of community. The sample was selected within Warri, in Delta State and Yenagoa in Bayelsa State and some communities with the support of research assistance's who is indigene and familiar to the area and other relevant stakeholders in the crisis.



Figure 3.1: Map of Delta and Bayelsa
Source: Google Map: August 2015.

3.1.17 Rationale for the choice of Study Area

Warri (Delta State) – This city remains one of the hubs of petroleum related business in the Niger Delta region, it is a commercial city in the Niger Delta with population of over 311,970 people according to the population census of 2006 and it was projected to be about Four million (4,000.000) by the year 2015 based on the rate of development. It was established as a provisional headquarters by the British in May 1952. The city is also surrounding by lakes. The major occupation of indigenes is traditional farming and fishing. There is also a high level of illiteracy in the town among the indigenes, which prevented them from securing a white-collar job from the oil companies and other related oil companies in the land. Average of the people as an indigene lives in abject poverty due to the unfriendly atmosphere and environmental degradation emanated from the activities of the oil companies.

The city has four Local Government Areas (Uvwwe, Udu, Ugheli and Okpe) and town harboured large numbers of youth militant's due to the available of Ocean, Dam-water, lakes and groove. It is hidden and save place for the youth combatants to operate.

Yenagoa (Bayelsa State) Is in the core of Niger Delta region, which fall between Delta and River State, its capital is Yenagoa. The four main languages spoken in the Yenagoa are: Izon, Nembe, Epie-Atissa and Ogbia. It was carved out as an independent state in 1996 from Delta and River State. It is one of the largest crude oil and natural gas deposit state in the Niger Delta region. The level of illiteracy in the state is very high, while fishing and traditional agriculture remains the major occupation of the indigenes. The town also serve as an operation base for the youth militants due to the availability of forest, lakes and also as a city of oil.

3.2 Method of Data Collection

The methods of data collection include sampling method and procedure, in-depth interviews, key-informant's technique, focus group discussion, survey questionnaire, non-participatory observation.

3.2.1 Sampling Methods and Procedure

Purposive sampling and simple random techniques were adopted in selecting informants from the population. At the same time, the researcher once worked in the military as a peacekeeper in the crisis, he is familiar with the crisis. Moreover, with great help of Research Assistant, who identified and assisted in getting in touch with prominent stakeholders as the key informants in the exercise. The combination of purposive and simple random sampling method was utilized. Two hundred and fifty questionnaires were administered as survey respondents, and simple random and purposive method was also in use in selecting informants for in-depth interviews and participants in the focus group discussion.

3.2.2 Key Informant Technique

The Researcher and the Research Assistant were able to identify the key informants in the process as key stakeholder in the conflict who are directly involved in the crisis such as staff of implementing agencies from Amnesty office, the villages heads and the military personnel. The key informants were able to provide information about the personal experiences, objectives of the implementing agency and the achievements of the project and obstacle facing by the programme and the fairness of the programme.

3.2.3 In-depth Interviews

The researcher made use of structured and semi-structured in-depth interview to gather information and data on the social background of the youth combatants. Including, their family status, experiences as a fighters and mode of the recruitment and what motivate them in joining the struggle including their attitude toward the DDR programme, and the efforts of the implementing unit of the programme,

success and failure of the programme including the achievements and obstacles facing by the programme and the factors responsible for that. In addition, all the relevant stakeholders in the programme also contacted for gathering information including the military. The field notes utilized for the jotting down the information. In the course of the interviews many new things were discovered apart from what other previous writers or researchers have discovered, the in-depth interview was conducted in both Delta State and Bayelsa State and their suburbs. The purposive interview was conducted among the: four (4) staff of Amnesty, eight (8) youth combatants, six (6) heads of few villages three (3) member of military and three (3) member of police force. The interview went smoothly with useful information but only note-book allowed while any form of media was prohibited during the interview.

3.2.4 Focus Group Discussion

The FGD were conducted among the youth combatants and relevant stakeholders. Twelfth (12) Focus Group Discussions were conducted in general in the field. Four (4) at Warri district, Three (3) at Effurun district, Three (3) at Yenagoa and two (2) at Nembe district.

At Warri district, two (2) FGD's conducted at Warri stadium and two (2) at Warri College Secondary School. The stadium was located at centre of the town and Warri secondary school also at in the centre of the city of Warri that serves as a recreation and playing centre for the youths. The number of participants were 11, 10 at Warri Stadium while 11, 12 of youth combatants participated in the Warri Secondary school in FGD exercise.

Three (3) FGD at Effurun district in Urhobo College Effurun, and Our Lady High School Effurun, located at the centre of the town and where youth results to in the evening for various sports activities. The number of participants are 11, 10, in the Urhobo College in FGD, while and 8 former youth combatants also participated in the FGD conducted at Our Lady's High School, Effurun.

Moreover, in the Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, the Three (3) FGD's were conducted. Two (2) FGD's at Saint Jude's Girl Secondary School Yenagoa, one (1) FGD at Kaiama Grammar School in Yenagoa and numbers of participants are 10, 11, while and 9 former youth combatants participated.

Furthermore, two (2) FGD's also conducted at Nembe, in Nembe National School Nembe and In Odi, at Odi Secondary School, Odi. The number of participants are 9 and 8 all of them are former youth combatants.

In all FGDs conducted, the total number of the participants are 120 in which the number of boys which their age fall between 12 -26 years are 99 while the youth girls which their age fall between 12 - 21 are 21 in numbers. All these FGD's conducted smoothly with support of Research Assistance who is a prominent figure among the youths in the area, everything went smoothly and we able to achieve our goals. All the FGD carried out during the day and the youth combatants was at liberty and at freedom to took part without any constraint or compelling.

The FGD was aimed to measuring the accuracy of data obtained through sources like the key informant interviews and the questionnaires particularly to ascertain their background. Including, family background, financial background, education and religion as institutions. Their experience as fighters, the mode of recruitment and question of peace and their expectation from the government and oil companies and the society and the question on what motivate them in joining the struggle as they view it. There were also questioned whether the DDR has significant contribution on them. All discussions were documented and transcribed for purpose of data analysis. The very notable importance noticed in these FGDs exercise was, almost all the participants have common views and orientation, this is to establish that, the Niger Delta crisis is regional oriented crisis.

3.2.5 Non-participant Observation

Kawulich (2005) contended that, the researcher use observation to observe day-to-day activities of the participants in their undisturbed natural environment while data are being collected. In this regard, the researcher was able to monitor, examine and observe their daily life of youth combatants for the period of staying in the study area for approximately four months and special attention was given to their living conditions as youth combatants and their dysfunctional behaviour noticeable in their day-to-day activities. Observation was recorded in the form of detail field note. Other importance area was the disposition of the general population toward the youth combatants, particularly in the issue of interaction and other various activities with youth combatants. Importantly, the general living condition of the majority of indigenes and the local people of the region and their daily business activities including the environmental challenges also observed.

3.2.6 Survey Questionnaire

The field survey is to elicit the behaviour (past, present and the future), the underlying attitude, beliefs and intention of participants. According to Borden & Abbott (2001), field survey is mainly used to evaluate specific attitudes or behaviours. Therefore, the survey questionnaire was utilized to access the attitudes of former youth combatants toward the DDR programme and their behaviour as a militant and the factors respond to that behaviour and the assessment of the DDR programme by the former youth combatants including, the institutional background of the youth combatants. A survey questionnaire (Appendix 1) was administered about 250 youth's combatants randomly. They were selected from different location in Warri and Yenagoa. One of the peculiar characteristics of the youth combatants of Niger Delta was, they are approachable and available for any interview based on the supports of their various communities. With the personality of the Researcher Assistant toward the youths, he introduced me to some of the youth combatants and requested for their cooperation and

their consent was gained, they were selected randomly and the process of administration on the youths was supervised by the Researcher with the help of the other two assistants. The questionnaire was personally administered. The entire 250 questionnaires were completed although not all questions responded to. The survey questionnaire contained items that were meant to elicit respondents' attitude toward the reintegration and what they consider as the grave area of the programme. Items that indicate the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents such as their age, level of education, place of origin, economic status of immediate families and their breadwinners and profession.

It is importance to have it in mind that no survey questionnaire could be a hundred percent valid, no matter the effort taken to design or administer it. Meanwhile, the validity is accorded to the questionnaire because other qualitative methods were used to address most issues contained in it. The questionnaire combined the attributes of both closed and open-end types. This will allow respondent idiosyncrasies, especially with some questions while at the same time tailoring their responses to fall in line with the objectives of the study.

Questions from socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, the next set of questions focused on the activities of the respondents. For instance, questions were asked on the armed group they belong to, age at recruitment, mode of recruitment, length of stay with armed groups and their experience as combatant.

Another set of questions bordered on the implementation of reintegration (DDR) programme. These set of questions tested the capacities, capabilities and the limitations of the institutions responsible for the implementation of DDR programme, particularly, on their family background, economy power of their family, level of their education. Respondents were asked about their disposition of peace, their current residence, status, their present preoccupation, their pressing needs, their awareness of the Amnesty programme, the number of those have received training and other questions on the roles of stakeholders in the programme. In addition, they were asked who played the most important roles in

the programme of youth combatants and what they considered as the major challenges in the programme.

The questionnaires also put into consideration and verify the social constraints of DDR programme particularly considered what youth combatants considered as the appropriate setting for the DDR programme and what they considered the disgusting and what actions could make them feel a sense of shame. Moreover, the actions taken against them or what they would consider as humiliating and other questions bordered, including their perspectives towards the DDR programme and on their beliefs in God.

Base on table 3, the characteristics of respondents on their socio-demographic indicate their age distributions as follows: The respondents who are 10 years below constitute 6.8 per % of the sample. Those fall between 11 and 15 years were 18 %, 16 to 18 years category was 31.2 % and those of age of 19 years and above constitute 44 % of the population sample. From this age distribution, it indicates that more than one third of the sample have passed the children age category. However, most of them were very young when they joined the arms group as youth combatants at the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

Data on the level of education of the respondents indicate many of them have never had formal education. While 30 % of them only had primary school education and 10.8 of them in secondary school also, 16.2 % are attending technical school, 43 % of them are not enrolled in any school. The above data indicates that despite the Amnesty programme offered education assistance fund (scholarship), many youth combatants of Niger Delta are out of the school. The domicile status of the youth combatants indicates that their place of residence prior to the conflict. From the data collected, it shows that many youth combatants (55.4 %) lives in the interior part of the city. Meanwhile, 33.6 % of the youth combatants lived in the city.

Economic status of the respondent's family show that most of them are from the low income of (84.4 %) earning within the range of \$400 to \$800 per annum, while only 8 % of respondents comes from the families of middle income earning within the range of \$800 to \$1200 per annum and none of the youth combatants come from the family with high income of \$1200 to \$3000 per annum.

On the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, the profession of the respondents, breadwinners indicate that 11 % are in the government employment, 12.4 % in private company employment while 7.1 % artisans, 24 % traders, 39.1 % farmers and 5.3 % in other profession.

Table 3.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

	Social demographic characteristic	Figure	Percent
a.	Age		
	10 years and below	15	6.8
	11 – 15 years	44	18.0
	16 – 21 years	79	31.2
	22 – 27 and above	111	44.0
	Total	250	100.0
b.	Education (formal)		
	Primary	77	30.0
	Secondary	29	10.8
	Technical Training	41	16.0
	None	105	43.3
	Total	250	100.0
c.	Place of Origin		
	Interior	164	55.5
	City	86	33.6
	Others	-	-
	Total	250	100.0
d.	Economic Status of respondents Families		
	Low income (\$400 - \$800) per annum	211	84.4
	Middle income (\$800 - \$1200) per annum	20	8.0
	High income (\$1200 - \$3000) per annum	-	-
	No answer	19	7.6
	Total	250	100.0
e.	Professional of Respondents'		
	Government employment	29	11.2
	Private company employment	31	12.4
	Artisan	19	7.1
	Trader	59	24.0
	Farmer	99	39.1
	Others	15	5.3
	Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork 2015.

3.3 Data Organization Techniques

Data organization is a very crucial step for effective and ease data analysis. According to Given & Olsen (2005) explained that, the idea for organizing data is to retrieve relevant data from the raw data for analysis. The transcripts of the data collected were coded according to the response of the participants to the questions.

3.3.1 Transcription

All interviews were conducted in English and Piggin-English which is common language in Niger Delta and Nigeria as their general language since they were from different ethnics. In this process, the researcher made use of the field note and reflective journal entries. The transcribed data were then analysed, Inferences and conclusions were drawn from the primary data collected. Although, data analysis in case study is the on-going process that begin with interviews and observation and continues until the ends of the study or study completed finally. Hatch (2002) contended that in the process of data analysis, the researcher would continue to construct meaning with the data as they interact until they reach an information saturation level. For this reason, the researcher had to get enough data for the effectiveness and accurate result.

To realize the set objective of this study, the researcher was deliberately limited the study to the institutions challenge to the DDR programme in Niger Delta part of Nigeria. It is essential to limit the scope of the study to the only institutions challenge to the DDR project rather than broader factors, which may be appeared to be more difficult to achieve desired goal and objective based on time and the resources available.

3.3.2 Issue of Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is to ensure that the finding of the study represent the data collected and to ensure that the finding of the study interpreted creditably. Following the nature of study as qualitative method of data collection, the researcher has to employ rigor. This mean that the researcher need to be demonstrate integrity competence and the legitimacy of the research procedure and processes, therefore, the researcher should ensure that data collection technique, research design, interpretation of data and apply correctly. Morse (2002) contended that, the research without rigor lose credibility and

useless. Therefore, the reliable study must possess these characteristics such as, conformability, dependability, creditability and transferability. Murphy & Yelder (2010) argue that, for work to be reliable, these four qualities mentioned above must be involved.

3.3.3 Conformability (Objectivity)

For the objectivity purpose, the triangulating method for the data collection was applied and the rich thick descriptions method was used to convey the result finding and research's bias was clarified by incorporate rigor, subjectivity, and creativity in the study. To be assured of the confirmability, the researcher sticks to the principle and ethics of the research to make sure that the finding not predisposition, it emerged from the data collected. The conformability is to ensure the reliability of the data and interpretation of inquiry has logical and related. The researcher also adopted every strategy to ensure that the finding of the study is representing from the experience of the ideas of participant of the youth-combatants and not from researcher personal preferences.

3.3.4 Credibility (Internal Validity)

According to Merriam (2008) contended that, the validity of the study is the question whether research's finding match or replicate reality that can be observed in different dimension. That is to say that, the finding of the study was logical, credible, and reliable. Thatola and Kihn (2011) explained that the basic purpose and focus of the validity in the qualitative study is for the researcher to replicate the lived experiences of the participants under study and to represent them in authentically manner that indicate an in-depth comprehension and understanding of the subject under study. Another crucial factor in the validity of the study is the characteristic and attitude of the researcher who must be able to adapt to any condition confronted in the cause of the study, such as, clarify concisely, sensitive, alertness, and holistic. Morse (2002) posited that, good research work is a reflection of the good

investigation, sensitivity, creativity, flexibility, skill, and strategies put in place that determines the validity and reliability of the research study. Patton (2003) emphasis that in order to make the research study valid, it is important for the researcher to reveal their personal information. In this vein, the researcher personal information included in the appendix (III) that contains my past experiences and profession. Golafsham (2003) posited that the researcher is the instrument in the qualitative study and therefore, the credibility of the research work depends on the determination and the ability of the researcher.

The multiple approach strategy (Triangulation) to the investigate research questions applied to ensure and serves as means of establishing credibility of the study. Mays & Pope (2000) explained that the use of triangulation give room to comprehensive and encourage reflexive analysis of the data. Adopt triangulation methods also add more confidence in the research data by applying innovative ways of understanding the problems and ability to provide clear way of understanding the phenomena. In this view, the Patton (2002) contended that the researcher apply multiple approach base on single approach may not sufficient in solving the problem or accurate result. Therefore, each approach or method reveals different empirical reality aspect. To achieve the credibility in this work, multiple sources of data collection method was applied

3.3.5 Transferability (External Validity)

Transferability in research refer to the ability of research's finding to be generalized or transferred to the other setting or could be examined by another researcher. For this purpose, the data and the methods utilized remains independently so that, the research finding could be examined by other researchers and arrived at the same conclusion by following the same procedure. In this regards, detail and comprehensive description of the research methodology is provided so that it would assist the reader to determine whether the research finding can be generalized.

3.3.6 Dependability (Reliability)

Dependability in research work signified, whether the result finding of a particular study could be replicated and measure same outcome in the same research work. In the content of the reliability or dependability, the researcher is required to make available and provides the details of the information that will enable and allow other researcher to achieve similar outcome if the same process is follow. The researcher also responsible to give details of the changes that may occur in the process, and how that change occurred including how it may influence or affect the study outcome. In the process of this work, all form of media (Recording Tape, Camera) not allowed and forbidden at the time of the study, this is the reason why the survey method of data collection came in, in- order to have extensively data to achieve the accurate result of the study.

