

**HUMAN SECURITY IN KANO METROPOLIS: A STUDY  
OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS 2000-2015**

**BY**

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**BEING A DRAFT THESIS SUBMITTED FOR INTERNAL EXAMINATION TO  
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## CERTIFICATION

This Thesis title “Human Security in Kano Metropolis: A Study of Small Arms and Light Weapons 2000-2015”, by AbdulAziz Sani SPS/10/PPS/00001 has been read and approved for having meet the stipulated regulations governing the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy ( Ph.D ) in Political Science of Bayero University Kano.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my Late Father Alhaji Sani Goshi Zango (RIP) my Late Mother Hajiya Bintu Sulaiman (RIP) and the Late Dr Haruna Muhammad Salih (RIP) a Father, a Mentor and a Teacher may Allah (SWT) reward them with Jannatul Firdausi as their permanent abode Amin.

## **DECLARATION**

I AbdulAziz Sani SPS/10/ PPS/00001 hereby declare that this Thesis has been written by me and it is based on original research. All quotations and references used are indicated and duly acknowledged in the Thesis.

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DATE **FRIDAY 8<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY 2016**

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ABDULAZIZ SANI  
(8<sup>Th</sup> January, 2016)

## **ABSTRACT**

The availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and their wide use in perpetrating violence and attack in Kano Metropolis have posed serious human security challenges, which manifested in forms of injuries and deaths as well as slowing down of economic activities in the area. This study was primarily undertaken with the sole aim of assessing the impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Human Security in Kano Metropolis. The key problem is to examine factors responsible for armed violence and the specific ways and manners by which SALW affect human security in the area. Survey study and Documentary research were used as major methods of data collection in which in-depth interview and questionnaire administration were used. Relative deprivation theory was adopted as a theoretical framework of the study. The data generated and analyzed from primary and secondary sources revealed the trend, patterns, sources and impacts of SALW on human security. It also revealed the nature and effectiveness of the security measures embarked upon by the security operatives namely Army, Police and State Security Services in controlling the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kano Metropolis. The study shows that lack of human security in form of poverty, unemployment, social injustice, corruption and bad governance fuelled by proliferation of SALW and their wide use particularly by insurgents and armed groups in the area have increased attacks and criminal activities in Kano metropolis. The study advances the argument that the more the small arms and light weapons keep on proliferating the more would be the level of insecurity and civilian death in area. It has also argued that the security measures embarked upon by the security operatives in the area even though characterized by human right violation and abuse, it however proves effective in controlling the arms proliferation and in promoting peace in Kano metropolis. It thus concludes that the proliferation and wide use of SALW in carrying out various attacks and other criminal activities have negatively affected people and socioeconomic activities in Kano Metropolis. Hence, recommends that good governance, social justice and poverty eradication projects should be adopted in tackling the root causes of the menace. Also new technological equipments like scanners and tracker should be introduced in identifying the networks of insurgents and criminals, so as to enable foiling any anticipated attacks and also the current security measures adopted should be maintained.

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## ACRONYMS

|          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| AK 47    | - | Avtomat Kalashnikov  |
| ASP      | - | Assistant Superintendent of Police                           |
| CEHRD    | - | Centre for Environment, Human Rights and Development         |
| CDR      | - | Centre for Documentation and Research                        |
| DDA      | - | Department of Disarmament Affairs                            |
| DFID     | - | Department for International Development                     |
| ECOWAS-  |   | Economic Community of the West African States                |
| ECOSAP - |   | ECOWAS Small Arms Programme                                  |
| EU       | - | European Union   |
| GPMG     | - | General Purpose Machine Guns                                 |
| GDP      | - | Growth Domestic Product                                      |
| GECHS    | - | Global Environment Change and Human Security Science Project |
| IED      | - | Improvised Electronic Devices                                |
| IHL      | - | International Humanitarian Law                               |
| JTF      | - | Joint Task Force   |
| MANPADS- |   | Man Portable Air Defence System                              |
| NATO     | - | North Atlantic Treaty Organization                           |
| RPG      | - | Rocket Propelled Grenade                                     |
| SALW     | - | Small Arms and Light Weapons                                 |
| SIPRI    | - | Stockholm International Peace Research Institute             |
| SMG      | - | Sub-Machine Guns   |
| SARS     | - | Special Anti-Robbery Squad                                   |

- SSS - State Security Services
- UNDP - United nations Development Programme
- UK - United Kingdom
- UN - United Nations
- UNO - United Nations Organizations
- UNGA - United Nations General Assembly
- UNODA - United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs
- WMD - Weapon of Mass Destruction

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background Of Study

At the turn of the millennium, new waves of human security challenges have emerged across the globe in forms of armed violence resulting from the availability and continuous proliferation and wide use of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). These weapons are small and portable yet, highly sophisticated and very lethal, and their availability and wide use have been a cause for human suffering, civilian deaths and casualties in both conventional and unconventional warfare.

For the past three decades these small arms and light weapons have become weapons of choice among various armed groups thereby breeding a culture of violence across global communities. They have also become means of fueling ethnic tensions and violence, prolonging armed conflicts, halting peace process, heightening the abuses and violation of human right and values and retarding economic growth and development. This is because most of the armed conflicts across the globe for the past two decades have been happening within nation-state rather than between states. Usually between national government and rival armed groups, mainly terrorists, ethnic militias, separatists, insurgents, drug barons and kidnappers among others. The trends have become sources of interminable human suffering in forms of torture, disappearances, kidnapping and abduction, war crimes, crimes against humanity as well as ethnic cleansing and mass displacement of people from their communities and means of livelihood. Consequently, this poses direct serious security challenges and threats to human existence across the world.

Obviously, the magnitude of the human security challenges and threats posed by SALW is enormous, thus drawing the attention of international organizations and especially national governments toward collaborative efforts in finding solution to the menace. This effort gives rise to the idea of human security, which advocates for a more people-based (as opposed to state-based) conception of security, focusing on protection and empowerment of individuals.

Nigeria has also been faced internally by human security challenges resulting from ethno-religious, communal, socio-economic and political conflicts, growing insurgency and terrorism, fuelled by proliferation and wide use of SALW particularly since the return of civil democratic rule in 1999. The internal security environment has deteriorated in the last decades, to the extent that old security threats have remained or even assume worrisome dimensions, while new threats have emerged. Some of the old threats that assumed new dimensions resulting from the proliferation of SALW and their wide use are ethno-religious conflict, militancy and kidnapping. While, the new threat manifested in form of growing insurgency and terrorism especially across the north-eastern part of the country, (Onuaha, 2013:50). Consequently, these trends challenge the capacity of the security forces in guaranteeing peace and security of the citizen in the country. In view of these negative development, Wosu and Agwanwo (2014:12-13) argued that Nigeria's internal security is threatened by serious conflicts, situations of uncertainty, helplessness and instability that have exposed the bulk of the citizens to unnecessary fear, deprivation and chaos, thereby worsening the human security situation in the country.

In Nigeria, for the past one decade despite legislation banning any form of unauthorized possession of arms and ammunitions, and border control from the influx of smuggled goods and weapons, SALW still find themselves into the hand of the militias,

kidnappers, drug barons, criminal gangs, religious extremists, armed robbers as well as the community of people at various localities. This is intensified by proliferation of small arms and light weapons and their wide use across the country, which gives rise to new waves of violence perpetrated against civilian populations, in which women and children are usually the victims. This renders the human security condition in the country unfavourable and precarious characterised by perpetual killings, raid of one community over another, suicide bombing and mass killing. The frequency at which these human security threats have been occurring in Nigeria exposes the Nigerian people into precarious condition and dangers, particularly northern part of the country, namely: Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Kano metropolis among others.

Kano metropolis is one of the most densely populated cities in Nigeria. Like all major cities in developing nations, the cities battle with criminal acts. Kano poverty profile has increased from 65.6% in 2011 to 76.4% (NBS 2012). Given these deteriorating human security situation Kano metropolis has for the past a decade becomes a centre of armed violence, due to new spate of armed attacks through SALW, in almost all public spheres thereby exposing the area to serious life threatening challenges. However, an obvious issue in that challenge is the fact that SALW do not proliferate and cause violence and or injuries by themselves, but rather by the individuals and groups using them in perpetrating these criminal activities inspired by deprivation and frustration as well as other various social and economic motives and forces.

Human security is concerned with protection from physical threats and danger from basic human needs and attacks, hence rooted in guaranteeing that people are free from life threatening dangers and socioeconomic and political problems. In a society where poverty and unemployment are rampant especially among youth who constituted major segment

of the population like Kano metropolis, coupled with corruption and bad governance, human security is virtually under threat. And these inevitability lead to deprivation and frustration which eventually culminate into acts of rebellion, civil uprisal, terrorism and insurgency and criminal activities like armed robbery, kidnapping among others.

## **1.2 Statement Of The Research Problem**

Kano metropolitan centre has been an arena of sporadic violence. This is due to the nature of frequent occurrence of violence in forms of civil uprising, religious and political disturbances, armed robbery and political thuggery, which have been witnessed in the area. Traditionally, one common feature in perpetrating this form of violence is the use of local weapons like cutlasses, arrows, bow and sword among others, with very little if any use of sophisticated weapons mainly involving armed robbery. In this respect Mohammed etal (2005:298) noted that armed robbery attacks were responsible for the greatest proportion of gunshot injuries and fatalities in Kano metropolis and other major Nigerian cities.

However, for almost a decade particularly from 2007 to 2015 in addition to armed robbery, new form of armed violence has emerged and even assumed new pattern and dimension, in which highly sophisticated small arms and light weapons have crept into the hands of armed robbers, kidnappers and insurgents and are used in perpetrating various forms of armed attacks and other related criminal activities in Kano metropolitan centre. Since that time there have been continuous proliferation of small arms and light weapons and their wide use especially by insurgents, armed robbers, assassins and

kidnappers, the consequence of which increased the rate of crime and brutal attacks in the area.

In addition, Mohammed et al (2005:298) revealed that gunshot injuries were a major cause of trauma-related morbidity and mortality in Kano metropolis with an average frequency of 56 cases annually. This may actually be an underestimate and the magnitude of the problem may not be apparent because many cases are not reported to the police for fear of arrests or other reasons. Furthermore, persons who die at the scene of shooting are frequently hastily buried by relations in keeping with religious customs. In view of this negative trend it has been noted that majority of casualties about 66% in Kano riot of 2004 were SALW victims sustaining permanent disabilities,(John, 2007).

Consequently, the wide use of SALW particularly from 2007 and through 2012 onward has exposed Kano metropolis to new waves of armed violence perpetrated against civilian population and security personnel. The result is a pervasive sense of social danger, insecurity, and anxiety. Thus, posing serious human security challenges to the metropolis and its teeming population, as well as slowing down of socio-economic activities.

Despite the various security measures embarked upon by the security operatives in the area in particular, the trend assume worrisome dimension to the extent that people are no longer safe in the market, school, hospital and even places of worship in Kano metropolitan areas.

**1.3 Objectives of the Study**                      Given the frequency of these new waves of attacks mainly perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons and the gravity of the threats they posed to human security in Kano metropolis. The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

(1) To discover factors responsible for the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis.

(2) To assess the extent at which the proliferation and wide use of small arms and light weapons impact (s) on Human security in Kano metropolis.

(3) To assess the role of security agencies in controlling the spate of attacks through the use of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis.

(5) To suggest line of action(s) to be taken in controlling the menace of proliferation and wide use of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

Against the backdrop above,

the study raised the following research questions:

(1) What are the

factors that explain the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis?

(2) To what extent do the wide use of small arms and light weapons impact on human security in Kano metropolis?

(3) What has been the role of the security agents in controlling the spate of attacks perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis?

#### **1.5 Assumptions**

The study was guided by the

following two assumptions as indicated below:-

(I) Lack of human security in terms of socio-economic disparity like poverty and unemployment a coupled with injustice and corruption from the government are underlying factors that spark frustration and anger which breed armed attacks and other related criminal activities in Kano metropolis.

This assumption

comprises of two variables: independent variable which is the socioeconomic disparity which manifested in terms of poverty, unemployment, ignorance especially among the

teeming number of the population especially youth in Kano metropolis coupled with corruption and injustice from the political office holders, which spark the dependent variable frustration and anger that breed armed attacks and other related criminal activities through wide use of SALW in the Kano metropolitan area.

(II) The higher the level of the proliferation and wide use of SALW, the higher will be the level of human security challenges in terms of number of attacks and civilian casualty, death and disruptions of commercial activities in Kano metropolis. This

assumption comprises of two variables: independent variable which is the proliferation of SALW and the dependent variable which is the number of attacks and civilian casualty and death. The availability SALW affects human security. In the context of this study human security is the protection of individuals, groups and communities from physical attacks (injury, death and disruption of economic activities), humiliations, intimidations, oppression, internal threats and violence mainly perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons, in their personal surroundings, places of worship and occupations. Thus, Human security is it is concerned with human life and dignity.

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) implies the extent at which these type of weapons and arms are available, which include Improvised explosive devices (IED)., AK 47 assault rifles, locally made guns and pistol, and other devices have crept into the hands of armed groups and insurgents, by means of which they foment trouble and unleash terror. This in turns explains the waves of incessant attacks as well as all other forms of violent attacks which lead to number of civilian casualty and death in the state and the people (human security) in the state.

(III) The security measures embarked upon by the security operatives in the state, proved effective in lowering the risk of SALW proliferation and attacks in Kano metropolis.

This assumption comprises of two variables: the independent variable which is the effective security measures and the dependent variable which is proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Kano Metropolis. Effective security measures represent a condition in which all the security operatives army, police and members of the state security services are fully alerted on the possible threat, danger or violence that may affect the individuals within the area. It involves degree of military and armed readiness to protect the lives and properties, as well as human value and dignity against any possible danger within or outside the area. In addition, these security measures include road blockades, checkpoints, cordon-off and search, security patrol, surveillance, reprisal attacks, raids and check among others.

### **1.6 Research Methodology**

This study utilized two main methods for data collection. The Survey method and library (documentary) research method. The survey method involves in-depth Interviews and the administration of questionnaires conducted with security personnel, security experts, ex-service men, gun-runners, gun dealers, and gun owners, people involved in various forms of criminal activities, as well as victims of armed attacks through which primary data were obtained.

The questionnaires were administered on the sampled respondents drawn from the research area, through cluster sampling technique which was used as a primary procedure to determine the sample size of the study, in which the eight selected local government areas in Kano metropolis were considered as clusters. The questionnaires were of two different types: type I which was administered on some selected security experts and officials of the security agencies like the military, police and intelligent agents as well as some people related to the arms deal in the area. This contains open-ended questions

which provided the official respondents necessary room for detailed discussion of and response to the questions asked. The type II questionnaire was administered on the general public in the area of study with particular emphasis on the victim of armed attacks. This contains both open and closed ended questions in order to facilitate the understanding of the public respondents, and it also provided room for proper expression of their own views over the issue under study.

The population of this study comprises of all eight local government areas of the Kano metropolitan centre which were selected as sampling frame. The reasons for that are: Firstly, these eight local government areas are the major flashpoint of gun violence, IED attacks and insurgency in the state particularly since January 2007. Secondly, the eight local government areas are the most affected in all the forty four local government areas in the state, in term of the security measures embarked by the state. These include curfew, military checkpoints, security raids, as well as imposition of tight and strict security measures like banning of motor cycles and carrying passenger on motorcycle.

The other method used for data collection was library / documentary research method. Through this method secondary data were collected from written accounts, existing literatures such as academic textbooks and publications, newspapers, journal and magazines, Internet publications, Academic Thesis, Official Documents from UNO, SIPRI, UNODA, Amnesty International, International Red Cross society, Arms Without Border, IANSA, Human Right Watch Reports, Federal and State governments Official gazettes, Reports of the Commission of Inquiry and Special Security Reports. In addition, information were also obtained from Research Resources Centres such as BUK Library, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training (AKCDRT), Mambayya House Kano, Bayero University, Kano.,

Centre for Research and Documentation Sokoto Road Kano, The National Archive Kaduna, Kano State Ministry of Information, Nigerian Police Headquarters Bompai Kano, Nigerian Police Zone I Headquarters Kano, State Security Service Giginyu Kano, Murtala Mohammed Library Kano among others.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The study is unique in the sense that armed violence especially through SALW is a new trend in Kano Metropolis; hence, there is scanty information on how proliferation and wide use of small arms trade affects the human security in the area. Thus, the current trend in which unauthorized arms has been circulating in the wrong hands with serious human security implications calls for intervention especially from the academic circle, as a means to give an insight into the nature and cause of their availability as well as their effects in the areas of study. This study provides the explanation of the patterns and dimension of the problem as well as its implications of SALW on human security in Kano Metropolis.

The study is timely because given the deteriorating human security situation resulting from SALW in Kano metropolis, there is need to know the sense of insecurity they cause in people's minds and how they affect their daily patterns of socio-economic lives in the study area. Thus, this study comes up with this discovery.

There is an urgent need for control of small arms proliferations in view of the collateral damage they cause, which are responsible for most of the deaths and injuries, especially of civilian populations. But, an effective long-term policy requires reliable and comprehensive information and analysis on all aspects of the problem something that has been relatively rare in Kano metropolis. This study provides recommendations that give

information and policy guidance to the policy makers in the area and the state in general on how the problem could be minimized.

It also yields a further research opportunity as it serves as a frame of reference and guidance to future researchers interested in conducting research on SALW and Human Security in the area.

### **1.8 Scope of the Study**

This study covers Kano Metropolis within the period of fifteen years from 2000-2015. The reason for the choice of that period is that prior to that time there were cases of violence, but there were rare cases of used of or armed attacks through SALW, only by security forces in restoring peace and order. But, from 2000 upward and particularly since 2007 these types of weapons have become common in the civilian possession. Thus, the period witnessed waves of coordinated attacks by armed robbers, insurgent and kidnappers against both the civilian population and the security formation in the Kano metropolis. Hence, the study covers these periods with particular emphasis on the period when armed violence becomes eminent in Kano metropolis with emergence of Talban insurgents in 2007, through series of armed attacks by armed robbers and kidnappers which culminated in the January 2012 Boko Haram attacks and the subsequent attacks that followed up to 2015.

### **1.9 The Limitations of the Study**

The limitation of the study lies in a number of factors:

Firstly, SALW proliferation is a continuous process which has taken various forms and patterns licit and illicit, covert and overt, and involving differing motives. Hence, there is generally absence of adequate information and record on the transaction both across the Kano metropolis and between various groups involved.

Secondly, the study just limits itself to Kano metropolis despite the fact that the trend is common in the state and throughout Nigeria, even though, there are some remarkable peculiarities in terms of nature and patterns.

Thirdly, the waves of attacks have continued in the area despite the security measures to control the menace, hence, the study only captures the incidences within the period of study, 2000-2015.

Fourthly, in the bid of obtaining reliable information the researcher had to intermingle with different criminals, and visited several dangerous places known to criminal elements.

Fifthly, given the risk of arms and the sensitivity of issues surrounding armed violence and attack, some respondents especially general public in Kano metropolis were afraid of what may likely be the consequence of their responses. So, also the lower ranking security personnel especially members of Joint Task Force as they must be given formal permission or order to speak on issues bordering on arms and general security situation.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The quest for safety from any form of threats is a pre-requisite condition for human survival on earth. This is because human life and societal development in general depend on the condition in which man individually or collectively

feel secure from any factor that can endanger and or constitute threats or violence to human existence. This notion gives rise to the phenomenon of security, which have been interpreted by many scholars of international relations and strategic studies, as well as political thinkers and security analysts from the angle of military readiness and the protection of the territorial integrity of the state from external threats. However, for the past three decades as the security of the border intensifies the security of lives and property of individual and groups within the border has been faced with new waves of security challenges. These give rise to redefinition of security to incorporate the human dimension, the phenomenon popular known as human security. This research work premises on the impacts of small arms and light weapons with the view of assessing their impact on human security in Kano metropolis. This segment presents a thematic conceptual review of literature on Insecurity, Security and different perspectives on human security, as well as the challenges and causes of the proliferation and wide use of SALW on human security in Nigeria. The segment also provides theoretical framework adopted in the study which is Relative Deprivation Theory.

## **2.2 Security**

Proper understanding of the concept of security could be more meaningful if the concept of insecurity could be made clear. It connotes different meanings such as: absence of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety. According to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Similarly, Achumba et al (2013) conceives 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. Thus, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) maintained that insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. It is a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts, and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property.

Security is an ambiguous term which has been conceptualized differently. This is due to the value-loaded tendency associate with discourses surrounding the issue of security in both the domestic and international politics, and especially by the scholars of strategic studies and International relations. In view of the arguments above, security is generally accepted as a contested concept and multi-dimensional concept that can be interpreted on different levels, i.e. the security of the social systems, the security of the countries (national security), regional security, global and human security etc, (Ochoche,1991).

Basically the conception of security comes through two perspectives:-namely conventional or narrow perspective and alternative or broader perspective. The conventional perspective focuses on the threat and the use of force in the protection of territorial integrity of the nation-state. It is largely military conception of security which emphasizes on the nation-state as the primary object of reference. Thus, the issue of security is the unilateral function of the nation-state to guarantee the security of lives and property and ensure law and order through its political sovereignty and monopoly of violence. This idea has made security issue a function of effective monopoly of violence, which the nation-state applies to engender strict conformity and compliance to state laws

by the peoples for effective security, and the ability of the state to protect itself against external aggression and threat. It also believes that “powerful military forces are necessary at all times to ensure stability as well as law and order within the society. Therefore, no state can remain at peace without some military muscle, or the strengthening of security enforcement apparatus,”(Imoghibe,1999:225).

However, the defect of the military oriented security approach has been demonstrated by its failure to yield positive results especially in preventing non-military threats. Thus, Imoghibe (1999) admitted that security issue goes beyond the issue of military aggrandizement, to incorporate insecurity equation such issues as fragile socio-economic base, political instability, low technological capacity, external dependency and susceptibility to subversive pressures and manipulations. Hence, in this perspective security is seen as the absence of attacks or threats, from any direction, to the social, economic, political, technological or military targets that may be vital for the protection of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, influence and prestige of a state in the world. It also includes strong capability of the state to dominate and control all social forces within its territory; to provide and guarantee a secure; orderly and peaceful environment for their citizens; to develop and continually expand the capacity to provide an ever increasing range of services and opportunities for their citizens through deliberate conception and implementation of policies that satisfy their economic, cultural and political needs (Yibaikwal,1988:282).

The military view of security places a lot of emphasis on the military threat to security and concentrates on the various forms of military responses in the management of security threats. The failure of this view to account for or explain the emerging non-

military sources of threat to individual, societal, state, regional and global level, has led to the re-definition of security in a broader conception to embrace non-military dimensions such as environment, migration, ethno-religious and nationalist identities, poverty, human insecurity, and diseases,( Francis,2004: 22-23).

The broader or alternative perspective conceives security not only in terms of the internal security of the State, but as whole encompassing condition in which Individual citizens live in freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the process of governance; enjoy the protection fundamental rights; the protection of lives and property, have access to resources and the basic necessities of life such as food health, money and trade; and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and wellbeing, freedom from exposure to danger; protection, safety of a place; feeling or assurance of safety or certainty; freedom from anxiety or doubt. This perspective also emphasises on such imperatives as domestic social solidarity, functional social cohesion and equitable distribution of resources (Tickner, 1994:180, Hartman, 1978:251, Terriff etal cited in Bakut 2004:237, Fwa, 2005:32, Onoja, 1996:29).

