



Conflict and Insecurity in Nigeria: A Geo-Political Inherited Problem

Rufus Aisedion

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma Edo State-Nigeria.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 18 October 2021;

Received in revised form:

26 November 2021;

Accepted: 6 December 2021;

Keywords

Conflict,
Free Movement,
Geo-political Location,
Insecurity,
Security Agencies.

ABSTRACT

Over the years, Nigeria has increasingly faced enormous apprehension arising from conflict and insecurity from Nigeria's contiguous countries individuated by armed bandits and armed herders, who take advantage of our porous borders to perpetrate monstrous crimes with negative impact on our internal security. In the study, some fundamental objectives stated: To examine the nature of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria, the role of ECOWAS protocol on free movement in west Africa in the conflict and the role of the Nigerian security apparatus in the incidents of cross border crimes and increase conflict and insecurity in *Nigeria*. In this paper, we used qualitative materials with the application of historical analysis. The findings revealed Nigeria inherited conflict and insecurity from its geo-political location with northern contiguous neighbours. Besides the porous border, the religious and cultural affinity of people across the border are playing a significant role in aiding armed bandits, armed herders, religious fanatics and Boko Haram insurgency who recklessly infiltrate and criss-cross into and out of Nigeria to unleash wanton destruction of lives and property. More worrisome is the spate of killings and kidnappings taking place all over Nigeria. It was also revealed that the free movement of illegal aliens across the border has resulted in a proliferation of small arms and light weapons paraded by herdsmen as they graze their cattle. The paper recommended that *Nigeria* should exploit the positive aspects of its diversity to enhance national integration, to ward off illegal aliens, there should be collaborative security effort and a holistic water-proof surveillance among by security operatives along the borders of both countries to checkmate the nefarious activities of legal and illegal aliens crossing the borders at will to commit violent crimes in Nigeria, the ambiguous role of ECOWAS protocol on free movement in west Africa should be reviewed to limit the movement of miscreants across borders amongst others.

© 2021 Elixir All rights reserved.

1.0 Introduction

The geo-political situation surrounding a country could translate either to its strength or vulnerability. Put differently, it is the most stable factor upon which the security or insecurity of a nation depends. For instance, the separation of the United States of America from other continents of Europe and Asia by wide expanses of water is a fundamental factor of permanent strength and importance that determines the position of the United States today in the world (Morganthau, 2012: 127). Similarly, the separation of Great Britain from the European continent by body of water in the northwest of France and between the North Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea which is the English Channel in Western Europe made her a great maritime power with global influence (Amanda, 2019:1).

The issue discussed above shows that the United States and Britain have no direct land borders with their immediate neighbours through which they can migrate easily to infiltrate into America and Britain. From the above observations, Nigeria has international land and coastal borders of about 3,650 km while the land border stretches to about 710km along the west to about 1400km along the North and about 1,680km along the east, while the Coastal belt is about 860km long. The eastern border includes a marine border with Chad of about 98km. However, some parts of the eastern and north-

eastern borders with Cameroun and Chad respectively were not effectively demarcated and have remained fundamental issues of contention between Nigeria and her neighbouring countries (Imobighe, 2003:35). On this note, the geographical location of northern parts of Nigeria bordering Cameroon, Chad and Niger have largely become a source of unending internal tension, conflict and insecurity in Nigeria.

The assertion predicates on geographical conditions, which are more of a vast mass of deserts and forests that have made the border porous for immediate and potential conflict and insecurity. The conflict also and partly emanates from the limitations inherent in the Economic Community of West Africa Protocol on free Movement and the role of security agencies. From the foregoing, the paper looks at conflict and insecurity inherited by Nigeria through its geo-political location along with its contiguous Franco-phone countries, the role of ECOWAS protocol on free movement in west Africa on the conflict and the role of the Nigerian security apparatus on the incidents of cross border crimes and increase conflict and insecurity in Nigeria. For all intents and purposes, the paper tenaciously used qualitative materials related to the subject and analyzed historically for a robust and comprehensive discussion. The reason for using qualitative materials is to fill a gap identified in the literature

and also to serve as a beckon for contribution to existing body of knowledge.