3.3.7 Ethical Consideration

In research work, the ethic consideration remains the fundamental aspect of good research work and values such as mutual respect, fairness, and protection of the participants identity. Creswell (2007) posited that it is adamant and very important to every research studies to demonstrate and maintain integrity throughout research process. He went further by emphasizing on the ethical measures to protect the participants identity.

The objective of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) is to ensure that every research study comply with the ethical standards in order to see that every research work concluded in harmony, peacefully without injured to both party involves in the process, with this, it will give way for any future research study in the similar field and area. For these reasons, the participants' identity in the course of study is highly protected. As a researcher, safety and protection of the participant and researchers is highly importance. In views of this, every information received was treated confidently and protected. The researcher treated every participant with dignity and respect with courtesy, moreover, a good

relationship was established, and our agreement was fulfilled. For the protection of the participants' identity, the researcher avoids using their real names instead the researcher assigned the numerical codes. Another security measure was, no any recording media to protect the confidants of the participants despite the researcher was willing to make use of the media for recording but with the nature of this work and coupled with the situation on ground, with on-going crisis at the time of the study. With all the above-mentioned factors, the researcher maintained honesty and objectivity throughout this research work.

3.4 Description of Data Analysis Process

The descriptive analysis was used for data analysis. The process involved examining the data in an inductive reasoning. The several steps involved in the process, such as organizing, pattern, explanations, themes, and interpretation. Field note utilized to collect the data during the Non-participation observation including the review of documents relating to the Amnesty programme. Several and constant reading of the data and data organization was very important to the research study. After several reviews of transcripts, the researcher was able to analyse and able to identify common themes that emerged from the study. It is very important to note and ensure that all the research questions were adequate addressed. The raw data were grouped into various segments according to their relatively and coded accordingly, including categorized in line to the research questions and the way the participants responded to the every questions.

The researcher also made use of some selective reading to enable the researcher to identify themes and meanings in the interview text that convey participants 'views about the Amnesty programme. It is also important to note that all the necessary efforts were made to see that the participants understand the questions and give their views toward the Amnesty programme, which indicates that their responds

were relatively to the subject under study. It is also imperative to indicate that the written narrative interviews obtained from the field represented the participant's stories, views and understanding.

3.4.1 Evidence of Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research study including the addressing the transferability, credibility, conformability, and dependability. Therefore, the researcher re-checked the accuracy of the collected data from research's participants especially in the interviews segment and in the non-participant-observation then, the researcher make sure that all the data collected were the views of the participants perspectives.

3.4.2 Transferability

Merram (2008) contended that the external validity of the research work is the extent at which research findings could be generalized and transferred to other context in similar work. Therefore, all the details of the research contexts are provided with details.

3.4.3 Dependability (Reliability)

The dependability in research work signify the concept of reliability, indicate that if the same process under the same context were follow it is going to gives similar research findings. For this purpose, the details of data collection methods, Non-participant observation and the survey questionnaire were all provided. All these processes are to give rooms to the dependability (reliability) of the work.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter remain the crucial aspect of research work that established the prodigy of the research's work. This chapter contains the design, collection methods and procedure utilized in the study. The authentication of these methods determined the relevant and the quality of the research. It also contains how the data were managed and analysed including how coding was done.

Involvement of survey questionnaire was also useful in revealing some information and issues as each of the instruments took care of the weakness of the other. The utilization of FGD in the field also useful to identify some issues in which other methods failed to identify. More importantly, the reliability, dependability of the data collected was established.

The personal experiences in the field study also remain an aspect that need to unveil. Although, during the field work, there were some challenges encountered. The prohibition of the use of any form of media is also a challenge due to persisting stage of violent conflict in the area. The cost of living in the region is little higher than other region as a result of the scarcity of petroleum product in the region and unstable security situation of the region at that period. But all these were not seen as an obstacle but as a challenge that summoned and overcome.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE NIGER DELTA MILITANCY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS STRUCTURE IN NIGER DELTA

4.0 Introduction

Most of the violent conflicts (wars) in Third World Countries, especially, in African countries originated due to the unequal distribution of scarce or limited resources, unequal representative in power, liberation of the perceived marginalized groups and pursuit of the justice. Therefore, the violent conflict of the Niger Delta can be attributed to what the people of the region perceived as an injustice, marginalized, and denial of basics rights due to the incessant and persisting degradation of the Niger Delta environment and the negligence of the oil companies and oil related companies to the region without making any positive contribution in the lives of the indigenes by the Nigerian government and oil companies operating in the region despite the huge contributions of the region to the national revenues as an economy source of the nation. The continuous pollutions and environmental degradation of the region coupled with the high rate of poverty among the indigenes of the region, aggravated the frustration to the aggression that escalated into the violent conflict in the region. In Africa, there is a popular says “An hungry man is an angry man”. However, the inability to cope with new environmental demand and poverty instigated the deviant behaviours among the youth of the region by using the violent conflict as a means to effect the changes and fulfil their desires due to the breaking down of community norms and values that resulted into persisting violent conflict in the region.

4.1 Origin of the Niger Delta Crisis

The crisis in the Niger Delta South-South part of Nigeria could be traced back as far as 1950s in discovery of crude oil in commercial quantity in the region. Despite the huge deposited of the Crude oil minerals in the region, the people of the region remain poorer than the national average with the GNP per capital below the national average of US \$2.00. However, above 70 per cent of the Niger Delta people lived in abject poverty due to the negligence of the Federal Government of Nigeria and the failure of the multinational oil companies and oil services companies from performing their corporate social responsibilities to the region. Anele & Omoro (2012) posited that, the Niger Delta oil accounted for over 90 per cent Nigeria's wealth. It is a major contribution to the national economy of Nigeria while the general state of the region is characterized by underdevelopment, unemployment, abject poverty, pollution, and lack of adequate infrastructures. Abdullah & Amadi (2012), and Obi (2010) were in consensus with Anele & Omoro's view and further explained that, with the large deposit of resources in the region, it has become a source of it is greatest predicament. In the same light, Cocodia & Ewhariene (2012) maintained that sanitation and water related disease are common problems in the region.



Source: Ajazeera documentary on the Niger Delta community, November 2016

Figure 4.1: The impacts of oil exploration on the Niger Delta communities.

The consequences of the oil explorations activities in the Niger Delta are very frightful and hazardous on the people and communities in Niger Delta without substantive contribution from the oil companies to the region. This reason was admitted as one of the reasons why youths in the region take up arms. Omoro & Anele (2012) justified taking up arms as the best strategy to effect the change and goal due to the persistent and continues degradation of the environment by the activities of the oil companies in the region without considering the health and economy implications of the indigenes. In other words, there is a total neglecting attitude of the federal government to the region without considering the sufferings of the people living in the region despite huge contribution of the region to the nation's economy. Omotola, (2012) asserted that, the failure of the federal government to provide the most basic need for the citizens such as portable-water, food, accommodation, employment, health care system and good roads were refer to as the leading factors to the crisis in the Niger Delta region.

Adebayo (2010) argued that the approach is a means to liberate the region from the current epidemic and to have total control on their natural resources.



Source: The Nigerian Tribune

Figure 4.2: The Niger Delta Environment



Source: Tell Magazine

Figure 4.3: The Niger Delta Militants

The persistence and incessant violent conflict of Niger Delta has assumed the dimension that continues to pose serious concerns to the Nigerian Government, Multinational Companies, people of Niger Delta and other concern stakeholders. Following the high rate of destruction of structures and institutions in the region, various conceptualizations, analysis, interpretation have been employed and articulated to give details of the root causes of the Niger Delta crisis that has been subjects to an extensive debate in the literatures. The historical background of Niger Delta and its people could be the reasons for the persistent crisis in the region despites the efforts of the stakeholders to put a halt to the crisis. The states consists of Niger Delta are: to include the nine states namely Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo, Ondo, Imo and River (Badmus, 2010; Odoemene, 2011; Eze & Okpo 2012;

Olakunle 2010; Idowu, 2012). The region comprised of different ethnic tribes that include the Ijaw, Urhobo, Ibibios, Itshekiri, Kalabari, Efiks, Isoko, Nembe, Andom, Ndom, Ikwere and Andom (Badmos, 2010; Eze & Okpo, 2012).

Scholars have commented on the present state of the Niger Delta, for instance Idowu (2010) described the region as the one of the least-developed region in the Nigeria. Okpara (2012) referred the condition of the Niger Delta as an unfortunate, following its abundant gas and oil deposits, which should have been a blessing to the region, unfortunately, referred to as the oil curse. The region became polluted and unhealthy due to the activities of oil and oil related companies in the region. The natural atmosphere, good natural water and healthy environment became things of the past with the persistent of the environmental degradation from the activities of the oil companies and oil related companies in the region. The high death rate in the region is higher than other region in the country due to the poor living condition and un-conducive environment.

However, most of the beneficiaries of the multinational companies in the region are non-indigenes who have high education qualification and professional certificate while the local indigenes were associated with unskilled labour. In addition, most of the upper class or high-income people in the region were non-indigenes and they were the ones control the economy of the region. These have resulted to the grievances among the indigenes of the region and as one of the factor instigated the feeling of frustration, that resulted into several conflicts even among the indigenes of the region due to competitions for the limited and insufficient resources available among the communities. The nature of conflicts in Niger Delta includes the conflict between the multinational oil companies, the Nigeria State and the host communities as well as intra and internal communal conflicts.

In 1990s conflict became tense between ethnic groups in the region and the multinational companies. The proliferation of arms and ammunitions that circulated among the youths of the region with financial supports from the local and officials of various groups including local associations and clubs

in the region with believed that is an opportunity to enforce their political agenda. In December, 1992, conflict ensued between Ogoni's tribe and one of the multinational company operating in the region with issuing of threats warning to the companies to vacate the land due to the perception of being marginalised and being short-changed by the companies and the government. In the process, they Ogoni people presented the 'Ogoni Bill of Rights' to the federal government by expressing their suffering of their people and requested for the compensation for environment degradation from the oil companies. In attempts to prevent the escalation of the conflict into violent in the area, the Federal government groups dragged in the military. The Ogonis people went further to defied the government orders and staged the protest. The outcome of the protest was, some of their leaders were arrested and killed by hanging for defying the government orders. The killing of the Ogonis leaders by the government attracted the international communities and various human right organisations within Nigeria and international attention as act of violating human right. This action led to the sanctions on Nigeria especially by the international organization like UN and Commonwealth Nations. This marked the beginning of the formations of different ethnic armed or militant groups in the region.

Dauda, (2006) postulate how the formation of various militant groups sprang-up among the various ethnic's groups in the region, for instance, in December 1998, The Ijaw Youth Council declared the formation of a militant group known as 'Kaiama' the Urhobo people also made their own declaration and followed by Oron ethnic group. On 25 June 1999 Niger Delta's People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Asari Dokubo and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) also came into existence. The mode of operation of these Niger Delta youth militants include the bombing of oil pipe installation, kidnapping of oil workers, piracy, bunkering, violence, robbery. In August 2008, in the attempt by the government to curbs the activities of the youth militants in the region. the federal government lunch military operation to wiped out all the militant's activities in the region. However, the presence of the military does not stop the activities of these youth militants and became more threatening to the generality of the people in the region.

The conflict in Niger Delta has international implications on the nation as home of many international investments. The region harboured many international companies like Shell, Mobil Oil, Exxon Oil Companies. Moreover, it's one of the most attractive place for the tourism in the country. Following incessant violent conflict in the region, many companies started folding-up their various operations and activities in the region. While some countries started issuing, the warning notices to their citizen to desist from travelling to Nigeria. Due to the insecurity in the region in view of this the Nigeria as a nation tagged and portrait as one of the unsafe country in the continent of Africa. For instance, the United States of America Department of State Bureau of Consular Affairs disseminating a warning notice to her citizen of the danger of travelling to the region of Niger Delta. Following the high tension in the region, on 24 September 2004 Shell Company as a one of the major multinational company operating in the region was compelled to close its operation due to the activities of youth combatants in the region. Following the closure of these oil companies and oils servicing companies in the region the nation's economy is negatively affected.

Following the interference of the international communities and other international organizations like (UN), Commonwealth, USA, France, Human Right, and NGOs Nigeria Government compelled to have peaceful dialogue with the people of Niger Delta through their leaders and other prominent people as indigene of the region. After peaceful dialogue and consultations with monitoring from various independent organizations, both party agreed and they arrived at consensus on how to resolve the conflict amicably. In a bid and attempt to solve the crisis, several measures and initiatives are adopted in other to have sustainable development in the region. Therefore the outcome of the dialogue was seen as a new dawn to the region with the provisions of royalties such derivation formulae for the indigenes and communities, political empowerment, the formations of Niger Delta Development Commission (NNDC), The Ondo State Oil Producing Areas Development Commission (OSOPADEC), Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC), The Delta State Oil Producing Area Commission (DESOPADEC) and The Ministry of Niger Delta Development

Commission (NNDC). All these demands from the region were accepted by the federal government of Nigeria as project of consolidation also as strategies and readiness to achieve the maximum peace in the region as part of the peace building initiatives.

On the other hand, most of the oil companies in the region also join the efforts with federal government embarked on several projects of development to the region, including provision of health services centres, construction of several roads, electrification project for the rural communities, employment opportunities, and scholarship for the indigenes who willing to further their study to the university level as part of their Corporate Service Responsibility (CSR).

Despite several projects of the developments in the region by oil companies and the federal government as projects of consolidations to the region, the youth militants refused to stop their various anti-social activities and their heinous operations. In the same vein, the government of Nigeria also offered scholarship and loan facilities for the indigent students from the region as a strategy aimed to enhance socio-economic and development projects purposely to eradicate and alleviating poverty level in the region (Amadi & Abdullah, 2012; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012). Most of these government initiatives and development project are laudable, but unfortunately, they failed to achieve the lasting and enduring peace in the region (Akpan, et. al. 2012). With all these strategies and initiatives, the insecurity and crisis in the region persisted (Nwagboso, 2012).

4.2 Institutional Involvement in the Reintegration

It is general accepted fact, that the attitudes and behaviours exhibited by an individual or groups replicated the environment they come from. According to sociological view, environment influences human behaviour and vice-versa. The environments as an institution of social support which laying down the structures according to their acceptable norms and values. The dominant views in the peace and conflict studies is that, conflict is an inevitable in all human societies but the major concern was, what are the effectiveness, capacity and the capability of the mechanism to checkmate and

control these phenomena. Therefore, every community possesses the mechanism to confront, solve and manages these phenomena internally. However, the ability to overcome these challenges depends largely on the ability, capability, and efficacy of the internal management (institutions) as a mechanism of management.

Despite the series of the efforts executed to curb and halt the crisis in the Niger Delta region, the conflict remains unabated, and the conflict persisted particularly, among the youths in the region of Niger Delta. This study also aim to identify the institutions that are central and germane to the reintegration process including their capability and capacity as a tool of the reintegration of the youth combatant in the Niger Delta crisis.

4.2.1 Government Amnesty Programme for Niger Delta Militants

The introduction of the Amnesty in the region of Niger Delta is a landmark in the history of the region and witnesses' significant attainment of peace and security in the region (Ogege, 2011; Nwagboso, 2012). The Amnesty Bill was signed on 25th June 2009 and became effective from 6 August 2009 to 4th October, 2009 (Nigerian Tribune 11 July, 2010) under the president Sheu Musa Yar-dua who signed and grant unconditional amnesty for the militants in the Niger Delta. The offer was effective from 6 August, to October 2009 (Nigerian Tribune, 11 July 2010; Daily Independent 18, September 2009; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012) and a committee was set up and headed by Kingsley Kuku under the supervision of the presidency of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Within this period, all the militants are expected to surrender their weapons and ammunitions to the government in return for the training for rehabilitation process.

Amnesty as a strategic and policy adopted by governments or nations to formally pardon the offenders, law breakers in the form of executive clemency or legislative (Ogege,2011). Granting amnesty simply means that all records of the offences and atrocities previously committed by such person or groups

are disregarded, forgiven and wiped out. In this vein, the Federal Government of Nigeria announced and granted the amnesty for all Niger Delta youth Militants.

The objectives of Amnesty are as follow:

- i. A disarmament phase to commence between 6 August, 2009 and 4 October, 2009 and to include the collection of biometric data.
- ii. The demobilization and rehabilitation phase to last for 6 to 12 months and to include the provisions of, among other things counselling, and career guidance for the participants.
- iii. A reintegration phase to last up to five years and to include the provision of, among other things, training and micro-credits for the participant

In addition, the government made promised to give the youth combatants training -compensation funds and offers jobs for former youth combatants after completing the training. (Agency France Press – AFP, 2010 & United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network - IRIN, 2010).