In a similar vein, Achumba etal (2013) argued that security exists as a result of the establishment of measure for the protecting of persons and property against hostile persons, influences and actions. Hence, represents the conditions in which people can go about their normal daily activities without any threat to their lives or properties. It embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizenry and the resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violent occurrence. Security may not be absence of threats but the ability to rise to the challenges posed by threats. Security cannot therefore exist without provision for national security. Therefore,

the goals of security in this sense seek to promote and sustain the necessary internal conditions that facilitate the realization of the genuine aspiration of the people to pursue their legitimate interest and realize their basic needs, (Imoghibe,1999).

Generally, going by the discourses above there are two broad doctrines of security namely: conventional and alternative. The former views security in a narrow perspective, this is nation-state's centric in nature and it equates security with military security, in which the principal threat to national security comes from other nations, therefore, military means must be employed to ward off any attempts at occupation or destruction, (Brown, and Wiberg, cited in Ochoche,1991). While, the latter view in a broader perspective, this focus on both the state as referent object however it goes further to incorporate the security of the individual and groups in the state from danger, threat, hunger, diseases and violence, in essence to human value. Thus, it includes the whole gamut of human needs. It is a condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquire values. Put simply, security is about survival and the conditions of human existence being secured, freedom from exposure to danger; protection, safety of a place; feeling or assurance of safety or certainty; freedom from anxiety or doubt; that which secure the means of protection, defence. Therefore, security means the elimination or at least the reduction of small arms and armaments.

### **2.3 Human Security**

The genesis of the term 'human security' can be traced back to the establishment of the

United Nations (UN) in 1945 and draws on the views of then US Secretary of State

Edward R. Stettinus, Jr, (quoted in Grimmet, 2004) who said:

The battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace. No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.”

The continuing human insecurity resulting from violent conflict and war fought within states since the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1990's, has made the attention of the world leaders shifted to redefining security and looking for the best approach that could guarantee effective security management, different from the traditional ones that had failed to address the increasing security threats. This search for the best approach led to the emergence of the term ‘human security’. This approach advocates for a paradigm shift. Rather than allowing the state to continue to define security, people who make up the state are the ones to define their own security. Hence, policy-makers in several countries have adopted this approach as the guiding principle of their security laws. Henk (2005: 2) observed that The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1994 “Human Development” Report popularized the concept of ‘human security’ among the scholars and practitioners in the field of security studies and management. Since the 1990s, this approach has not only become the priciest bride among the state actors but also among several non-state actors including the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that have acted spontaneously in the popularization of human security as an approach to security. One of the leading NGOs advocating for the global adoption of this approach is the Human Security Network. This organization has been championing the need to “energize political processes aimed at preventing or solving conflicts and promoting peace and development,” (Human Security Network, 2012).

With the end of the Cold War, intra-state wars and gross violations of human rights has become rampant, several states began experiencing increasing political instability and violence. The victims of these conflicts and violations were mostly civilians. Issues of security now concerned civilian populations - individuals, ordinary citizens - rather than states. In the late 1990s, the language used to discuss security concerns evolved to reflect these new realities. The term “human security” was introduced to describe these new security matters and to emphasize the shift from a state concerned security to a people-centred approach to security,(Lodgaard, 2000). Issues such as the use of landmines, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, children and armed conflicts, as well as, human trafficking and organized crime were all considered part of these “new” security concerns.

There are various debates surrounding issue of human security. First, there are those who define human security broadly as freedom from want, understanding the concept as more than safety from violent threats such as poverty, disease and environmental disasters. And second, there are those who define human security more narrowly as freedom from fear, whereby human security is understood as "freedom from violent threats" only (Floyd, 2007:39 & Amouyel, 2006:13). Hence, most discourses revolve around the broad and narrow approaches to human security.

Proponents of the broad approach follow the UNDP’s outlook on human security. The phrase, “human security,” in particular is most often associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security drafted and championed by Mahbubul Haq, eventhough the term itself was in circulation earlier. Thus, one of the most popular conception of human security was proposed by the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP) in its Human Development Report (1994: 22-25) in which it observes that:

The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-state than people..... forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people....for many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, and environmental hazards.

From the observation above it can be deduced that human security has two main aspects:

freedom from fear which indicates freedom from violence, and safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And the second implies freedom from want, which is freedom from poverty, which means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.

Thus, Human security is not concerned with weapons but rather it is concerned with human life and dignity,( The UNDP Human Development Report 1994: 22-23).

In view of human concerned the report lists a number of threats to human security, which can be summed up under seven main categories: Economic security; Food security; Health security; Environmental security; Personal security; Community security; Political security”( The UNDP Human Development Report 1994: 24-25).

While the definition proposed by the UNDP is recognized as useful in acknowledging the presence of new security concerns, it is also problematic as it encompasses such a diverse list of issues; it is difficult to distinguish areas that might be excluded from human security. Following the publication of the UNDP Report, the term gained popularity in the international arena and a profusion of definitions of human security emerged crafted by both states and scholar. These two ideas freedom from fear and freedom from want have been in the background of UN development and human rights policies and programmes

ever since the signing of the UN Charter, but they have become linked to debates on security more recently.

By lowering the level of analysis to individuals and combining it with the notions of fear and want, the concept of human security shifts attention to the threats to human integrity and the conditions under which the promotion of human dignity is made possible. The protection of personal integrity means that individuals can go about their daily lives free from arbitrary incursions carried out by state and non-state actors, such as detentions, torture, harassment, assassination, disappearance, and other abusive acts. The promotion of human dignity means that individuals have access to basic levels of food, shelter, education and health and that with such access they are capable of exercising personal autonomy, control over their own lives, and participation in the public sphere.

In a similar vein, The UNDP Human Development Report (1999:102-104) calls for deliberate actions to provide human security during economic crises, as well as to reduce other causes of human insecurity such as global crime, environmental degradation, and communication that threatens cultural diversity (because of the lack of diversity in films, languages, and norms on violence and pornography, that is prevalent in the media). It also called for a strengthening of the United Nations System, giving it greater coherence to respond to broader needs of human Security, (ibid, 1999:111).

Kofi Annan (2000) in his Report to the United Nations maintained that human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. This, the requirements of security today have come to embrace the protection of communities and

individuals from internal violence. Hence, peace means much more than the absence of war and human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms.

The Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (1999:) argued that human security is a people-centred approach to foreign policy which recognizes that lasting stability cannot be achieved until people are protected from violent threats to their rights, safety or lives. Hence, identified five foreign policy priorities for advancing human security namely:

1- Protection of civilians, concerned with building international will and strengthening norms and capacity to reduce the human costs of armed conflict.

2- Peace support operations, concerned with building UN capacities and addressing the demanding and increasingly complex requirements for deployment of skilled personnel, including Canadians, to these missions.

3- Conflict prevention, with strengthening the capacity of the international community to prevent or resolve conflict, and building local indigenous capacity to manage conflict without violence.

4- Governance and accountability, concerned with fostering improved accountability of public and private sector institutions in terms of established norms of democracy and human rights.

5- Public safety, concerned with building international expertise, capacities and instruments to counter the growing threats posed by the rise of transnational organized crime,” (Canada, 1999: 5).

According to the Government of Japan (2000) Human security is the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings, and it can be ensured only when the individual is confident of a life free of fear and free of want. This definition was much wider as it comprehensively covers all the factors that threaten

human survival, daily life, and dignity for example, environmental degradation, violations of human rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel landmines and infectious diseases and strengthens efforts to confront these threats,”(Government of Japan, 2000). Particularly, Japan’s definition does not prioritize freedom from fear over the freedom from want, but holds them as dual objectives of human security.

In contrast Norway focuses on the freedom from fear aspects of human security, and identifies a core agenda of preventive action, small arms and light weapons control, and peace operations,( Lodgaard, 2001). Both nations found human security, with its emphasis on protecting individuals, to be useful in highlighting new and necessary aspects of security from violent opposition.

The Global Environmental Change and Human Security Science Project (GECHS, 1999) maintained that Human Security is achieved when and where individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate or adapt to threats to their human, environmental and social rights; have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options; and actively participate in pursuing these options, They further argued that human security is not only concerned with threats to the physical security of individuals, it encompasses economic, health, and environmental concerns as well.

Ogata (1998) argued that “Several key elements make up human security. A first essential element is the possibility for all citizens to live in peace and security within their own borders. This implies the capacity of states and citizens to prevent and resolve conflicts through peaceful and nonviolent means and, after the conflict is over, the ability to effectively carry out reconciliation efforts. A second element is that people should enjoy without discrimination all rights and obligations including human, political, social,

economic and cultural rights that belonging to a State implies. A third element is social inclusion or having equal access to the political, social and economic policy making processes, as well as to draw equal benefits from them. A fourth element is that of the establishment of rule of law and the independence of the justice system. Each individual in a society should have the same rights and obligations and be subject to the same set of rules. These basic elements which are predicated on the equality of all before the law, effectively remove any risk of arbitrariness which so often manifests itself in discrimination, abuse or oppression” (Ogata,1998).

According to Thakur (1997:53-54) Human security refers to the quality of life of the people of a society or polity, and anything which degrades the human quality of life like demographic pressures and so on is a security threat. Conversely, anything which can upgrade human quality of life such as economic growth, improved access to resources, social and political empowerment, and so on is an enhancement of human security.

Frechette (1999) observed that in its most simple expression, human security involves all those things that men and women anywhere in the world cherish most: enough food for the family; adequate shelter; good health; schooling for the children; protection from violence whether inflicted by man or by nature; and a state which does not oppress its citizens but rules with their consent. Similarly, Van Ginkel and Newman (2000: 79) observed that in policy terms, human security is an integrated, sustainable, comprehensive security from fear, conflict, ignorance, poverty, social and cultural deprivation, and hunger, resting upon positive and negative freedoms.

Human Security Network (2012) observed that human security implies a world where people can live in security and dignity, free from poverty and despair, is still a dream for many and should be enjoyed by all. In such a world, every individual would be

guaranteed freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to fully develop their human potential. Building human security is essential to achieving this goal. In essence, the term human security is defines security in terms of an integrated idea of positive peace, human rights and sustainable development. It is related to the enhancement of livelihoods of all people at risk, the value of the respect of human rights, the dignity of the individual, respect for diversity, community empowerment, decentralized forms of government, peace and co-existence and the accountability and transparency of actions aimed at the betterment of livelihood,( Human Security Report, 2005:1). The ultimate goal is providing for the sanctity of life and liberty.

Nef (1999) offered what can be termed as multidimensional approach to human security when he argued that human security involves: environmental security, personal and physical security, economic security, social security, political security and cultural security. He conceives environmental, personal and physical security as the right of individuals and communities to preservation of life and health and to dwell in a safe and sustainable environment, economic security as the access to the employment and resources needed to maintain one's existence, reduce scarcity, and improve the material quality of life in the community; social security as freedom from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity, or social status; political security as the right to representation, autonomy (freedom), participation, and dissent, combined with empowerment to make choices with a reasonable probability of effecting change; and cultural security as the set of psychological orientations of society geared to preserving and enhancing the ability to control uncertainty and fear.

Going by the conceptions above the main criticisms of the broad categorization of human security is that it is difficult to determine what is not considered to be human security.

Suhrke (1999: 276) argued that whether the threat is economic or physical violence, immediate protective measures are necessary if longer-term investments to improve conditions can be relevant at all. It follows that the core of human insecurity can be seen as extreme vulnerability. That is to say those exposed to immediate physical threats to life or deprivation of life-sustaining resources or those who are equally exposed to life-threatening challenges for reasons of deep poverty or natural disasters.

According to Lonergan, Gustavson, and Carter (2000) human security is achieved when and where individuals and communities: have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental, and social rights; have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options; and actively participate in attaining these options.

Caroline Thomas (1999:3) observed that human security describes a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met, and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community, can be realized. Such human security is indivisible; it cannot be pursued by or for one group at the expense of another. While material sufficiency lies at the core of human security, in addition the concept encompasses non-material dimensions to form a qualitative whole.

The World Bank's World Development Report (2000) has produced a very constructive contribution to the human security debate, although in this case it uses the term security rather than human security, which it described reducing vulnerability to economic shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability, and personal violence is an intrinsic part of enhancing wellbeing and encourages investment in human capital and agricultural development, environmental protection, reduction in arms trade, and post-conflict reconstruction. The key contribution of this report from the human security perspective is the organic fusion of hitherto disparate areas of study: risks and vulnerabilities (including

natural disasters, health threats, violence, safety nets, economic, political, and environmental risks), risk management strategies (prevention, mitigation, coping), and studies that recognize distinct strategies depending upon the size and nature of the affected community from the level of the individual household to the international community. Human security does not imply that the military must dilute its focus on defence and melt into the purveyor of primary education, highway construction, and drug control. A number of writers focus on the transformed military and alliance configurations that would be required to protect human security.

Some group of scholars argued from what can be termed as narrow perspective of human security. The scholars on this perspective like Krause and Macfarlane have promoted a much narrower definition of human security which focuses on protection from violent threats. They argue that a narrower definition can be useful both to set priorities in human security policy, and to establish a practical agenda for action (Krause, 1998:367-368).

In a similar vein, Leaning and Arie (2000:37) described human security as a precondition for human development. Human security is: an underlying condition for sustainable human development. It results from the social, economic, and political aspects of human life that in times of acute crisis or chronic deprivation protect the survival of individuals, support individual and group capacities to attain minimally adequate standards of living, and promote constructive group attachment and continuity through time. Hence, represents the security of people their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. This definition focuses on human needs that include food, employment, and environmental protection.

Scholars like Bajpai (2000:4) argued that human security relates to the protection of the individual's personal safety and freedom from direct and indirect threats of violence. The promotion of human development and good governance, and, when necessary, the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing human security. States, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and other groups in civil society in combination are vital to the prospects of human security.

Chen (1995:139) maintains that the term human security focuses on human survival, wellbeing and freedom. He further argued that human security is the objective and the ultimate ends of all security concerns. All other forms of security, such as military security, are not ultimate goals. Rather, these other forms of security are simply means for achieving the ultimate objectives of human security. Hence, Cillier (2004:8) argued that while freedom from physical hurt, injury, abuse or the threat thereof constitutes the core of individual security, academic views of how far the communal concept of human security should (or could) be expanded from this core differ sharply. For some, hunger, disease and environmental contamination represent grave security threats even worse than physical violence. Thus, conditions of abject poverty or powerlessness are viewed as not qualitatively different from vulnerability to physical violence during conflict. Others have argued that human security should include the notion of structural violence.

Gonig by the general conception from both the broad and narrow perspectives of human security, the following criticism can be raised.

Firstly, one of these is vagueness: in this respect Paris (2001:88) argued that Human security is for all, but few people have a clear idea of what it means. Existing definitions of human security tend to be extraordinarily expansive and vague, encompassing

everything from physical security to psychological wellbeing, which provides policymakers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academics little sense of what, exactly, is to be studied.

The second criticism is incoherency. Those who seek to narrow human security but do so in an arbitrary way, without providing a compelling rationale for highlighting certain values.

The third criticism is arbitrariness. When the potential set of critical and pervasive threats is so wide, by what criteria is a small subset of these chosen for consideration? So often the importance of a particular human security threat is argued in isolation from other threats, or threats appear to be chosen arbitrarily or in response to the interests of those responsible.

Fourth of these criticism is that of exclusion, and it comes from the Feminist perspective on human security. It argues the UNDP report of 1994 did not treat women as special disadvantaged category, hence remain largely male enterprise. That women are more vulnerable to human security threats than men, as such they suffer more from poverty, diseases, displacement, conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction from men. Hence, removing or averting various threats to women, including marginalization and exclusion should be central to a holistic human security paradigm, (Tickner, 2004, Fukuda-Parr, 2004 and Basch, 2004).

Lastly, The most critical problem relating to conceptualizing the phenomenon of human security lies in its complexity and wholeness. This is because it has been given various interpretations and hence assumes various labels and dimensions thereby making the concept confusing. It encompasses almost everything that threatens human being

individually and collectively, physically, psychologically, culturally, politically and socio-economically among others.

Similarly, several conclusions can be drawn from the review of human security concepts. First, the notion is under research and implementation in disparate circles.

Second, operationalization of human security necessarily narrows the conception from the 1994 description of it. The variety of narrower proposed definitions causes consternation on the part of some reflective readers, who might be forgiven if, surveying this fleet of definitions and institutionalizations, they called out for a more accurate way of interpreting the conceptual discussion might be to conclude that an adequate conception of human security must comprise not only a working definition of human security, but also an account of the process by which individual institutions or nations can adapt and operationalized the concept to a form that is relevant to their own institutional capabilities and cultural contexts.

Third, although all writers surveyed consider human security to be multidimensional, the dimensions that they list differ, and the thresholds that must be met in order to assure security in any given dimension differ also. A concept of human security must include some account of the elements it contains, and of the process by which potential security claims in the various dimensions will be identified.

It seems that the criteria of selection could include a wide range of considerations. Some are predictive: the probability of a threat occurring, the extent and depth of insecurity that is likely to result, and the duration of it. Some are perceptive: what human insecurities do people feel most strongly about. However, for the purposes of this study human security

is the protection of individuals, groups and communities from physical attacks (injury, death and disruption of economic activities), humiliations, intimidations, oppression, internal threats and violence mainly perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons (SALW), in their personal surroundings, places of worship and occupations.

#### **2.4 Small Arms And Light Weapons (SALW) and Human security Challenges**

The term SALW has no single universally accepted definition. The most common definition is the one used in the United Nations Report of the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms (UNGA, 1997) which makes a distinction between small arms and light weapons. Broadly speaking, small arms are defined as those weapons designed for personal use and light weapons as those weapons designed for use by several persons serving as a crew. The UN definition puts forth a list of weapons within each category to identify those weapons that are considered to be SALW.

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) are cheap, light and easy to handle, transport and conceal. However, their wide availability aggravates the tension and grows insecurity. Most of today's conflicts are fought with SALW and the civilian population bear the brunt of these armed conflicts more than ever. They facilitate a vast spectrum of human rights violations, including killing, maiming, rape and other forms of sexual violence, enforced disappearance, torture and enforced recruitment of children by armed groups, and all forms of human right abuses (UNODA, 2013).

ECOWAS Convention (2006) gives two specific definitions of SALW as follow: Firstly, Small Arms are the types of arms used by one person and which include notably: firearms and other destructive arms or devices such as an exploding bomb, an incendiary bomb or a gas bomb, a grenade, a rocket launcher, a missile, a missile system or landmine;

revolvers and pistols with automatic loading; rifles and carbines; machine guns; assault rifles; light machine guns. And, secondly, Light Weapons are portable arms designed to be used by several persons working together in a team and which include notably: heavy machine guns; portable grenade launchers, mobile or mounted; portable anti-aircraft cannons; portable anti-tank cannons, non-recoil guns; portable anti-tank missile launchers or rocket launchers; portable anti-aircraft missile launchers; mortars with a calibre of less than 100 millimetres. In addition, they gave definition of Ammunition as devices destined to be shot or projected through the means of firearms including among others: cartridges; projectiles and missiles for light weapons; mobile containers with missiles or projectiles for anti-aircraft or antitank single action systems.

In a similar vein, The Report of the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms by UNGA (1997) sees Small arms as involving revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, submachine guns, and light machine guns.

While, Light weapons: heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, recoilless rifles, portable launchers of anti-tank and anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of less than 100mm calibre.

According to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2006) Small arms are easy to buy, easy to use, easy to transport and easy to conceal. Their continued proliferation exacerbated conflict, sparks refugee flows, undermines the rule of law and spawns a culture of violence and impunity.

Similarly, The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan at UN conference held in July 2001 explained that small arms are easy to buy, in some places an AK 47 assault rifle can be bought for as little as \$15 or even a bag of grain. They are easy to use; with minimal

training, even a child can wield one. They are easy to conceal and transport, they require little maintenance, and they can last for decades, (Nigeria Review, 2004:17).

The Small Arms Survey's (2001) definitions of small arms and light weapons provide an idea of the extent and diversity of weapons production. The products can be divided into several categories. The most important distinction is to be made between civilian and military products. Small arms and ammunition products are often developed for military use, and then adapted to the civilian market.

In view of the discourses above Small Arms and Light Weapons represent lethal conventional arms that can be carried by an individual combatant, a team of people, or a light vehicle that also do not require a substantial logistic and maintenance capability, (Bevan, 2008). For the purposes of this study, small arms and light weapons include everything from light arms to heavy artillery, handguns, revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, submachine guns, and light machine guns, heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, recoilless rifles, portable launchers of anti-tank and anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of less than 100mm calibre, Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), the rocket-propelled grenade RPG-7 etc.

They are often developed for military use and then adapted to the civilian market. They are exceptionally inexpensive, user-friendly, and easy to upgrade; and there is relatively little regulation at the international level, and as a result, many weapons fall into the hands of rebel forces, terrorists, or regimes under sanctions, and other dissident elements across the world.

Several other important distinctions can be made to classify the range of products.

Ammunition, for instance, is categorized as cartridge-based or non-cartridge-based. Light

weapons can be designed as either direct- or indirect-fire weapons. While the mortar is an example of indirect-fire weapons, developments in air-busting ammunition will progressively blur this notion. Anti-tank, anti-aircraft, and bunker-busting weapons can be either guided, unguided, crew-served, or fire-and-forget weapons firing high-technology projectiles. Rudimentary weapon systems still feature predominantly in arsenals around the world, confirming an ongoing demand for low-cost, low-tech weapons. With an estimated nine million or more units produced, the rocket-propelled grenade RPG-7 is exceptionally inexpensive, user-friendly, and easy to upgrade; it has become a weapon of choice for armies of the developing world and non-state actors alike, (Small Arms Survey, 2001).

In essence, there is no universally accepted definition of small arms or of light weapons. However, their portability and commonality have become defining characteristics. They includes both civilian, private, and military weapons that fire a projectile with the condition that the unit or system may be carried by an individual, a small number of people, or transported by a pack animal or a light vehicle. But, yet, Small arms and light weapons, are easy to operate, and obviously lethal. They generally include revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, assault rifles, sub-machine guns and light machine guns, heavy machine guns, hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers, portable anti-aircraft guns, portable anti-tank guns, recoilless rifles, portable launchers of anti-tank missile and rocket systems; portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile systems (MANPAD); and mortars of calibres of less than 100 mm, single-rail-launched rockets and 120 mm mortars as long as they can be transported and operated as intended by a light vehicle, the Makarov 9mm pistol, the 9mm Browning Series pistol, produced by FN Herstal (Belgium), and Sub-machine guns (SMG).

Among these weapons handgun is the most common small weapon carried mainly for self-protection. Handguns are small enough to fit in a pocket, inexpensive, and often widely available. The most common of which is 9 mm pistols, which can shoot accurately over a distance of some 50 metres. The most common automatic assault rifles that are predominantly used as infantry weapons and which dominated market around the globe are three weapons: the Kalashnikov AK series (The Russian Federation), the M-16 series (US), and the FN-FAL (Belgium). Market rivals include the following rifles: G3 (Germany), SIG 540 Series (Switzerland), AUG (Austria) and the Galil (Israel). As well as the Improvised Electronic Devices (IED's) and a variety of local craft weapons like an imitated AK-47 and pistol which have been widely used by insurgents and militants especially in Africa and Asian countries.