Previous Researches

1.1 Concepts of Conflict and Insecurity in Nigeria

The concepts of conflict and insecurity overlap each other on two sides of the same spectrum. The reason is that neither conflict nor insecurity leads to a comfort zone and even peaceful development. Conflicts usually occur between groups of people who are pursuing incommensurable interest and could be ethnic, nations, religious, demographic, cultural, political, economic, natural resources, farmland and rivers. Conflict refers to a state of incompatibility whereby the accomplishment of a goal can materialise only at the expense of some other values. This implied that conflict has to do with hostility, disagreement, fighting, disorganized situations; civil disturbances among others. From the foregoing, Muhabie (2015:29) sees conflict as a fierce opposition between people with contrary opinions or principles. This means whenever two or more parties perceive their interests as incompatible, they express hostile attitudes, through actions that damage the other parties. These parties may be individuals, small or large groups, and countries. Furthermore, conflict can emerge over resources—territory, power, and how control and participation in political decision-making take place.

Bujra (2002:132) in looking at the various forms of conflict in Africa describes conflict “as a violent and armed confrontation and struggle between groups, between the state and one or more groups, and between two or more states. In such confrontations and struggles, some parties to the conflict may be injured or killed. In his further assertion, he concludes that there are five major causes of conflict which include: structural, political, economic, social and cultural perspective factors. However, conflict can be regarded as a sharp incompatible and contrasts claims to resources between countries, struggle over resources by non-state actors (herdsmen and farmers) and religious differences. These types of conflicts are frictions at the wheel of progress, peace and harmony in Nigeria and her contiguous neighbours.

Furthermore, Insecurity connotes different meanings such as: absence of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety. According to Olabanji and Urhie (2014:43) see insecurity as a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. They further dissected insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. Therefore, insecurity poses a situation of vulnerability, threats, dangers, state of apprehension, tension and uncertainty. On account of the above, Nigeria looking at the prevalent security threats can be likened to a state of nature where, according to Thomas Hobbes, life was solitary, nasty, brutish and short (Igbokwu and Orhero, 2014:72). The reason is that, killers herdsmen, terrorist groups and transnational criminal organizations continue to illegally cross porous land borders to traffic small arms and light weapons (SALW), ammunition and explosives, drugs, contraband, other illicit goods, and human beings, as well as deploy terrorist operatives to conduct attacks. Such activities undermine States’ efforts at combating criminal networks. To this end, it is clear a lot has been discussed about conflict and insecurity in Nigeria by different authorities. However, no

comprehensive discussion has been made by any of the authorities linking conflict and insecurity in Nigeria to her geo-political location upon which independent variables thrive and undermined the security conditions in Nigeria. It is on this premise; the study contributes to existing body of knowledge.

1.2 Nature and Causes of Conflict and Insecurity in Nigeria

In Nigeria, there is the problem of heterogeneity which refers to as people made up of diverse political, social and cultural backgrounds. This diversity represents a negative indicator upon which external intruders thrive to render the country vulnerable by infiltration. Furthermore, during the colonial period there was no deliberate effort to wield the various ethnic nationalities together into a unified nation. So Nigeria at independence came with these ethnic and national identities and interests rigidly entrenched in the country (Imobighe, 2012:2). In the same vein, the creation of borders by the colonial masters without clear cut demarcation has generated conflict between Nigeria and her contiguous neighbours. The above situations in Nigeria create the potentials and susceptibility for external monsters to thrive and perpetrate their crimes. The impunity with which armed bandits operate in Nigeria through our borders without self-control is a proof that the colonial masters did not take into considerations the cultural and religious knit of people and their differences before the balkanization of Africa into separate entities. For this reason, legal and illegal aliens can cross the porous borders on the pretence to identify with their kiths and kin in Nigeria. On this note, aliens of questionable character can move in and out of Nigeria with illegal arms to cause mayhem and insecurity. Also Nigeria’s relationship with immediate neighbouring countries like Cameroon, Chad, Republic of Benin, Equatorial Guinea and the Niger Republic are sometimes sweet and bitter. These countries are historically French colonial territories hence, their political, cultural, military and economic affinities with France with the exception of Equatorial Guinea (which is a former Portuguese territory. These varying background accounts, for the series of crises experienced in the sub region over exploitation of Nigeria’s natural and economic resources and the encroachment on her territorial frontiers as a result of Nigeria’s geographical location.