Many of these militants took this advantage and went to nearest screening centre, surrendered their weapons, registered, and take oath of reunification and receive the presidential amnesty. (The Nigerian Tribune, 11 July, 2010). Ogege (2012) reported that the amnesty granted to the Niger Delta militants as a strategy to address the dramatic and continuous falling in the daily oil production, which has significant had negative implication on the accruing revenue to the Federal Government. Oluduro & Oluduro (2012) asserted that the amnesty initiative programme is avenue to improve and expected to contribute to the nation's low human capital and development. While both Ogege (2012) and Nwagboso (2012) emphasized that, the Amnesty was offered to encourage the militants to surrender their weapons and renounce their violence activities. Oluwaniyi (2011) asserted that, the militants who accepted the amnesty were taken to designated centre disarmament process in six of the collection centre earmarked for the programme including a promise of paying the former combatants the sum N65,000.00 (about \$407 USD) monthly as vocational allowances. This initiative received good

recommendations among the people of Nigeria particularly the media as a good initiative to end the crisis in the region of Niger Delta.

The Amnesty programme has three phases; (a) the disarmament and demobilization of the youth militants, (b) the integration and rehabilitation of the youth militants, and (c) the post-amnesty and massive infrastructure development in the region. The first phase and second phase of the Amnesty programme commenced with about 20,182 male combatants and about 133 female former combatants took part in the programme across the states comprises of the Niger Delta. According to Oluduro & Oluduro, (2012), about 6,166 former combatants were able to participate in the second phase of the programme due to the limited number of available provisions and infrastructure. Akinwale (2010) posited that only about 10 jobs that the programme gave preference to, ranging from, welding technology, fabrication, oil and gas, maritime services, exploration, production, processing engineering and the training periods for these programme were between 3 – 18 months and importantly, opportunity were also given to those who interested in furthering their studies into university level within that period.

Egwweni, (2012) and Nwagboso, (2011) maintained that Amnesty programme initiative recorded and witness a significant attainment of peace and security within the region. Moruku (2012) argued that, this was a period when an easy calm reigned in the region as a result of temporary ceased fire by the militants. The initiative of the Amnesty programme, the Federal Government of Nigeria was able to recollect and maintained the seized diplomatic relationship within the continent and the world. The amnesty programme also gave hope of unity and the development in the region and as a tool of reunification with the people of the region and the Federal Government. Following structure of the programme of Amnesty, Egwemi (2010) praised the Federal Government for its initiative for the Amnesty programme and encouraged the federal government to sustain and implement the structure of the programme to the core, as vital instrument of post conflict building in the region.

Akpan and Ering (20210) argued that the amnesty programme policy was not gear toward address the conflict issues such as environmental and political issues as the main causes and the drive of the conflict. Ogege (2011) maintained that the amnesty initiative was a merely cosmetic solution just to create enabling environment to the oil companies for their daily activities without disturbance. Nwagboso (2012) viewed the amnesty from the concepts of the security. He posited that the security largely depends on the commitment of liberal institutions including the multinational corporations to discharge their social responsibilities creditability (Corporate Service Responsibility). In other words, he maintained that both government and the oil companies and oils services companies must execute meaningfully development to the environment where they operate as part of their Corporate Service Responsibility. Despite the good eulogizing and good recommendations that the Federal Government of Nigeria received for the Amnesty initiatives, both Akpan & Ering (2010) and Ogege (2011) viewed the initiatives from the different perspective and encourage the government to further formulate the policy that will address the environmental problems in the region that remains the main challenges and as one of the root causes of the crisis and to address issues of poverty rate in the region.

4.2.2 Achievement of the Amnesty Programme

As at February 2011, about 26,000 former youth-combatants of the Niger Delta enrolled at the Amnesty programme (The Nigerian Tribune, 2011 & The Nation, 2011). The United States Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2010 stated that between June and December 2009, above 20,000 ex-militants had completed their training programme in a camp in Obubra, Cross-River State (US. 2011: 1).

The Special Adviser to the President on the Amnesty programme, announced on media report on the Amnesty that, between June 2010 and May 2011, over 15, 434 people had participated in the Amnesty programme (The Nation: 26 June, 2011) Another media report stated that, some ex-youth combatants

have taken part in various occupational training programme in the country and abroad (The Leadership; 17 March, 2011, and This Day: 15 April, 2011).

The Minister of Niger Delta Affairs reported that, the ministry had organised a job fairs purposely to link the ex-youth militants with the potential employers. The special advisers to the President on the Amnesty programme (Mr. Kingsley Kuku) stated that, the return of peace, security and sustainable development to the Niger Delta has steamed from the successful management of the post-amnesty programme (The Nation, 26 June, 2011).

In view of the development stated above, it is explicit that issues of the youth combatants reintegration is addressed at the two levels of intervention measures, but is left to be determined how much attention the case of youth combatants draw from the intervention agency. The challenge of reintegration of youth combatant into society, no doubt, is daunting and multifaceted. They range from institutional and economic to social and cultural. This study appraises mainly the institutional challenges and the implication they portend for the quest at achieving sustainable peace and development in Niger Delta. An assessment of the packages provided for the youth combatants is thus meant to reveal the strength and weaknesses of institutions supporting the reintegration of youth combatant

Table 4.1: The Amnesty Programme Table

Disarmament	Demobilization/Rehabilitation	Reintegration
<u>Duration</u> 6 – 4 Oct. 2009	<u>Duration</u> 6 – 12 Months	<u>Duration</u> Up to 5 years
Activities	Activities	Activities
1. Collection of Arms and Ammunition, Documentation and Biometric.	1. Ex-militant report to camp, Verification and Documentation	1. Knowledge & skill acquisition
	2. Transformation Training	2. Placement Program
	3. Peace building & Conflict Resolution	3. Micro Credit
	4. Counselling	4. Reconciliation with Local community
	5. Careers Guidance	5. Conflict Resolution Framework Mechanism
	6. Wellness Assessment	6. Monitoring & Evaluation
	7. Reintegration Classification	7. Exit of Amnesty
	8. Education and Vocational	
	9. Graduation and Demobilizing	
Key Enablers	Key Enablers	Key Enablers
Disarmament Camp	Transformational Training	Partnering, Government Agencies, Private Organization
Massive Campaign	Rehabilitation Camps	Tracking and Support Framework

Source: Ministry of Niger Delta, 2014

The Amnesty office was vested with the primary responsibility of implementing the DDR programme.

It was headed by the Chairman who also acts as adviser to the Presidency on the Niger Delta Issues.

The Amnesty programme depends on only federal government of Nigeria as only sources of fund. Another noticeable characteristic of the Amnesty programme was, all the staffs of the implementing agency (Amnesty staff) were indigenes of the Niger Delta region. Despite the awareness programme through the media with the large turnout for the Amnesty programme, it was also observed that, large numbers of the combatants are yet to be registered or be part of the Amnesty programme. In the course of the observation, most of the combatants were illiteracy even some of them find it difficult to write down their names correctly.

4.2.3 Formal Education System

Despite huge amount of natural resources deposited in the region and it is richness in natural resources, the region is still lagging behind in the educational sector. Education remains the bedrock of developments and progress, also as a great agent of socialization. Moreover, the educations system determined the future and prosperity of specific society. The state of education system in the region was weak and ineffective. However, they are at the state of collapsed due to the attitudes of the states and local governments towards the public schools education system. The only functioning schools in the region are private schools and they are very expensive and un-affordable for the average indigenes of the people of the region, due to the high fees. The state of public school in the region are unbearable, even some of the students seats on the bare floors in their classes to study, the welfare of the public teachers were not take care of, In addition, the education system in the region is in need of massive rehabilitation, particularly, the public schools.

Over half of Niger Delta children at secondary school age estimated to be out of school, the school dropout rate is very high. No doubt the crisis in the region destroying is the institutional space for providing quality education, especially primary and secondary education system in the region. The burden of education on families is enormous. The school fees and money for education materials, supplies, books, and other materials are presently beyond the means of the average of the people of the

region. Most of the public schools are in the state of disrepair, the existing public schools are not conducive for learning due to the absence of basic tools of learning. Moreover, the teachers were not paying regularly; the only private schools in the region could provide the deserved and basic quality education system in the region. This gave opportunity to private school to spring up faster as one of the booming businesses in the region and their charges is very high. However, the majority of indigenes could not afford the high charges for the school fees while the children from middle and high class only can have access to good education system. In light of this, the education system in region has been the means and subject to disparity between rich and poor in the region. In view of this, the government public school have regarded as the school for the lower class and poor people while private school is mainly for middle and upper class people in the region.

The implications of teachers' low morale on the output of the educational system in the region cannot be overemphasised, both the States and Local government ministry of education in the region as a system used to owing the teacher's salary for several months without paying. For teachers to survive most of them have to involve in other private business in order to survive. Apart from the unavailability of necessary tools to teach in the school like textbook and other reading and teaching materials, the public schools structure and environment are not conducive to learn. Therefore, going by the negligence attitudes of both States and Local government towards the public schools in the region, the region was known to as the least-developed and backward region in the educational system that contributes significantly to the high number of illiteracy and high numbers of poor performance of the students from the region in the national evaluation educational performances.

4.2.4 The Family Institution

Family remains the bedrock of every societies and is the smallest organisation in the society as a taproot in which society draws its nutrients from, for long-term survival. It is undisputedly that, is the foundation on which every society stand upon which remains the bedrock of every surviving

Nations. Although, nearly all segments of the Niger Delta society affected by the rapidly transformation from the rural- city syndrome but the family segment received the most terrible blow. The rapid transformation that occurred in the region contributes negatively to the family system in the region. The on-going crisis has instigated the rural-urban migration. Many indigenes of Niger Delta have continues to move out of their various villages in searching for a better life's or white-collar job in the cities due to low productivity in their traditional agriculture practising in the local area as a results of the negative effects of environmental hazard causes by the oil companies and oil services companies to the region. Nevertheless, they were unprepared for the challenges of adjusting to a new environmental challenge, invariably their peril increase. The economic induced migration has further diminished the contacts between parents and their children as the quest for survival continuous and forces family's members to lives separately and apart.

The Family system in Niger Delta also confronted with bad economy psychological adjustments. The problems of teenage pregnancy, child labour, drug abuse, and separated families were identified as great challenge in the region that put serious strain on the family system. For all these social disorder, there is no strong-run social welfare services delivery system to perform mitigation functions. There is a phenomenon of a single parent amongst young women. Many girls fell as victims of rape due to economy hardship and ended up with unwanted pregnancies. In the Niger Delta region, in fact, in Nigeria as a whole, there is no basic child protection system, which acts as recourse against abuse and neglect of children. Due to the hardship that befalls on the people of the region many people neglected their family in the course of searching for daily bread. In view of this, the traditional family structure was affected.

4.2.5 Indigenous economy

Following the large natural resources endowments in the region with good ecosystem, that characterized the region as one the highest concentrations of biodiversity in Africa. However, the

region was also in rich of flora, fauna, with arable terrains, which can sustain variety of crops and plants, trees with abundant of different species of fish, and freshwater, it regarded as the most rainfall region in country and abundant in oil deposit area (Egborge, 1986; Onwundijo, 1990; Jimoh and Aghalino, 2000). Prior to the discovery era of the oil in the region, the people of the region has been lived in peace and harmony among themselves based on the availability of varieties of foods with abundant of fertile land for agriculture. Following the availability of means to survive in the region by indigenes, with traditional farming system, it prevents them from prepare for the future challenges as occurred in the discovery of the oil in commercial quantity. Automatically, the region became the commercial cities and home of multi-national companies and as a new economy centre for the nation while most of the rural communities transformed into the commercial centres and as a hub for multinational oil companies and oils service companies including the tourism attractive centre in the country. Apart from oil companies and oil services companies, the region has been witness high rate of emigrants from within and outside the Nigeria. All these contribute to the rapid grows and development of the region and characterized as one of the expensive cities in the country with high costs of living. However, it is no longer adaptable for lower-income group in which majority of the indigenes of the region belong to.

4.2.6 Communities Participation

Community and environment remains the great influencers in the people behaviour and as an institution of social support, which had laying down the prescribed and unique ways of doing things according to their acceptable norms. Horby (2000) defines community as the natural world in which people, animal and plant lives. From this definition, one can conclude that community's possesses the following characteristics;

- i. The vast system of land with its resources, terrestrial, marine and the aquatic ecosystem.

- ii. Consist of all man-made, social system and organizations – (family, other social institutions such as school, church, mosque, market etc) community that involves both physical and social environment.

The Niger Delta region consists of various ethnicities with distinct norms and values. People of the Niger Delta like other African communities, have a traditions and acceptable norms, that are deeply rooted in their culture as a means of, protection and perseverance of their environment for future generation. With aids of preserving and methods of keeping and venerating most of African society have and maintained what refers to as forbidden bush (Ancestors sacred place) which was regarded as dwelling place of spirit or forces of ancestors that protects the society.

Every society has it is social roles model (modes of conduct which are socially prescribed and reinforced) and personal needs or preferences. The rapid change that occurred in some communities in the region had great adversely effects in the established norms and values system of the communities. The emergency of the multi-national companies in the Niger Delta region have destroyed much of the elements of culture, values, trust and capacity for collaboration action that existed in the various communities.

Most communities in the region are now at war with each other's due to the struggling for limited resources. The peaceful environment suddenly became a hostile as a result of claiming a specify land to themselves. Among these crises are; Ijaw – Itsekiri conflicts in 2001, Urhobo –Itsekiri conflict in Warri in 2002. More noticeable is the intra-conflict among the communities in the region. In addition, many communities are generating war among their neighbours on the issues of favour's of one community at the expense of others and competitions among the community's due to the insufficient and limited resources for the community development projects.

Following the constant rivalry and quarrel among the neighbouring communities, the societal norms and values as an institution became weak, and unity and love among the neighbour's communities gradually disappearing.

4.2.7 Indigenous and Religion Institutions

Indigenous institutions could be referring to as a platforms or mechanisms for coping with violence and conflict. The religious ethics is mainly for sustainability of the environment and communities, whether social and physical. From the sociological and anthropology point of views, most of religious symbol are embedded in their environment and ultimate goal of religious is to achieve orderliness, peace, harmony, and unity of every members of the community.

Religion pervades the entire sphere that makes life to be meaningful for their members and communities as a whole. Most important, the religious influence the value systems of the society with sacred imprint, therefore religious serve as the basis for the integration and cohesion of the society in general. The people of the Niger Delta believe in Supreme God, as referred to as the creator of the universe and they also believe in the ancestral spirit which they regarded as agents of supreme God that oversee their affairs as applied to all African societies. Among the Niger Delta people and Africa as a whole, they have strong believes in the ancestral as an instrument of orderliness, cohesion and solidarity which is common believe in all African communities.

The traditional religious system in African setting has been used as an instrument of check and balance in their local setting systems of administration and as a law enforcement agency including Niger Delta region. Among the people of Niger Delta, they have firm beliefs in their ancestors, such as, 'owuamarapu' among the Ijaw people; Edjo and Erhan among the Urhobo people; and Yor-Agu-Loore and Gbenebeka among the Ogoni people. Christianity is the most dominant and popular religion due to the civilization and modern age religion among the people of Niger Delta due to the advents of

white people in the region as a colonial master, as a result of the various activities and long interaction with white people, Christianity became the most popular religion in the region. Despite the popularity of Christianity in the region, they still connect to the traditional belief as their ancestral and their progenitor. The Catholic Church sect remains the most popular Christian church in the region while some of new the generation churches also sprang widely in the region. With the emergency of the new generation churches in the region and Nigeria as a whole, the preaching of righteousness, morality are now disappearing while, prosperity preaching and flamboyant way of life became order of the day among the churches founders and the follower alike which is drastically have a great consequences on the existing norms and values of the society. despite the majority of the indigenes attends churches services on every Sunday, they still have strong believe and commitment to their traditional faiths religion in their community that still plays significant roles in their day-to-day activities according to their tradition.

4.3 Conclusion

In the attempt to have panacea and lasting peace in the Niger Delta crisis, the vivid review of the underlying causes and the origin of the problems were elaborated in other to comprehend as a guidance to proffering solutions and for effective conflict prevention and conflict management strategies. This chapter dig in and traced the origin of the Niger Delta crisis, particularly, why the militancy in the region of Niger Delta became an order of the day. However, the institutional structures of the region of Niger Delta also remain the stakeholders in proffering panacea solution to the unabated violent conflict in the region Niger Delta. The elaboration of the institutions of the Niger Delta was informed in view that, the effectiveness and well-structured of these institutions is capable to transform the region into peaceful and secured environment as they remain the mechanism of the society's management.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES OF DDR PROGRAMME

5.0 Introduction

It is a common knowledge that the crisis in Niger Delta extensively destroyed institutions of transformation especially in the areas of family, education, religion, policy, infrastructure, and images of Nigeria as a nation. The damages are bound to have long-lasting effects on the economic performance of Nigeria and the social well-being of the people of the Niger Delta region. However, this work poses to unveil how the weakness of these institutions reflects and affected the DDR programme of youth combatants in the region of Niger Delta. It is also important to determine what capability and effectiveness of the institutions that responsible for the reintegration were able to achieve these fundamental tasks. The study realised that the weakness in the Amnesty operational policy, family, education, religious, poverty, and society values of the Niger Delta region are the major constraints that hamper the reintegration of the youth combatants. The consideration of the strength, capacity, and challenges of these institutions and the available options for reintegration are among the factors employed in the analysis in the contents of the reintegration.