In many countries police and paramilitaries carry much more dangerous high-velocity assault rifles, such as AK-47s. Assault rifles are simple and durable, with only a few moving parts; their use requires little training, and they can remain operational for 20–40 years or more, with only minimal maintenance. They are also highly portable, easily concealed, and relatively cheap. An AK-47 fires up to 30 rounds in less than three seconds, with each bullet potentially lethal at distances exceeding one kilometre.

Shoulder-fired rocket launchers and portable air-defence systems can be operated by only two people. They have an overwhelming destructive power. Some are 'fire and forget' missiles, finding their target by infra-red systems, with a range of between one and eight kilometres. They include the US-made Stinger missile systems, used to devastating effect in Afghanistan, and the Strela missile, which was fired at (but missed) an Israeli civilian airliner in Kenya in November 2002. The simpler rocket launchers, such as the Russian

RPG-7, can bring down helicopters and penetrate tank armour 330 mm thick at distances of up to 500 metres, (Hillier, 2003).

The most common light weapon in the hand of armed group especially insurgents around the world is the so called improvised explosive devices (IED). It is a homemade bomb which consists of variety of components that include an initiator, switch, main charger, power source, and a container. It can be surrounded by a pack with additional materials or enhancement such as nails, needles, glass, gas cylinders, metal fragments, and other hazardous materials all designed to increase the amount of shrapnel propelled by the explosion. It also contains fuel and an oxidizer, which provides the oxygen needed to sustain the reaction. A common example is ANFO, which is a mixture of ammonium nitrate, which acts as the oxidizer, and fuel oil. IED are produced from common available materials such as fertilizer, gunpowder and hydrogen peroxide. They are designed in various forms for an intended target, ranging from a small pipe bomb to a sophisticated device capable of large scale destructions. IED can be carried or delivered in a vehicle, package or luggage. They can be placed, carried or thrown by a person, or concealed on the road side. IED are very effective devices capable of destructions, incapacitation, harassment or distraction of the target. They are common light weapons used in an unconventional war by criminal vandals, terrorists, suicide bombers, and especially by insurgents,(US Department of Homeland Security, 2013).

In the context of this study Small arms and light weapons (SALW) represent those types of arms that can be carried by one or few individuals. These include Avtomat Kalashnikov AK 47 assault rifle, Improvised explosive devices (IED), local craft gun and

pistol as well as other devices used in perpetrating attacks against civilian and security formation.

The UN Secretary General (1995) observed that some of the most protracted armed conflicts in the world at present are those in which a recurring cycle of violence, an erosion of political legitimacy and a loss of economic viability deprive a State of its authority to cope with, is consequences of an excessive accumulation, proliferation and use of small arms. The major factors contributing to the availability of small arms and light weapons is the increase in the number of legitimate producers of such weapons combined with continuing illegitimate arms manufacturing, at the same time, a large proportion of the accumulation and flow of small arms and light weapons is constituted by recirculated weapons or arms from existing stockpiles.

Klare's (1995:174) have identified many reasons why small arms figure so prominently in intra-state conflicts, one such reason is that small arms require limited resources to buy and are more accessible in the arms market, the low cost and wide availability, lethality, simplicity and durability, portability and concealability, make small arms attractive for irregular forces in internal conflict. Logistically, the use of small arms by is favoured over heavy weapons because of their simplicity to operate. They are suitable in internal conflict as the goal of ethnic warfare, is not so much victory on the battlefield but rather intimidation by members of another group. Conflicts involving small arms often persist for a long period of time and usually result in a stalemate between the various parties. The characteristics of small arms make them the perfect weapon for criminals and insurgent groups as principal weapon of choice for use against government forces.

Furthermore, supply of small arms contributes to global violence even after their initial role in internal conflicts. This occurs with the ending of violent conflict, and the subsequent lack of employment opportunities insurgents find in their new environment. Instead, insurgents may turn to banditry, drug trafficking and arms smuggling to supplement their income, often using guns acquired from foreign patrons during the earlier fighting (Klare, 1995:14). In addition, the Small Arms Survey (2003:27) argued that demand for small arms and light weapons can be a result of internal conflict where a non-state actor, such as an insurgent group, has limited access to an external arms supplier. Furthermore, high prices of imported small arms can also encourage the production of illicit small arms.

The black market is a major source of small arms for criminals and insurgent groups. Black market deals are usually profit motivated and are conducted by private individuals or private organisations (Kantha, 1999:51). Being profit motivated transfers, insurgent groups can find a number of suppliers willing to transfer small arms. Black market transactions may also include 'secondary diffusion' characteristics that are trafficking in weapons that were once part of a grey-market transaction somewhere else. Most black market transactions involve small arms. The upsurge in black market transactions for the past two decades is largely a result of increasing internal conflict throughout the global system, and the activities of insurgent groups in these conflicts. Black market transfers also involve a significant number of transactions from neighbouring states who had or were involved in internal conflict. These states usually have accumulated an excessive amount of arms, and instead of disposing of them, may sell them on to other insurgent groups involved in internal conflict. This may lead to the establishment of pipelines

between suppliers and insurgent groups, recycling weapons from previous conflicts to be used in current armed conflicts.

Badmus (2005) maintains that small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have become so wide spread that not only do they threaten security across the world but also undermine the peace and stability of civil society. He further contends that Africa has become attractive and profitable dumping ground for nations. In a similar vein, Okodolor (2005:45) argues that the proliferation of arms in West Africa is assisted by plentiful supplies from law enforcement agents and military personnel selling their weapons, and from growing domestic artisan production, which passes down established trade routes. Small arms also assist the expansion of transnational criminal networks.

Abalo (2006:2) maintain that there is widespread availability and rampant wide use by abusive state and non-state actors of small arms in West Africa. This situation according him, contributes to a pervasive climate of instability, humanitarian tragedy and wanton human rights violations in the region riddled with underdevelopment, poor health system and corrupt state leaders and government. Indeed, proliferation of small arms, light weapons and their use armed group like mercenaries, sustain conflicts, exacerbate violence, fuel crime and terrorism and promote a culture of violence.

Small arms are present in every country of the world and they play a key role in perpetrating human right abuses and breach of humanitarian law through their direct wide use or through the threat of use. More injuries, deaths, displacements, rapes, kidnappings, and acts of torture are inflicted or perpetrated with small arms than with any other type of weapon. Indeed, Small arms and light weapons have become the most salient source of

human suffering in the contemporary world. In almost every continent across national boundaries, uncontrolled Small arms and light weapons and their wide use form a persistent problem through their excessive availability and accumulation. They have been sources of firepower to insurgents, armed gang members, pirates, drug barons and terrorists, through which they destabilize communities, unleash terror and wreak havoc, (UNODA, 2013).

It has been estimated that at more than 500 million small arms and light weapons are in circulation around the world one for about every 12 people. They have become weapons of choice in 46 out of 49 major conflicts since 1990, causing four million deaths about 90 per cent of them civilians, and 80 per cent women and children. Hence, human security has been under increasing threats from the spread of small arms and light weapons and their illegal trade,(Mehta,2006). They have devastated many societies and caused incalculable human suffering. They continue to pose an enormous humanitarian challenge, particularly in internal conflicts where insurgent militias fight against government forces. This is because in these conflicts, a high proportion of the casualties are civilians who are the deliberate targets. Consequently, this has led to millions of deaths and injuries, the displacement of populations, and suffering and insecurity around the world.

In a similar vein, Arms Without Borders Campaign (2006:4) observed that across the world, on average, up to one thousand people die every day as a direct result of armed violence, countless more are injured, bereaved, abused and displaced by security forces, armed groups, criminal gangs and other armed individuals. Further, the campaign (ibid:4) revealed that between one third and three quarters of all grave human rights violations

and 85% of killings reported by Amnesty International over the past decade have involved the use of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

Furthermore, the former Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan (2000:52) lamented that the death toll from Small Arms and Light Weapons dwarfs that of all other weapons system and in most years greatly exceeds the toll of the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In terms of the carnage they cause, small arms are indeed and could well be described as weapons of mass destruction. Yet, there is still no global non-proliferation regime to limit their spread, as there is for chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

Similarly, in view of the security challenge posed by SALW John Keegan, (cited in Okiro, 2004:76) lamented that nuclear weapons have since August 1945, killed no one. The 50, 000,000 (fifty million) who have died in war since that date have for the most part, been killed by cheap, mass produced weapons and small calibre ammunition, which have flooded the World in the same period. No one knows precisely how many small arms and light weapons are in circulation, but experts estimate that military style firearms may number about 500 million. The availability of small arms and light weapons fuel intrastate conflicts, ethno-religious violence, cause instability and undermine development. Indeed, there have been growing global concerns over the increasing threats and alarming dangers posed by the excessive accumulation of SALW especially in the wrong hands. While small arms and light weapons do not of course, cause conflicts, they soon become part of the conflict equation by fuelling and exacerbating underlying tension, generating more insecurity and adding to the number of casualties, (Ero and Ndinga-Muvumba, 2004:224).

The availability of small arms plays a role in perpetuating the violence and making it more lethal at every level, from criminal activity to full-fledged war, in both developed and developing countries.

According to UN Security Council (2002: 31):

The destabilizing accumulation and uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons in many regions of the world increases the intensity and duration of armed conflict, undermines the sustainability of peace agreements, impedes the success of peace-building, frustrates efforts aimed at the prevention of armed conflict, hinders considerably the provision of humanitarian assistance and compromises the effectiveness of the Security Council discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The effects of SALW to post conflict security situation is of no less significance. It has been indicated that in West Africa, eventhough there are no official figures, an estimated 30,000 people have been killed by SALW in conflict each year since the end of the Cold War, (Ero and Ndinga-Muvumba, 2004: 226).

## **2.5 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and Human Security Challenges in Nigeria**

The Nigerian state especially from 1999 onward has been confronted by security challenges, resulting from internal security threats posed by endemic communal and sectarian conflicts, widespread armed robbery and banditry, politically sponsored violence, murder and assassinations, which have resulted in the cheapening of human life. These challenges are fuelled by poor governance, poverty and lack of the capacity in the security apparatus to guarantee law and order as well as protect of life and property in the country which has been reinforced by poor infrastructure and equipments, inadequate training and ill-motivation, as well as entrenched culture of corruption and materialism. The security situation has further

been deteriorated by prevailing excessive proliferation of small arms and ammunitions particularly in the hands of insurgents in the northern parts of the country. This directly threatens human security and challenges the constitutional authority and the sovereignty of the Nigerian state. The pervasiveness and persistence of the conflict also have grave psychological consequences as children are traumatized or become accustomed to a cultural violence. (Edeko, 2011:56).

In view of that, Achumba et al (2013) observed that for the past one decade Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has made national security threat to be a major issue for the government and has prompted huge allocation of the national budget to security. In order to ameliorate the incidence of crime, the federal government has embarked on criminalization of terrorism by passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011, installation of Computer-based Closed Circuit Television cameras (CCTV) in some parts of the country, enhancement of surveillance as well as investigation of criminal related offences, heightening of physical security measures around the country aimed at deterring or disrupting potential attacks, strengthening of security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media, but despite these efforts, the level of insecurity in the country is still high.

The security forces in Nigeria imports weapons in order to meet the demands of their role to provide security in the country. But, while military and police are increasing their own stocks of weapons in an effort to fortify and ably combat the rising armed violence in the country, the illegal civilian importation is also continuing. Various individuals and non-state armed groups are importing and purchasing small arms as a result of the failure of the security forces to effectively contain the arms proliferation in the state, (Hazen and

Horner, 2007:25). Indeed, the guarantee of state security remains the virtual monopoly of lethal instruments of coercion by those organs of the state so authorized. But, when the state allows unauthorized persons or group to have unbridled access to sophisticated arms, they definitely find their ways into a swelling arsenal of a nationwide underground army of bandits, armed robbers, contract killers and free lance gunmen. It inadvertently undermines the most fundamental basis of its existence and very survival. In the process, it licences terrorists and brigands to contest its legitimacy and sovereign authority. Thus, the state and human security is seriously challenged.

There are high numbers of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in circulation in Nigeria, these weapons pose a serious risk to human security. The majority of these small arms light weapons (SALW) are illegally possessed, due to highly restrictive national laws on possession. While, this does not necessarily indicate intent to use these weapons in an illegal fashion, as self-defence is a primary motive for possession in some cases. Individuals and groups are importing and purchasing small arms as a result of the failure of the security forces to provide security. The Nigerian police force has estimated in 2013 that there are about 1 million illegally held guns in the country in civilian hands. The market price for the most popular of them all, the AK-47 pattern assault rifle goes for \$180 about 27, 000=00k. But, while, the total number of guns in the hands of civilians is put at 2million, only half of these numbers are registered. The remainder are reportedly held by criminals and people who need to protect themselves from violent crimes, but could not go through the whole hog of arms registration. This 2 million guns in civilian possession put Nigeria at 34<sup>th</sup> position in a comparison of privately owned guns among

178 countries across the globe, (International Gun Control Advocacy Group, cited in Daily News Watching, 2013).

Nigeria is both a producer and consumer of SALW in the West African sub-region. And it was estimated that over 70% of about eight to 10 million illegal weapons in West Africa are in Nigeria, (Onuaha, 2013:50). In addition, analysts also fear that there may be close to five millions small arms in Nigeria, (Nigeria Review, 2004:17). In essence, in accordance with the literatures above there is high numbers of small arms and light weapons particularly in the wrong hand, with serious human security challenges in the country.

Onuaha (2013,52) argued that weapons in circulation in Nigeria come from local fabrication, residue of guns used during the civil war, thefts from government armouries, smuggling, dishonest government-accredited importers, ethnic militias, insurgents from neighbouring countries and some multinational oil corporations operating in the oil-rich but crisis-plagued Niger Delta. The emergence of campus or street cults in Nigeria is another major source of arms proliferation. The groups while engaging in their violent struggle for supremacy and territorial control, they acquire SALW and wide use them with attendant high human costs,(Naagbantou, 2008).

The problem of human security in Nigeria is seen mainly in the inability of most governments and the state agencies to consistently and institutionally guarantee the adequate protection, peace and well-being of the citizens. This situation arises from pervasive social injustices and conflicts generating the serious tendency towards fear, chaos and conflicts arising from situations of threats, violence and instability in the

country, resulting mainly from the proliferation of SALW and their wide use.

Human security that is the safety of the people is the prime casualty of weapons availability: every year several hundred thousand people are killed in violent conflict and war. In so-called developed societies, the number of victims of intentional violence, suicide and accidents is almost as high.

In addition to this staggering number, gun violence leaves profound personal, economic and psychological scars on victims and their families who are left with the burden of caring for the disabled, or survive without their main provider or parent. Weapons availability and wide use also has a variety of indirect impacts, including the displacement of civilians; the erosion of sustainable development; the restriction of access to health services, education, and food security; land denial; obstruction to humanitarian assistance, as well as posing a threat to the lives and well being of humanitarian and development workers.

According to Onuaha (2013:55) The challenges of SALW on human security in Nigeria is evident from the financial losses incurred by armed conflicts. About 10 major ethno-religious conflicts between 1999 and 2004 cost the Nigerian government over 400 million (US\$2.86 million). Besides, the amount of money that governments spend on security during such crises and their aftermath are huge. Further, Onuaha (2013:55) noted that in the aftermath of the Jos crisis in early 2010, the federal government assisted the Bauchi State government with 135 million (US\$900,000) to help resettle or integrate about 30,000 Internally Displaced Persons from neighbouring Plateau State seeking refuge in Bauchi State. These scarce resources could otherwise be used in

providing basic services that promote human security and development, such as clean water, education and healthcare, among others.

Beyond the cost to government, individuals lose property and family members. The loss of property compounds the problem of poverty and deprivation of the affected population. Through the death of family members, arms induced conflicts lead to a deep fracturing of kinship and family structures many children have been left without parents, husbands without wives, and vice versa. It is worthy of notice that when a family unit is dismantled, children suffer and their future wellbeing is often bleak, as they are denied good parental care. Many end up as social miscreants who contribute to violent crimes. Thus, for every person killed or injured in conflict and crime involving the use of SALW there are many more who must cope with the psychological, physical and economic effects that endure in the aftermath. In this context, women and children are invariably the hardest hit. In recent times, SALW proliferation and their wide use has led to an increase in violent crimes that undermine human security, such as rape, cultism, armed robbery and kidnapping, in most parts of the country. It is estimated that close to one million people have died from the ethnic based war through the used of small arms in the last ten years (1994-2004). Indeed, the former Vice president Atiku Abubakar put the figure of death from internecine wars in Nigeria at five hundred thousand by 2001, (Nigeria Review, 2004:17).

Furthermore, it has been noted that between 1999 and 2010, Nigeria recorded at least 187 ethno-religious conflicts leading to several thousand deaths and displacement of 1.6 million Nigerians, (Onuaha, 2013). Thus, it is the availability of SALW that fuel intrastate conflicts, ethno-religious violence, cause instability and undermine development.

Helen Chuma-Okoro (2013) argued that the proliferation of SALW and the wide use of same by State and non-state actors have created room for the infringement of human life and rights. The killing of people by use of firearms clearly deprives them of their right to life whether at the hands of State agents through extra-judicial killings or excess force, or at the hands of criminals, vigilantes or rioters. The use of military tactics to quell civil disturbances, state-sponsored or state-sanctioned violence against civilians as happened in Odi, Bayelsa State, in 1999 and replicated against the Tivs of Zaki Biam in Benue in October 2001 are examples of wide use of SALW by State agents in contravention of the aforementioned legal obligations imposed by the international community.

According to Okereocha (2012) a World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of terrorists going by the name 'Boko Haram'. As FDI flows to Nigeria fell to \$6.1 billion (N933.3billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 per cent from the \$8.65 billion (N1.33trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year. Similarly, statistics obtained from the 2010 annual report by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) showed that the total foreign capital inflow into the Nigerian economy in 2010 was \$5.99 billion. The record showed that FDI represented about 78.1 per cent drop from \$3.31 billion in 2009.

In a similarly, The Human Watch Report (in Adebayo, 2014) revealed that, in 2011 alone, 'Boko Haram' struck 115 times and killed 550 people. Within the first three weeks of the year 2012, the sect killed 250 people with the deadliest being the coordinated bombings in the ancient city of Kano, which claimed 185 lives. In 2015 it has been estimated that over thirteen thousands people died 13,000 from Boko Haram insurgency since 2009 and

forcing several thousands of people displaced, their environments destroyed. It also leads to mass abduction of women and children across the north-eastern states of Nigeria. These challenges have created potent security threats that are capable of tearing into pieces the very fabric that holds Nigeria as one indivisible entity.

These have shown that the activities or mayhem by the Boko-Haram have destroyed over 8000 lives, and more than 4000 buildings across Northern Nigeria. The militant attack alone in Baga, left more than 2,275 buildings destroyed and 183 bodies of dead victims, including 36 terrorist (Human Right Watch, 2013). Boko-Haram, took control of 25 local government areas in Bornu State out of 27 local government areas and many others in Yobe State. Nigerian security agencies revealed that remnants of rebel wars in both countries have drifted southwards with their weapons into Nigeria over the past decade. Operating in large bands of 30 to 50 armed men, they engage in banditry on highways in northeast and central Nigeria. They are even hired as mercenaries to fight in land disputes or in communal or religious conflicts in the area, said a Nigerian army intelligence official. (IRN, 2006:18). These have led to mass displacement of people from the areas affected by armed violence, especially north-eastern Nigeria. Also, Militancy particularly as perpetrated by MEND has resulted in various bomb blasts that occurred during the 50<sup>th</sup> Independence Day anniversary on October 1, 2010, near Eagle square (venue of the celebration in Abuja), the nation's capital, killing an estimated number of fourteen persons (14) and injured about twenty (20), these combined to create reign of terror and state of fear among the citizens in the Nigeria, (IRN, 2006:18).

## **2.6 Human Security and SALW Violence in Kano Metropolis**

Kano state is the state with highest population of over nine million people. Most of these populated are concentrated in the eight local government areas of the metropolitan centre with about 2,828,861 people (NPC Census, 2006). Like many other urban centres across Nigeria the area is characterized with high population density, traffic congestion, poverty and unemployment which explain the rampant cases of criminal activities like drug abuse, thuggery, kidnapping, theft, burglary, religious fanaticism, insurgency and armed robbery among others in the area. This is further compounded by the proliferation of SALW as well as their wide use in fermenting terror and crimes especially with new waves of insurgency in the state and Nigeria in general.

Kano state in general has been ranked as 6th state in the federation in terms of GDP (PPP\$) \$12,393,103,864 GDP and per capita income of \$1,288 (Logbaby Encycloepedia, 2016). The state has been among the leading Commercial and Industrial centres in Nigeria for over three decades. Kano manufacturers enjoy an almost unalloyed dominance over the leather processing and tanning business and, in the first half of the 1980s, controlled the highest number of soft drink and mineral water bottling plants in the country. The Kano manufacturing sector also boasts one of the highest concentrations of textile mills, sweets and confectionery factories, plastics and plastic product plants, perfumes and cosmetic factories, and metal and wooden furniture factories in the country.

At the end of 1984, Kano had 19 factories producing sweets, 27 textile plants, and 39 plastic and plastic products firms. While it had the highest concentration of sweets and confectionery, and plastic and plastic products factories for any part of the country, its number of textile mills was rivaled only by Lagos. Similarly, with 11 leather processing factories, it enjoyed a clear dominance in this area, while its 30 vegetable and food

processing plants ensured that it was almost at par with Lagos in this area. Some of its firms, such as Gaskiya Textile Mill, were among the most important employers of factory labour in Nigeria. Owned by an indigenous investor, Gaskiya Textile Mill employed over 1,000 workers at the end of 1984. Clearly, the manufacturers of Kano, and the sector of the Kano economy which they control, occupy an important position in the national industrial profile. A great majority of the manufacturing establishments in Kano employ labour-intensive methods of production, (Olukoshi,1996:16-17).

By the early 1980s, following the collapse of the world oil market, the ability of the Nigerian state to continue to finance the import needs of industry was severely undermined as its foreign exchange earnings were drastically reduced. The impact of the crisis on the Kano manufacturing sector, as on the rest of the national economy, was immediate and drastic. It is estimated that between 1982 and 1985, between 50 and 75 per cent of all manufacturing establishments in Kano had to cease production for varying periods of time, ranging from two weeks to one year, because of the acute shortage of raw materials and spare parts, leading to the retrenchment of over 2,000 workers. In addition to the firms that closed down in 1984, 70 factories were reported to have ceased production in the first quarter of 1985 alone. It was also reported that in 1985, a total of 17,000 factory workers were either retrenched or sent on indefinite compulsory leave (Olukoshi, 1996:17-18).

Furthermore, most of the firms in Kano that managed to remain in business were saddled with unsold stocks. These stocks were, in 1989, as high as 75 per cent for firms in the food, beverage and tobacco sub-sector, 51 per cent for the textile mills and 42 per cent for the metal processing factories. This problem led some of the firms to close down, while

others reduced their working day in what observers have described as a march towards deindustrialization, (Olukoshi, (1996: 20-21).

The economic crisis occasioned by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) inaugurated by the government in 1986 has engendered a growing impoverishment of greater sections of the Nigerian society. This impoverishment has forced disadvantaged social groups in the country to seek for and implement some means of coping with the situation. Because the crisis affects different groups in different ways, social groups in the country have also evolved differentiated coping strategies and mechanisms.