According to Ubwa, Jacob and Ohianil (2018:132) a country’s problem is equally posed by structural factors. Such structural factors include existence of a collapsing or weak state or polity where the state machinery is weak and the political stakeholders are unable to establish stable governance machinery. There are several factors responsible for conflicts in West Africa. Prominent among these are historical factors, economic, cultural, political, disrespect or lack of the Rule of Law, etc. Every conflict has specific context, history and background. The parties and the issues are emerging from somewhere and from given historical, cultural, political, economic and social contexts, sometimes peoples’ history, culture and values come into sharp conflict with those of others.

Thus, Muhabie (2015:29) explained this phenomenon to be influenced by vital interests and contested resources zones-territories and boundaries, especially in Africa. The porous frontiers of the country, where individual movements are largely untracked have contributed to the level of insecurity in Nigeria. Because of the porous borders, there is an unchecked inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the

country which has aided kidnapping and other forms of criminalities in Nigeria. They further emphasized that data shows Nigeria has over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa. The porosity of the Nigerian border has aided uncontrollable influx of migrants, mainly young men, from neighbouring countries such as the Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin responsible for some criminal acts. However, the failure of leadership to deliver good governance and secure the welfare of people on the principles of freedom, equality, and justice, making it possible for the disenfranchised citizens to be influenced by unscrupulous elements infiltrating the country. The inherited insecurity in Nigeria has retarded socio-economic development in Nigeria in various ways. These include: social dislocation and population displacement, hostility between “indigenes” and “settlers” dislocation and disruption of family and communal life, general atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and anger, dehumanization of women, children, and men, especially in areas where rape, child abuse and kidnapping (Olabanji and Urhie, 2014:50-59).

In the same vein, Igbokwu and Orhero (2014:71) observed that the state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, or can be linked to government failure. While this assertion is true, there is no doubt, however, that the failure of government to provide adequate security needed to run a democratic government as with Nigeria is tied with the inability and incapacity of the federal government to resolve and address the unresolved national question which has preeminently given rise to the serious security problem bedeviling this country. Armed banditry has recently become a major internal security concern in Nigeria, with the country’s northern region as the most affected. Reports of bandits with automatic weapons storming herders’ settlements and farms with the mission of killing people and raiding cows.

According to Ahmadu Suleiman, convener of the Kaduna State chapter of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, between October 2013 and March 2014 approximately 7,000 cattle rustled from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria. In most cases, the rustlers kill and maim their herders and rape the women before dispossessing them of their cows. Virtually all the states in the northern region of Nigeria have been affected by cattle rustling. In Plateau State, cattle-rustling activities are prevalent in eight (Mangu, Bokkos, Barkin Ladi, Shendam, Jos South, Riyom, Langtang North, and Langtang South) out of the 17 local government areas. Furthermore, they reported that several villages in the areas lying between the four northern states of Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara, and Niger have been under siege from cattle rustlers who freely unleash terror on hapless herders and cow farmers. We shall discuss the paper in five thematic headings. These are: Nigeria’s relation with her neighbours, armed banditry and armed herders, Maitatsine and Boko Haram insurgencies, the Ecowas Protocol on free movement in west Africa and the role of the Nigerian security apparatus on the incidents of cross border crimes and increase conflict and insecurity (Olaniyan and Yahaya, 2016: 93-94).