The Federal Government of Nigeria initiated the Amnesty programme and designed its operational framework. Apart from the problem of fund, youth combatants also confronted with numerous problems such as materials, physical and psychological needs and reintegration packages and benefits, community sensitisation, disarmament education, peace education, vocational training, More importantly, those who had acquired skill are unable to utilized the acquired skill or transform it to the live-hood or as a means to survive. Another challenge encountered the Amnesty, is the problem of the management and short of fund. Nigeria government has remains the only sources of fund for the programme. The contribution of regional governments and state governments is mere minimal.

However, the people of the region also seen the efforts of the federal government as the payback to the region, therefore, all the efforts of the government to the Amnesty programme did not reflect on the main target.

5.1 Amnesty Policy and Structure

Despite the significant contribution of the Amnesty and empowerment of the youth combatants of Niger Delta, the Amnesty programme still generated a lot of controversy to the people. Akpan & Ering (2010) contended that, the amnesty policy was not geared toward addressing the real causes of the conflict such as environmental problem, political, economy, and social problem of the region. He went further and argued that the programme was designed only to enable the federal government unimpeded access to the oil and gas resources to maintain it is maximum exploration. In the same view, Ogege (2011) explained that, the Amnesty programme is merely a cosmetic solution to creating enabling environment for the oil companies and oil services' companies to continue their normal activities in the region without disturbances. This was seen as a strategy to get the militancy out of their usual operations without addressing the main causes of the conflict. Etemike (2012) and Ogege (2011) maintained that, the federal government adopt the amnesty initiative as a superficial and purposely designed to trick the militancy into surrendering their arms. Akinwale (2010) maintained that, the federal government initiative toward the amnesty was unproductive and ineffective approach to address the Niger Delta conflict. Akinwale was able to examine the relationship between the amnesty initiative and the human capital development. Akinwale also faulted the Federal Government of Nigeria for implemented the Amnesty initiative without empowering the inhabitants of Niger Delta region. In addition, he called for more participatory and innovative measures that will encompass the entire stakeholders including the youths. Another challenge as a constraint to the DDR of youth combatants of Niger Delta according to the finding is that, the operational framework of the Amnesty programme failed to address the main root causes of the crisis. Although, the causes of the crisis in

Niger Delta are multifaceted but, the most vital and the root causes of the crisis that is environmental issue in the region was not addressed by Amnesty. However, the basis and the root cause of the conflict is not addressed within the operational framework of Amnesty. In other word, failure to address the root causes of the violent crisis in the region of Niger Delta, no matter efforts put into places to stop the crisis, it may be regarded as a waste of the resources and efforts and the people of the region would continue experiencing consequences of the environmental degradation and conflict.

The years of crisis have taken a toll on the economy of the region and the Nigeria nation as a whole. However, if the efforts channelled at reintegration of youth combatants must yield desirable outcomes, the regional governments (state and local governments) comprises of the Niger Delta must be part of the effort and make significant contribution not only as a player but be at forefront of the reintegration process. The research's findings revealed that, there is no significant contribution from the local and states governments comprises of the Niger Delta toward the reintegration programme. In addition, most of the youth combatants are now an active member of the political party in the region. Despite their monstrous activities the political elite of the region still adopt them as stakeholders in the political activities of the region. In light of the above scenario, to achieve the goal and objective of the reintegration of the youth combatants will required total support of the people of the region, which will be difficult to achieve based on the individuals gain with the persisting and continuation of the Amnesty programme structure in the region.

5.2 The Concept and Importance of Social Responsibility

For the peaceful and co-existence, every individual, groups and organization has significant roles to plays and contribution to the environment in which they operate. However, such responsibility facilitates good relationship between the people of the community and that organization. Akanji and Oyitso (2012) contended that any meaningful development initiative must take into cognizance the

social economic and cultural experiences of the people of the community. Ako (2012) and Idowu (2012) both agreed that, the multinational oil corporations need to utilize the advantages of the ambience of peace in the region precipitated by the introduction of the amnesty initiative by providing and delivering corporate social responsibility to their host communities. Ako went further and pointed out that taking the advantage of such a peaceful environment may enable the oil corporation to reinvent themselves, maintain cordial peaceful relations with their host communities which also see as a great opportunity to optimize their corporate potentials. Amadi & Abdullah, (2012) asserted the importance and the responsibility of the organization to the environment in which they operate. Amadi & Abdullah, contested that the ultimate success and effectiveness of an organization should be measure by its contribution to the development of the environment in which they operate. In this context, there is a clear indication that, the failure of the multi-national corporations operates in the Niger Delta region to their social responsibility contributes significantly to the existing conflict in Niger Delta. Apart from the environmental degradation caused by the activities through oil exploration to the communities has also had great effects on their agriculture activities and health, most of the multinational companies in the region contributed to the disunity among the stakeholder in the communities for their self-motives interest.

5.3 Family Implications

The consequence of the present state of family structures of Niger Delta is another big challenge towards the DDR of the youth combatant programme. The economy hardship in the region influenced and contributed to the weakness and present state of the family structure that forces every family member to leave separately in quest for the daily job in the various cities of the Niger Delta. In the African setting, family bound to leave together as an extended family for security and social reasons in which Niger Delta as a region not excluded. With present economy hardship experiencing in the

region members of families have to leave where they can be economy empowered and have access to live-hood.

The weakness of the family structure in the region is due to the present state of the economy disadvantages. Obviously, no reasonable family would support and allow his children to involve in any armed struggle. Most of the youth combatants enlisted and involved in the arm struggle as a combatant from the outside of their communities or domains. However, most of the youth combatants joined and involved in the activities for their personal gain due to the economy hardship on them. Therefore, the challenges of reintegration, especially for the youth combatants with their family are daunting and enormous. Anthropologists and psychologists have viewed the childhood years as impressionable years through the process of socialisation. Children learn the morals, values, and indeed culture of their society. It is along this thinking that Uzoka (1980) and Kenkel (1966) posited that the major directions of personality could be best understood in terms of its development rather than its contemporaneous existence. For the youth to be groomed in a culture of violence, it is only left to be determined, the level at which violence is internalised. Using arms and guns during conflict in the region have become the routines and ways of life. The youth combatants are aware that such practise is contrary and against the accepted norms of the society. However, most of family depends on their youths as providers for their needs or as breadwinners. In view of this, it will be very difficult task for the DDR. programme to accomplish its goal as a result of incapability and failure of Amnesty programme to include and consider the empowerment of families of the former combatants in the operational framework of DDR.

Table 5.1: Appropriate setting for reintegration.

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Low income (\$400 - \$800 per annum	211	84.4
Middle income (\$800 – 1200 per annum)	20	8.0
High income (\$1200 - \$3000 per annum)	-	-
No answer	19	7.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015.

Table 5.1 indicate that above 84.4 % participants are from the low income family, that is indication that most of them have no access to basic needs of live such as good education, and good economic empowerment and others. However, from the views expressed by informants during survey, there is clear evidence that there is high rate of poverty in the region among the indigene of the Niger Delta region that contribute to the inability to provide the basic needs and training for their children. In view of these, the family will be at constraints to check and control the activities of their children including youth combatants.

5.4 Educational support and Skill Acquisition

Many youth combatants and children walks in the streets of towns and villages in Niger Delta while few of them involves in the daily paid jobs in other to survive while some of them still roaming about the streets. Most of these youths have little or no formal education, while few of them are working in the various companies as unskilled labourers in which their take home as salary relatively small compared to the living standard in the cities. The poor state of economy and poverty in the region contribute and responsible for the poor education background of the youth combatant that makes them resulted into armed struggle in other to cope-up with the new environment challenges. Most of the

youth combatants were school dropout according to survey and most of them could not reads and writes. During the interviews, there was allegation of fraudulent from the Amnesty offices in the selecting process of the youth combatants for the skill acquisition programme in Nigeria and abroad. The question was raised during the fieldwork in-depth interview with a senior staff in the Amnesty office in which replied was,

...how would they cope when the substantial among them find it difficult to writes their names” no doubt, there is high number of illiteracy among the combatants. The education plays crucial roles in the skill acquisition process, even in the personal affairs management.”

Therefore, due to the lack of basic education among the youth combatants, it would be a great challenge and difficult task to achieve the reintegration within short period of the educational training for the youth combatants under the provision of the operational framework of the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta.

Table 5.2: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Response Category	Frequency	Percentages
Primary	75	30.0
Secondary	27	10.8
Technical Training school	40	16.0
None Education	108	43.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015.

Table 5.2 replicated that, substantial numbers among the youth combatants did not have required basic education knowledge; therefore, acquiring new skill will be a difficult task with short period of educational training for the youth combatants under the provision of Amnesty programme.

The attitude of the governments in the region towards the educational system was not encouraging. The poor state of public education in the region is worrisome and required total rehabilitation and it need to improve to be conducive and affordable for every classes of the people in the region. The education system in the region has been used as a disparity measure between the rich and the poor in which the public government schools are mainly for people of the lower class while the private school are patronized by the middle and upper class people in the region. The high rate of illiteracy in the region of Niger Delta could be attributed to the poor attitudes of the government towards the public education system.

However, the education support programme under the Amnesty is under-achieved, going by the numbers of illiteracy in the region especially among the youth combatants. Although, the Amnesty may not hold and responsible for the general education of all people in the region. But in order to achieve their objective and sustain peace and security in the region, the education system of the children and the youth in the region must consider and prioritized for peaceful and sustainable environment.

Under the Amnesty programme, the Amnesty is responsible to provide education for period of three or four years for the youth who secured admission into higher institution. However, no such provisions in terms of providing primary and secondary school education to the large number of the youth combatants to large number as a basic foundation for learning.

In the FGD, the study proved that most of the youth combatants are long for the education but the operational framework of Amnesty could not accommodate the primary and secondary school education system as basic foundation for the beginner. Most of them were complaining about the

education programme under the Amnesty. Most of the participants emphasised on the duration for the education programme that is very short. There was argument regarding the duration of the study and acquiring skills programme where many of the youth combatants were concerns on what to do and expect after they acquired the skill from the Amnesty. Some of these youth combatants could not imagine and ascertain what would be their fate after spending many years in acquiring education and skill due to the high level of unemployment in the country. During the fieldwork, John (Not his real'sname) who was 19 years old when he attended the skill acquisition programme at the vocational centre had this to say about the skill acquisition programme:

...I attended the vocational centre to learn the Welding work for period of two years. When we started, we are receiving approximately \$100.00 as a subsistence allowances every month, after a year, the money is not forthcoming, only what they told us was, the government has not been releasing the money. However, we're reading it on the pages of the daily newspapers the huge amount being releasing by the government to the Amnesty programme, however, it did not reflect on us. That is why most of us decided and (youth combatants) left the training without completion.”
(personal communication 2015).

However, many youth combatants are complaining and lamenting to the Amnesty agency for not given them job after completing the study and skill training. For example, Bitrus, 23 years old from Sapele;

...I was lucky to get sponsorship from the Amnesty to study at university under The Amnesty programme. Our first two years went smoothly, we were receiving The subsistence allowances through the Amnesty and our school fees being also catered for by the Amnesty, Suddenly, along the line, all allowances stopped, we couldn't no longer received any allowances and the school fees also stopped, then, some of us dropped from the programme while some of us managed to completed the study with hope that the Amnesty will facilitate good job for us from the oil companies but up to this moment nothing coming out. (personal communicate-

on during the fieldwork, 2015).

Other respondent, David(Not real name) who was (youth combatant shared his view about the duration of learning and education opportunity under Amnesty education support programme..

...I wanted to going back to the school, because without good education, you cannot achieve good things with ease, work in big companies, and get big money, But nobody ready to assist me to go back to school and the Amnesty programme do not make provision for the primary and secondary schools education and this is where I can start from. (personal communication, 2015)

Therefore, the mode of the education support programme offered by Amnesty to the former youth combatants undermines the effectiveness and sustainability of the programme. Most of the youth combatants does not have the qualifications that can earn them to study in high institutions or overseas courses because most of the youth combatants does not completed their primary or secondary school education which made it difficult for them to have comprehensive training under the Amnesty skill acquisition programme. This is a major setback in achieving the goal of the reintegration in the amnesty programme in Niger Delta.

Meanwhile, the high level of awareness can be said to have translated into huge participation in the different empowerment programme of Amnesty. There was huge turnout in the various skill acquisition centres both home and abroad. It's unfortunate to see that only few of them can utilized the skill-received from various skills acquisition centres because, no company wish to employ them and no provision of capita to establish on their own from Amnesty or government.

Table 5.3: Assessment of awarenessness of the programme

Response category	Frequency	Percentage
Aware	165	66.0
Not aware	80	32.0
No response	5	2.0
Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015.

Based on Table 5.3, there is a clear indications that, about 66.0 % of the people of the region of Niger Delta knew and heard about the DDR Programme, while about 32 % of them did not have awareness. Despite the efforts of governments of both states comprising Niger Delta and federal government on the propagation of the of the programme awareness, the number of the participants are very low to the the numbers of those who did not participate in any of the reintegration process. About 80 % did not enrolled in any kinds of the skill acquisition programme in any of the designated centre while only 30 % gone through the reintegration programme.

Table 5.4: Assessment of the level of participation in the program

Response category	Frequency	Percentage
Enrolled in the skill centre or schooling	80	30.5
Not enrolled in skill centre or not schooling	170	69.5
Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015.

Meanwhile, Table 5.4 indicated that, 69.5 percent of respondents have not enrolled in any skill centres or attending primary or Secondary school. Therefore, only 30.5 per cent of the respondents had enrolled in the skill centre or received education under the Amnesty programme. This has far-reaching from achieving the Amnesty goal and objective and have great implication on the objective of the Amnesty Programme. From this perspective, it could be suggested that some of the youth combatants do not really consider enrolment at acquisition as reintegration per-se. On the other hand, they may be denying knowledge of reintegration just because some of their expectations have not been met. In the In-depth interviews conducted among the youth combatants who have passed through the training revealed that, majority of them are not practising the skill they learned. Indeed, many of them have to come back to the cities because many organisations were unable employ them and the government did not give them enough money to establish their own business or workshop to work privately as a means to survive. In this case, the acquired skill has not been translated into livelihood in the absence of an expanding economy. Further insight into the attitude of the youth combatant provided by a key informant,

...let me tell you the fact, most of these youths are not convinced to go Through the reintegration. Those that have received training like engineering are not getting tools and many companies did not want to accept

them. How do you think reintegration can be possible! Somebody who is used to makes a huge amount of money through the use of gun. I think what government should have done after skill acquisitions programme is to put in the place, the mechanism that will monitoring them and check on them and encourage them to open their private workshop and work independently to apply their skill. There were no such of any follow up (personal communication during the fieldwork, 2015).

From this view, it is important to note that, the mere training of youth combatants is not amount to reintegration. In fact, some of these youth combatants reported having family they were catered for. From the interaction had with the youth combatants, it also established that even, with employment with companies, it would be a difficult task to meet-up with their financial commitment to themselves and to their families' due to their way of life they use to. What could be deduced from the above scenario is that measures of economic reintegration for youth combatant were not well searched into before being adopted. The views of these informant's points toward the inadequacies of reintegration measures. For instance, the institutions are not built around the popular participation and Amnesty should have the knowledge of the socio-economic reality of the people of Niger Delta.

The conceptualisation of certain needs to empower the former combatants as universal requirement to reintegrate may be a defining factor in the prioritising of intervention measures like skill acquisition. In most Third World countries, skill acquisition and capacity building are prioritised in poverty reduction programmes. In doing so, little or no consideration is given to the societal needs and the size of the economy. For example, efforts are not always made to match the supply of a skill with the demand. In the case of Nigeria, with economy struggling to develop, and the earning power is still low to meet up with the society demand and the newly trained youth combatants may find it very difficult to garner enough patronage from the public for their new acquired skills.

An issue of relevance of the subsistence allowances is well debated. Many of the discussants claimed that the allowance payment while on training was not paid in regular basis and the money itself was

too small for them. The view tallied with the response generated from the survey respondents on how they rate the Amnesty programme for youth combatants in which responds to the question was not encouraging at all. Among other factors pointed out toward the constraints of the DDR is that, most of these youth combatants has been exposed to flamboyant life, having huge money with the use of the gun through illegal means, such as bunkering, kidnapping, pirating, robbery and others. Following this, in order to reintegrate these youth combatants properly it will require huge amount of resources to persuade them to be reintegrated with the present weak economy condition of the Nigeria government. It also may have contributed to the difficulty of DDR to achieve its goal and objective because Nigeria government remain the only source of fund for the programme.

The weakness of the Implementing agency staff (Amnesty Office) of the Niger Delta also posed a series of challenges to the success of the Amnesty programme because the staffs of the Amnesty has been alleged by various quarters for their inconsistency through their various activities particularly in selecting the youth combatants for training in both Nigeria and abroad.