One of the social categories most affected by the crisis is the youth. The collapse of social services and the increasing commercialisation of education have made it very difficult for many young people to remain in school. As a consequence, the number of school drop-outs is increasing. Simultaneous, with this is a drastic decline in employment opportunities arising from the contraction of industrial activities and the employment embargo imposed by the government as part of its restructuring programme. There is also a sharp decrease in the rate of school transition from the secondary level to the university, throwing a large number of youths out of the educational system, most of whom remain largely unemployed. For the young people who are able to continue to attend school, they are equally affected by the crisis, as their conditions of study have deteriorated. One common feature of the adjustment and coping mechanisms of the youths outside the school system is the resort to violence. (Ya'u, 2000). That trend sows the seed of socioeconomic crisis that manifested more vividly in the early 1990's through to the present moment 2015.

In addition to these grievances, which are prevalent throughout the country, there are also specific political and socioeconomic frustrations found predominantly in northern Nigerian state. Poverty, unemployment, and lack of education are much higher here than in the rest of the country.

By the end of the 1990s, following years of military rule and popular struggles for democracy, armed militias, criminal groups and insurgents were emerging in different parts of the country stimulated by a cocktail of socio-economic conditions (poverty, unemployment, rapid urbanization, etc.). Thus, ethnic violence, civil strife and various forms of criminal activities have become way of life in order to achieve one given end or another. Hence by 2000 to 2015 insecurity has become dominant feature of the country in general even though there are remarkable peculiarities.

Beside, poverty and unemployment was poor health care services, which worsened the socioeconomic of Kano. It was projected that the population of Kano state in 2012 was 11,179,667, but the health care facilities were only 1,183 in number attended by only 411 medical Doctors that dropped to 315 from 2007 to 315 in 2011, (NBS, 2012). This created a sense of desperation and frustration as poor people could neither afford to obtain daily means of survival nor can they cater for their immediate medical needs. Hence, wait for any slight chance by which they can ferment trouble in order to loot.

In the last few years, a number of riots resulting in the loss of lives and properties have occurred in Kano (Reinhand Boonke riot 1991, Sabon-Gari market disturbance 1995, July 1999 Anti Yoruba reprisal Attacks, October 2001 Anti American Protest, 2004 reprisal attack, among others). A large number of the youth did take part in the looting that

usually followed these riots. The economic motive of their violence was illustrated by their targets, where personal residences, shops and supermarkets were burnt, damaged and looted, (Ya'u, 2000:174). In addition, in the post election violence April 2011 in Kano metropolis various public places, personal residences and properties with high level looting were reported. Even though the violence was alleged to have some element of political undertone, yet the way and manner by which it was perpetrated revealed vividly the socioeconomic condition of people engaged in it.

Another factor that triggered insecurity resulting from poverty frustration in the state is drug abuse. This is because these substances are abused and serve as means by which young people engage themselves to cope with socioeconomic challenges. Even in 2014 Kano recorded second position as the state with highest number of drug related crimes.

Hence recorded high cases of arrest, this is illustrated below:

| <b>Year</b>          | <b>2010</b> | <b>2011</b> | <b>2012</b> | <b>2013</b> | <b>2014</b> |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>No. of Arrest</b> | 638         | 1281        | 705         | 567         | 503         |

National Bureau of Statistics (2015).

In addition, large quantities of Drug were equally seized as follows:

| <b>Year</b>            | <b>2010</b> | <b>2011</b> | <b>2012</b> | <b>2013</b> | <b>2014</b> |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>Quantity Seized</b> | 3254.25     | 4921.58     | 4107.89     | 4253.90     | 7522.20     |

National Bureau of Statistics (2015).

Another critical social factor that aggravate human insecurity in Kano state particularly the metropolitan centre is the problem of illiteracy among larger segment of the youth in

the state. This can also be justified by the statistics released by National Bureau of statistics below:

**Kano State School Attendance among Youth**

| Never in School |                | Presently in School |                |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Male            | Female         | Male                | Female         |
| 293,089(28.0%)  | 751,944(72.8%) | 473,368(63.2%)      | 276,043(36.8%) |

NBS (2013) National Youth Survey Report 2012.

It is obvious that armed violence is often exacerbated by the deteriorating socio-economic crisis typified by unemployment, inflation and poverty. The correlation between poverty and general socioeconomic crisis on one hand and armed conflict on the other hand is succinctly captured by Paquet-Sevigny (1990) when he argued that deepening poverty is already leading to mounting instability. Widespread unrest, turmoil and violence which is now afflicting an unprecedented number of country particularly in Africa is linked up to one common thread of growing economic malaise, regardless of the ethnic and political guises it adopts. Poverty indeed is the tinder that which ignites the resentments and fears that all people and communities harbour.

In addition, Alli (2012) argued that internal security threats from struggle for political power and threats stemming from socio-economic and political contradictions are factors more understood as challenges to human security. They are caused by the failure of governments in several critical areas, such as unemployment and poverty, inadequate infrastructure, abuse of human rights and widespread corruption. These group of security threats now manifest as ethno-religious conflicts, political succession crises, military coups, insurgencies by militants, terrorism, environmental decay resulting from mineral

exploitation, cross-border organised crimes, kidnaping, human trafficking, drug trafficking, armed robbery, piracy and all manner of criminal activities.

Lamenting the situation of poverty as a cause of insecurity in Kano The Emir of Kano Sunusi Lamido Sunusi (cited in the Eagleonline, 2014) blamed insecurity situation in the country on the twin evils of poverty and illiteracy. He noted that “if you see a 17 years old girl carrying bomb, there is need to ask ourselves a question, was she brainwashed because of illiteracy or how much she was paid because of poverty.” The Emir Sunusi (cited in The Eagleonline,2014) further while expressing worry over the deteriorating level of insecurity being perpetrated by the armed group, particularly after the Kano central mosques attack, has called on the subjects to bring out all necessary methods in protecting themselves from insurgent. He noted that we can not sit down and watch our people killed on daily basis. He urged people not to sit down and think that soldiers will come to save you. Hence, those of you that Allah has blessed with any means and strategy should use it for any aggression. This generally motivates the demand for arms especially sophisticated for self-protection (The Emir Sunusi, cited in The Eagleonline,2014).

Therefore, going by the above explanation the trend of armed violence can be attributed to the lack of human security which cause deprivation and sparks frustration and eventually in armed violence fuelled by SALW. Hence, Kano metropolis has become flashpoint of religious disturbances, ethnic violence, insurgency and criminal activities. This conversely, set in yet new waves of threat against the state and its inhabitant in general with serious socioeconomic implications. Where deprivation and frustration co-exists with greater disparity between the social values to which people aspire and the availability of facilities for acquiring these values in legitimate ways, the development of

crimes as an organized way of life turn out as a last resort. Crime, in this situation, may be regarded as one of the means employed by people to acquire, or to attempt to acquire, the economic and social values generally, which persons would have acquired in other circumstances by legitimate means.

## **2.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Various

explanations have been offered on the causes of armed attacks through SALW and their challenges to human security. The most important salient aspect of all these explanations is general assumption that SALW attacks are manifestation of armed violence triggered by various political and socio-economic factors. Even though SALW threaten human security they obviously do not operate by themselves, but rather by individuals and groups operating with different motives. Hence, proper understanding of the trend of SALW threats to human security could best be situated in the context of understanding factors behind the violence perpetrated through actions and behaviour of these individual criminals and armed groups.

Sha (2005:62) argued that there are three broad perspectives that explain the sources of human insecurity in a society: The first is individually oriented security concerns which see individual and groups within the political system as a cause of insecurity. It attributes insecurity to groups and individuals when they play they act as assassins, terrorists, separatists, coup makers, and revolutionaries or when they play the role of columnists in support of some other state's interests. Such individuals and groups can also influence public opinion in situations where the state's capacity to perform is weak or when such individuals with strong views and ideological inclinations play the role of leaders of a

state. The second attributes sources of insecurity to the state itself, in this respect circumstances that can cause insecurity are identified which can arise from domestic law making and enforcement such as inadequate or excessive policing and prosecution practices which manifested in miscarried or deficient justice, violation of human rights, corruption, degree of horizontal inequality, and access to resources, persecution by police, civil conflict and war, poverty and authoritarianism, macro-policy shocks and stresses, social vulnerability, illness and death. While, the third is concerned with the struggle over the control of the state's machinery, between those in power (political elites), and those seeking access to power, in which violence and terrorism ensues as a result of disagreements. Although, the explanations above identified the various forces behind the human security challenges, yet, it fails to provide the underline factors that motivate these actions. Several other scholars have attempted to offer explanation on the cause of armed violence.

In explaining the trend of armed violence Nwachukwu (2011: 75-76) argued that many factors cause human security challenges in Nigeria, these include; incessant ethno-religious and communal conflicts, political instability, bad governance, decomposition and attendant lack of efficacy of state institutions, economic decline, massive poverty, high unemployment, wide income disparities, social dislocation caused by massive rural-urban migration, breakdown of societal values leading to fraud and community unrest. In a similar vein, Kupolati (1990:321) attributed the upsurge of armed violence in Nigeria to absence of an enviable political culture, religious intolerance and fanaticism, ethnic rivalry, uneven distribution of development projects and amenities, and concentration of wealth in the hands of a disproportionate lazy few.

Further, Alli (2006) with reference to Africa noted that the spate of armed conflicts ravaging Africa can be attributed to the inadequacies of the African government as the structure and institutions of the state which have remained relatively undeveloped. These governments in essence, have only a focus on building those institutions that allow the exploitation and management of resources. Nigeria for example has been putting much effort on the management and exploitation of resources than on nation building. This attitude of government makes it possible for the people to be exploited and impoverished. Poverty caused by the activities of such government in any state is bound to bring about conflict, as the people would be seeking to have a share of such exploited resources; indeed this kind of conflict is caused by the desire to have access over natural resources.

In a similar vein, Adedeji (1999) and Capson (1994) have offered explanation that link armed violence to political and environmental related factors such as fragility of the developing nation-states and the struggle over power in the state as well as a result of competition for farming and grazing land as well as struggle over scarce resources.

Similarly, Okeke and Oji (2014:416) Pointed out that the proliferation of SALW in Nigeria is a product of failure of political leadership due to bad leadership, poor governance, militarization of the society and state violence leading to poverty, mass unemployment, economic crisis of development and other forms of poor human development indices in Nigeria. The problems of armed violence and proliferation of SALW are worsened by the inability of the police to reduce violent crime, ensure law and order and provide adequate security to the populace. None of the security agent currently possesses the training, resources or personnel to perform their duties.

In addition, Ajodo-Adebanjoko and Okorie, (2014:12) argued that corruption remains one of the greatest challenges to security in the country. The connection between corruption and insecurity is direct one; this is because corruption breeds poverty and unemployment and other factors which lead to crimes and insecurity directly or indirectly such as armed robbery, cultism, and terrorism.

Supporting the argument above Akanji (2007:63) attributed the human challenges in the country to poor resource management on the part of the government where corrupt and repressive government kept amassing wealth from oil proceeds. This led the group to seek for redress of injustices and inequalities. He further contends that it is corrupt and ineffective political leadership that often engenders poverty and, consequently, violent activities. In other words, conflict and insecurity can be generated as a result of leadership ineffectiveness or failure to address certain fundamental issues in the society or due to greed for power which may lead to power struggles amongst the political office seekers. The resultant effect of this is the upsurge of militarized and militant poor, unemployed youths which has been associated with conflicts in the region as a result of their knowledge and easy accessibility to SALW. It is obvious that the various cases of insecurity and deadly conflicts across the country have serious implications for national integration, peace, socio-economic networking and co-existence, general development.

Other scholars like Ajakaiye (2002:8), and Jega (2007:199) are all in agreement that poverty appears to be the major greatest underlying threats to security in Nigeria. They further opined that a combination of widening gap in income inequality, worsening unemployment situation and perceptions of group discrimination and marginalization based on ethnic, religious, and communal differences, create rigid identity divides based

on US versus them syndrome, fan the embers of group hatred and ignite tensions and even violent conflicts.

Many factors determine how exactly the availability of SALW serve as triggers of armed violence in the country. Arguably, unemployment and poverty is considered to be at the base of the proliferation of SALW in Nigeria. There are many jobless, poor and disgruntled able bodied young men and women alike who are readily available to be trained and armed to presumably defend the interest of their groups and or that of their political masters. The high rate of unemployment and poverty in Nigeria is a contradiction of its status as one of the major exporter of crude oil and the fact that Nigeria is one of the poorest nations in the world. Unemployment rate in Nigeria has continued to be on the increase despite the abundant human and natural resources available in the country. Chronic youths' unemployment is evident in Nigeria (Adebayo, 2013). Unemployment has become a major problem tormenting the lives of Nigerian youths and this poses a serious risk to the Nigerian society, because, the phenomenon of youth unemployment is devastating to both the individual concerned and the society as a whole both psychologically and economically.

Despite the various explanations above what is less perceptible is the nature and cause of armed attacks and their implications of human security within Kano metropolis. It is obvious that economic factors are the major sources of human security threats. These manifested in form of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy among the citizenry coupled with growing injustice and corruption by the government. The need to have a proper understanding of the human security challenges resulting from SALW violence suggest focus on the the individual and the reason behind their actions as insurgents, militias,

kidnappers and as criminals. This necessitates the adoption of the relative deprivation theory as a theoretical frame in this study.

The relative deprivation theory was expounded in 1970 by Ted Robert Gurr. It is concerned with the question of conditions under which various forms of violence against political institutions, such as riots, conspiracies, revolutions, occur.

It describes the rise of expectations and the consequential disappointment in a given society as a trigger for conflicts. The major assumption behind the theory of relative deprivations is that personal disappointment and angers in those individuals who feel their expectation has proven to be unsubstantial or unrealize can eventually lead to violent conflicts, and this is much more pronounce where SALW are readily available and can be used as weapons of choice among the various armed groups and individuals. This can especially be observed when the respective state suffers low social and economical development. In such states, people hope for employment, poverty reduction, better infrastructure, and higher incomes.

According to Gurr (1970: 13) relative deprivation is a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them.

Further, Gurr (1970:24) argues that violent behaviour is seen as a direct result of deep-seated indignation and that “the greater the discrepancy, however, marginal, between what is sought and what seems attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and

violence will result.” This is to say the greater the discrepancy between expectations and capabilities, the greater the dissatisfaction hence the potentiality for political violence. Whether, this dissatisfaction has been directed towards political objects and political institutions and intensity of opposition to the regime.

According to this theory, the potential for political violence is related to the discrepancy between what groups in the society think they are justifiably entitled to value expectations and what they believe they are capable of achieving and maintaining value capabilities. Thus, it sees conflict as the direct response to accumulated frustration and anger, particularly in societies where scarce resources hardly or is unable to satisfy human wants. Thus, violent behaviour especially where SALW are readily available is seen as the last resort. In view of this theory violence is not a natural reaction, but a direct result of anger and frustration, resulting from inability or denial to have access to basic rights, necessities of life, justice or access to other values. Hence, Aggressive behaviour in form of armed violence is the outcome of frustration and in a situation where legitimate desires of an individual is denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed at those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirectly related to them. This is much more pronounced where SALW become readily available like in Kano metropolis of Nigeria.

The intensity of deprivations is therefore determined by the height of expectations (value potential). It is important to note that Gurr refers to the individual perception of the value potential and not the real perspective to reach certain values. The individual perception of value potentials and the consequential intensity of deprivation depend on different factors.

Firstly, the content of expectations is decisive. Political expectations such as better political participation opportunities are less conflictive than hopes for economic development because the latter are decisive for the physical survival of individuals. In addition to that, the lack of economic values can easier be measured than deficits in political participation (Gurr, 1970:130-131). Secondly, the initial position of the individual might amplify its expectations. For example in relation to economic expectation this means that the poorer a person is before expectations arise, the higher the deprivation of the person, after he/she has fallen back to its initial living conditions.

However, not in all cases unfulfilled expectations in societies automatically lead to violence. Hence, Gurr (1970: 13) explains which conditions favour violent conflicts after frustrations, by describing factors that amplify the intensity of deprivation that raise the probability of violent reactions at individual, and also other factors that influence the use of violence after collective frustrations. Gurr identifies these mainly in the socio-psychological background of the respective individuals.

Firstly, the violence potential strongly varies with the intensity and popularity of normative justifications for violence. For example, people in regions that were shaped by decades of war have a higher incentive to use violence as a means because they got used to it. Even though violence is negatively connotative in such situations, it is still seen as an effective way to achieve collective interests.

The potential for violence strongly varies with the intensity and popularity of the perspectives for success that violence has. Basically, this factor deals with the utilitarian question if the use of violence will lead to a satisfying result for the deprived and if it can

contribute to the fulfilment of their wishes and hopes. As noted before, both factors strongly correlate, because if someone has simple normative justifications for the use of violence, it is also possible that this mean is seen as an effective way to reach ends (Gurr: 156-160). Apart from the socio-psychological background of the people, also the social environment is an important factor. The use of violence becomes more probable, when the source for their deprivation is not clear to identify because of the complexity of political and economical contexts.

The theory of relative deprivation composed of prepositions that are too general, hence difficult for application to specific problems. Even though, the research for causes of violent conflicts has shifted its focus to factor like identity (ethnicity or religion), economic marginalisation or institutional repression, the notion of Gurr remains important. However, in erecting this theoretical structure, Gurr has paved the way for understanding of the most intractable problems in the urban scene.

In the context of this theory human security challenges in terms of armed violence can be explain within the context of perception in terms of what some individual or group felt that they should have in form of privileges, rights, ways of life, material existence among others, but which have been blocked by other individual, group, government, elites and the general political system. These are the feeling or perception one person has over the other, whether the feeling is negative or positive, assumed or presumed, accurate or inaccurate, real or imagined does not matter as long as it is being held by the contending parties. Also, the feeling is generally negative because the one having the perception believes the other is going to outdo him. More so, the issue under contention must be something both parties desire and cherish. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons

which has manifested in increased violent crimes - kidnapping, terrorism, armed robbery, murder, communal violence, border crimes and general insecurity.

In a similar vein, Alli (2006) maintained that armed conflict occurs when two or more people engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Also, it emerges whenever one party perceives that one or more goals or purposes of means of achieving a goal or preference is threatened or hindered by the activities of one or more parties. The parties may, however, be seeking to expand into the same field or physical sphere, or, more abstractly, into the same field of influence or behaviours. Hence, resort to individual and collective violence as an alternative means of achieving their goals.

The relative deprivation theory examined above is relevant to this study on the following ground: Firstly, Kano metropolis have been faced by thuggery, civil unrest and Insurgency, and terrorism as well as brutality of security agencies which have been perpetrated against the civilian population, resulting from the proliferation and wide use of small arms and light weapons. Most of these forms of armed violence that have been perpetrated could be traced to the poor socioeconomic background of the parties concerned. As a result of high level of poverty and unemployment and relative illiteracy among youth, they are adversely attracted to violent crime. These youths are lured into range of criminal activities as means of sustaining themselves, thereby becoming new merchants of death. In essence, such actions is about access to resources, whether through committing crimes, playing communal tension, and other nefarious means. In essence, Thugs, Militants, Armed robbers and Kidnappers are by-product of poverty resulting from poor family background and unemployment, injustice and corruption. They feel

marginalized by the social system and of course by the political system, they feel they are deprived of their distinctive existence. The deprivation they seek to address through armed violence. Hence, they confront the society in search of their anticipated goals in violent manner, and in this process terror and violence is unleash on the society on both sides. Thus, it can be argued that if the leadership had lived up to its responsibilities by providing the basic amenities of life like: education, health, housing, employment for entrepreneurship, most of the insecurity challenges would have been minimized.

There has been a developed culture of materialism especially among youth in Kano metropolis. This is manifested in terms of an overwhelming emphasis on being successful which means to be wealthy, to engage in extravagant lifestyle and possess expensive cars, large and expensive mansion and to wield political power. Those who failed to meet these aspirations and goals experience tremendous pressure or hopelessness. Because of the disconnect between the goals and the means, many individuals may turn to other illegitimate means in which armed violence assume high, in order to attain their goals.

The failure of these individuals particularly youth to meet their material goals in Kano metropolis can be explain in the context of poor socio-economic condition of the inhabitants particularly youth in the state. According to National Bureau of Statistics According to the survey, the population of youths aged between 15 and 35 years in Nigeria is estimated to be 64 million. The report said Lagos State had the highest percentage of youths in Nigeria with 6.1 per cent, followed by Kano state representing 5.7 per cent, while Bayelsa state had the lowest with 1.3 per cent. The Survey (2012) further revealed that 54 per cent of Nigerian youths were unemployed in 2012. The indication of this data is that out of 64 million youth in the country Kano as a second with highest

number of youth has over 3,648,000 youth. However, unemployment rate has increased from 10.10% in 2007 to 21.30% in 2011(NBS, 2012).

The picture of the Unemployment Rates by State 2007-2011 is summarized in a following

| statistics: State | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Kano              | 10.1 | 5.8  | 27.6 | 14.7 | 21.3 |

Source: Social Statistics in Nigeria, NBS (2012) Survey.

That meant an increased of poverty and joblessness, deprivation and frustration, consequently this transformed into increased range of criminal activities in form of armed robbery, kidnapping with serious human security and socioeconomic implications on the people in general. And that was the period in time when Kano metropolis has started experiencing higher number of armed attacks from spates of armed robbery, kidnapping and insurgency, with a range of almost seven cases per week, this culminated in January 12, 2012 that launched the area and the state in general into armed violence, brutal attacks and assassination and insurgency.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 SOCIO-ECONOMIC DYNAMIC AND SALW CHALLENGES IN KANO METROPOLIS**

#### **3.1 Overview of Kano Metropolis**

Kano metropolis lies between latitude  $8^{\circ} 27' 42.26''$  E to  $8^{\circ} 36' 41.62''$  E and is 1, 549 feet above sea level, (Dankani, 2013:35). The areas are bordered by Minjibir local government on the North/East and Gezawa local government to the East, Dawakin Kudu local government to the South East, and Madobi and Tofa Local government areas to the South West. Kano metropolitan areas have been redefined vide Edict No 15 of 1990. By that verdict, the areas consist of all land within the radius of 32 km from Kurmi market. The 1990 edict further classifies all land within a radius of 16 kilometres from each local government headquarters outside Kano metropolis as urban Land. Thus, the built-up of Kano metropolis is contained within 40 square kilometres, (Dankani, 2013:34-35). It include of Dala, Municipal, Nassarawa, Fagge, Tarauni, Gwale, Kumbotso and Ungogo local government areas. As well as parts of Dawakin Tofa, Gezawa, and Kura and Rimin Gado local government areas.

Kano metropolis is the second largest industrial and commercial centre in Nigeria after Lagos and its experience rapid population growth rate, the population of metropolis as at year 2000 was 1.6million, (Ahmed Etal, 2013:73). However, the population data shows that in 2003 the population raised to 2.3 million (approximately) and in 2006 to 2.8million, (NPC Census, 2006).