1.3 Nigeria Relation with Her Neighbour

The geo-political location of Nigeria brought her with incompatible immediate neighbouring countries like Cameroon, Chad, Republic of Benin, and the Niger Republic. These countries like Nigeria are colonial creation. Nigeria is an English-speaking country (British), while her other

northern neighbours are historically French colonial territories. The different backgrounds specifically rigid French colonial territories to political, cultural, military and economic affinities with France (Igbe, 2018:3). The nature of Nigeria’s conflicting and different historical experiences and affiliations from her contiguous neighbours accounted for the series of crises experienced in the past years. Against this background and aggressive nature of neighbouring countries, they had over the years engaged in unprecedented land disputes with Nigeria. For instance, the killing of five Nigerian soldiers who were on routine border patrol by Cameroonian gendarmes in 1981. This is an evidence to what Lukong (2011:1) observed that border conflict almost boiled over to a full-scale war in May 1981 when there was the exchange of fire between Cameroonian and Nigerian coast guards and inland in February 1994 when Nigeria marched her troops into Cameroon’s Bakassi Peninsula.

There was also border conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria in Lake Chad, around the Darak Island. From all indications, Lake Chad from the early 1980s has been an object of conflict between the countries sharing its resources, namely Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria and Chad. The Lake Chad area is so valuable that Nigeria and Chad fought a series of border skirmishes in the 1970s over control of the Basin. There is still vagueness over ownership of a number of islands in Lake Chad manifested into local communal conflicts between Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon over control of the ecological basin (Hilary, 2015:1). From the analysis, the geo-political location of Nigeria has been a source of conflict and has equally made it possible for unrestricted and unregulated movements of legal and illegal aliens’ criss-crossing national borders, particularly the activities of armed herders, insurgents, religious fanaticisms and armed bandits which have largely undermined the security condition of Nigeria.

1.4 Armed Banditry and Armed Herders

Banditry is one of the increasingly violent threats to Nigeria’s security. Banditry according to Chukwuma (2019:1) has to do with cattle rustling, armed robbery and kidnapping for ransom. This is the act of carrying armed by a person having a dangerous weapon and threatens his victims with bodily harm. He also viewed kidnapping as a crime where the victim is forced under threat of inflicting bodily harm to trek or transported for a long distance with the aim of keeping the victim or victims in captivity in a secluded place or location for the purpose of collecting ransom or committing felony as the case may be. The perpetrators of these heinous crimes are predominantly herdsmen who have taken occupation of thick forests to form camps in different states to perpetrate their nefarious and lucrative crimes. The daily evil of kidnapping, rapping, gruesome murder and wanton killings, are horrendous by gradually turning Nigeria to Armageddon and the state of nature. The porous and un-demarcated borders and the inter-dependency of their kiths and kin across borders explicitly give the flexibility to infiltrate into the country with deadly arms. The nature of Nigeria’s position with her contiguous neighbours, porous nature of the borders and the culture of free movement of herdsmen across the borders with easy accessibility and pervasiveness of illegal firearms everywhere in Nigeria have become a cause for concern. The impunity with which they proliferate weapons has given them the audacity to engage in killings and violent crimes of one sort or another (Sun 2018:4). The picture below is a clear example of one of the

herdsmen with AK47 assault rifle openly displayed on his left hand shoulder.



Photo adopted from Sun 31st January 2018

The infiltration of legal and illegal movement of non-Nigerian armed herders crossing Cameroon, Chad and Niger (the Lake Chad basin countries) borders, into Nigeria is based on Nigeria's geo-political location. This situation has been aggravating internal tension and insecurity in country. The movement of herdsmen and subsequent clashes with farmers and host communities in recent times has heightened insecurity in Nigeria. Oli, Ibekwe and Nwankwo (2018:31) argued that the spate of rustling is heavily militarised and deadly considering its unrestrained escalation of maiming, raping, killing, and marauding all over the place in Nigeria. This development is linked to the geographical location of Nigeria, as it is noticed that herd men from other countries move in segments across the border to Nigeria. For example, herding livestock of other ethnic groups, including the Shuwa, Kanuri, Kanembu, Arabs, and Touareg find their ways to Nigeria through the desert to undermine the security conditions of Nigeria. Banditry activities operate as a form of organised crime with the aid of sophisticated weapons and the corollary to this development is the proliferation of small arms and light weapons across the country for destructive tendencies as expressed by innate theory of conflict. The belligerent attitude of armed bandits, herdsmen, Islam religious adherent and other illegal aliens crossing into Nigeria's territory to breach the country's hard earned security is a demonstration of innate destructive elements in human social interactions (Ademola, 2004:46). The view that humankind is evil by nature is exhibited in all ramifications in Nigeria as a result of its geographical location that is easily exploited by illegal migrants and her hostile neighbours. The possession of arms by non-state actors has set in motion chains of security challenges in Nigeria. Apart from kidnapping, Nigeria is also negatively affected by frequent clashes between cattle herders and farmers. For instance, cattle herders have severally clashed with Nigerian farmers with particular example with members of the Agatu ethnic group in Benue State on 10 March 2016 resulted in the death of an estimated 300 people (Oli, Ibekwe and Nwankwo, 2018:33). At the socio-political level, herders' activities have resulted in death, loss, and the destruction of lives and property, thereby disturbing peace and security. Ofuoku, Isife and Idowu cited by Oli, Ibekwe and Nwankwo, (2018:33) noted that in Densina, Adamawa State, 28 people were killed; while about 2,500 farmers were displaced and rendered homeless in a clash between them. Similarly, violence has displaced more than 100,000 people in Benue and Enugu States and left them under the care of relatives or in make