5.5 Religious Factors

The state and purpose of religious in the region has been defeated by the high rate of poverty in the region. The migration of rural communities into the cities in searching for white-collar jobs has great effects on the religion system particularly, the traditional religion being in practices in communities while city were occupied by the new generation churches in which their centre of their preaching is basically on the prosperity. Moreover, with new societal order of the industrialization, people are given most of their time to their jobs while little or no time for religion activities due to the new demands and economic challenges in meeting up with their responsibilities. With this, the importance and impacts of religious have started disappearing from the society. Even, the morality as the basis for the religious fundamental principle is no longer manifested in the attitudes and characters of most

people of Niger Delta. The effects of the religion life on the people of the Niger Delta have been obviously diminishing and the roles of religious have been neglected due to the emergence of the modernization and industrialization, which affected the region. The religious support to the youth combatants in the Niger Delta conflict constitutes a great challenge.

The Niger Delta society structure has been influenced by the high rate of poverty in which every individual are fashioned out the new way to cope with the economic challenges as a result of rural – urban transformation that occurred among the communities of the Niger Delta. This transformation brought rapid development and change that affected all institutions in the region, particularly, the traditional religious system and Christianity, which is the most popular religion in the region. This change affected the institution negatively due to the influx of the people from all walk of lives to the region for economy reason that made the already established institution became weak and ineffective as a result of modernization. In most of African nations, the traditional religion has been use and serves as the instrument of check and balance in day –to-day activities of the people, which also regulates the attitudes, and behaviour of individual according to norms and values of the local communities. As a result of prolong conflict in the region, the people are no longer respect the tradition of the land, the morality aspect of the prescribed norms has been diminishing and faded due to the hardship on the land. Therefore, the effect of the traditional religion is not felt outside their domains and people have little or no respect for the traditional religion any longer due to the civilization and modernisation. Christianity is another popular religion in the region has become where people run to for miracle. The morality which is fundamental principle of almost all religion basis, is no longer preached and disappearing due to the new adaptation means to survive because people gives most of their time to their work.

In African setting, religion has been a key player in facilitating peace and harmony among the people even, Christianity as a popular religion in the region is not left out in the consequences of urbanization. The evangelising, preaching holiness, and righteousness are no longer preaching in most of the

worship centres. In the African setting, where there is conflict, religion has been employed as instruments of mediating among the conflicting parties. A key informant who was an active member in the church activities was asked if the churches had any special programme by which it can reach out to the youth combatants. His response was in negative. The informant further said, even if such programme was put in place for such programme, it would be difficult to track down the youth combatants to any worship centres because many of them did not have a fixed address.

However, the Amnesty programme have no provision for the religious support programme for initiating the former youth combatants into civilian life through the religious process such as spiritual cleansing and traditional healing process as occurred in most of the war affected area as part of the DDR programme. From the observation made during the church services by the Research Assistant, even, the church did not anticipate the treat inherent in the absence of a sustainable reintegration process as it affects the youth combatants. Mention was not usually made of them, neither was intercessory prayer offered on their behalf. Their importance to the entire peace process was visibly downplayed.

5.6 Youth Combatants and Perceptions

One of the problems facing the reintegration process in Niger Delta is the perception of the youth combatants to themselves and to the member of the communities. To the member of their community, they see the youth combatants as freedom fighters who volunteer themselves for the betterment of their community and community interest. Owing to this, the youth combatants did not feel guilty despite anti-social activities they were perpetrating due to the support they received from various communities even from their family.

Another constraint to the success of DDR programme in Niger Delta is due to the high percent of the staff of Amnesty were indigenes from that region. Some of them are in relationship with youth

combatants. This situation may affect the implementation of the policy to the core because of existing relationship among the staff and the youth combatants. In addition, both staff and the youth combatants also see the efforts of the Federal Government as the payback to the region.

5.7 Youth Combatants Assessment of the Reintegration Process

The interest of youth combatants into the DDR programme could be view and determined by the importance and the contribution of the programme to the individuals and the group of youth combatants, particularly what impact does it add to their lives. How the youth combatants rate and view the reintegration programme is another vital measures to be considered. The youth combatants are in the best position to describe or evaluate the programme effectiveness based on the contributions of the programme and the impact to their reintegration as an individual and the group. Similarly, they are in position to suggest to the implementing agency on what to do to get the desired result from them. However, what are the consideration given and the roles of the youth combatants in the Amnesty structures and policy. There is no doubt, that the youth combatants are aware that there is a programme going by the name “Amnesty” in the region. This has been confirmed earlier in the chapter, but it may be necessary to determine the kind of awareness that confers knowledge, since the knowledge must equally be seen as the basic factor, which stimulates capacity. In this case, how well the youth combatants are aware of the objectives of the reintegration is also about re-orienting the youth combatants toward cultivating positive values.

During the in-depth interview, this study revealed that majority of the youths who benefiting in the training and schooling abroad were not really the former youth combatants. They were alleged to having relationship and family members to Amnesty staff.

..we only heard on the media, the numbers of youths whose on the training and those who have completed the training, for those of us who are really fighters are not part of the scheme and those of us who went into disarmament and received first training were not paid as promised by Amnesty (Personal communication, 2015).

This interview corroborated with the question sought on the mode of selection of the former youth combatants into skill acquisition programme. This response tallied with other question in survey questionnaire on the sincerity of the Amnesty team. The rate at which reintegration has fared is depicted differently by youth combatants and key stakeholders involved in the implementation of the programme. Base on table 9, only 36.4 per cent of the respondent were of the view that reintegration programme has performed creditably well. About 14.0 per cent of respondents felt it has performed averagely, and 46.0 per cent believed that the programme was a failure.

Table 5.5: Respondents' assessment of reintegration programme

Response category	Frequency	Percentage
Excellent	91	36.4
Average	36	14.4
Bad	115	46.0
No response	8	3.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2015.

From the analysis of the survey instrument, it indicated that many of those that considered the programme as a failure were those living on their own, whereas, those that believed it was a huge success were the ones benefiting from the Amnesty programme. Despite the activities of the Amnesty program, we are still experiencing kidnapping, raping, pirating and other forms of anti-social

activities exhibiting by the youths combatants. All these activities are from the youth combatants who had access to the guns. Elizabeth (not real name) had her view:

...to be candid, as far as I am concern, I don't know much about the programme, but it does not seem to be happening. Many of the youth combatants still roaming about the street, we were experiencing breaking of oil installation, pirating, kidnapping and others. There is no comprehensive development program for the youths (personal communication, 2015)

From this view, it could be concluded that, many people in Niger Delta have no faith in the programme. Other informants describing the Amnesty programme as a form of window dressing since there will be not much on ground to build on.

5.8 Dissatisfaction with Amnesty

Most participants in this study expressed their dissatisfaction with the Amnesty programme based on the way it was handling despite the good structures and good objectives from the Federal Government of Nigeria as part of peace building process in the Niger Delta region. Most of the participants lamented and expressed their dissatisfaction because they did not receive the assistances from the Amnesty as promised at the beginning. Based on previous studies, the primary method used to turn the former combatants to normal civilian and contributes positively to the economics and social development of their communities was through quality education support, and skill acquisition (Awodola, 2012). A few of the participants admitted that they are willingly to reintegrate and lives normal lives and be productive rather than be a destructive elements to the society. However, they were disappointed after the demobilization phase of the programme the monthly allowances promised were not regular paid.

..... arrears are not regularly paid and it was on the pages of daily newspapers that we heard what the government has been releasing for the programme, but it is unfortunately that, it is not reflecting on us. we have not being paid for a while, they were hearing and reading it from the pages of the newspapers the big amount of money that the federal Government releasing for the programme. (personal communication during the fieldwork, 2015).

This finding is corroborated with the reports credited to the cabinet minister in the Federal Government, Malam Nasri El-Rufai who called for the probing of the Amnesty programmes based on reports of several irregularities in the Amnesty programme (The Daily Independence of April 24, 2013).

Majority of the participants also lamented that most of the beneficiary in the acquisition skill scheme sent to abroad for skill acquisition programme were not real former combatants. The research revealed that no specific methods to select the former combatants for overseas course as part of skill acquisition programme. On the allegation of bias against the staff of Amnesty on the selection of those who to go abroad for the courses, the reports was, we can only send those whose can read and writes not those who could not. This finding corroborate with the previous research studies which indicates that most of the former youths combatants are illiteracy and only a small number of former youth combatants return to the formal school (McKay & Manzurana, 2004; Stavrou, 2004; Denov, 2010).

Qjushi (2010) also asserted that any act of distrust and disappointments in the programme or failure to keep into the promised in the DDR programme is tantamount to the breach of the contract which is also pose as a great obstacle to the programme to achieve its objective. The participants lost interest based on various disappointments experienced in the Amnesty programme and this is a major constraint to the success of the DDR programme.

Most participants in this study identified the unemployment and lack of government support and welfare support as a major factor for the dissatisfaction with Amnesty programme. The participants

lamented that those who benefited from skill acquisition scheme abroad, only few of them secured job with companies while those who could not secured job were unable to establish their own business or workshop due to the lack of fund and capital. Denov (2010) asserted that the major contribution to the failure of DDR programme of the Niger Delta was the inability of the government and the DDR to engage the former combatants in the job and other means to earn their living. In addition, he asserted that some female participants in the DDR programme also engaged in prostitution, petty crime and drugs as a means of surviving in post-conflict period while male among them involving in criminal activities in other to survive due to their dissatisfaction with DDR programme as part of the peace building process. Therefore, the inability to engaged the youth combatants in the job also contributing to the increasing and rising the rate of criminality in the Niger Delta region.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter analysed how the weaknesses of the institutions such as policy, economy, education, family, and religious, environment factors as agents of socialization according to sociologist that responsible for the reintegration of the youth combatant affected the failure of DDR programme. Therefore, these institutions are very crucial and importance to transform the whole society into peaceful and sustainable environment if they are well-structured and empowered to discharge their fundamental role and their responsibility because all these plays important roles in individual way of life. The weakness of any of this institution also reflects on the whole society and furthermore, there are interconnectivity as a system in which the deficiency in one aspect has significant effect on the others. Without apprehension, the well-structured and empowerment of these institutions are capable to transform the region of Niger Delta into a peaceful and sustainable environment which is the goal and objective of the DDR programme as a part of peace building project.

CHAPTER 6

POST WAR STRATEGIES TO ACCOMPLISH A GENUINE DDR PROGRAMME

6.0 Introduction

It is an uncomfortable truth that there will be no a total state of positive peace after the violent conflict (war). The fact is that, they often do not bring a real and positive peace because the wounds caused by the violent conflict (war) cannot be completely healed. In view of this, there is no any amount of sacrifices enough to prevent this enemy of humanity (war). In the context of the conflict studies, the country that witness war can never remain the same. In some cases, in the effort and attempt to solve and provide solution to the particular problem it later became the source of another problem and crisis. In view of this, there is a wealth of evidences that the society that emerged from violence conflict are prone to continue having high level of violence. In most of wars affected nations, despite the involvements of several measures to curb the violence, that nation will still experience other form of conflicts such as social violence and insecurity of live and properties, rape etc, as occurred in Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, El Salvador, Haiti (Call, 1999; Andreas, 2004; Prest, 2005; Moser and McIlwaine, 2011). In all these countries, the violent conflict might be officially be over, but civilian still live with daily and real threat of violence, ranging from domestic and social conflict.

Peace building is a process, rather than a goal and should not be considered from the perspective of achieving only a negative peace, which would simply indicate the ending of the armed conflict, but rather a positive and sustainable peace, which can ensure security as well as socio-economic, structural, political, and cultural stability. Therefore, the negative peace is only reducing the likelihood of relapse into or the continuation of violence (Ozerdem, 2009: 8). From these, we can

deduce that the positive peace is the only that guarantee to the absolute peace and sustainable environment, which is the ultimate goal and objective as stated in the peace building context. Thus, the effective implementation and well-planned DDR process can also promote the viability of long-term peace, locally, nationally and internationally. The experience indicated that, there is a symbolic relationship between peace building and DDR process (Berdal, 1996: 73).

The UNDP accepted the DDR as the initial steps in the transition from war to peace that ensure a safe environment and transferring of ex-combatant back into civilian live. Meanwhile, poorly conceived and ineffective executed of DDR programme can themselves also transfer or become a factor in the creation of future conflict (Alpaslan, 1996: 10). Intervention in the war affected community, directly or indirectly, through an organized umbrella has been a novel strategy in ameliorating the global consequences of wars and maintaining international peace and security. The central objective of DDR for the combatants is to create enabling environment as post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building leading to sustainable growth and development. DDR programme is a strategy adopted by the international community to prevent the occurrence of the conflict. Despite the commitment in terms of human and capital resources involved in achieving this, great objectives and goals, there are some unnoticeable issues that need to be considered for the success and positives outcome of this high demanding project. Apart from the major factors and the causes of failure of DDR programme that has been expressed by the various authors this work intends to highlight some hindrance factors that contribute to the ineffectiveness of the DDR programme based on personal experience as an insider in the field as a peacekeeper, in peace building process. Many cease-fire and peace agreements in civil wars are initially unsuccessful and give way to renewed, and often escalated, violence, Progress is often incremental, in some cases spanning for decades. Many peace processes become interminable protracted lengthy and circular negotiations in which concessions are rare, and even if fragile agreements are reached they stumble at the implementation phase (Edward & Oliver, 2006) also asserted that:

Our record of success in mediating and implementing peace agreements is sadly blemished by some devastating failures. Indeed, several of the most violent and tragic episodes of the 1990s occurred after the negotiations of peace agreements. Roughly, half of all countries that emerges from war lapse back into violence within five years. These two points drive home the message: if we are going to prevent conflict we must ensure that peace agreements are implemented and sustained in a sustainable manner.

The goals and objectives of peace building is to achieve the ultimate positive peace to the war affected nations and to protect from the reoccurrence or relapse to the conflict by removing all likely causes of future violence conflict. Although, peace building is a multi-facet and multi-agency process and accompanied by a wide range of challenges in the creating the secured environment and functional government and responding to the basic needs of war affected people and to the generality of the people.

It is imperative to understand the relationship between disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and peace building particularly, the importance of equipping the former youth combatants with economic and social empowerment as one of the ultimate goals of peace building programme. The idea is to make them function productively, financially and socially as to make them function as part of agents of development rather than the destructive element and participate positively to the economic growth and social development rather than creating violence and causing chaos to the environment. The DDR of former combatants is one of the important strategies to secure an enabling environment by transferring the status of the former combatants to the productive civilian as one of the critical activities of the peace building programme. The DDR as a process and programme that plays the vital role in the peace building project based on the past experiences in the reconstruction of peace and enabling environment in area where the violent conflict occurred. There is a consensus agreement that, the failure or ineffective implementation of DDR poses a great danger to the peace building process, as an initial step in the transformation of the war affected area to secured, saved, peace

environment, and paved way to the other programmes of development as parts of the peace building projects. Therefore, the effectively and the good implementation of the DDR programme could also leads to a permanent cessation of hostilities and promote the viability of long-term peace locally, nationally and internationally.

6.1 Economy and social factors

Most of the crisis in the Third World countries could be attributed to the economy disadvantages or absent of human security of specific groups as a source of the conflict. ranging from Liberia civil war, Sierra-Leone, Niger Delta conflict and others. Even though, those countries that have no economy implication still required the economy power to fix the war affected people and the re-construction of damages structures that occurred during the conflict as part of the post-conflict peace building process. The economy empowerment of the former youth combatants and war affected people remains prominent and importance in establishing the secured and sustainable environment. However, the inability to empower the former youth combatants and their families economically and socially and motivationally pose threat and danger to the security and sustainable environment particularly, the success and good implementation of the DDR programme.

The post-conflict peace building is a capital project and time-consuming project that requires financial commitment, equity and justice to achieve positive outcome. In other worlds, many cases of relapsing and reoccurrence of conflict after reintegration programme occurred due to inability to empower the former youth combatants and their family economically and socially. Noticeably, as occurred in Liberia, Somalia and others war affected nations after the cease-fire agreement. Most of the youth combatants are at economy disadvantage, and most of them involve in the conflict partly as an opportunity to get their ends meets by using violent conflict for their economy gains. In other words, failure to equip and empower former youth combatant financially and acquiring skill development

programme pose a serious security risk and threat in both micro and macro level (Bendal, 1996). The micro and macro insecurity perspective framework refers to the personal violence, and theft, while macro insecurity may actually increase in the aftermath of an armed conflict for two basic reasons. Firstly, if the demobilized youth combatants are not placed into employment, the lack of income source increase their probability to commit crimes; and second, if the former combatants tend to be unskilled, except in the use of the weapons as a mean to survive which may leads them to find themselves with a comparative advantage in criminal activities.

The macro insecurity may occurred if the demobilization proof to be a potential threat to post-war peace and stability when the former youth combatants are deprived of economic opportunities and socio-politically marginalized. In addition, demobilization can increase macro insecurity not only by reducing the capacity of a government to defend itself, but also because former youth combatants can return to arms in their grievances and frustration if they continue neglected and their basic needs are not met. For example, after the end of the war between the former Soviet Union backed regime in Kabul and various Majaheeddin groups, a large group of Afghans veteran were involved in conflict in other places like Bosnia and Chechnya. In addition, the South African firm Executive Outcome is known to provide armies to several countries employing mostly ex-soldiers from the former South Africa Defence Force (Kigma, 2002). After the DDR programme in Liberia, virtually, all the sectors were affected with security threats by the activities of the former youth combatants ranging from burglary, stealing, raping and several anti-social activities. These are due to the failure to empower the former youth combatants financially or equipped them with tools to enable them to practice the various skill acquired at various vocational centre during the DDR programme or fixed them up in private or public corporation as a strategy to keep them engaged and to enable them contributes positively to the economy development (Mehler, 2010:12).