Kano metropolitan centres cover an area of approximately 499 Km<sup>2</sup>. It included the eight local government areas namely: Fagge Local government covering an area of 21 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 198,828, Dala Local government covering an area of 19 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 418,777, Gwale Local government covering an area of 18 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 362,059, Kano Municipal Local government covering an area of 17 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 365,525, Tarauni Local government covering an area of 28 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 221,367, Nassarawa Local government covering an area of 34 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 596,669, Kumbotso Local government covering an area of 158 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 295,979, and Ungogo Local government covering an area of 204 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 369,657,( NPC Census 2006, Kano State 2004, & The Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria 1999).

The statistical ratio for each local government within the total population of the metropolitan centre is as follow: Fagge (7.02%), Dala (14.08%), Gwale (12.79%), Kano Municipal (12.92%), Tarauni (7.82%), Nassarawa (21.09%), Kumbotso (10.46%), and Ungogo (13.06).

### **3.2 The Economy of Kano Metropolis**

Historically Kano is known as the Centre of Commerce in Nigeria. It is strategically located at the centre of northern Nigeria, and has served as a major entry port to the nation and as the Southern hub of the trans-Saharan trade route for centuries. The economic potentiality of Kano had made it to have contact with Northern Africa, central Sudan and other parts of the world through which it has been attracted to various European explorers and Arabian traders across ages,(Naniya,2000). The capital, Kano City, acts as a regional trade hub servicing a market of over 300 million people located in northern Nigeria, neighbouring countries such as Niger, Chad and Cameroon, as well as across the Sahel economic zone/North Africa.

Kano has for long been rated the second to Lagos state in terms of commercial activities. This state has witnessed tremendous growth in large, medium and small scale commercial outfits. The commerce sector is predominantly informal, accounting for approximately 65-75% of domestic trading activities. The Wholesale and Retail activities include the sale and distribution of imported and locally made goods such as textiles and garments, furniture and fittings, cosmetics, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, vehicle spare parts, building materials, electronics, household consumer provisions and agricultural produce. There are many outlets in which commercial activities take place: thousands of single street trading posts, neighbourhood kiosks and shops and regular market stalls spread across towns. In an effort to decongest the market, sellers of grains and woods had to be transferred to other locations in Kano metropolis, where they have now emerged as specialized markets. The market is still in need of similar efforts due to further congestion.

### **3.3 A Chronology of Violent Protest Resulting from Lack of Human Security In**

#### **Kano Metropolis**

Relatively Kano metropolis

has been an arena of sporadic violence due to various form of human insecurity which in form of social unrest resulting from frustration and deeply rooted socio-economic problems, which have been occurring in the areas mainly through thuggery, armed robbery and religious disturbances such as Maitatsine revolt 1980, Fagge crisis 1982, Reinhand Boonke riot 1991, Gideon Akaluka incident 1994, Sabon-Gari market disturbance 1995, the Shiites Attacks 1996 and 1997, July 1999 Anti Yoruba reprisal Attacks, October 2001 Anti American Protest, 2004 reprisal attack on Jos indigenes and Christians. However, these forms of violence have been perpetrated through traditional weapons. The areas in general has been relatively free in term of armed violence through SALW, only in specific cases and incidences of armed robbery, political thuggery, civil strife and religious form of violence, where security personnel used rubber and in some cases life bullet in order to contain the security situation.

However, from the year 2000 Kano metropolis and its environs have become a flashpoint for episodic bouts of violence that have often followed religious lines, or have been reactions to national political developments, in which SALW are featured in the hand of civilians, (Policy Brief, 2014). All these tendencies reflect the level of social tension in the polity resulting from from deteriorating socioeconomic conditions which inform lack of human security among the major segment of the population which have been fuelled by wide use of SALW.

#### **3.3.1 Pre 2000 Period**

Historically, the first major experience of violence in Kano was in the Kano riot of 1953, where northerners and southerners clashed for four days, mainly in and around the Sabon Gari areas over the issue of self-government, resulting in 36 deaths. Similarly, in 1966, the widespread rioting that followed the January coup, in which several northern leaders were killed, led to the deaths of 73 people in Kano alone the highest in any part of northern Nigeria, (Policy Brief, 2014).

While, the first major religious violence in the area was associated with the Maitatsine sect, which drew mass support across major towns and cities in northern Nigeria. The sect turned violent in 1980, culminating in riots in several northern towns including Kano, Gombe and Maiduguri in which over 5,000 Nigerians, including Muhammadu Marwa, the sect's founder, and members of the security forces were also killed.

In view of this Best and Kemedi (2005) noted that in December 1980, the Maitatsine fundamentalist Islamic sect engaged in a number of brutal, religiously motivated attacks in northern Nigeria. The group relied mainly on traditional weapons such as bows, poisoned arrows, and machetes. A cleric of Cameroonian origin led the Maitatsine, which taught and promoted fundamentalist principles, and challenged and opposed the Nigerian state. Violent Maitatsine uprisings erupted in Kano in December 1980, during which 4,177 persons were killed in less than ten days of fighting. It took a joint operation of the army, air force, and police to bring the situation under control.

In 1991, there was a religious riot which was triggered by the reported decision of Kano State Government to grant approval for a preaching event by a German Christian evangelist after allegedly turning down the request of a Muslim preacher to organise a public preaching event. The bloody riots left over 500 people dead, (Policy Brief, 2014).

### **3.3.2 2000-2007 Period**

In 1999 following clashed between O'dua People Congress (OPC) ethnic militias and Hausa traders in Shagamu and Mile 12 in Lagos. And 2004, following Yalwan Shandam ethnic violence in Plateau state, southerners and northern Christians in Kano were attacked in reprisal for the killing of northern Muslims in some southern cities, an incident which led to loss several lives and destruction of properties worth millions of Naira.

In February 2004, 67 Christians were massacred at a church in Yelwa, a city in Plateau State, south of Kano. A massive reprisal by Christian militia killed several hundred Muslims. Plateau State, as a hub for Christian groups in the mostly Muslim north, had previously experienced low-level ethnic tensions. However, in this instance, the violence rapidly spread to Kano, where retaliatory riots led to the displacement of 50,000 people and an unknown number of people killed, (John etal: 2007). According, to the study conducted on the injuries caused by SALW in 2004 Kano violent conflict between ethnic groups. Seven hundred and thirty one 731 cases were analyzed. Out of these, only seven had injuries due to SALW, while 17 were assaulted with blunt instruments or cutting blades, and four suffered injuries while fleeing the riots (three were in road traffic accidents and one fell from a height). Among the larger number of patients who were not injured during the riots, there were only five injuries due to SALW. Four were victims of armed robberies and one was a robber shot by the police. No deaths occurred among the 12 patients injured by SALW, but many were left with disabilities (66%), (John etal, 2007).

Victims of SALW are more likely to have severe or fatal injuries and are less likely to present to hospital for care, perhaps because it is seen as futile. Many would die before reaching hospital due to the lack of a public ambulance system and triage protocol. Muslim victims would likely be buried immediately after they are confirmed dead, as dictated by custom and religion. No mortuary data was available and deaths are not regularly reported to the police or health authorities. Poor record keeping, incorrect coding, and incomplete files would have further decreased the reported incidence, and victims may have sought care elsewhere in Kano, (John et al: 2007). A previous study in Kano, looking at May 2000 to June 2001, noted that all of the homicides committed with SALW were in the context of robberies. Most media did not report that the rioters were armed with SALW, and rather reported that most of the deaths due to these weapons were victims of police shooting. The police, the only group bearing arms openly, were given ‘shoot on sight’ orders. (John et al: 2007).

### **3.3.3 2007-2015 Period**

The first current security challenge of armed violence started in 2007 when a gang of armed militias or rather insurgents appeared in the Kano metropolis carrying highly sophisticated weapons ranging from AK-47, M16, and GPMG etc. The group of armed men and women known as the Taliban, were believed to have originated in Niger or Chad, engaged the state’s security personnel in a fierce gun battle in Challawa outside of Kano City, and carried out deadly and destructive assaults against the security personnel and ‘disappeared’, (Policy Brief, 2014). Thus, it was reported that on Tuesday April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2007 a group of militant stormed police station in the northern city of Kano killing at least thirteen people and 22 militant died in the incident, (National Review Online, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2013).

In 2011, three days of rioting across northern Nigeria followed the announcement of the results of the presidential election; eight killings and 22 injuries occurred in Kano. In January 2012, the federal government announced the removal of petroleum subsidies and there was an angry popular reaction across Nigeria, including in Kano. At least 42 protesters were injured as the police attempted to disperse these demonstrations by force,(Policy Brief, 2014). There was indeed no any media report has attributed SALW as being possessed by rioters.

Between 2009 and 2011 the areas had started experiencing armed violence in which highly sophisticated SALW were used freely in the rampant cases of armed robbery especially between 2009 to 2011. This was further followed by the waves of attacks by the Boko Haram insurgents, which originated in the northeast since 2009, but has become active in Kano since January, 2012 characterized by coordinated and mass bombing as well as brutal gun attacks on both security formation and civilian targets throughout Kanp metropolis. The first of such attack in Kano occurred on 20th January 2012, and many more have followed. The onset of the Boko Haram insurgency dramatically changed the nature of the security challenges in Kano State. The government responded to the attacks by convening diverse groups of stakeholders across social and religious groups, which focused on the alleged foreign origins of some of the insurgents, among other things. This has led to the massive repatriation of illegal immigrants from Kano. In June 2013 alone, over 400 immigrants were apprehended.

The Boko Haram insurgency dramatically changed the nature of the security challenges in Kano State. The presence of the Joint Military Task Force (JTF) in Kano State in response to the Boko Haram insurgency has considerable fiscal implications. The state

has been shouldering the allowances of the combined military, mobile police and other security personnel under the JTF's command, which is reported to amount to about 50 million per month,(Policy Brief, 2014). The state has also drawn vigilante groups into its security operations to complement the work of the security services. Other security measures have also had unintended negative consequences. A curfew was imposed in the wake of the first Boko Haram attack, along with house-to-house searches and security checkpoints. There were allegations of harassment, extortion and the killing of innocent civilians by the security forces, (Policy Brief, 2014). A measure that caused particular outcry was the state legislature's ban on commercial motorcycle riders (known as Achaba). The rationale for the ban was that motorcycles had been used in insurgent attacks. However, the ban rendered many young men unemployed. With no alternative sources of income, and as such they are potentially more open to engaging in anti-social behaviour and violence.

### **3.4 Armed groups in Kano Metropolis**

There are many armed individual and groups in Kano metropolis, however, each of these groups has been identified with perpetrating violence, yet the pattern, motives and even mode operations and the weapons they adopt are relative to each group. The most dominant groups that are common are: political thugs, armed robbers, assassins, kidnappers as well as insurgents.

#### **3.4.1 Political Thugs**

This is the most common group that ferment trouble which in many cases cause bloodshed and injuries and in some cases murder. They spread across Kano metropolis

and associated with use of predominantly local weapons such axes, cutlasses, bow, knife, sword among others, invariably in their operations which is characterizes by violence, intimidation and brutality in order to achieve nefarious end, which is economically and politically motivated.

According to Ojudu and Zorro (cited in Ya'u, 2000:186) it is the politics of do or die affair; of not accepting defeat, of winner wins all, and indeed hostile and violence which characterised the political process in Kano that breeds thuggery (*daba*). Political thuggery is the use of thug to create an atmosphere of fear and violence, intimidate, brutalize and harass voters and opponents in order to cause electoral malpractices to achieve a given political objectives. The politics of thuggery is the use of violence and terrorism perpetrated by political thugs to mobilize political support, to give personal protection and political patronage, to intimidate and threaten the political opponents, and also, to harass and coerce voters in ensuring the success of a particular political party or an aspirant. This has become the dominant feature of Kano politics since pre independence era.

Thugs "*Yan daba*" is a gang of unemployed youths who reject the poor conditions to which their background has relegated them, and by taking refuge in group criminal and violent activities. For most of the time they live in secluded places called "Daba," spending much of their time in petty hunting and experimentations with different drugs, only interacting with wider society for their food and other requirements, often in a violent way (Ya'u, 2000:179).

*Yan daba* live in secluded places, market places, uncompleted buildings, around ponds, deserted areas around the city wall, and in the outskirts of town and bushy areas. They

mainly come from poor parents as Dan Asabe's survey (cited in Ya'u, 2000:185) concludes that most of the *Yan daba* have a poor background and their parents are butchers, petty traders, donkey transporters, leather workers, firewood sellers etc. Similarly, Madaki (cited in Mohd and Madaki, 2008:03) observed that *daba* is a deviant institution, like any other institution with subculture and proscriptive norms governing the behaviour of members. The group normally composed of male and female, young and adult. Liba (cited in Ya'u,2000:183) rightly noted that sex barriers have been broken down allowing female to integrate into the gang, and also, the age bracket has expanded both ways including boys as age as eight years old and adults of thirty five years and above with families of their own. He further noted that there are even instances of the son and father being both active at the time in the *daba* gang.

*Yan daba* engage in petty hunting and also in theft and sometime armed robbery, as well as looting in addition to their ulterior motive of violence and blood thirsty, which is directed toward the society in general with no specific target, as whoever happens to be around the scenario of the violence can become a potential target; men /women, young/old, knowingly or unknowingly. In similar vein, Ya'u (2000:194) noted that the nature of violence perpetrated by Yan Daba has both material and utilitarian motives, and is characteristically apolitical. It can be bought by some people who can meet their basic needs, and directed selectively to a particular target.

The origin of *daba* politics in Kano state may not be unconnected with the formation of political parties prior to the Nigerian independence. This linked up with the transformation of the *Yan Tauri* and *Yan Banga* through their incorporation into the political terrain of Kano, in order to give protection to and defence (body guard) to

political leaders of NEPU(Northern Elements Progressive Union), and since that time politician use them to achieve political ambition (Mohd and Madaki, 2008). Since pre-independence period particularly in the late 1950's *Yan Daba* have become political forces in Kano politics and political process. Certainly, they are political factor in the potential configuration in Kano politics. They are used by the political class toward achieving political plan (Dan Asabe cited in Mohd and Madaki, 2008).

The poor background and poverty resulting from unemployment which characterized the living condition of thugs dispel them to confront the society in search of means of sustenance. In the process violence is unleash against the society. This is in particular make them into a force of manipulation by any person who can fulfil and meet their material and basic needs. This in particular was the main reason which has brought *Yan Daba* into direct contact with the political class. Ya'u rightly observed that the link between the political class and *Yan Daba* is perhaps obvious and operate at two levels: At one level *Yan Daba* gang provides a recruiting ground for political thugs, who have been accepted as part and parcel of the political party structure in Kano politics. And their general functions in this context are to harass and intimidate political opponents of their patrons, terrorize constituencies during elections; where their patrons have no support or acceptability in order to create confusion; and cause delay of or even stop elections, when their sponsor can not win either cleanly or through rigging. At second level, *Yan Daba* provide an army of mobilizers for campaign and rallies. They also provide the retinue of paid voters on Election Day, a common phenomenon in a political situation in which lack of faith and confidence in the processes creates apathy among voters. The people are generally not keen on coming out to vote, leaving the politicians to look for hired voters.

The transition to democratic rule on 29<sup>th</sup> may, 1999 has become an important milestone in understanding the contemporary trend of politics of thuggery in Kano politics. This is because; the trend has currently assumed new pattern and dimension as thuggerism has now become a profession of its own. Hence, *Yan Daba* are now employees with clear allowances and other material benefits attach to it. Additionally, *Yan Daba* believe that they are an integral component of the politics, hence, very vital to the sustenance of the political system. As the political system in the generally lacks provision for security and safety of the political office seekers and aspirants, they resort to the use of *Yan Daba* as the only alternative source of protection especially during the campaign and rally. Thus, *Yan Daba* believe that the politician can not do without them.

Beside, in the current democratic dispensation *Yan Daba* are secure from the wrath of the law, this is why they perpetrate and commit all sort of violent atrocities against their fellow thug, ordinary citizens, and of course opponents with impunity, because their political masters always guarantee them backing and protection against security agencies. In line with this negative development Mohd and Madaki (2008) observed that the politicians give them (*Yan Daba*) all necessary support and encouragement to minimize case of arrest and apprehension by the law enforcement agents. Hence, they further argued that political activities influence and facilitate *daba* activities in Kano, and this is even why the deviant attitude tends to be higher during party politics than any other time.

### **3.5.2 Kidnappers**

Another armed group that is common in Kano metropolis even though their activities are not much rampant in Kano metropolis are kidnappers. This is an unorganised group composed of mainly unemployed youth. Their mode of operation involves use of highly

sophisticated SALW and kidnap people mainly children and women of the rich people, it is usually perpetrated for ransom, hence economically motivated. Thus, Stanburn (2012) reported that on January 26, 2012 a German engineer working with construction Firm in Kano known as Dantata and Sawoe Construction Company limited was kidnapped by unknown gunmen in the northern Nigerian city of Kano. In a similar, Premium Times (2014) reported that SSS has arrested four suspects who allegedly kidnapped a seven year old boy on March 4, 2014 in Kano metropolis. The report further noted that after kidnapping the boy, they provided an account number in which the sum of 2 million was deposited by the father of the boy. Thinking that the boy will make noise, they injected him with some liquid which likely led to the death of the boy. In addition, Naharnet Newsdesk (2013) and BBC.com English (2013) reported five criminal gunmen stormed MC Plastic Factory in Sharada Industrial Area in Kano, after they opened fire wounding two people at the premise of the factory they took the owner Hassan Zain hostage for ransom.

### **3.5.3 Armed Robbers**

This group involves mainly unemployed youth including graduates that specialize in using sophisticated and locally made SALW in attacking innocent people in market places, banks, industrial areas, on high ways and streets as well as at their houses which resulted most of the time in serious human security problems like injuries, wound and deaths. They somehow act as assassins. Their operation is driven essentially by material gain, in order to secure means to escape poverty and live a better life. They have been operating in Kano metropolitan areas for several decades.

On Monday 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2009 a gang of armed robbers attacked Wapa Foreign exchange market carting away with undisclosed huge amount of money in both local and foreign currencies together with other valuable items like laptops etc. The robbers also killed six police officers including ASP and wounded several others. According to the police source two armed robbers were gunned down by police and also recovered four AK-47 rifles, two operational vehicles from the robbers, and huge sum of foreign currencies which included Saudi Riyals, American Dollars among others, (Africanews.com 2013, Thisdaylive.com 2013, & Leadership 2013).

Similarly, on Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> November 2012 Wapa Market was attacked again at Baba Hassan Bureau de Change house, Layin Goro. The robbers fired in the air to scare people in order to carry out their nefarious and heinous operation, in which one person lost his life. The armed robbers abandoned 3 magazines bullets stock with live ammunition, after the attack which lasted for 45 minutes. The chairman of the Wapa foreign exchange market lamented what can be termed as security laxity from the side of the security operatives in the state, as the formation nearby (Fagge Division) refused to respond to series of distress call put to them by the Management of the Wapa market. This came just two weeks 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2012 when heavily armed robbers attacked Kantin Kwari Textile market carting away with millions of naira with several casualties, (Freedom Radio, 2013). Indeed, the spate of attacks by armed gunmen attacking market places, places of worship, individuals and residents is not strange to Kano metropolis particularly since 2009.

Also, on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2009 a gang of armed robbers attacked Wapa Foreign exchange market carting away undisclosed huge amount of money in both local and

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#### **3.5.4 Insurgents**

These are the most common group that is linked up with the use of highly sophisticated SALW ranging from various assault rifles and pistols, and highly explosive IED among others. The group emerged in 2007 with appearance of Taliban insurgents in Panshekara. Since that period subsequent insurgent group known as Boko Haram has emerged particularly from 2012 onward and it has been perpetrating various attacks against the security personnel and their formations, as well as innocent civilian at home, in the market places, places of worship, schools and hospital, and on the streets and virtually everywhere. Their motive is rooted in religious fanaticism and still sometime it has material undertone. This can be seen in some areas where they operated, they carted away with huge sum of money and other valuable properties.

Since 2007 insurgents have been perpetrating various attacks in the Kano state especially in the metropolitan centre consisting of the eight local government areas of this study. For instance, On Tuesday April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2007 a group of militant armed member of the Taliban numbering 300-500 carrying heavily and sophisticated arms stormed police station and carried assault, in the northern city of Kano killing at least thirteen people and 22 militant died in the incident' (National Reviewonline.com, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2013 & BBC in Naijanet.com April 17, 2007).

According to Daily Trust (2012) On Friday January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012 Kano was attacked by suicide bombers and gunmen in which at least 186 people lost their lives. On that day eight security formations were attacked which include: Police Zonal Headquarters (Zone I) along BUK road; Farm Centre and Zaria road Police Divisional Offices; Immigration Passport Office at farm Centre; SSS Headquarters at Giginyu Qrts; Official residence of AIG Zone One; and St Louis Secondary School. The official death toll of Kano multiple attacks which affected eight security formations in the state were put according to the following order: 29 Police Officers, 3 SSS Men, 2 Immigration Officers, 1 custom officer, 150 Civilians. Additionally, according to Daily Trust (2012, Vol 28 No 71) on the same date 20/01/2012 about 50 gunmen in Mobile Police uniforms and Army camouflage shortly after a bomb was detonated nearby the State Police Command Bompai invaded Bompai Police Barrack and in a systematic killing shot at least 100 people. Hence, according to a doctor Interviewed by AFP Word Press (2013) the final death toll will likely reach 250, given the numbers of persons with serious injurious, as a result of bomb blast or gun shot. Sunday Trust (2012) observed that at least 200 person were killed in the multiple explosion that rocked Kano.

Also, Daily Trust (2012, Vol 30 No 34) reported that on Friday September 5, 2012, in Kano, men on motorbikes carrying AK 47 assault rifles destroyed MTN and Airtel Mobile Phone masts in Hotoron Hangama and Sharada Industrial Area. According to (AFP Word Press, 2013) three people were killed on Saturday 19th January, 2013 when gunmen attacked the convoy of the emir of Kano, Ado Bayero, the emir's convoy was attacked when he was returning from Koranic graduation ceremony in Kano city. Three people in the convoy were killed, and at least 14 people, including two of Bayero's sons, were wounded in the attack. The attack came on the eve of the first anniversary of the deadliest bomb and IED's attack ever by the Islamist sect Boko Haram in Kano, the largest city in Nigeria's north, in which over 200 people were killed.

On 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2013 armed men on tricycles sprayed bullets on defenceless people and killed 9 female health workers on two separate incidences. The first was at a Community Health Centre Hotoron Haye where 7 female paramedics were killed and several people were injured. The second incident was at Filin kashu Unguwa Ukwu General Area where 2 female polio workers were killed and four other critically injured. Consequently, World Health Organization (WHO) suspended all its operation in the state, (Newsonline.com 08/02/2013).

In a similar negative development, Thisday (29 March, 2013) reported that on March 18 2013, there was a massive bomb attack at a motor park along New Road, Sabon Gari within the Kano metropolis. The object of the attack was a fully loaded bus heading for the southern part of the country. No fewer than 25 people were killed on the spot with some reports putting the death toll at over 75. Among victims of the attack were passengers, traders and park workers. Similarly, According to Punch Mobile newspaper

the bomblast at Motor Park in Sabon Gari area, in Kano state killed 30 people, (Punchmobile.com, 2013).

On June 24, 2014 the Kano state Commissioner of Police Aderenle Shinaba announced that this afternoon bomblast hit School of Hygiene, along BUK road Kano, killing 8 people and injured 12 people with different degree of injuries, (Iprodigygroup Word Press, 24/06/2014).

On Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2014 the Kano state Commissioner of Police Aderenle Shinaba announced the discovery of a bomb-laden Peugeot 406 with plate No AA 513 ZAK around 1:00pm near Isyaka Rabi'u Jumu'at mosque, Goron Dutse, primed for detonation during Eid prayers. The IED's were defused by Police Bomb squad, (Daily Trust, Monday, 28/07/2014).

On Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> July, 2014 twin bomblast killed 6 people and injured 13 in a separate attacks. The first occurred at noon when a female suicide bomber 16 years of age blew herself up at Kofar Nassarawa near North West University. No death, but five policemen were injured. The second explosion occurred at St Charles Family Church in Sabon Gari area around 2pm. Five person died and eight were injured,(Daily Trust, 28/07/2014).

In another incident another female suicide bomber 18 years of age on Monday 28 July, 2014 afternoon around 1:40pm killed herself and injured six person at Gidan Buhari, along Zoo road near Shoprite Mall, ([Informationng.com](http://Informationng.com), 28/07/2014). Additionally, Sahara Reporters (28/07/2014) in another negative development reported again that a female suicide bomber attacked and killed 4 people and injured 8 at NNPC Mega station, Hotoro Quarters, along Maiduguri road, Kano. This brought the total number of bomb

attacks to four recorded in Kano within 24 hours, between Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> to Monday 28<sup>th</sup> July, 2014.

In another tragedy on Monday 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2014 Kano State Commissioner of Police confirmed that at 3:30pm a female suicide bomber killed herself and additional two person while seven people were injured at Kano Polytechnic Central Administration Unit, when some graduate of the Polytechnic were checking their NYSC deployment list at the gate of the institution, ([WellaNaija.com](http://WellaNaija.com), 30/07/2014).

On 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2014 suicide bombers armed with AK 7 rifles and IED opened fire and later blew themselves up at two lecture halls of School of Arts and Social Sciences packed with students. This trend led to the death of 15 people including a senior lecturer, an infant, 13 students as well as the two suicide bombers, while over 34 people were injured, (Daily Trust September,18/09/2014 ).

On Friday 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2014 Kano Sate Commissioner of Police Aderenle Shinaba confirmed while addressing newsmen that a suicide bomber drove in car loaded with powerful IED into Magarsiku Filling station at Hotoro, killing six people including three policemen and injured five people, as well as caused destruction of cars and properties,(The News 24, 16<sup>th</sup> November, 2014).

On the fateful day of Friday 28<sup>th</sup> November, 2014 a group of suicide bombers and gun attackers carried out triple bomblast together with sporadic gun shot on the worshippers, inside and outside the compound of the Kano central Mosque Emirs Palace Kano during Friday prayer. The tragic event that created serious pandemonium and led to the death of

well over one hundred people while several hundreds sustained various degree of injuries (Punchng.news 2014, Vanguard.com.ngr 2014 and Sahara Reporters.com 2014).

Lastly, on Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> Februaury, 2015 six suicide bombers carried out IED's attack in a passenger bus at Kano Line Bus Station Zaria Road Kano and killed over twenty people including eighteen passengers, the driver and a bus conductor ( Premium Time 2015, Thenewsnigeria.com 2015, Dailypostng.com).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **4.0 SALW AND HUMAN SECURITY CHALLENGE IN KANO METROPOLIS**

**2000-2015**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the data analysis and interpretation of the responses generated from the in-depth interview and questionnaires conducted in order to elicit the views of the people in Kano metropolis on the Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Human Security in the area. A total of five hundred and forty (546) questionnaires were distributed and administered, in Kano Metropolitan centres comprising of eight local government areas namely Kano Municipal, Dala, Gwale, Fagge, Tarauni, Kumbotso, Ungogo and Nassarawa, in order to generate responses in respect of the Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Human Security in Kano Metropolis. The statistical ratio for each local government within the total population of the metropolitan centre is as follow: Fagge (7.02%), Dala (14.08%), Gwale (12.79%), Kano Municipal (12.92%), Tarauni (7.82%), Nassarawa (21.09%), Kumbotso (10.46%), and Ungogo (13.06). On the basis of the above ratios approximate sampling unit will be drawn from the total of 546 questionnaires at 50/496 ratio for the officials and general public respondents as follows: Fagge (39.61 = 40 people), Dala (77.44 =76 people), Gwale (70.35 = 70people), Kano Municipal (71.06 = 71people), Tarauni (43.01 = 43people), Nassarawa (115.99 = 116 people), Kumbotso (57.53 = 58people), and Ungogo (71.83 = 72 people) Grand total 546. Out of the total number of 546 questionnaires distributed, a total of four hundred and nine 409 were returned, processed and presented in tabular forms below.

#### **Table 1 Questionnaire Distribution**

| Local Government Areas | Frequency of the Questionnaires (Distributed) | Percentage % | Frequency of the Questionnaires (Returned) | Percentage % |
|------------------------|---|--------------|--|--------------|
| Fagge                  | 40  | 7.33%        | 36   | 8.80%        |
| Dala                   | 76  | 13.91%       | 52   | 12.71%       |
| Gwale                  | 70  | 12.82%       | 53   | 12.96%       |
| Kano Municipal         | 71  | 13.00%       | 61   | 14.91%       |
| Tarauni                | 43  | 7.88%        | 37   | 9.05%        |
| Nassarawa              | 116   | 21.25%       | 72   | 17.60%       |
| Kumbotso               | 58  | 10.62%       | 48   | 11.74%       |
| Ungogo                 | 72  | 13.19%       | 50   | 12.23%       |
| Total                  | 546   | 100%         | 409  | 100%         |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

#### 4.2 Characteristics of the Sampled Respondents

**Table 2** Age of the Sampled Respondents

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------|-----------|-------------|
| 18-35    | 96        | 23.48       |
| 36-49    | 241       | 58.92       |
| 50 Above | 72        | 17.60       |
| Total    | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 2 presents the age of the sampled respondents, as illustrated there are 96 sampled respondents representing 23.48% of the total responses within the age bracket (18-35yrs).

This is followed by 241 respondents representing 58.92% of the entire samples who are within the age bracket (36-49yrs)., and lastly there are 72 respondents representing 17.60% of the total responses from those within the age bracket (50yrs and above).

By implication majority of the sampled respondent are within the Age bracket 36-49yrs.

This reflects the level of maturity and experiences in the majority of the sampled respondents in Kano metropolis, hence the possibility of generating reliable information on the theme of the study.

**Table 3** Gender of the Sampled Respondents

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Male     | 317       | 96.29       |
| Female   | 92        | 23.71       |
| Total    | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 3 shows the sex status of the sampled respondents. As indicated 317 of the sampled respondents representing 76.29% of the entire samples are male, while 97 respondents constituting 23.71% are female.

This implies imbalances in the sex distribution in the population of Kano metropolis. Male has higher representation, and this is because the area of study is a patriarchal society where Purdah is practiced and hence public sphere is mainly dominated by male gender, hence this reflects the social reality of the area of study but it does not affect the findings of the study.

**Table 4** Religious Identity of the Sampled Respondents

| Variable   | Frequency | Percentage% |
|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Muslim     | 301       | 73.59       |
| Non-Muslim | 108       | 26.41       |
| Total      | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 4 illustrates the religious identity of the sampled respondents, as illustrated 301 sampled respondents representing 73.59% of the total responses are Muslims. While, 108 respondents representing 26.41% of the total responses are Non-Muslims.

This implies that majority of the sampled respondent are Muslims. This reflects the reality of the general population distribution in Kano State where majority of the inhabitants of

the state are predominantly Muslims, with presence of Christian communities in the state. Invariably, all the segments of the population were relatively represented in the study.

**Table 5** Occupational Status of the Sampled Respondents

| Variable             | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Trader               | 97        | 23.71       |
| Civil/Public Servant | 285       | 69.69       |
| Unemployed           | 27        | 6.60        |
| TOTAL                | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 5 presents the occupational status of the sampled respondents. As presented 97 of the sampled respondents representing 23.71% of the total responses are Traders that is to say they engaged in various forms of business undertaking and commercial activities in Kano Metropolis. While, 285 respondents representing 69.69% of the total responses are either Civil servants or Public servants. This is because the questionnaire administration covered both the civil servants and members of military and paramilitary organisations alike. This is followed by 27 sampled respondents representing 6.60% of the entire samples who are unemployed this is because most of them happened to be students or graduates who are yet to engage in any undertaking within the period of this research.

This implies that various occupational sub-segments of the entire population in Kano metropolis are invariably represented. More importantly, members of the security organisation, exservice men gun runners, criminals, the victims of armed attacks as well as unemployed youth who prove to be potential elements that engage in armed violence and other criminal activities in the area of study are adequately covered in the study.

**Table 6** Educational Qualification of the Sampled Respondents

| Variables          | Frequency | Percentage% |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| PhD/M.SC           | 24        | 5.88        |
| Degree/HND         | 205       | 50.12       |
| OND/NCE            | 72        | 17.60       |
| Secondary/Primary  | 60        | 14.67       |
| Informal Education | 48        | 11.73       |
| Others Specify     | 00        | 00.00       |
| TOTAL              | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 6 presents the educational qualification of the sampled respondents. As indicated 24 sampled respondents representing 5.88% of the total responses are either Ph.D or Master's Degree holders. This is followed by 205 respondents representing 50.12% of the total responses who are either Degree or HND holders. Then, 72 sampled respondents representing 17.60% of the entire samples who are either NCE or OND holders, while, 60 and 48 respondents representing 14.67% and 11.73% respectively of the entire sampled population are either school leavers or have informal education which represents Islamic education.

This implies that the study covers by majority of the responses 205 (50.12%) graduates who are good and knowledgeable enough in providing the necessary and relevant information needed on the sensitive issue of human security and small arms and light weapons proliferation in Kano metropolis, hence they would make positive contribution to the study.

#### **4.3 The Nature of Human Security Challenges in Kano Metropolis**

Generally the Kano metropolis has been exposed to new waves of human security challenges which manifested in form of armed violence in which SALW have become major weapons use in perpetrating various insurgents' and criminal activities in the area,

these trends have been viewed from difference lens, hence to determine the state, that is the degree and or level of such human security challenges as manifested in the period of study, (2000-2015).

**Table 7** The State of Human Security in Kano Metropolis

| Variables       | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| Highly Secure   | 00        | 00.00       |
| Secure          | 171       | 41.81       |
| Highly Insecure | 12        | 02.93       |
| Insecure        | 226       | 55.26       |
| Others Specify  | 00        | 00.00       |
| Total           | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 7 presents the state of human security in Kano metropolis, this represents a condition under which the area can be said to be secure or otherwise from the threats of armed attacks and violence as well as other related criminal activities. As presented none of the sampled respondents indicated the state of human security in the area as highly secure. This is followed by 171 respondents representing 41.81% of the total responses who opined that the area of Kano metropolis is secure, then 12 responses representing 2.93% who indicated that the state of human security in the area is highly insecure resulting from various forms of armed attacks mainly through SALW. In addition, 226 responses representing 55.26% of the entire sample opined that it is insecure. While, none of the sampled responses indicated any other additional information.

This implies the fact that depending on the situation at any given point in time, the human security situation in Kano metropolis has been insecure resulting from many challenges like armed robbery, kidnapping, assassinations and insurgency accelerated by the proliferation and wide use of Small Arms and light weapons. However, there is some

occasion in which the condition becomes relatively stable or secure. But more often the condition has been fluctuating between secure and insecure situations, (SP Zanna Maidugu, Zone I Kano, Interview, 18/11/2013).

Justifying the nature of human security situation in Kano metropolis an SSS Officer (Interview, Saturday 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2014) observed that the nature of security situation always depends upon the in-flow of arms in Kano metropolis. This determines the level of human security risk and or relative peace in the area at a particular point in time. In view of this fluctuating nature of security situation new waves of attacks started across the area especially with June 2014 attack at the School of Hygiene Kano, after the state have enjoyed some degree of relative calmness.

**Table 8** Level of Security Challenge Posed by SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables      | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| Very High      | 11        | 02.68       |
| High           | 253       | 61.87       |
| Medium         | 121       | 29.58       |
| Low            | 24        | 05.87       |
| Others Specify | 00        | 00.00       |
| TOTAL          | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 8 shows the level of security challenge posed by the availability and wide use of Small arms and light weapons in Kano Metropolis, resulting from frustration and desperation of the armed groups involved. This is in terms of number of attacks directed against civilian targets and security personnel, and number of deaths and injuries recorded. As indicated 11 sampled respondents representing 2.68% of the entire samples opined that the level of security challenge posed by of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Kano metropolis is very high. In addition, 253 respondents representing

61.87% of the total responses opined that the challenge is high, this is followed by 121 responses representing 29.58% who indicated that the challenge of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) to human security in the state is medium. Likewise, 24 responses representing 5.87% of the entire samples opined that it is low.

This implies the fact that going by the number of responses on the level of security challenges cause by the availability and wide use of small arms and light weapons in Kano metropolis is high. For instance, there was a situation when within 24 hours between 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> July 2014 there were four separate bomb attacks which killed atleast 11 people and injured 27. In addition, The Kano State Commissioner of Police stated that, in the first five months of 2012 alone, the police defused 600 Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) and 17 high-calibre bombs, (Policy Brief, 2014).

#### **4.4 Causes of Availability and Attacks Through Small Arms And Light Weapons In Kano Metropolis**

Many factors have contributed to the development of armed violence, where more and more individuals and groups are turning to SALW to achieve their goals. Poverty and enormous economic disparity within Nigeria have been a driving factor behind the use of SALW. Although Nigeria is the sixth leading oil producer in the world, few have benefited from this resource. Almost 70% of Nigerians live on less than one dollar a day and the average life expectancy is 48 years (John etal: 2007). Economic disparity has also fueled the enormous increase in crimes especially through SALW in Nigeria, with thousands of unemployed young men turning to armed robbery. In addition, it does appear that the number of injuries and deaths due to SALW were increased by sectarian violence, (John etal: 2007).

According to the United Nations Global Multi- Dimensional Poverty Index (2015) based on the data collected between 2004 to 2014 Kano state was rated above national level in terms of poverty ranking as 27<sup>th</sup> poorest state in the federation with 76.40% poverty line. Similarly, according to the National Bureau of Statistics report (2012) unemployment rate in Kano state has increased in the state from 10.1% in 2007 to 25.7%, this implies more than one hundred per cent increased. These poverty and unemployment combined to aggravate the poor socioeconomic condition of the generality of the teeming number of Kano populace. Even though not all people and frustration can lead to violence through SALW, however, there are many among people who resort to achieving their goals through violent means.

In line with trend above Magaji Dambatta (2012) argued that because Kano has been reduced to an ``urban jungle`` over the years, it has become susceptible to frightening security challenges. This is as a result of unemployment among the youth and grinding poverty which have combined to exacerbate the security situation in the ancient commercial centre.

In addition, Maitama Sule (2015) blamed the rising level of crimes in the country on injustice and lack of qualitative leadership. Injustice is behind every crisis. He noted that once there is justice and fair play the country will not have experienced current crisis. He further noted that we have fallen by the wayside, what is happening in Nigeria is not in our character. The government institutions have broken down, respect for elders is not there. There is lawlessness and chaos in polity. There is corruption in the country. What is responsible for all these is lack of leadership.

Similarly, social injustice has been identified as one of the major cause of human insecurity in human society. In that context Igiehon's (1975:316) position agrees with

position above when observed that where society is preoccupied with preserving the privileges of the few, or has not yet begun ridding itself out of the injustice which encapsulate it and instead seek to maintain the unjust order, the society tend to react in an extreme violence.

Kano was rated as 10<sup>th</sup> in term of poverty ranking in the country, despite huge allocation from the federation account. This can be blamed on mismanagement and corruption.

Kano poverty profile has increased from 65.6% in 2011 to 76.4% in 2013, with those below poverty line living on less than one dollar per day constituted 66%, core poor 53.4%, moderate poor 40.8%, rich people 0.60% and moderate rich 5.2% (NBS, 2013).

Consequently, The National Bureau of Statistics Report (2008) identified seven states as hotbed of armed robbery in Nigeria. They include: Oyo, Imo, Rivers, Kano, Ogun, Cross River and FCT Abuja. In that year (2008) alone Kano had reported 108 cases of armed robbery. The explanations above indicated that human security challenge in terms of arms acquisition and their wide use bedevilling Kano metropolis have been rooted in poverty, mass illiteracy, unemployment and corruption, as well as bad governance.

**Table 9** Factors Responsible for the Armed Attacks in Kano Metropolis

| Variables                | Frequency | Percentage% |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| State's Security Failure | 36        | 8.80        |
| Poverty                  | 132       | 32.29       |
| Corruption               | 180       | 44.00       |
| Primordial Sentiments    | 37        | 09.04       |
| I do not Know            | 24        | 05.87       |
| TOTAL                    | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 9 illustrates factors responsible for the current security challenges of proliferation and wide use of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) in term of attacks in Kano metropolis. As presented 36 sampled respondents representing 8.80% attributed armed attacks to the states' security failure in providing effective protections of lives and property and also in failing to respond to distress calls in cases of eminent danger. Thus, people resort to procuring arms in order to defend themselves. This also represents the failure of the state security apparatus in checking off the various means through which Small arms and light weapons proliferate in the Kano metropolis. Then, 132 respondents representing 32.29% identified poverty as a major factor responsible for the security challenge. This is followed by 180 respondents representing 44.00% who opined that corruption especially among security personnel which represents the attitude of the security personnel in taking bribe at check points and similar security point without proper checking of movement of goods and persons on the major roads as a factor responsible for the current security challenge. Then, 37 respondents representing 9.04% considered primordial sentiments which involve religious extremism and tribal chauvinism as major factors responsible for the armed attacks in Kano metropolis. Lastly, 24 sampled respondents representing 5.87% indicated no any response.

This implies that various factors account for the acquisition of SALW and their wide use in Kano metropolis. However, these can be discussed in accordance of their negative consequences, the level of security threats they posed to people and the severity of the insecurity situation in the area. These are: the number of security personnel in the state, the political corruption, poverty, primordial sentiments, and growing armed violence and

insurgency, and state's security failure in providing effective security for lives and property in the state.

Armed attacks in Kano metropolis have been attributed to the lack of enough security personnel to protect lives and property. This is because Kano state in general requires atleast 23,200 police personnel to protect 9.3 million population of the state according to the UNO standard of 400 citizens per police,( SP Dahiru Garba, Interview, November 25, 2013). However, what is on the ground fails very short of those requirements.

In a similar vein, the late Emir of Kano Alhaji Dr Ado Bayero maintained that the security personnel in Kano are not sufficient enough to give the state the necessary protection in crisis situation. Because, the state has only 8,300 Police Officers to protect over nine million people, (Daily Trust April 5, (2012) Vol. 29 No 24, & Thisday Newspaper, 29 March, 2013).

Indeed, the burden is over-rated, because it clearly appears that each and every security personnel in Nigeria is charged with the responsibility of preserving the security for at least 1046 people men and women, children and old in the every state of the federation, which is the ratio of 1:1046 one policeman per 1046 citizens. This is indeed problematic as it affects the performance of the security service delivery. In view of these, sometime security personnel do not completely respond to the distress call, or where they do so they respond very late. Hence, people resort to procuring arms for self-defence. In addition, some criminals and dissidents are often better equipped than the police thereby making the police incapable of repelling their attacks and unable to defend the public from criminals. Most recorded incidents of armed violence occur without the intervention of the police. This is a situation which the public perceive as a lack of willingness on the

part of the security personnel to engage armed crime and wilfully putting their lives in danger. Various organisations and corporate bodies therefore rely on private security companies and vigilantes, hence, possession of guns and installation of security gadgets, thereby increasing the demand for SALW in the country, (Ginifer and Ismail, 2005:10).

Generally, Kano state has been a relatively peaceful state in the face of current armed violence. But since 2009 the situation changed. This generated a lot of serious concern among the various policy makers, traditional rulers and other stakeholders in the state, leading to setting up of committees by the state government to look into the situation. In view of these Kano policy Brief (2014) states that Kano state government especially after the January 20, 2012 attack embarked upon the measure of repatriating foreigners in view of the discovery made that alleges foreign origin of some of the insurgents involved in January 2012 attacks. This led to the repatriation of over 400 illegal immigrants from in June 2013. In addition, Magaji Dambatta (2012) noted that the lapses apparent in the security apparatuses in the nation largely due to inadequate training, obsolete working materials and low morale, recommending that the state government should advise the federal government to take the necessary steps to correct the anomalies. Furthermore, The Governor Ganduje (2015) observed that it is a fact that our security agents sometime pretend to be screening vehicles while in reality they do not have the necessary sophisticated facilities to detect life-threatening objects in vehicles and on people.

**Growing insurgency:** Poor economic condition generated dissatisfaction, frustration and a sense of relative deprivation among generality of citizen. These breed rebellion against the state in the name of insurgency popularly as Boko Haram. The group hold responsible to their poor living the elite and those associated with them particularly the state security

operatives, hence waged their violence against them, which extend to th general public. This prompts the desire by these insurgents for arms procurement in order to engage and contain the state security personnel. In this attempt, these movements resort to attacking various security formations and personnel, resulting in the confiscation of arms and weapons from security arsenals and formations. This explains the spate of suicide attacks, runaway shooting, as well as various bombs and IED attacks in various places in Kano metropolis.

According to SP Dahiru Garba (Interview, November 25, 2013) noted that in Kano metropolis the deadly 20<sup>th</sup> January 2012 attack had yielded the following negative results, at 17:00-18:00 hours 18 security personnel lost their lives while 20 were injured, 8 security vehicles were destroyed and the tailoring workshop was destroyed. At Zone I Police Headquarters Kano 4 police officers died, 3 Hilux buses and building structures were destroyed. At farm centre Police Special Anti Robbery unit around 17:30 hours IED were detonated leading to the destruction of the entire building of the station, 6 vehicles and 57 motorcycles were burnt, and 60 suspects were freed by the attackers. At 18:00 hours also IED were detonated at Badawa Quarters, Kano and St Louis Secondary School three vehicles and multi-purpose conference building were destroyed. At Zaria Road Police divisional office around 17:30-18:30 hours the attack led to the death of 1 police officer, 2 were injured, rifles were carted away with which included 10 AK 47 assault rifles, 10 pump action, 1 tokarev pistol, 1 brownie pistol with all the ammunition in the armoury and entire building were destroyed. This resulted in serious state of fear among both the security personnel and the citizens.

In most cases innocent civilians are the major victims in these confrontations. It appears that the Nigerian government lacks the capacity and the political will to mount an effective response to growing attacks of the Boko haram insurgents, as violent attacks by the sect have increased in frequency, reach and destructiveness, occurring almost on a daily basis in the northern part of the country. In spite of the increasing deterioration of security, the most visible response to date has been a massive deployment of the security forces, which has further created a feeling of fear among the local population.

Government is increasingly putting too much emphasis on the maintenance of physical security typified by the presence of military, police and intelligence agents. In some cases, to demonstrate that government is capable of ensuring peace and security, military and police units deployed to violent flashpoints. They use excessive force to arrest, detain and possibly even kill anyone who happens to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, thereby exacerbating a situation which they are meant to alleviate. Hence, worsening the security of people in the country in general. This depicts failure of the government and security personnel to reduce small arms violence and consequently reduce the demand for small arms and light weapons, and the need for people to arm themselves, (Agekameh, 2001:33).