shift Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps while many are still struggling to rebuild their lives. Cases of conflicts with herdsmen are endless and the resultant effects are usually loss of lives and crops, destruction of property, displacement of persons, threat to food and national security.

1.5 Maitatsine and Boko Haram Insurgency

The geo-political situation of Northern Nigeria has equally made it possible for maitatsine dominance in Northern Nigeria in the 80s. The founder of the Maitatsine sect, Alhaji Mohammed (Muhammadu) Marwa was not a Nigerian. He migrated from the town of Marwa (Maroua) in northern Cameroon to Kano state in 1945. Alhaji Mohammed Marwa who was later nick named Maitatsine named Maitatsine condemned the use of western things like radios, watches, bicycles, cars. He even spoke against possession of more money than necessary and eventually rejected the prophethood of Mohammed before declaring himself an annabi (Hausa word for prophet). The Maitatsine uprising was believed to be the forerunner of religious insurgency and the grandmother of Boko Haram in the Northern part of Nigeria. It was a period of sheer madness which was mixed with agonizing destruction as towns burnt (Legit.ng Apr 26, 2017:2). It is obviously clear that the violent rise of the jihadist group Boko Haram in the greater Sahel, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria has a link with maitatsine which has posed serious violation of peace by attacking churches, markets, civilian population, police, the military, buildings and consequently seizure of villages before they were recovered by Buhari's administration.

The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement in West Africa

In May 1979 the protocol on free movement of persons, residence and establishment was established, which granted ECOWAS citizens the right to free entry and exit within an ECOWAS states for a maximum of 90 days. Member states were given the period of 15 years to fully implement and establish the protocol on free movement of persons, residence and establishment, within the first 5 years of the establishment of the protocol on free movement the use of visa into an ECOWAS member states was abolished, ECOWAS citizens possessing a valid travel certificate and international health certificate were allowed to have access to free entry and exit within an ECOWAS states for a maximum of 90 days without the need to acquire a visa (Mbachi, and Ikeanyibe 2017). In order to achieve the objectives Article 2(2) of the treaty requires member states to abolish all forms of obstacles preventing the protocol on free movement from being implemented, the abolition was to serve as a foundation for regional cooperation and integration in West Africa (Ojo, 1999). For the Fulani herdsmen, the introduction of the protocol of free movement has eliminated barriers in their movement across inter-state boundaries. On the contrary, the other ECOWAS citizens go through stress and pain while crossing borders, and even though visa entry has been abolished travellers are still harassed illegally by customs and police force which has led to various economic loss. The reason why migrating citizens still undergo rigorous and harsh scrutiny by member states security agencies is captured by Esekumemu (2014), who expressed that some issues affecting the application of the protocol are as a result of the political instability in member states, terrorism, trans-border crimes, poverty, underdevelopment, proliferation of small and light weapons among others. To this end, the free movement has made herders to go anywhere they want from anywhere without visa into Nigeria. They can migrate from

Sahel, from Sudan, from Chad, from Niger, from Cameroun to here (Nigeria), nothing concerns them with visa. Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore is a Fulani socio-cultural organisation whether in Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Sudan. Although there may be a very insignificant slight change in the language. However, now everybody is involved in cattle rearing –Igbo, Yoruba, Berom, Junkun, Hausa, etc, and that this is why the clashes are happening here and there. A lot of killer herdsman today, many of them are not Nigerians. They are coming from Mali, Niger, Gambia and all African countries where you have Fulanis. That is why they are killing our people to take over our lands (Kalu, 2019).