Kingma (2000) asserted that the concept of peace building actively provides an important link between human development and the security. He argued that both human and security development increase

the security and stability which contributes to the sustainable development and the importance of security and stability through the DDR. of former combatants which would leads to progress in human development that a s the prerequisite for sustainable peace building. In Niger Delta crisis, most of the reintegrated ex-combatant went back to their former operation with their guns and continues their anti-social activities due to the inability to engaged them or provide source of living to them. Nubler (1997) asserted the relationship between development, peace building and DDR. Where he utilized the human resources approach in the focus on non-cognitive motivational and psychological dimensions. In his view, the former youth combatants have the potential to contribute to the general development of their communities and county as a whole. With good and effective implementation of the DDR programme, the former youth combatants can contribute positively to the production system that can certainly contribute to the economic development (Colletta, 1996). In some of the wars affected countries likes Ethiopia and Eritrea, the former youth combatants were relatively better educated than the general population. (Bruchhaus & Mehreteab, 2000; Ayelaw & Dercon, 2000). This good outcome was as a result of good implementation and effectively management of the DDR programme. Particularly in the vocational training and micro-enterprise development programme for the former combatants as a part of peace building initiative. In other words, the DDR of the former youth combatants are forging a new social contract in which the parties involved in the process are bound to comply with and failure to fulfil this term is tantamount to the breaking of the contract and agreement. Once the former combatants agreed and surrender their weapons (means of survive) as their economy power and surety that weapons provide in exchange for opportunities and assistance in finding new peaceful livelihoods, it is imperative and obligation on the parties involved in the implementation of the DDR programme to ensure that the alternative sources of living are adequate provided and guaranteed. Therefore, failure to provide or make enough provision available for the former youth combatants remains one of the great factors responsible to the reoccurrence and relapse of the violent conflict in most of the countries that had experienced relapse in the conflict.

6.2 Staff Support and Training

A special training for pre-DDR programme for the military and the civilian staff is highly recommended as part of the basic requirements in the programme to achieve its goal. The training is paramount and important to the accomplishment of the set objectives and goals of the designed programme of DDR. The staff training remains a very crucial component of all aspect of the organizations including DDR particularly on how to handle and relate with the war affected people.

The professional social worker practitioners are highly recommended and encouraged to seek the knowledge on how to relate with youth combatants particularly on how to relate with those who just emerged from war ground with persuasion, words of encouragements as an instrument of unity and a source of happiness to them. In most cases, the attitudes and behaviours of some military personnel and social worker's in the rehabilitation centres is worrisome and unfriendly to those who just emerged from the war. These people require more friendly environment and caring-hand. They need special attention to make them feels save and happy. In other word, more often, they did not receive adequate attention instead they were treated like slave as contrary to the objective of the programme. In most cases, the social worker that supposed to give them the sense of accommodating are threatening them and deprived them their legitimate rights including starving them which is contrary to the objective of the programme.

The special training for the military personnel also require special attention on how to handle the war affected person which is very importance and crucial to achieve the set objective and goals of the programme. Lacking these basic requirements skills among the civilian staff and military forces in the DDR operation posed serious threats and challenges to accomplish the goal of the programme. In most cases, the transferring of aggression often occurs in the DDR programme, particularly from military to the former youth combatants. This has been a common attitude that always reflects in the

military behaviours and sometimes from social workers to the former youth combatants. These attitudes have forced some of the former combatants out of the programme unwillingly.

The good relationship between the former youth combatants and other staff of the DDR programme is highly recommended as a great tool to achieve the designed goal and objective of the DDR as a part of post-conflict building. Social workers and military forces in the programme have to treat the former youth combatants with respect, honour and dignity and without discrimination. This will give the former youth combatants a sense of belonging, feel secured, and save. With the aids of caring and good relationship with former youth combatants, the useful and reliable information could also be derived from them for the future and immediate need to achieve the set objective of the programme.

The personal experiences in DDR programme in Liberia Sierra-Leone can testified to this, in most cases, the transferring of aggression from military personal and social worker to the war affected people are obvious and common which is in contrary to the set objective of the programme. In view of this, the matured and experienced people are required in handle this aspect for the interest and success to the programme.

6.3 Creating Interim Care Centre

The former combatants required an environment that offered security and conducive serene for the demobilisation and demilitarization especially, the youth combatants. This initiative came into existence in Sierra Leone in 1993 in response to demobilization of children from SLA (Sierra Leone Army). The activities in the centre should be conducted by civilian and more importantly, the female social workers should allow handling these vital roles in the DDR programme. The Interim Care Centre should be a cooling place for the former combatants who just came out from the battlefield. This centre is responsible for the first medical aids to the former combatants including social and psychological assistance and advices. The centre is also responsible in engaging the former youth

combatant in discussion, particularly, their details and how to locate and trace their families. Moreover, the attractive game activities to the youth should be part of programme in this centre, the regular distribution and medical assistance including packages such as food items should be the priority in the centre without discrimination among the former youth combatants.

In the centre too, the interim care should have a programme to provide the youth with environmental structured that involved non-discriminatory practice that culturally appropriate and promote youth participation programme. This strategy would encourage the former youth combatants to know their rights and give them the opportunity and an avenue to promote their rights and responsibility in their community. Besides these, the youth combatants could also be used as part of peace education and child-rights campaign, which can be a method to lure their fellow youth combatants into the peace programme instead of continuing with their destructive activities.

6.4 Health Services

Health services centres in DDR programme should be considered as an important sector of the DDR process as part of peace building programme based on its roles with emotional support services and responsible to well-being of the staff and the former youth combatants. The health sector is responsible to the well-being of the staff and the former combatants particularly to the health challenges they faced. The effective services provided by the health sector is also responsible as an enhancement for the reintegrated of some of the former youth combatants. The health sector has vital and crucial roles in the caring services for the former combatants by providing good health services as a result of injuries sustained in the battle field and infected diseases including the Sexual Transmitted diseases (STD).

The DDR programme is responsible for both mental and physical reintegration and to see that all the former combatants were mentally and physically alright before joining and mingling up with other

members of the society. However, most of the health sectors in DDR programme have been under-equipped and facing several challenges such as under-funded and less-equipped including lack of trained staff, that has been associated with almost DDR programme. Most of the DDR sectors always in lacking enough medical staff and drugs this has been seen as the common challenges facing the programme. In most cases, the physiques, complexions and skin of the former combatants were at a pity condition through the habit of inhaling toxic substances and engagement in long period of fighting. Therefore, enough funding and well-equipped health care centre is highly recommended in the DDR programme as part of the peace building process.

6.5 Military and Security Sector

Most of the countries are willing to contribute to the world peace in various form and at different level. Many countries involve in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) to establish its relatively importance in the region or in the world at large. For instance, the involvement of Malaysia in UNPKO since 1960 has influenced and assisted Malaysia in building and consolidate its middlepowermanship aspiration and assisted Malaysia to be elected for four times in the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) (Salleh and Idris, 2016).

Military and Security sectors remain one of the important fundamental factors in the peace building programme, particularly in DDR programme. The success of the DDR programme lied on the effectiveness of this sector. The primary objective of creating functionally professional armed forces is to implements or to compel if need arise the parties in the conflict to obey the peace agreement and to provide security to the population (Barzoska, 2000:39). The role of security and armed forces in the peace operation cannot be under estimate based on the impacts and the immeasurable roles of the activities of the armed forces in the war affected areas. In addition, the success and the failure of the DDR programme depend on the effectiveness of the military and the security sector in the DDR

programme as part of post-conflict reconstruction. This sector plays a crucial roles and inevitable sector in the peacebuilding process. Furthermore, the weakness and problems within the security sector will reflect on the general performances and the attainment of the goal of the DDR programme. Based on the empirical experiences in the field as peacekeeper, the intra-conflict in the military and security sectors affects the general performances of the activities of peace building. This sector is a very sensitive and required special attention to achieve its goal within a stipulated time. The problems in the military and security sector including differences in payment of subsistence allowances from the organized body, duration of staying in the operation area, and unlawful relationship among the male and female in the sector and to civilian counterpart even to the war affected people. Failure to put all these irregularities into consideration they are capable to render the whole effort of the DDR into ineffectiveness and weak.

6.6 Conclusion

Chapter 6, unveils the basic requirements and the comprehensive structure of the DDR programme. The implementation of comprehensive structure of DDR accordingly is expected to yield positive and sustainable peace and prevented the reoccurrence and relapse of violent conflict because it involves the programme of development. The comprehensive DDR programme emphatically take-care and involves all the factors that may likely ignite the reoccurrence and relapse of violent conflict in any conflict area. The implementation and adoption of the comprehensive DDR programme will definitely achieve its objective and goal as part of post-conflict building. This will also serve as a model for any DDR programme to emulate in other to achieve the desire result.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary

The research has demonstrated that the conflict is an inevitable in every society irrespective of the system being practices. It is imperative to have effective internal management as institutions with capability and capacity to confront the challenges in the system. This research circumscribed the various views of the stakeholders in the Niger Delta conflict including community leaders, religion leaders, youth, government officials, the oil companies, and youth combatants, in which they narrated their various experiences in the conflict. Based on the findings, conflict was considered as the great obstacle to the development that affect both economy and social lives of the people of the region and the entire nation. The kidnapping of oil workers, vandalization of oil installations, communal conflicts, and piracy in the region can be attributed to the former youth combatants in the region. Moreover, the increasing rate of the heinous activities of the former youth combatants in the region have drastically reduces the output of the oil companies by several thousand barrels per day, that have affected negatively on the socio-economic activities of the nation.

The chronic and acute conflict in the region hampered the socio-economy and development of the region including high level of poverty that befalls on the majority of the people in the region. This largely attributed to the activities of the multi-national oil companies in the region as a result of constant increasing in the environmental degradation and pollution. In an attempt to return peace into the region, several strategies were applied, including the master plan approach and the establishment of several welfare bodies to consolidate the region economically and socially that includes the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), derivation formulae in term of compensation to the states and communities in the region according to the quantity of the oil extracted from the area and other laudably programme purposely, for the development of the

region. The multi-national oil companies in the region have also recognized the fact that maintaining peace is highly importance for their development and security,

Owing to this, the Federal Government of Nigeria implemented Amnesty programme to the youth combatants as a strategy to return peace and conducive atmosphere back to the region. The DDR programme remains an option and the acceptable mechanism by UNDP as part of the post-conflict strategy for the peace building programme. Despite the implementation of the Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta conflict in which the DDR remain the focus, the region still witnesses insecurity of lives and properties, kidnapping, and piracy. The region is regarded as unsafe region due to the activities of the youth combatants.

In an attempt to understand the factors responsible for the Niger Delta conflict, the Frustration-Aggression and Anomie theories provide foundation in addressing the social forces of Niger Delta conflict. The core contributing factors to the protracted conflict of the Niger Delta has to do with what they perceived as relatively deprivation, hatred, poverty, marginalization and total neglect by the multi-national oil companies from their social responsibility to the communities and Federal Government of Nigeria.

It is established that, the region of Niger Delta responsible for over ninety percent of Nigerian economy. The region is main oil producing in Nigeria that contributes greatly to its revenue. Despite the revenue contribution to the nation, the region is tag as least developed region in the country with high rate of poverty due to consequences of environmental pollution, deprivation and marginalization. Sequel to this, the people in the region are frustrated due to activities of the oil companies and neglected attitudes of the Federal Government of Nigeria, that instigated the aggression and outcome of this, is what has been being exhibiting by the youth combatants of Niger Delta. In the same vein, it is important to state categorically that not every youth of the region took up arms or involved in the violent conflict as youth combatants. The question remains, why only specific numbers of youths involved in the conflict and responsible for these heinous activities especially as youth combatants?

In an attempt to shed more light on the factor responsible for this activities of the youth combatants, Anomie theory is providing clear insight to understand source of the conflict in the region of Niger Delta. The Anomie theory emphasized that, the problem of weakened common morality and value among the people of the Niger Delta, in such a way that, the rules on how people ought to relate with each other are breaking down and the people do not know what to expect from one another and where norms (expectation on behaviours) are confused, unclear or not present and what it could be referred to as normlessness society. Moreover, the activities of the youth combatants could be categorized under this perspective as a cogent reason for their deviant behaviours. Following the new way of life and the rapid development in the region especially rural -urban scenario which people of the region are not prepared for, where everyone deserted their local communities in seeking for white collar job in the cities, has indicated as one of the influential factor that render the local institutions ineffective and weak. Therefore, the norms and value of the land no longer abide with and respected.

In line with, what may be regarded as a conventional view about the reintegration of former youth combatants, the Amnesty programme was introduced as a panacea solution and the indication of paradigm shift to the intractable conflict of the Niger Delta region. Amnesty programme was initiated by the Federal Government of Nigeria as a conflict management project in order to return peace to the region. Although, Amnesty programme succeeded to a certain degree, nevertheless, the programme still confronted with challenges. Despite several efforts and attempts being carried out to overcome some of these obstacles, but they are proven inadequate and ineffective to achieve the goal and objective yet violent conflict remains unabated in the region.

The major undertaking of this study is to unveil the institutions that are important to the Amnesty programme in order to achieve the positive peace. Unfortunately, the institutions that responsible to the reintegration of youth combatants are too weak to achieve the goal that is lasting and viable peace in the region. The research finding revealed that the weakness of institutions and the inadequate of

conceptualisation of reintegration undermined a series of efforts and intervention programme that were put in place to achieve the sustainable peace in the Niger Delta.

The DDR approach can be said as the gate-way to achieve sustainable development. The DDR has been proved viable by the UNDP as a mechanism to transfer the former combatants into the normal civilian live. In other words, the study's finding aligned with the reintegration measures suggested in the Operational Framework of UNDP. In light of the above, this work emphasized and revealed that in order to achieve the comprehensive goals and objective of the DDR, the existing institutions in the region should be studied and considered as a mechanism to achieve the reintegration of the youth combatants of Niger Delta part of Nigeria.

Scholar like Kelly (2004), subscribed to the assumption that the DDR remains the only strategy accepted by the international community as an initial step in returning peace into the war affected area, provided it is applied comprehensively as post conflict building strategy. This work was carried out in order to identify factors responsible for the failure of the Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta region.

In the course of identifying the challenges of the reintegration of the youth combatants in the Niger Delta conflict, the research finding revealed that the major root causes of the conflict in the Niger Delta were not addressed within the Amnesty operational framework. For instance, the most agitating issues among the people of the Niger Delta were environmental degradations, pollutions, resources control or royalties, lack of Corporate Social Responsibility from the multi-national companies to the communities in which they operate, and inadequate of social development from the Federal government to the region and poverty. The Amnesty concentrates and concerns only on how to transform the youth militants into normal civilian. However, the research finding revealed that most of the former youth combatants in Niger Delta have returned back to their former monstrous activities,

places and streets of Niger Delta in exhibiting their anti-social activities such kidnapping, burglary, piracy activity, stealing, bombing of oil installations and other ill-acts.

This research also revealed that the Federal Government of Nigeria is the only source of fund and sponsor of the Amnesty programme (DDR) of the Niger Delta. In view of this, there are evidences that the Federal Government had influenced and controlled the Amnesty programme of the Niger Delta. Apparently, the attitudes of the staff of the implementing agency are the major challenges to Amnesty programme. In other words, they see the efforts of the Federal Government as paying-back to the region. Consequently, they were flexible and compromised in the implementation of the Amnesty programme policy to the core, and they see the programme as an avenue to enrich themselves.

Another major finding in the study was the relationship among the staff of the Amnesty programme and the former youth combatants that also attributed to the ineffectiveness and the weakness of the Amnesty programme. It was revealed that, most of, if not all the staff of Amnesty are from the same region in which their relationship obviously and significantly affected the implementation and the effectiveness of the Amnesty programme. Apparently, all the staff of the Amnesty shared common orientation and belief. They shared the belief that, the Federal Government is paying back to them out of their resources getting from their region, in view of this, they found of mismanagement of the resources designed for the Amnesty programme.

An element of reintegration usually harped on the provision of education and skill acquisition programme for the former youth combatants, in which the operational framework of Amnesty is considered as viable approach toward the economic empowerment of former youth combatants. The research showed that, this was achieved with a sizeable number among the youth combatants. However, the study revealed that, these measures were under-achieved, considering the increasing numbers of youth combatants in the streets of Niger Delta based on personal interviews held with former youth combatants as stated in page 162. Moreover, the overseas courses designed for the

empowerment of the former youth combatants in supports of the reintegration of the youth combatants is far away from the achieving the objectives due to the time constraints and insufficient fund, coupled with the numbers of former youth combatants yet to benefit from the scheme. The study also revealed that those who benefited with foreign course are not actual youth combatants.