**Corruption among the security personnel:** This manifested mainly as a result of the poor economic condition in the country coupled with corrupt nature of the Nigerian police and their general attitude at checkpoints throughout the country. For instance, it has been reported by Nigerian Masterweb (2011) that in the eighteen month between January 2009 to June 2010 the Nigerian Police Force illegally raked in 20.5 Billion from road blocks nationwide. Similarly, in North-West zone in which Kano state is

included the sum of 810 Million was illegally realized by the extortionist police between January 2009 to June 2010 and in addition also the sum of 500 million between June 2010-December 2011. In sum therefore 1.21 Billion had been illegally realized in the zone. In essence, road blocks extortion is the easiest and yet most lucrative means of corrupt enrichment by the Nigerian security personnel. This culture of corruption has been deeply entrenched in the force that it can hardly become possible separate any police officer from it. It involves collecting usually 20 to 100 depending upon the officer involved, from the private and especially commercial drivers, motor cyclists, tricyclists, other road users and travelling with their wares and personal belongings by crookedly enquiring into their vehicular papers and properties of their wares and personal effects. Due to corrupt attitude of the security personnel especially police at various check-points and road-blocks, instead of embarking on rigorous security checking they prefer to extort money ranging from 20, 50 and 100 naira from the vehicle drivers at the expense of security.

The nature of the security challenge in Kano resulting from the continuous waves of attacks has necessitated the imposition of various security measures such as road blockade and security check points where stop and search exercise is conducted on private and commercial vehicles like motor cycles, tricycles, cars, buses. They are investigated with sole aim of identifying criminals and insurgents, as well as track down the movements of arms and ammunitions. The level of security threats usually determines the spread of the checkpoint and road blockades across the state.

However, the irony of the checkpoint and road blockades altogether is the deviation of the security personnel from the fundamental objective upon which they are mounted. Instead

of focusing attention on the movements of armed groups and arms in-flow, they resort to extortion from the passers-by especially commercial drivers of very negligible amount. Consequently, arms easily found their ways to their safest destinations. Thus, despite the rampant road blockades and security check points all around the metropolitan centres arms still crept in and the spate of attacks continue in the area. This trend of security negligence allow for massive inflow of SALW in the area.

**Socio-Economic Factors (Poverty and Unemployment):** Growing poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructures, inflation coupled with culture of complacency among the teeming youth are the major factors that have prompted the unprecedented increase in crimes ranging from kidnapping, armed robbery and assassination. These crimes generally motivate procurement of arms for personal reasons and financial gains. The most readily available of these arms, through which almost all of these crimes are perpetrated, are mainly SALW.

Mohammed et al (2005:299) observed that the Nigerian economy over the last two decades coupled with rising unemployment, income inequalities and poverty have contributed to the rising wave of armed robbery. Hence, noted that primary prevention of these menace requires addressing the risk factors and their root causes particularly reducing poverty and inequalities, unemployment and substance abuse within societies.

In a similar vein, John et al. (2007) commented that poverty and enormous economic disparity between the rich and the poor within the country have been driving forces behind the use of SALW. What this translates to mean is that though Nigeria is a leading producer of crude oil, only a few have benefited from it. In essence the socioeconomic

disparity in the polity has mid-wife the enormous increase in insurgencies and crime which has indirectly turn out to be a safety haven for the teaming poor and unemployed youths who seem to be earning a living through it. The precarious high rate of poverty, unemployment and lack of fair distribution and management of the nation's resources as well as the absence of genuine democratic values for people to express their concerns in the country has made it to be of necessity to join one form of ethnically based social group within which they can struggle for their own share of the resources (Adetiba, 2012).

In Nigeria the lower socio-economic group spread across the country as a result of poverty, unemployment as well as illiteracy, therefore they are readily available to be drafted into odd jobs which include political thuggery. The majority of these groups in large numbers are found in the urban centers, they are known as "Area boys" in Lagos and Warri, "Ofio boys" in Port Harcourt, "Omo Ita" renegades in Ife, Osun state, "Agaba boys" in Calabar, "Yandaba" in Kano state. Arguably they are readily available for use by the politicians who recruits and equipped them with small arms to fight their political opponents. Their recruitment to these politicians is regarded as a form of employment, and they are meagerly remunerated not to better their lots but to buy drugs that will make them to perform. What this translates to is that these illiterate unemployed young men and women are a ready pool where political extremists recruit them to pursue their selfish socio-political ambitions. (Adetiba, 2012).

In addition they also have their economic motives. In the last few years, a number of riots resulting in the loss of lives and properties have occurred in Kano (e.g. October 1991, December 1994, May 1995). A large number of the *Yandaba* did take part in the looting

that usually followed these riots. However they seemed not directly organised by the *Yandaba*. They only seemed to have cashed on the situation to loot. The economic motive of their violence was illustrated by their targets. For instance, in the October 1991, riot about 558 shops and supermarkets were burnt, damaged and looted. Most of the rioting was concentrated in the commercial areas where shop owners battled with looters.(Ya'u, 2000:174).

The magnitude of the danger which youth unemployment poses to the society is better understood when, Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) observed that over 64 million Nigerian youths are unemployed and 1.6 million are under-employed. Unemployment causes frustration, dejection, desperation and dependency on family members and friends who also have their own problems to contend with. This precarious situation has left the youths in a vicious cycle of poverty that daily erodes their confidence and bright future (Adebayo, 2013).

The magnitude and expansion of poverty in Nigeria in general and in Kano state in particular and the threat it poses makes it one of the biggest challenges in the nation today. The rate of poverty in Nigeria has worsened since the late 1990's, to the extent that the country is now considered as one of the twenty poorest countries of the world. The frustration and desperation that daily torments the unemployed creates a fertile ground for crime and armed violence to thrive. In recent times, there have been notable adverse social, economic and political developments in Nigeria, a consequence of youth unemployment and underemployment, particularly exemplified by increasing militancy, violent crimes, kidnapping, restiveness and political instability, (Ajufu, 2013).

Poverty especially in Kano metropolis has affected many residents in the State who are now struggling to survive due to many reasons. It has been on increase since after the January, 2012 insurgents' attack which resulted in loss of many lives and properties in the state and the subsistent government decision to ban Achaba operation (motorcyclist activity) due to the prevalent insecurity situation. The effort, though positive, has contributed much in the current poverty problem since most of the affected motorcyclists that form large portion of our youths cannot afford to buy the tricycle (Adai-daita sahu) and uninterestingly government has done nothing to provide the affected people considerably with alternatives; as Achaba operation used to be the source of their livelihood. Secondly, the issue of poor and unstable power supply in the state forced many factories to close down and some moved to the Southern part of the country where power supply is relatively stable. This situation of metropolitan poverty has left many people out of work and uncertain on how to provide for themselves and their families (Inuwa, 2014).

This agrees with Ibrahim (2010:129) who in her study discovered that poverty and unemployment are major triggers of human insecurity in forms of religious disturbances, civil uprising and criminal activities in Kano metropolis with 523(67.40%) out of 776 responses. In particular she emphasized that was the major cause of 2004 religious crises that claimed several lives and property worth million of Naira within the Kano metropolis and its environs. Hence, in view of the explanation above can be argued that lack of human security across Kano metropolis in the name of poverty and unemployment especially among youth is one of the major factors that trigger criminal

activities and violence intensified by wide use of SALW. Because, violence through is perceived as a means for looting by poor and frustrated youth.

#### 4.5 Group/Individual Involved in Arms deals in Kano Metropolis

**Table 10** Means of Acquiring SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables                       | Frequency | Percentage% |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Black-Market/Smuggling          | 204       | 49.89       |
| Corrupt Security Personnel      | 97        | 23.71       |
| Legal Arms Dealers              | 12        | 02.93       |
| Local Craftsmen /Black Smithers | 83        | 20.29       |
| Others Specify                  | 13        | 03.18       |
| TOTAL                           | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 10 presents the means by which SALW are acquired in Kano metropolis. As presented in the table 204 sampled respondents representing 49.89% of the total responses opined that SALW are mainly acquired through black-market and smuggling, this is followed by 97 respondent representing 23.71% of the total responses who opined that corrupt security personnel are the means through which SALW are procured by armed robbers through which they unleash terror and violence in the Kano metropolis, then 12 respondents representing 2.93% of the total responses opined that SALW are acquired through licensed arms dealers in Kano metropolis and in the state in general, while 84 respondents representing 20.53% of the total responses indicated that SALW are acquired through local blacksmithers and craftsmen, and lastly, 12 of the respondents representing 2.93% opined thta SALW are acquired through unpatriotic politicians and businessmen as a means of unleashing terror against opponent or political rival, as well as through direct seizure and confiscation from security personnel by armed robbers and insurgents.

In addition, The Director state security service observed that SALW are acquired in Kano metropolis mainly through attack on security personnel and smuggling from Cameroun, Niger, Chad and Libya, (Interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2014). Supporting this position (SP Dahiru Garba (Interview, November 25, 2013) revealed that during the January 20<sup>th</sup> attack at Zaria Road Police divisional office around 17:30-18:30 hours many rifles were carted away with which included 10 AK 47 assault rifles, 10 pump action, 1 tokarev pistol, 1 brownie pistol with all the ammunition in the armoury and entire building were destroyed. This implies that SALW are acquired in Kano state through various means the most prominent of which are through black-market and smuggling, as well as through seizure and confiscation from security personnel, this is usually after attacking a security personnel or their formation and then carted away with their weapons.

This agrees with position of Onuaha (2013:52) who argued that small arms and light weapons in circulation in Nigeria come from local fabrication, residue of guns used during the civil war, thefts from government armouries, smuggling, dishonest government-accredited importers, ethnic militias, insurgents from neighbouring countries and some multinational oil corporations operating in the oil-rich but crisis-plagued Niger Delta. Additionally, Nigeria Customs Service data confirm illicit weapons and ammunition are routinely seized and that illicit weapons enter the countries through land, air and sea (Agboton-Johnson, et'al 2004:22).

In justifying the position above, a member of JTF Military Sergeant (Interview, 20<sup>th</sup> June, 2013) added that the sources of arms come through retired army officers who act as armed brokers or middlemen in hiring arms to criminal groups especially armed robbers high killers.

A Gun runner (Interview, Kano 1/09/2015) revealed that lucrative business from the arms deals is the major factor that motivates the smuggle of arms in Kano. This is because the price of assault rifle like AK 47 costs between 200,000:00k to 250,000:00k because there is no standard price depending upon demand. While, pistol cost between 100,000:00k to 150,000:00k and hired to criminals between 70,000:00k – 80,000:00k assault rifles. He further revealed that they smuggle arms by conniving with security agents given them a cover particularly those in Defence and Guard unit, and through various means by concealing arms in the vehicles, inside foodstuff, inside charcoal bags and do not follow normal road, where necessary they tip the security personnel on guard, (Interview, Kano 1/09/2015).

In a similar vein, another Gun runner (Interview, Kano 5/09/2015) The price oriented gain in which the legitimate price are put at for Assault rifle like AK 47 with licence = 620,000 to 650,000, for .45mm Pistol = 850,000:00k to 900,000:00k for Double barrel = 200,000:00k for Single Barrel = 160,000:00k and Locally made pistol/gun = 15,000:00k - 20,000:00k and short gun 40,000:00k. While, Ammunition (illegal) per round = 800:00k to 1000:00k, while the legal price is 10,000:00k per magazine as they do not sold pieces. He further noted that after the call by the Emir of Kano for self-protection the demand increased which heightened the price of arms and ammunition in the state in general, (Interview, Kano 5/09/2015).

In another development a criminal (Interview, Kano 6/09/2015) revealed that poverty was the factor that motivate the arms procurement unmindful of the human security implications and security involved. He further revealed that they normally acquire arms through renting and or supply by their bosses (mainly ex-service men and businessmen in

town, however, a very distance link is established) or even friend who give out the jobs who they meet at special joints or rather night clubs. They normally rent an assault rifle like AK 47 at the cost of 100,000:00k - 150,000:00k per operation, hence they become very ruthless during operations, (Interview, Kano 6/09/2015).

Similar opinion was also revealed by a Gunner (Interview, Kano Saturday 3/09/2015) who attested that their operations is a sacred religious duty and the promise of money, which are provided by their bosses and or the contractors distance links established, they do not buy or hire the weapons. Their major targets are security formation and civilian targets, and even if died the mission must be accomplished.

Thus, it appears that various individual are involved in arms deal in the area, however, the purposes range from profit or financial gain to fanaticism in the name of religious duty even though financial rewards are involved.

**Table 11** Armed Group in Kano Metropolis

| Variables  | Frequency | Percentage% |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| Security Personnel in the Name of Restoring Peace/Security | 60        | 14.67       |
| Ethnic Militias  | 00        | 00.00       |
| Insurgents/Religious Militants                             | 253       | 61.86       |
| Armed Robbers  | 96        | 23.47       |
| Others Specify   | 00        | 00          |
| TOTAL  | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 11 provides data on the most common armed group that posed more serious human security threat in Kano metropolis. As presented 96 respondents representing 23.47% opined that security personnel in the name of reprisal attack and general security

preservation are the major source of threat to human security in the area. None of the respondents opined to ethnic militias as a source of threat. Then, 253 respondents representing 61.86% opined that insurgents are the major source of terror and threat to human security in the state. This is followed by 60 respondents representing 14.67% who opined that armed robbers and assassins are the major armed group that posed more serious threat to human security in Kano metropolis.

This implies that insurgents and armed robbers as well as security personnel in the name of peace keeping operation are major sources of threats to human security in Kano metropolis. In justifying this position the Police record between 2011 and 2014 indicates that all the 407 individuals arrested within that period were insurgents and armed robbers, (Nigerian Police Headquarters Report, 2012-2014).

#### **4.6 Challenges of SALW on Human Security in Kano Metropolis**

**Table 12** SALW as Major Cause of Human Insecurity in Kano Metropolis

| Variables     | Frequency | Percentage% |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| Yes           | 301       | 73.60       |
| No            | 108       | 26.40       |
| I do not know | 00        | 00          |
| TOTAL         | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 12 presents the opinion of the sampled respondents on whether small arms and light weapons SALW are major cause of armed attacks in Kano metropolis. As illustrated 301 respondents representing 73.60% indicated yes, while, 108 respondents representing 26.40% indicated no. While, none of the response indicated do not know.

This implies that SALW are major cause and source of human security threat in Kano metropolis, and they posed direct threat to people's lives and slow down economic

activities in the area. This is as a result of continuous atmosphere of fear they create in the mind of the people in almost everywhere that is public places and even places of worship, market and personal residents. This can be established from the waves of attacks which have been perpetrated and the frequency at which small arms and other light weapons have been frequently recovered by the security organisations particular the unit known as Joint Task Force (JTF) in the area. Hence, it can be established that SALW are the major cause of the current trend of human insecurity in Kano metropollis.

This has also been confirmed by The Director SSS Kano (Interview, Wednesday 22/05/2014) when he observed that the current security challenge of attacks, injuries and deaths are directly attributed to the proliferation and wide use of small arms and light weapons SALW in Kano metropolis and the state in general. Indeed all the attacks by armed robbers and insurgent are mainly perpetrated through the use of small arms and light weapons especially AK 47 assault rifle and improvised electronic devices (IED). This can also be established from the various weapons which are mainly small arms and light weapons like AK 47, pistol and locally made gun and IED which have been recovered by the security agencies in Kano metropolis. And this agrees with the position of Mohammed etal (2005:298) revealed that gunshot injuries were major cause of trauma-related morbidity and mortality in Kano metropolis.

**Table 13** Level of SALW Proliferation in Kano Metropolis

| Variables | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Very High | 48        | 11.74       |

|               |     |       |
|---------------|-----|-------|
| High          | 60  | 14.67 |
| Moderate      | 208 | 50.86 |
| Low           | 84  | 20.53 |
| I do not know | 09  | 02.20 |
| TOTAL         | 409 | 100%  |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 13 presents the level of proliferation of SALW in Kano Metropolis. As presented 48 respondents representing 11.74% of the total responses opined that the level of proliferation is very high, this is followed by 60 respondents representing 14.67% of the total responses who opined that the level of proliferation is very high, then 208 respondents representing 50.86% of the total responses opined that the level of proliferation is moderate, 84 respondents representing 20.53% of the total responses indicated that the level of proliferation is low, and lastly, 9 respondents representing 2.20% of the total responses did not make any response.

This indicates that there are many SALW in circulation in Kano Metropolis, especially in the hands of criminals and insurgents, however, their destructive capacity and the havoc they cause is what is worrisome this varies from time to time, and obviously they posed direct threat and danger to human security in the state. This is because out of 409 total responses only 84 attested to the existence of low level of SALW proliferation in the metropolis. While, almost 316 (77.26%) responses invariably agreed on the spread of SALW in the area.

In this respect, Director of the SSS revealed that between February 2012- May 2014 the organization in collaboration with sister organisations namely army, police and the JTF

have recovered almost 5000 arms and light weapons of different calibres in the state, ( Interview, Wednesday 22 May, 2014 ).

In a similar vein, Nigerian Police Headquarters Bompai in their Annual Report (2012 - 2013) revealed the recovery of the arms and arrest of insurgents and armed robbers as follows:

**Table 14 Arms Recovery by Security Agencies in Kano Metropolis Between 2009 to 2014**

| <b>Date</b> | <b>Security Division</b>                                   | <b>Arms recovered</b>  | <b>Location</b>                                    |
|-------------|--|--|--|
| 30/03/2009  | Nigerian Police Force                                      | 4 AK47 rifles  | Wapa Market  |
| 13/11/2011  | Nigerian Police Force                                      | 3 AK 47 magazines with live ammunitions  | Wapa Market  |
| 20/01/2012  | Nigerian Police Force                                      | 300 coca cola sized can of IED, 8 peak milk tin of 350 grams loaded IED, 8 drum sized of 350 kilo grams loaded IED in cars   | Various locations in the state                     |
| 20/01/2012  | SSS Department   | 27 AK 47 assault rifles, several Improvised electronic devices (IED), and several police uniforms  | Danladi Nasidi Estate                              |
| 12/05/2012  | Joint Task Force   | 2 AK47 rifles, 1 pistol, 1 local craft pistol, 47 rounds of 7.62mm Special ammunitions and 6 rounds of 9mm.  | In an abandoned Car Honda                          |
| 12/05/2012  | Joint Task Force   | 10 grenades, 1 Sub-machine gun (SMG), and 1000 of AK 47 live bullets   | Top Gunner at Farawa Hotoro                        |
| 1/08/2012   | Nigerian Police Force                                      | 2 pistols, 11 pump action rifles, 176 catridges.   | Kano   |
| 7/08/2012   | Joint Task Force   | 36 assorted IED, 5 guns, 4 smoke gun, 739 round of various calibre ammunitions, 2.5 litres of nitric acid and seven bags of ammonium fertilizer                    | Insurgents hideout at Tudun Bayero Gadar Tamburawa |
| 17/09/2012  | Joint Taks Force   | 4 Ak 47 rifles and 30 IED  | Rimin Kebe quarters                                |
| 04/06/2013  | Joint Task Force, SSS and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Brigade Soldiers | 1,150mm anti-tanks weapons, two 122mm artillery gun ammunitions, 4 anti tank missiles, 21 rocket propelled grenade (RPG), 16 RPG chargers, 1 RPG Tube, 76 Military | A Resident located at No 3 Gaya Road Bompai        |

|            |  |   |  |
|------------|--|---|--|
|            |  | grenades, 1 SMG rifle, 17 AK 47 rifles, 44 magazines, 11,433 rounds of 7.62 mm special ammunition and 103 packet of slap TNT.   |  |
| 5/06/13    | Joint Task Force, SSS and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Brigade Soldiers | 80 explosive indicators, 5ppk pistols, 334 rounds of 7.62 mm special ammunitions, 9 magazines, 4 pistol silencers, 18 Nos of 36 hand grenades caps, 4 explosive fuses and 2 explosive devices   | A Resident located at No 3 Gaya Road Bompai                                      |
| 27/09/2013 | Joint Task Force   | 2 AK 47 rifles, 2 pistol, 2 bags of TNT, ready made IED, remote control bombs, gas cylinders and a welding machine, 2 power generators, 90 round of live ammunitions, drilling machine, 100 detonator heads, pyrotechnic and welding equipments | Hotoran Haye   |
| 9/11/2013  | Nigerian Police Force                                      | 2 AK 47 rifles, 6 AK 47 magazines, 39 round of 7.62 mm of live ammunitions  | Hotoron Dan Marke and Brigade quarters   |
| 5/06/2014  | Joint Task Force   | 17 IED, 3 Fabricated Turkey oil containers, 12 air coolants and can of drinks as hand grenades, 2 fire extinguishers with electronic switch to be detonate via remote control.  | Medile Quarters Kumbotso local government area                                   |
| 26/06/2014 | Nigerian Police Force                                      | Powerful IED  | In a car Peugeot Plate No AA 513 ZAK at Ishaqa Rabiw Jumuat Mosque Gwauron Dutse |

Source: Nigeria Police State Headquarters, Bompai Kano, November, 2013.

As presented in the table 14 above on 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 Kano state Commissioner of Police revealed that the command made a number of recovery of arms which include 300 Coca-cola sized cans of Improvised Explosive Devices at various locations in the city, 8 peakmilk tins of 350 grams loaded with IED, and 8 drums size of 350 kg with IED loaded in the cars in various locations, (Daily Trust, 23/01/2012, Vol 28 No 71). Later, on the same day the security raid at the insurgents' hideout at Danladi Nasidi quarters led to the discovery of 27 AK 47 assault rifles, several Improvised electronic devices, and several police uniforms, (Director SSS Kano, Interview, Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014).

On 12/05/2012 also JTF through Lt. Col. Ikedichi Iweha of the Army 3 Brigade Headquarters Intelligence Unit revealed that in an immediate search conducted in a car arrested by police at a check point Honda 2008 Model it was discovered that the occupant had 2 AK 47 assault rifles, 1 pistol, 1 locally manufactured pistol, 47 rounds of 7.62mm special and 6 rounds of 9mm, (Weekly Trust,12/05/2012,Vol. 15 No 39).

In another development, on 12/05/2012 the Commissioner of Police Kano state Idris K. Ibrahim revealed that the team of JTF arrested the top-gunner identified as Muhammad Suleiman at his house in Farawa near Hotoro quarters and made recovery of arms which included: 10 grenades, a sub-machine gun (SMG), and about 1000 AK 47 bullets, (Weekly Trust, 12/05/2012, Vol. 15 No 39).

On 7/08/2012 also, Sunday Trust (Vol 7 No 7 August 12, 2012) revealed that the JTF during raid at 6:00pm on a suspected hide-out of the terrorist elements inside a bush in Tudun Bayero in Gadar Tamburawa 10 km from Kano city off Zaria road recovered items which include: 36 IED of various calibers; 5 guns; 4 smoke guns; 739 rounds of various calibre ammunitions, 2.5 litres of nitric acid and seven bags of ammonia fertilizer.

In a similar vein, The Sunnewsonline.com (June 9<sup>th</sup> ,2013) and thesaharareporters.com (June 5<sup>th</sup> ,2013) reported that security operatives on June 4<sup>th</sup> , 2013 unearthed caches of arms and ammunitions at No 3 Gaya Road, Bompai, belonging to Lebanese national, in an underground bunker in the master bedroom where a large quantity of assorted weapons of different types and calibre and ammunition. On further search of the property, a cooler was recovered buried under the wardrobe which had in it. They include 80 explosive indicators, 5ppk pistols, 334 rounds of 7.62mm special, 9 magazines, 4 pistol silencers,18 nos of 36 hand grenade caps, 4 explosive fuses and 2 explosive devices.