The role of the Nigerian security apparatus on the incidents of cross border crimes and increase conflict and insecurity.

The animosity and rivalry between and among Nigeria's security agencies and their unwillingness to share intelligence hampers effort at effectively combating the trans border migration with attendant evil consequences. The increasing perennial suspicion and aggrandizement between and amongst the various security agencies in Nigeria has given a leverage for illegal migration to thrive disproportionately. It is therefore unfortunate to observe the prevalence of insecurity among the Nigeria security agencies for lack of collaboration and synergy to tackle illegal movement across border. Although, the Nigeria Immigration Service is the lead agency saddled with the statutory task of check immigrants for the protection of life and property of the citizenry, other security agencies have been established to complement this daunting task. However, it does appear that rather than being an asset, the security agencies in Nigeria have become liabilities. This stems from the assigned overlapping roles and duplicated duties which invariably eventuate into pervasive acrimonious rivalries. As a result, it seems as little or nothing has been, or is being done to combat crime and tackle illegal trans border movement in the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is obvious that that the conflict and insecurity in Nigeria have increasingly taken alarming proportion as a result of the advantages created by Nigeria's geo-political location for criminals to exploit. The location creates a fertile ground for various violent crimes to be committed by hoodlums, armed bandits, armed herders and farmers, religious fanatics and Boko Haram insurgencies. The geographical location is also a source of conflict between Nigeria and her neighbours particularly Cameroun and Niger over borders. The conflict has manifested from several border disputes between Nigeria and her neighbours with unquantifiable toll on lives and property. It is therefore, recommended that Nigeria should exploit the positive aspects of her diversities to enhance national integration. This is because; the enemies are taken advantage of our internal divisiveness to weaken our security conditions. There should also be a holistic water-proof security surveillance along the borders by security operatives of both countries to checkmate the nefarious activities of legal and illegal aliens crossing the borders at will to commit crimes in Nigeria. The victims of kidnapers who survived should take note of the locations where they were kidnapped and discharged to enable security operative to keep clandestine surveillance in order to bring the perpetrators to book. The government should provide ranches for herdsman to rear their cattle to prevent clashing with farmers and also to prevent them from migrating from one place to another on the pretence of grazing their cattle to

be involved in kidnapping innocent people for ransom. The various forests they are using as their camps should be raided by the security agents and vigilantes where those forests are located in order to create enabling environment for people to go about their private and public services. The security apparatus pooled manpower and logistics together, insecurity and other threats to life and property would have been drastically mitigated, the Ecowas protocol of free movement should be review with limitations to illegal movement. Finally, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria leaders should learn how to use diplomacy in settling border disputes instead of employing violence.