Another factor noticeable that contributed to weakness of the Amnesty programme is due to the social structural conditions under which youth combatants socialised in the environment in which norms and values are no longer relevant and strong. The rapid transformation from the rural – urban development and the contacts and interaction with other peoples of the world via social or mass media influenced and changed their ways of life that contributed to the neglected and weaken of the local institutions in the region that responsible for the weaken reintegration and ineffectiveness of the DDR programme.

The perception of the people of the Niger Delta toward the youth combatants remains a great concern, and challenge in the efforts to curb the protracted conflict in the region. Despite the anti-social activities attributed to the youth combatants with the consequences on the region and the entire nation, the people of the region still accords them honour and support. There were enough evidences and indication that most of the communities in the region were in support of the militancy activities of these youth combatants. In several occasions when youth combatants carried-out an attacks on oil installation, the communities' leaders will call government for negotiation on behalf of youth combatants. that is to say, that the community leaders in the region of Niger Delta are benefiting from the odious activities of the youth combatants.

7.1 Conclusion to the key Findings

This study considered that there are diverse groups in the region of Niger Delta recognized for protracted conflicts but the youth combatants remain a priority issues. Although, there are collusions,

both internal and external recognized factors that fuelling the conflict. It is quite evident that for the sake of peace and the development of the nation, all the necessary efforts must be put in places in order to achieve the panacea peace in the region of the Niger Delta.

In addressing these issues of conflict, it is imperative to attend to the issue of youth combatants as a major stakeholder in the conflict in the interest of security, development, and economy stability of the nation. The study circumscribed the series of efforts by the stakeholders in the conflict as a strategy to return peace in the region. The region of Niger Delta also witnesses series of development programmes such as construction of new roads, health centres, provision of electricity for the rural areas, scholarship schemes and employment opportunities for the indigenes of the region. These projects are part of the contributions to the development of the region as well as a strategy of conflict management by the oil companies. In light of all these contributions to the region as part of the conflict management efforts to mitigate the conflict, all these efforts and contributions still regarded as inadequate considering the level of poverty and other consequences through the activities of the oil companies and oil related companies in the region.

The conflicts in the Niger Delta region were attributed to several factors. Therefore, in the explanation of the causes of the conflict in the Niger delta region, the Frustration –Aggression Theory of Dollard (1931) and Anomies Theory of Emile Durkheim (1897) applied.

The origin of the Niger Delta conflict could be attributed to what Dollard refers to as the Frustration - Aggression among the people of the region due to the deprivation of what they regarded as their rights. The abject poverty and favouring of one group(s) at the expense of the others which is prevalent in the Niger Delta region despite the huge deposit of resources in the region that led to the frustration and aggression among the youth. Emile Durkheim also explains the causes of the deviant behaviour among the people of the particular society, due to the failures and weakness of the society to provide clear moral guidance to the people as occurred in the region of Niger Delta.

The Frustration-Aggression theory propounded by Dollard et al and Anomie Theory of Durkheim, Merton and others, these theories classified as social strain theories that assumed that non-conforming behaviour arises out of social circumstances in which individual or groups experience normative confusion or disturbance. Theories have been postulated to explain the dysfunctional and deviant behaviour of the youth combatants. Although, these theories adopted to explain root causes of the crisis and the factors instigated the violent conflict.

Another weakness of the Frustration-Aggression theory as noticed in this study is the notion that, most of the combatants involved in the violent conflict due to the frustrations they encountered that instigated the aggression that led them to involved in the violent conflict as combatant. Therefore, the study revealed that not all combatants involve in the violent conflict encountered frustration in one way or the other, some combatants involve in the violent conflict for the political and social reasons. For instance, in the Niger Delta region, most of the political elites lured and recruit mostly the former youth combatants into their party for political reasons such as threatening the political opponent including providing security for them, for these reasons, the youth who is not involved in any violent conflict pick interest in the services and voluntarily join the group of youth combatant in order to have such opportunity based on the honour and respect accord to these youth combatants. In other words, this is another avenue to have access to the surplus money through the services as a political thug render security services for the political elites in the region of the Niger Delta. In Liberia crisis also, many children were found in midst of child soldiers voluntarily without any antecedent of combatant, due to the respect people accorded to the child soldier based on the personal interview as a peacekeeper in Liberia, during Liberia Civil war as a peacekeeper.

Another contribution of this study to the knowledge is that, people assumed as propounded by the frustration-aggression theory that, the violent conflict may be adopted as the means to effect the changes by the perceived suppressed group as propounded by the theories, in other words, in some cases, the violent conflict did not effect the positive changes rather creating more damages as occurred

in the Niger Delta violent conflict. On the other hand, the theory still remains effective by applying other peaceful means to express their feeling. From this study, this theory still remains relevant and effective to achieve aims or objective provided it is not allowed to escalate into violent conflict by observing other peaceful means to express their anger and grievances in solving their problem such as dialogue, peaceful demonstration, negotiation, boycotting and others.

As in the context of Anomie Theory that, the weakness of the norms and values instigated deviant behaviour among the people, from this work perspective the study revealed that, the weakness of norms and values of specific society does not automatically lead to deviants behaviour among the people of that society. This work agreed and in support that the deviant attitudes among the people is self-desired, because despite the weakness of norms and value of specific society due to some factors, this study re-established that human consciousness still remains valid with an individual that dictates and distinguish between good and bad attitudes or behaviours. In addition, despite the weakness of institutions as an internal management mechanism, not all the members of that specific society will involve in deviant acts, while the deviants still remain unacceptable to the general member of that specific society. In view of this, the act of militancy as expressed by the youth combatants of Niger Delta still remains unacceptable to the generality of the people of Niger Delta region.

The research finding revealed that the weakness of institutions and the inadequate of conceptualisation of reintegration undermined a series of efforts and intervention programme put in place to achieve sustainable peace in the Niger Delta. The finding revealed that, as observed, multi factorial forces fuelling the crisis that include the abject poverty that befall on the people of the region, including environmental degradation and high number of unemployment rate as major causes of the violent conflict in Niger Delta region. In order to have effectively panacea peace and security back to the region, the economic empowerment of all the indigenes should be considered and implemented.

Although, stakeholders in the conflict have reached the conclusion in facilitating the rapid development of the region, however, most of those strategies may be considered weak and decisive

based on the finding, the major cause of the crisis is yet to address. In view of this, the environmental degradation issues should be a priority from the government of Nigeria by regulation and formulating the environmental law that will protect the region from further environmental pollution by the companies operating in the region.

The major undertaking of this study was to show the institutions that the Amnesty based on to achieve positive peace were too weak to achieve the desired goal that is the lasting and viable peace in the region of Niger Delta of Nigeria. It is apparent that, for the effectiveness and management of the conflicts, its lie in the addressing the interest of the majority people of that society. Thus, the failure of all these conflict management strategies in the Niger Delta conflict can be attributed to the lack of consensus due to the divergence in their opinion. This exuberated by the inability of the government and other stakeholders such as the multi-national oil companies to address the root causes of the conflict in the region. In this regard, the communities in the region must come together as a team with consensus in other to assist in providing lasting solution to the protracted conflict in the region.

The comprehensive reintegration programme always given priority to the provision for psycho-social support to traumatise ex-youth combatants through traditional cleansing and healing or deliverance from the fighting spirit that believed has affected the youth combatants. This study discovered that the former youth combatants were not organized to have religion's healing and cleansing. Therefore, the religious impacts of the reintegration process are not felts. The religious impact played positive roles in most of the war affected areas as a great instrument of unity and purification.

The intervention of international community, directly or indirectly, through an organized umbrella has been a novel strategy in ameliorating the global consequences of wars and maintaining international peace and security. The central objective of the DDR programme for the youth combatants is to create enabling environment as a post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building leading to sustainable growth and development. On the other hand, the Amnesty programme of the Niger Delta was left to the Nigerian government only as the only sponsor of the programme and the impact of the foreign

assistance was not there and the contribution of foreigner as expert was not felt in the programme. In most of the successfully DDR programme, the contribution of the both foreign and local initiatives always assists in achieving the goal and objective of the programme.

However, there are several challenges that confront or hinder the success of this great initiative. Many cease-fire and peace agreements in civil wars are initially unsuccessful and give most cases gives way to renewed, and often escalated into violence and war. Progress is often incremental, in some cases spanning decades. Many peace processes become interminable protracted lengthy and circular negotiations in which concessions are rare, and even if fragile agreements are reached, they stumble at the implementation phase. The goals and objective of peace building is to achieve the ultimate positive peace to the war affected nations and to protect them from the reoccurrence or relapse to the conflict by removing all likely causes of future violence conflict such as short of fund, inability to equip the former combatants with new skill and economic empowerment. In this the study, the finding has implicated the concept and practices of DDR as it affects the youth combatants in Niger Delta of Nigeria revealed the several challenges which border on inadequate conceptualization of the process of DDR on youth combatants. This study also shown that, the Amnesty initiative through the DDR is unsuccessful. This is going by the numbers of youths in the streets of Niger Delta and the number of former youth combatants involved in violence activities which indicate that the programme still faces some significant and critical challenges that leads to the assumption that something is wrong with the process of implementation the programme.

The study revealed that the conditions that can guarantees positive peace in Niger Delta crisis were not met. The Amnesty programme initiatives succeeded initially through a temporarily reduction in the crime rate and violence in the Niger Delta region. However, the Amnesty program failed to completely eradicate the crisis due to the inability to address the root causes of the conflict in the region. Therefore, in order to have positive peace in the region, the main root causes of the militancy need to be addressed. For instance, the Amnesty and the DDR programme only concentrate on how to

reintegrate the youth combatants into normal civilian for sustainable and security and crime-free environment by equipping them financially and skill acquisition. However, Amnesty and the DDR programme failed to take into consideration the interest of the whole region and the main causes of the crisis such as environmental degradation and pollution, resources control or royalties over their resources, the social responsibility of the multinational oil companies into the area in which they operate, and lastly, lack of the social infrastructure such as good roads, quality health centres, portable water, and standard school for the people of the region. Therefore, the provision of infrastructure, housing facilities and the basic need of the people also remains the key point in achieving lasting peace in the region.

Peace building is a multi-facet and multi-agency process and accompanied by a wide range of challenges by creating the secured environment and functional government and responding to the basic needs of war-affected people and the nation as a whole. It is imperative to understand the relationship between disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and peace building particularly, how it is importance to equip the former youth combatants with economic empowerment as one of the ultimate goals of peace building programme to enable them to be agents of development and contributes positively to the economic growth and social development of their environment rather than creating violence and damages to the communities.

The disarmament demobilization and reintegration of former combatants is one of the important strategies to secure an enabling environment by transferring the status of the former combatants to the productive civilian as one of the critical activities and goals of the peace building programme. Therefore, the effective and comprehensive implementation of DDR programme could lead to the permanent cessation of hostilities and promote the viability of long-term peace.

However, the inability to empowered the former youth combatants and the entire people of region economically will pose a serious of dangers and the security challenge to the DDR programme.

Economy empowerment (financial aids and skill acquisitions) remains a great ingredient of unification and sustainability of development in any environment. Most of the cases of relapse and reoccurrence of conflict after reintegration programme was basically due to the inability to empowered the former combatants economically and socially. This was due to, most of the people involved in the conflict as combatants are at the positions of economy disadvantage, due to their lack of financial power and inability to have access to the basic needs that made them vulnerable to conflict. In other words, failure to equipped and empowered former combatants financially and skill development programme poses serious security risk in both micro and macro levels. The micro and macro perspective to insecurity framework refers to personal violence, and theft, while macro insecurity may actually increase in the aftermath of an armed conflict for two basic reasons. Firstly, if the demobilized combatants are not placed into employment, or lack of income sources, this will increase their possibility to commit crimes. Secondly, the former combatants tend to be unskilled, except in the use of the weapons, which leads them to find themselves with comparative advantages in criminal activities. The macro insecurity may happen if the demobilization can be proof to be potential threats to post-war peace and stability, or if the former combatants are deprived of economic opportunities and socio-politically marginalized. In addition, demobilization can increase macro insecurity not only by reducing the capacity of a government to defend itself, but also because the former combatants can return to arms in their grievances and frustration if they continue to be neglected or their welfare provisions are not met, causing insecurity at national or even regional and global levels. For example, after the DDR programme in Liberia, virtually, all the sectors were affected with security threats by the activities of the former youth combatants ranging from burglary, stealing, raping and several anti-social activities. This is due to the failure to empowered the youth combatants financially and equipped them with tools and equipment to enable them practice the various skill acquired at vocational centres during the DDR programme. There it is obligatory to keep the former combatants at work in order to earn their living and be economically viable to themselves, their family, and their environment as a prerequisite to the security and sustainable peace building.

With the capacity of the former combatants they can also play a dynamic role in the development of new economic activities and creating more employment opportunities in their various communities. In some of the war affected countries like Ethiopia, Eritrea, the former combatants were relatively better educated than the general population. This good outcome was a result of good implementation and effective management of the DDR programme particularly, in the vocational training and micro-enterprise development programme for former combatants as a part of peace building initiative

In other words, the disarmament and demobilization of the former combatants are forging of a new social contract in which the parties involved in the programme are bound to comply with and fulfil the contents of the programme accordingly as stated in the operational framework of the programme. However, failure to execute the programme operational framework accordingly is tantamount to the breaking of the contract. In the context in which the former combatants agreed and surrendered their security, economy power, and surety that their weapons provide for them in an exchange for opportunities and assistance in finding new peaceful livelihoods. Therefore, it is imperative and obligation of the parties involved in the implementation of the DDR programme to ensure that alternative sources of living are adequately provided and guaranteed. Therefore, failure to achieve these factors remains great obstacle to the achievement of the objective and goal of the reintegration programme, which can also lead to the relapse to the violent conflict.

The reintegration programme requires long time and adequate fund to execute the project. In view of this, it is imperative to the states and local governments in Niger Delta to make substantive contributions towards the achievement of the Amnesty programme contrary to their views toward the projects as the federal government project only. With the contribution of the region, States, and a local government comprises the Niger Delta as a region will facilitate the rapid achievements in terms of peace, security, and enabling environment for the people of the region.

Moreover, it is also importance to consider the implications of domination of the Amnesty programme by only the indigenes of the region. Although, this study did not against the impact and the contributions of the local indigenes in the programme, but the contributions of the external bodies are highly required to complement the efforts of the local initiatives to accomplish the goals of the programme. Domination by the same people of the same tribe had very significant negative effects in the achieving the ultimate goals of the Amnesty because of the inter-relation among the staff and the target group (former-youth combatants). The ineffectiveness and weakness in the implementation of the Amnesty policy to the core contribute to the failure of the Amnesty programme policy as a result of close interaction among the staff and the former youth combatants. In view of this, the contributions of foreign bodies are highly required for the effectiveness of the programme.

7.2 Recommendations

This work emphasizes on the challenges that associates with the institutions that are responsible for the reintegration of youth combatants in Niger Delta conflict. The failure and underachieve of the DDR programme in the Niger Delta conflict of Nigeria considered and attributed to the direct outcome of the weakness and inability of the concerned institutions to live up to their responsibilities.

The approach and the solutions to the protracted conflict of the Niger Delta can be found within the importance of addressing the major root causes of the conflict in the region which can be attributed to the environmental degradation through the activities of the multinational oil companies in the region had negatively effects on the traditional agricultures and fishing as source of living for the local people of the region. The successfully reintegration of youth combatants should be based on these conceptions, first, the support and the assistance in the areas of social and economic needs and these should be regarded as the inevitable tools to returns the youth combatants into normal civilian life. It is obvious that the youth combatants are very strong in health, tactics and intelligence since they can survive the war. In other words, such ability and strength could be also used positively if the

opportunity were given to them. The major causes of most of the conflicts in Third World countries could be traced or emanated from the economic problems especially in most of the war affected countries in Africa. Therefore, the economic empowerment of the former combatants has strong indication and as the great tool for reintegration. Although, the youth combatants are badly affected by their environments and other factors, therefore, the comprehensive implementing of DDR component and full rehabilitation will be required in order to make all the youths in Niger Delta conflict adapt and fit perfectly into the society. Other assumption that may constitute a measure to actualizing these goals is by introducing and making a formal education compulsory and accessible to all the people of the Niger Delta region. At the same time, by providing comprehensive psychosocial support to the traumatized youth combatants which should be handled by well-trained social workers that can contribute positively and inculcate good characters to the former youth combatants under their custody.

Another crucial aspect of the programme that needs to be considered to achieve the desired output is to avoid the dominance of the programme by people of a particular tribe or section, for the effective performance and actualizing the desired goals and objective. Moreover, the traditional healing and cleansing ceremonies should also be given much attention and considered as one of the great tools of reintegration. This is important due to the roles and responsibility of culture and values on every community as instruments of unity and orderliness.