References

- Abimbola, O. Aduloju, A.A. and Adenipekun, L.O. (2015). "ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement and Trans-border Security in West Africa" In Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs (CUJPIA) Vol.3 No. 1, June file:///C:/Users/users%20pc/Downloads/Abimbola.pdf.
- Ademola, F.S (2014), "Theories of social conflict," in Shedrack, G.B. (ed) Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited
- Amanda, B. (2019), Geography of the United Kingdom. In Thoughtco <https://www.thoughtco.com/geography-of-the-united-kingdom-1435710>. Retrieved 2-6-2019, 7:12am
- Bujra,A.(2002),Various forms of conflict in <https://www.google.com/search?client=opera&q=Bujra+various+forms+of+conflict+2002&sourceid=opera&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8>.Retrieved 12-6-2019, 3:45pm
- Chukwuma, A.O. (2019), Kidnapping for ransom has become Nigeria's latest security problem. In Quartz Africa. <https://qz.com/africa/1624376/kidnapping-for-ransom-is-nigerias-latest-security-problem/>.Retrieved 8-6-2019, 11:55am
- Esekumenu V.C (2014) The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS): The challenges to the implementation to the protocol on the Free Movement of Goods, Persons and Establishment: Abaraka, Nigeria
- Hilary, M.(2015), Nigeria: discovery of oil in Lake Chad Basin could escalate conflicts. in Al Jazeera, 28 December <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/nigeria-discovery-of-oil-in-lake-chad-basin-could-escalate-conflicts-says-column-is-retrieved-9-6-2019,4:25am>
- <https://www.legit.ng/Localnew>.Retrieved 8-6-2019, 09:20pm
- Igbe, C. (2018), An assessment of Nigeria's Relations with Her Immediate Neighbours <https://www.graciousnaija.com/2018/05/an-assessment-of-nigerias-relations.html>13-3-2019, 1:35pm
- Igbokwu, I. H. & Orhero, A. (2014), Boko Haram as a syndrome of the unresolved national question in Nigeria: the dilemma in International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS), Vol. 2, No 3, October, Website: <http://www.rcmss.com>. ISSN: 2346-7258 (Print) ISSN: 2354-1598 (Online)
- Imobighe, T.A. (2003), Nigeria's defence and national security linkages a framework of analysis. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Plc.
- Kalu, V. (2019), Herdsmen don't need visa to enter Nigeria. In <https://www.nairaland.com/5615545/herdsmen-dont-need-visa-enter10-01-2020>, 30:35am
- Legit.ng (2017), Maitatsine: Story of Nigeria's bloody religious terror of the 80s. In
- Lukong, H. V. (2011), The Cameroon Nigeria Border Dispute Management and Resolution, 1981-2011.

Mbachi, C. O. & Ikeanyibe O. M. (2017), An assessment of Ecowas Protocol on free movement, residence and establishment of west African citizens.

In <http://eprints.covenantuniversity.edu.ng/10328/1/Paper036%20FINAL%20Num55.pdf>10-1-2020, 1:46pm

Morgenthau, H.J. revised by Thompson, K.W.(2012), Politics among Nations the struggle for power and peace. New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers

Muhabie, M. M.(2015), The root causes of conflicts in the Horn of Africa in American Journal of Applied Psychology. Vol. 4, No. 2, 2015, pp. 28-34.

doi:10.11648/j.ajap.20150402.12

file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/10.11648.j.ajap.20150402.12.pdf. Retrieved 10-6-2019, 3:23pm

Ojo, O.B.J. (1999) Integration in ECOWAS: successes and difficulties. In D.C. Bach (ed.) Regionalisation in Africa: Integration and Disintegration, Cambridge: James Currey Publishers.

Olabanji, O. E. & Urhie, E. (2014), Insecurity and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria in Journal of Sustainable Development Studies ISSN 2201-4268 Volume 5, Number1,4063\file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Insecurity%20and%20development%20(1f.Retrieved 6-6-2019, 11:20am

Olaniyan, A. & Yahaya, A (2016), Cows, bandits, and violent conflicts: Understanding Cattle rustling in Northern Nigeria. In Africa Spectrum, 51,3,93–105. URN: <http://nbn-resolving.org/urn/resolver.pl?urn:nbn:de:gbv:18-4-9894>

ISSN: 1868-6869.Retrieved10-6-2019, 5:30pm

Oli, N P, Ibekwe, C.C. & Nwankwo, I. U. (2018), Prevalence of herdsmen and farmers conflict in Nigeria in International Journal of Innovative Studies in Sociology and Humanities (IJISSH)ISSN2456-4931(Online) www.ijissh.org Volume: 3 Issue:1

file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/fulani%20conflict.pdf.Retrieved3-6-2019, 1:45am

Sun (2018), Checking proliferation of illegal firearms. In <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/checking-proliferation-of-illegal-firearms/retrieved2-6-2019,3:10am>

Ubwa, K. T. & Jacob, N. J. and Ohianil, B. (2018), Political economy of Herdsmen/Farmers' conflict in Benue State in International Journal of Education and Research Vol. 6 No.6 June

file:///C:/Users/user/Documents/BENUE%20CONFLICT.pdf retrieved