The Amnesty programme in the Niger Delta designed based on the Western ideology method and conventional approach and experiences. The approach is neither bad nor weak, but this study suggested that, the local initiatives and contribution of foreign body as an expert highly required and useful to assist the local people through their traditional methods and approach. Therefore, this study suggests the adaption of both conventional and local initiatives which could be more effective in dealing with such Amnesty programme among the local people of Niger Delta.

This study shows, the assumption that only youth combatants needed to be reintegrated into normal civilian life in order to achieve positive peace in the Niger Delta is inaccurate. The research finding revealed that, in considering the implication of poverty on the people of Niger Delta, reintegration of youth combatants alone could not establish positive peace in the Niger Delta without considering other families of the youth combatants too. Moreover, when only the families of the youth combatants were considered in the empowerment programme, what could be the hope and benefit of the other families whom their family members were not involved in a conflict as a combatant? Therefore, poverty alleviation programme need to be introduced to the general public in the region of Niger Delta.

The contribution of the Federal Government of Nigeria to the Amnesty programme of Niger Delta of Nigeria as the only sponsor of the project without support of local, State Governments, NGOs and International Organizations gives room to total control and full fledge of the Federal Government alone to make decision over the programme, apart from the fact that the implementation of reintegration has considered local participation. Therefore, the contribution of external body such as UNDP, UNICEF, and (AU) is highly required for effectively management of the programme. Thus, whatever input emanate from the local people is limited by the power relations between officials and the Federal Government.

The attitudes of the youth combatants who have acquired and graduated from skill acquisition centres in the peace building process is contrast to the assumption of reintegration on the basis that, with new skill acquired, it will give them an opportunity to be a productive rather than destructive element to the members of the public. The general assumption was the idle hand is the home of devil, that is to say that majority of the participants that involved in the war are idle and jobless due to the lack of employment and means as a source for living. From the findings, many youth combatants who have graduated from various skill acquisition centres have gone back to their former action and took up the arms and perpetrates the acts. The finding calls into reckoning the underlying condition in which intervention measure are implemented. There are several reasons suggested that responsible for such

actions. In the first instance, the period for the skill acquisitions is very short to achieve the desired goals. Thus, It also recommended that long period of time for acquiring new skill is required to be effective in any new skill choose.

The provisions of formal quality education to the youth combatants also constitute a challenge. Based on the finding, apart from the facts that, being a selective, especially those who sent abroad for higher education were not really youth combatants. The fact was, most of the youth combatants were hardly had primary and secondary education, therefore to make the youth combatants benefit from the education scheme of the programme, the implementation agency should include both primary and secondary education in their programme as a provision for uneducated youth combatants. They should be given an opportunity to acquire quality education that can guarantee their sustainability for the reintegration purpose. Therefore, there is need for the allocation of more funds into education sector in order to achieve its objective and goal as a tool of peace building.

Finally, in most parts of the world and according to the United Nations protocol, the military has remains the great instrument of the peace building as a major player. The military as a stakeholder in peace building process. However, the effectiveness of the military determines the general outcome of the programme and the weakness in the military as peacekeepers in war affected area, in most cases has a tendency to contribute to the failure of the reintegration programme and in other words, the good and effectiveness of the military also facilitate the accomplishment of the tasks within the targeted period.

Based on the personal experiences of the researcher who had participated in several wars as a peacekeeper locally, regional, and under United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPO) it is pertinent to state some of the factors that responsible and contributes to the weakness and poor performances of the military and social workers in the field including the Amnesty programme.

Firstly, the issues of differences in payment of operation allowances by the organized body to the peacekeepers in the peacekeeping operation. Despite the organized body offer similar services to all participants as a military contingent. All the peacekeepers in peacekeeping operation, earn different allowances despite the organized body paying all the participating countries equally and each country paying its troops as its wishes. The different in payment of allowances has been a source of conflict among the military in the operations despite they were performed similar task. It has been the system, when any country earmarked as peacekeeper in specific operation whether under regional organization or International Community such as United Nations Peacekeeping Operation, there is always a briefing from the organized body as routine to address and brief the participants (peacekeepers) on do and don't (Rules of Engagement) and what it is expected of them in the operation. In the briefing, the specific amount expected to be paying to the troops will be announced to the hearing of the participants. At this point, it is regrettable that some countries paying less than 10 per cent what they supposed and expected to have paid to their troops despite the risk involve. And it is vary by the countries. Moreover, the top military officers in operation also involve in this irregularity by short-paying the troops under them. This action has negative and psychological effects on the troops, which affects the general performances of the troops and also reflects on relationship among the troops in the operation field.

Secondly, the time and duration for peacekeepers in operation area also need to be adjusted and monitored by organized body to assist the troops to perform their duties effectively and positively. Over-staying more than necessary period of time in the operation ground has been causing a lot of havoc in the operation area. The problems associated with over-staying of participants in the operation areas are enormous which affects the general performances of the troops. For example, the over-staying of the particular troops leads to the familiarity with enemy or opposition groups in the operation areas. The more the difficult in the operational strategy sometimes, may be the outcome of

familiarity of the troops with local people due to likely linkages of the operation strategy and information from the troop to the local friends.

Moreover, keeping troops for long period of time in the operation ground has been identified as a major cause of indecency and illegal relationship among the male and female troops and the war affected people. This forceful relationship between the troops on the operation ground is alarming, in most cases between the superior officers to junior female troops in the operation ground and not limited within military even it extends to the civilian they assumed to be protected. This attitude has cause many damages rather than peace to the war affected people.

Thirdly, in the course of over-staying in the operation ground as a peacekeeper, many troops have indicted in involvement in illegal duties by involving in some assignment out of their primary and legal responsibility for their personal gain in the operation areas. It is regrettable to see some peacekeepers involving and aiding looting as a result of the over-staying in the conflict areas, which has been a stain and led to the bad image to the organized body as aider of these irregularities.

Fourthly, the attitudes of most social workers in the operation areas need to be re-accessed and needs more attention. As contributory and stakeholders in the strategy to achieve sustainable peace, and reintegration of former combatants, the attitudes and approaches of some of the social workers contradicted to their main task as services to humanity especially, in their relationship and interaction with the former combatants. Based on the empirical experience of the researcher, two factors have been identified and responsible for these behaviour, firstly, most of these social workers did not have required training to deal with war affected people like youth combatants and secondly, according to the finding, there is always a delay in the payment of the staff allowances.

Moreover, most of the attitudes of the social worker are worrisome and challenging, as most of the practitioners see the work as an opportunity to make money which is contradicting to the ethics of the profession and programme against what it known for as a services to the humanity. In line with these

attitudes, one can conclude that, most of them are not possesses the qualities of the profession, they are only after the money and packages, not after the services to the humanity.

7.3 Recommendation for Further Study

Based on the persisted violent conflict in the region of Niger Delta part of Nigeria and following the scant literatures that deal with the culture of the people of the Niger Delta as a prerequisite to understand the causes, and proffer lasting solution to the crisis. Therefore, there is need for additional research work that concentrates mainly on the cultures and people of the Niger Delta region.

Another recommendation for the further study on the Niger Delta should best be conducted at peace period, unlike this study that carried-out when conflict still on that prevented the using of any form of media recording and other challenges.

Finally, for the success of any research work, it required adequate fund as a prime determinant and as a key factor of any research study. Enough fund is highly recommended to carry out any successfully study because of its potential impact.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Glossary

Abject poverty: *Is the state of lacking basic needs such as adequate food, shelter and clothing and inadequate health facilities services, characterized by unemployment, high rate of infant mortality, low-life expectancy and inability to have access to quality education.*

Amnesty initiatives: *Is the policy in the form of legislative or executive clemency where the criminals and unlawful action are pardoned officially. Amnesty always granted with conditions.*

Armed conflict: *This term become used when there is fighting among various parties, which has resulted to the death of at least 25 persons per year. The armed conflict as concept could be categorized into, minor, intermediate, armed conflict and war. The armed conflict could be classified as a minor when the number of death in battle related conflict is less than 1,000, while the armed conflict could be classified to as an intermediate in situation where the death of the person affected with battle related conflict is over 1,000 and situation could be described as a war when the death caused by the conflict is over 1,000 within a year.*

Burglary: *Act of breaking into someone's house and steals the properties.*

Community: *This refer to a group of people living together in the same location, share common belief, tradition, culture, norms and same behaviour and mostly share common aspiration.*

Colonialism: *Act of controlling, governing over a dependent nation*

Community development: *An effort in which the people of community joints together to improve their environment structure, economy and social lives through the individual efforts or the support from the Government Organization or Non-Government Organization.*

Community participation: *An approach that provides individuals an opportunity to contribute their skills, talents, and input towards development projects at the local community levels.*

Corporate colonialism: *The short-term exploitation of people and the earth by the multinational oil corporations for the sole purpose of making profits for the few*

Corporate Social Responsibility: *The commitment of the multinational corporations to put some of their gains to the communities where they operate.*

Deprivation: *Condition of being less advantages or inability to have access to basic human needs while other group at the advantages.*

Development: *A state of experiencing positive changing and where the end product results in the improvement of humanity.*

Empowerment: A state in which resources is given to an individual or group to manage for their living and their personal development to both economy and social well-being.

Environmental insecurity: When the population feels that environment have been polluted with devastation substances that is not good for human consumption with effects on the fishing, water and farmlands and threatens its livelihood and environment, it feels insecure.

Former combatant: are simply referred to as the ex-combatant or ex-soldier who had taken part in conflict as an army who latter disarmed and demobilized figure from the formal government army, militia, and paramilitary groups and others that associated with fighting group. It could be an adult, young people and children.

Hegemony: Domination or influencing of one nation over others

Kidnapping: The act of taking person unaware and keeps in private custody and requests for money for releasing in return.

Militancy: This is acts of exhibiting tumultuous, violence and turbulence.

Niger Delta region: The area comprising the oil producing communities of the southern part of Nigeria.

Rehabilitation: This is the act of re-shaping or empowered someone socially and economically.

Resources control: The state of control or have full responsibility over their own natural resources.

Disarmament: Disarmament signified and consists of the collection of arms and ammunition, control and disposal of small arms, ammunitions, including explosive and light/heavy weapons from the former combatants and civilian.

Demobilisation: This is the stage when the former combatant discharge from the active combatant roles or from the armed groups. The procedure of demobilization includes flowing through temporary Centre's, to the massing of troops together in camps designated for the purpose, including the registration and disarmament.

Peacebuilding: The activities undertaken to establish peace and prevent the relapse of the conflict. Peace building may involve, economic revitalization, political process, provision of basic needs and others for war affected people.

Peacemaking: Actions involves in bringing the parties in the conflict into agreement through the peaceful means or to the dialogue in which differences are settle and reconcile peacefully. Peace-making process involves, Negotiation, Mediation, arbitration and International law.

Post-conflict: This is a period when the open warfare ends, but not dictate totally end of the war or positive peace.

Pirate: The acts of stealing and robbery on the sea/ water.

Sustainable Development: This concept refers to efforts at improving the ecological and the socio-economic status for improving the quality of human life

Social Movement: An organized activity planned to discourage or encourage some form of social change. This activity may resist or promote change in the society.

Resistance: A collective action directed at preventing further environmental deprivation, expropriation, and alienation.

Reintegration: This is referred to as a process whereby the former combatants acquired civilian status from the combatant, have access to the civilian form and both economic and social status, and be relevant in the community in both socially and economically with an open time frame. It is also a part of the general development of the country and represents a national responsibility, possibly necessitating outside help).

Robbery: The concept applied when someone is attacked with the gun and his/her belonging snatch-away.

Institutional challenges: These are the constraints that implementing agencies and social organizations encountered and which limited their performance and effectiveness in the amnesty program.

Imperialism: Is the policy to extend the rule or authority over foreign countries.

Vandalization: Act of destroying and steal the already installed structures.

Youth combatant: The youth who participates in the armed conflict in any capacity, and those accompanying such groups, including girls recruited as cooker, sexual purposes and force labour. In addition, when war ends, they are generally qualified as former youth combatants or ex-youth soldiers. Moreover, the concepts are used interchangeably.

Appendix II

The Institutional Ineffectiveness in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Youth Combatants in Niger-Delta Part of Nigeria

INTRODUCTION:

Dear Respondent,

The questionnaire you are about to respond to is meant to elicit your views on the Amnesty programme on the Niger-Delta youth combatants as the process of the reintegration. Your responses form part of a data for a Ph.D research work at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University Malaysia Sarawak, Malaysia.

This study aims to evaluate the entire process of Amnesty programme especially for the youth combatants of Niger Delta militants. You are therefore, implore to answer the questions in a manner that reflect your opinion on the question.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated. Thank you.

Section A

A1. Gender:

- i Male
- ii Female

A2. Age

- i. (0 - 9)
- ii. (10 – 14)
- iii. (15 – 20)
- iv. (21 and above)

A3. Where did you grow up

A4. Where were you resident before the conflict?

- a. Interior
- b. City
- c. Others (Please specify)

A5. What was your level of education before the crisis?

- a. Primary
- b. Secondary
- c. Technical Training School
- d. Higher institution
- e. None

A6. What year did you join the militia group?

- a. a year old
- b. two years ago
- c. above

A7. How old are you then?

- a. 10 – 12 years
- b. 13 – 15 years
- c. 16 - 17 years
- d. 18 years an above

A8. What was your source of living then?

- a. Office's work
- b. Artisian
- c. Not working
- d. Others (Please specify)

A9. What is your source of living now?

- a. Office's work
- b. Artisian

- c. Not working
- d Others (Please specify)

A10. What was your family income background before the conflict?

- a. Low Income (\$400 – \$800) per annual
- b. Middle income (\$800 – \$1200) per annual
- c. High Income (\$1200 - \$3000) per annual

A11. Why did you join the militia group?

- a. Self interest
- b. Community Interest
- c. Opportunity in the conflict

A12. How did you join the armed group?

- a. Force
- b. Voluntarily

If you choose b, please give reason(s)

.....

.....

.....

A13. Did you have a special rank or tittle in the militia group?

- a. Yes If Yes, what rank?
- b. No

Section B

B1. Did you go through DDR programme?

Yes -----

NO -----

B2. What are you doing presently?

a. Schooling (Please circle your level)

i. Primary

ii. Secondary

iii. Technical School

iv. University

v. completed school

b. Trained for a particular skill or craft? (Please specify)

.....

B3. Are you employed now?

a. Yes

b. No

B4. If yes, What kind of employment are you in?

a. Government employment

b. Company employment

c. Self employed

d. Artisan

B5. If No, why are you unemployed?

a. Looking for job

b. Scarcity of job

c. Others Please specify

B6. How would you rate the Amnesty programme for ex-youth combatants?

a. Excellent

b. Good

c. Fair

d. Worse

e. others

B7. What is your assessment of on-going Amnesty programme?

a. Excellent

b. Good

c. Fair

d. Worse

e. Others

B8. What area in the Amnesty programme do you think needs more attention?

a. Social-economic empowerment

b. Psycho-social/trauma healing

c. Community and family empowerment

d. Traditional healing

e. Advocacy

B9. What would you consider the main challenges of Amnesty Programme for youth combatants?

.....
.....
.....

B10. Have you received any training that would enable you for self-employed?

a. Yes

b. No

B11. If Yes, What type of training?

.....
.....
.....

B12. Has it been satisfactory? Yes No

B13. If No, What are the factor(s) contributed to it?

.....
.....
.....

.
B14. Where have you been living since the commencement of the Amnesty programme?

- a. On my own
- b. With friends
- c. With family member
- d. Others

B15. Is any member of your family and community aware of your present state?

- a. Yes
- b. No

B16. What are their attitudes from your family?

- a. Support
- b. Not support

B17. Do you think there is transparency in the Amnesty programme?

- a. Yes No.

If yes, in what way?

.....
.....

B18. With these various reintegration programme by the Amnesty Office, do you think all these conflicts will ever end?

- a. Yes No

B19. If No, What are the factors

.....
.....

B20. What are your suggestions to achieve this objective?

.....
.....

Appendix III

Biographical Information

The researcher of this work is an ex-military man in Nigerian Army, who served the Nigeiran Army for about Fifteen years. During his emeritus service to his father's land, he took part in several wars as a peacekeeper both in Nigeria and in Foreign land. He Participated in Dafur Crisis, present South-Sudan, Liberia Civil war, Sierra Leone crisis and in several crisis within the Nigeria as a soldier.

Sequel to the consequences and the outcome of the violent conflicts on the individual, group and society at large, is assuming that no amount of sacrifices enough to prevent this enemy of humanity in terms of damages and destruction. It is regrettable to see the structures that had built for years thwarted within a short period due to the consequences of the conflict. In most cases, the vacuum created by these phenomena is irreparable. The saddened aspect of it, is that, the provisions that should have been used for the development, socio and economic upliftment will now be channel to the compensation, and the reconstruction of the damaged structures. If the structures rebuild, what of the lives that is lost?

In light of the above, it's now accepted as a responsibility to propagate the world of peace and avoid violent conflict.

Peace must be reigned!!! Let us live in Peace!!! and Let us support peace!!!

Thank you all.

Ayandeji Lateef Akanbi.

Appendix IV

The Niger Delta Militants Pictures