In addition, According to the Vanguard (May 28<sup>th</sup> , 2013) On 5<sup>th</sup> may, 2013 a combine team of JTF involving the army of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade in Kano and the Kano state SSS command uncovered large cache of weapon at No 3 Gaya Road, off Bompai road, Kano, belonging to Lebanese Abdul Hassan Taher Fadlallah, in an underground bunker. Weapons recovered tagged as ‘weapons of mass destruction’ in the word of the commandant of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade include: 11,50mm anti-tank weapons, two 122mm artillery gun ammunition, four anti-tank landmines, 21 rocket-propelled grenades RPG, 16 rocket propelled grenade chargers, 1 rocket-propelled grenade tube and 76 military grenades. Others are 1SMG rifle, 9 pistols, 17 AK-47 rifles, 44 magazines, 11,433 rounds of 7.62mm special ammunition and 103 packet of slap TNT.’

Additionally according to Leadership (2013) and Vanguard (2013) Kano State Police Command, revealed that on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2013 uncovered a cache of arm at a Hotoron Haye within the municipality. The place, suspected to be a bomb factory, is located in the remote part of the restive quarters with several explosives and bomb-making materials seized. Two suspects were also arrested in a raid led by the Kano Commissioner of Police, Ibrahim Idris. Items recovered in the building included two AK-47 rifle, two pistols, two bags of TNT, ready-made IED, remote control bombs, gas cylinders and a welding machine. Other items were two power generating sets, three motor vehicles, 90 rounds of live ammunition, drilling machine, 100 detonator heads, pyrotechnics and some welding equipment.

On November 9, 2013 Kano state Police Command under the auspices of JTF recovered at Hotoron Dan Marke and Brigade Quarters 2 AK 47 assault rifles, 6 AK 47 magazines and 39 rounds of 7.62 mm life ammunitions. The commissioner of Police Kano state

disclosed that his command in Kano impounded 963 high calibre IED and 2 suicide prime car bombs between January and August 2012. And, also arrested three people in possession of 2 pistols, 11 pump action rifles, 176 cartridge in August 2012, (Pointblanknews.com, 2012). It is very obvious from the explanation above that there are higher numbers of arms in the state, especially in the wrong hands.

**Table 15** Common SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables                           | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Local Craft Weapons                 | 43        | 10.51       |
| AK 47 Assault Rifle                 | 168       | 41.08       |
| Pistol                              | 00        | 00.00       |
| Improvised Electronic Devices (IED) | 192       | 46.94       |
| Others Specify                      | 06        | 01.47       |
| TOTAL                               | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 15 presents data on the most common SALW through which attacks and violence are perpetrated in Kano metropolis. As indicated 43 sampled respondents representing 10.51% opined that local craft weapons which include local pistol and double barrel guns are the common source of threat and violence in Kano Metropolis. Then, 168 respondents representing 41.07% who identified AK 47 Assault rifle as a major Small arm responsible for attacks and violence and all other forms of human security challenge. This is followed by 192 sampled respondents representing 46.94% who opined that local bomb popularly known as Improvised Electronic Devices (IED) are the most common weapon responsible for the current human security challenge in Kano Metropolis. Lastly, 6 respondents representing 1.47% of the sampled respondents representing 5.86% indicated that they do

not know any type of weapon that cause human security violence and threats in Kano Metropolis.

This implies that different types of SALW are available and have been used by armed groups, armed robbers and insurgents to cause havoc in Kano Metropolis. This is also established from the recovery of arms made by security organisation and the number of attack carried out in the area in which SALW featured.

These agreed with Ginifer and Ismail (2005:4) and Sha (2005:74) when they observed that the common SALW in Nigeria include AK-47 assault rifles, pistols, pump action rifles, riot gun, smoke gun, carbine rifles, double-barrel shotguns, G3 rifles, general-purpose machine guns, and sub-machine guns, among others. However, AK 47 assault rifles, locally made guns and pistol and IED are the most common Weapons used to perpetrate all forms of violence against people in the Kano Metropolis, as can be seen from various arms recovery by the security personnel. This has been confirmed by a Lieutenant (Interview, Saturday 27th July, 2014) that from the evidences available to security operatives the most common small arms and light weapons in the Kano Metropolis are AK 47 assault rifle, local craft weapons and IED.

**Table 16** Level of Threats Posed by SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables      | Frequency | Percentage% |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| Very High      | 24        | 05.86       |
| High           | 157       | 38.39       |
| Moderate       | 204       | 49.89       |
| Low            | 24        | 05.86       |
| Others Specify | 00        | 00.00       |
| TOTAL          | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 16 reflects the level of threats posed by SALW in Kano Metropolis. As provided in the table 24 respondents representing 5.86% of the total responses opined that the level of threats is very high, this is followed by 157 respondent representing 38.39% of the total responses who opined that the level of threats is high, then 204 respondents representing 49.89% of the total responses opined that the level of threats is moderate, 24 respondents representing 5.86% of the total responses indicated that the level of threats is low, and lastly, none of the respondents opined to any additional information on the level of threat posed by SALW in Kano Metropolis.

This implies that SALW posed direct threat and danger to human security in Kano. These involve state of fear, terror, death and injuries. However, these sometime fluctuate between higher and moderate situation. This agrees with the position maintained by (Okiro, 2004) that the proliferation of small arms contributes to a culture of violence and a cycle that is difficult to break. It fuels insecurity which becomes impediment to economic development, provision of basic amenities as well as the development of effective governance and democracy, as well as to security and stability in the current democratic era in Nigeria. Furthermore, it has been noted that between 1999 and 2010, Nigeria recorded at least 187 ethno-religious conflicts leading to several thousand deaths and displacement of 1.6 million Nigerians, (Onuaha, 2013, & Fleishman in Okiro, 2004:76).

In view of the threats and dangers posed by SALW Professor Ismaila M. Zango (Interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014) opined that uncontrolled arms transfers make political action by the governments necessary especially small arms and light weapons, they lead to

countless deaths and injuries, displacement of vulnerable groups especially children and women.

In essence therefore, armed violence through small arms and light weapons destroys lives and livelihoods, breeds insecurity, fear and terror, and has a profound negative effect on socioeconomic development. It also imposes enormous costs on states, communities and individuals. It closes schools, empties markets, burdens health services, destroys families, weakens the rule of law, and prevents humanitarian assistance from reaching people in need. All grave human rights violations and killings across the globe over the past three decades have involved the use of small arms and light weapons. Mass numbers of people men, women, older people, and children die from the direct and indirect effects of armed conflict perpetrated mainly through the use of small arms and light weapons, (SALW).

In view of the kind of financial cost small arms and light weapons inflict on the government, the presence of the Joint Military Task Force (JTF) in Kano State in response to the current waves of insurgency has considerable fiscal implications. The state has been shouldering the allowances of the combined military, mobile police and other security personnel under the JTF's command, which is reported to amount to about 50 million per month. In addition, the state has also drawn vigilante groups into its security operations to complement the work of the security services, (Policy Brief 2014).

As a reflection of general insecurity in Nigeria, however, patterns and dimensions differ from state to state and zone to zone, Kano state has also been witnessing new waves of security challenges and threats resulting from the proliferation and the use of small arms and light weapons, particularly from 2007 to 2015 (the period of this study). This manifested in forms of continuous upsurge of insurgency in the name of religion in the

state, rampant cases of armed robbery especially in market places notably Wapa Foreign Exchange Market, Kwari Market, Singer Market and Abubakar Market and several shopping complexes and supermarkets. It also manifested in forms of rampant cases of kidnapping, auto theft, assassination with devastating human security consequences. Given the spate of these attacks SALW have indeed become the dominant source of human suffering, morbidity and mortality in Kano metropolis, their effects are obvious in the area.

**Table 17** The Impact of SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables       | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| Highly Positive | 00        | 00.00       |
| Positive        | 00        | 00.00       |
| Highly Negative | 216       | 52.81       |
| Negative        | 180       | 44.01       |
| Others Specify  | 13        | 03.17       |
| TOTAL           | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 17 presents the opinion of the sampled respondents on the impact of Small arms and light weapons of human security in Kano metropolis. As presented none of the respondents opined to either highly positive or positive options respectively. However, 216 respondents representing 52.81% of the total responses opined that the impact of small arms and light weapons is highly negative in Kano Metropolis, while, 180

respondents representing 44.01% of the total responses opined that the impact of small arms and light weapons is negative in the area.

This implies the fact that the level of impact of SALW on human security in Kano metropolis is highly negative for the grave danger they posed. The SSS report (May, 2014) confirmed the argument above as money worth 100 million were lost in Wapa Bureau de Change, and 24million in Kwari Market, while, 285 died during the 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 attacks and properties worth millions of naira destroyed.

In a similar vein, The 2011 World Investment Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), (in [The Sun News](#) 8/04/ 2013 & [Blueprintnewspapers.com](#), 21/01/2014) revealed that a lull in business activities caused by insecurity in Kano State alone has cost the Nigerian economy N1.3trillion (\$6 billion).

Also, due to spate of attacks by motorcycles by armed militants the Kano state government announced the ban on motor cycle passenger in Kano metropolis with effect from Thursday January 24, 2013. This followed the Saturday January 18, 2013 brutal attack on the late Emir of Kano which claimed six lives. In addition, there were rampant cases of attacks on motorcycles for instance Kano state Police Command revealed that between March-June 2012 a total number of 45 people were killed by bike-riding gunmen. Also, in January 2013 alone a total of 21 people were killed by gunmen on motorbikes, ([The Nationonline.com](#),28/01/2013 & [Sahara Reporters.com](#), 22/01/2013).

This led to the banning of Okada in Kano metropolis which led to the loss of almost two million jobs. Because, as the official statistics revealed there are over one million

registered Achaba riders in Kano. In addition there are almost the same number of unregistered riders,(Official of the Achaba Association, Interview, December 24,2013).

This agrees with the position of The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (2006) UNODA (2013) Helen Chuma-Okoro (2013) who argues that the proliferation of SALW and the wide use of same by State and non-state actors have created room for the infringement of human rights, exacerbated conflict, sparks refugee flows, undermines the rule of law and spawns a culture of violence and impunity.

Similarly, The Director State Security Service (SSS) Kano Headquarters observed at a particular point in time in Kano state particularly between July 2011 – December 2012 there were rampant cases of armed robbery in the state especially in the major markets in Kano: Wapa Bureau de Change, Kwari Textile Market, Muhammad Abubakar Rimi Market, Hajj Camp Market and various supermarkets and residential buildings in the state. These waves of armed robbery which according to security report were put at 2-5 cases per week had been linked up to a highly orchestrated conspiracy to generate enough money in preparation against 20<sup>th</sup> January 2012 attacks. Thus, at exactly the period of attack it was discovered by SSS that small arms and light weapons (SALW) as well as ammunitions had been smuggled into the state and kept at Danladi Nasidi Quarters. The availability of these weapons at the disposal of insurgents and armed groups gave them an ample opportunity in perpetrating the January 2012 attacks, that succeeded in hitting eight different security formations and caused the death of over 285 people out of which 75% were civilian in Kano metropolis. Later, the security raid at the insurgents' hideout at Danladi Nasidi quarters led to the discovery of 27 AK 47 assault rifles, several

Improvised electronic devices (IED), and several police uniforms, (Interview, Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014).

This can further be proved with reference to the waves of attacks which have been perpetrated in the state particularly between 2007 to 2014, as presented in the table below:

**Table 18 Some Attacks Incidences In Kano Metropolis 2007 To 2015**

| Date       | Target  | Armed Group                           | Death/Casualty   | Recovery/Loss  |
|------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| 7/04/2007  | Panshekara Police Station   | About 300-400 Militant (Talban)       | 13 civilians and 22 militants  | Nil  |
| 30/03/2009 | Wapa Foreign exchange Market  | Armed robbers                         | 6 policemen and 2 armed robbers  | 4 AK 47 rifles, 2 vehicles and undisclosed sum of local and foreign currency |
| 30/10/2011 | Kwari market  | Armed Robbers                         | Several Casualties   | Undisclosed sum of money   |
| 13/11/2011 | Wapa Foreign exchange Market  | Armed Robbers                         | I person   | Undisclosed sum of money   |
| 20/01/2012 | Nigerian Police Headquarters Zone I, Nigerian Police Divisional Office Farm Centre, SSS Headquarters Giginyu, Residence of AIG Zone I, St Louis Secondary School, Nigerian Police Divisional Office Zaria Road, Immigration Passport Office, Nigerian Police State Headquarters Bompai, Bompai Police Barrack | Armed Insurgents and Suicide bombers. | 29 Police officers, 3 SSS men, 2 Nigerian Immigration officers, 1 custom officer, 150 civilians. Total of 186 people | Nil  |
| 5/09/2012  | MTN/Airtel Masts at Hotoro and Sharada  | Militants on Bikes                    | Nil  | NIL  |
| 19/01/2013 | Emirs' Convoy at Zoo Road   | Insurgents                            | 3 people died and 12 injured   | Nil  |
| 8/02/2013  | Filin Kashu Unguwa and Community Health Centre Hotoron Haye   | Insurgents                            | 9 Polio workers died and several people were injured   | Nil  |
|            |   | Suicide Bombers                       | 25 people died   | Nil  |

|            |   |  |  |                |
|------------|---|--|--|----------------|
| 29/03/2013 | Motor Park Along New Road Sabon Gari  |  | and 75 injured   |                |
| 24/06/2014 | School of Hygiene BUK Road  | Insurgents through IED'S in a Car                    | 8 Students died and 12 were injured                              | Nil            |
| 27/07/2014 | Separate Attacks: Kofar Nassarawa near Northwest University and St Charles Family Church Sabon Gari | Young Female Suicide bomber                          | 6 died and 13 injured  | Nil            |
| 28/07/2014 | Zoo Road Near Trade Fair Complex and  | Zoo Road Near Trade Fair Complex                     | 1 died and 6 injured   | Nil            |
| 28/07/2014 | NNPC Mega Station Hotoro  | Female Suicide Bomber<br>Young Female Suicide bomber | 4 died and 8 injured   | Nil            |
| 30/07/2014 | Kano Poly Central Administration  | Young Female Suicide Bomber                          | 3 died and 7 injured   | Nil            |
| 18/09/2014 | Federal College of Education Kano Twin student's theatres   | Armed Attackers and Suicide Bombers                  | 17 died and 34 injured   | 2 AK 47 rifles |
| 15/11/2014 | Magarsiku Filling Station Hotoro  | Suicide Bomber                                       | 6 died and 5 injured   | Nil            |
| 28/11/2014 | Kano Central Mosque Emir Palace Kano  | Armed Attackers and Suicide Bombers                  | Over 100-200 died and several hundreds sustained various injured | Nil            |
| 24/02/2015 | Kano Line Bus Station Zaria Road Kano   | Suicide Bombers                                      | 26 death and several people injured                              | Nil            |

Note: This table represents not all the incidents of all the attacks in the state, but highlight major attacks.

**Source:** Survey Study January – July 2014 & National Daily Newspapers

It is obvious that the proliferation of SALW and their wide use in Kano metropolis has threatened the core values of freedom and protection from all forms of threats against human existence and survival which constitute the basis of human security consideration. Given the deteriorating security situation in the state above mainly resulting from the trend of proliferation and wide use of small arms and light weapons it can be argued with

no hesitation that the state of human security in Kano state is very poor. As the spate of attacks has become rampant and incessant, and indiscriminate with no specific target, and the discovery of SALW is still continuing the future of human security is quite gloomy. Conversely, in a situation where the availability of small arms and light weapons (SALW) is less the state relatively becomes calm, and the security of the state and the human security situation returns to relative normalcy, which in turn reduces the level of fear, as well as the number of civilian casualty and death in the state.

According to the SSS security source (Interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014) due to the extensive security campaign in the state which led to mass recovery of small arms and light weapons (SALW) from the armed groups in the state, there have been relative peace and calmness in the state, where there were no report of any attack in form of runaway shooting or IED attack since September 2013 until 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2014. Thus, human security situation has been fluctuating though drastically reduced from the peak of 90% of threat between July 2011 and March 2013 to 30% relative calmness in May 2014.

This agrees with IANSA & OXFAM (2006:4-5). Easy access to weapons not only contributes to violations of human rights and humanitarian law, it also increases the threat from armed groups and organised crime, leaving scores dead and hundreds injured. Hence, human security is under increasing threat from the spread of small arms and light weapons.

The chairman of Kano state Traders Association (KASTU) the umbrella body of all Market Associations in Kano state noted that “of course the growing armed violence particularly from insurgency has negatively affected business activities in all our markets

in Kano. This is more obvious in Kantin Kwari Textile market which is the largest in West Africa, whose daily turn-over is valued at 1 Billion,” (Blueprint Newspapers.com,21/01/2014).

A study conducted by Centre of Research and Documentation (CRD) in collaboration with Department For International Development (DFID) on the aftermath of 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 attacks in Kano state revealed that the January, 2012 attack as well as subsequent attacks that followed had adversely affected Kano’s business environment which consequently crippled economic activities in the city. Thus, as a result of these attacks 97% of these businesses, which varies across different sector of the economy including manufacturing, commerce, hospitality, and individual craftsmen and women, had 80% of their earnings gone down considerably. Consequently, 80% of these businesses had either sacked some of their workers or cut down on operating hours and expenses in order to adjust to the current situation, and 50% of manufacturing industries had low turn-out, (Blueprint Newspapers.com, 21/01/2014).

Alhaji Ado Kunya (Interview, 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2014) a businessman and an Importer of second hand clothes in Kofar Wambai Market Kano revealed that due to the waves of attacks resulting from 20<sup>th</sup> January 2012 and its aftermath, they lost majority of the customers who were scared away. This reason necessitated the relocation of his business to Kaduna state.

In a similar vein, Alhaji Sani Sulaiman (Interview, 08<sup>th</sup> February, 2014) a trader and importer of Textile Materials lamented that due to armed violence in the state most of his customers who are mainly Igbos are no longer coming to Kano to patronize them,

because, they always claim the security situation in the state hence are afraid of the dear lives.

Similarly, Alhaji Muntari Dansarki (Interview, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 2014) lamented also the slow down of business activities and the lost of customers from neighbouring state, resulting from the armed violence and the deteriorating security condition in the state which negatively affected business activities.

According to the chairman of Dawanau Grain Marketers Association, Alhaji Muhammad Abdullahi Koya in an interview with weekly trust (2012) Dawanau market is a largest grain market in West Africa and one of the major sources of revenue to the state in general. However, however the current security challenge has taken heavy toll on the market, thereby drastically reducing the business from what it used to be. The grain merchants have become fearful as a result of the intermittent and unpredictable times gun men would strike. Hence, the market has now been recording low patronage due to the security challenges in the state. In addition, he noted that under normal circumstances, over 200 lorry load of grains daily leave the market to different states and some parts of Africa. In the first quarter of 2012 the number has reduced to between 20-50 Lorries in a day and the number has kept reducing at an alarming figure. He reiterated that the insecurity facing the state is not only affecting the economy of the northern Nigeria, but that of neighbouring countries like Chad and Niger,( Weekly Trust, 2012).

#### **4.7 The Role of the Security Agencies in controlling the Arms proliferation and attacks in Kano Metropolis**

**Table 19** Opinion of the Sampled Respondents on the Nature of Security Measures in Controlling SALW Proliferation and Attack in Kano Metropolis

| Variables          | Frequency | Percentage% |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| Highly Detrimental | 37        | 09.05       |
| Detrimental        | 48        | 11.73       |
| Effective          | 264       | 64.55       |
| Ineffective        | 60        | 14.67       |
| Others Specify     | 00        | 00.00       |
| TOTAL              | 409       | 100%        |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 19 presents the opinion of the sampled respondents on the nature of security measures embarked upon by the security agencies in controlling the proliferation of small arms and light weapons SALW in Kano Metropolis. As presented 37 respondents representing 9.05% of the total responses opined that the security measures are highly detrimental to people in Kano Metropolis, this is followed by 48 respondents representing 11.73% of the total responses indicating that the security measures are detrimental, while, 264 respondents representing 64.55% of the total responses opined that despite their limitations the security measures are effective in controlling the waves of attacks and the proliferation of Small arms and light weapons in the area. Also, 60 respondents representing 14.67% of the total responses opined that the security measures are ineffective.

This implies the fact that the security measures embarked upon by the security organization which include road blockades, checkpoints, cordon-off and search, security patrol, surveillance, reprisal attacks, raids and checking are effective in controlling the waves of attacks and the proliferation of Small arms and light weapons in Kano Metropolis. However, they are detrimental and injurious, and sometime even brutal, and or incompatible with democratic ideals, may even breach law or manifest in forms of gross human right abuses.

In addition, even Kano State Government (Policy Brief, 2014) admitted that some of these security measures have also had unintended negative consequences. A curfew was imposed in the wake of the first Boko Haram attack 20<sup>th</sup> January 2012, along with house-to-house searches and security checkpoints. There were allegations of harassment, extortion and the killing of innocent civilians by the security forces. A measure that caused particular outcry was the state legislature's ban on commercial motorcycle riders (known as Achaba). The rationale for the ban was that motorcycles had been used in insurgent attacks. However, the ban rendered many young men unemployed. With no alternative sources of income, they are potentially more open to engaging in anti-social behaviour and violence.

In line with these arguments an SSS Officer (Interview, Saturday 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2014 May 2014)., and Professor Ismail M. Zango (Interview, 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014) all attested to the brutal nature of the security measures embarked upon by security operatives in Kano metropolis.

**Table 20** Opinion of the Sampled Respondents on the Possibility of the Security Agencies in Controlling the Proliferation of SALW in Kano Metropolis

| Variables | Frequency | Percentage% |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Yes       | 347       | 84.84       |
| No        | 62        | 15.16       |
| TOTAL     | 409       | 99.99%      |

Source: Survey Study, January-July 2014

Table 20 reflects the opinion of the sampled respondents on the possibility of security forces in checking the proliferation and attack by SALW facing Kano Metropolis. As indicated 347 responses representing 84.84% of the total responses indicated yes, while, 62 respondents representing 15.16% of the total responses opined no.

This implies that the people of Kano Metropolis are optimistic that with time the current security measures adopted by the security agencies could help checked the challenges of proliferation and attacks by SALW in Kano Metropolis.

In a similar vein, Professor Ismaila M. Zango (Interview, May 2014) opined that “in as much as the control of small arms and light weapons (SALW) could be ensured, the current security measures and arrangements should be maintained because they yield positive results.”

In addition, the State Director SSS (Interview, May 2014) noted that the measures embarked upon by the security organization in Kano metropolis produce positive results and as such he was very optimistic that with current security arrangements involving reprisal attacks, arrests, cordon and search, security raids, checkpoints and road blockades, surveillance, interview and sensitization campaign, as well as continuing public support and cooperation, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and other related violence and crimes could be checked off.

It is worthy of notice that since 2009 clamp down on insurgency in some parts of Northern Nigeria particularly between July 2011 to December 2012 when there were virtually absence of the current security measures in the state, the security risk was very high, particularly in 2012. The trend manifested in forms of rampant cases of armed robbery 2 to 5 per week, (SSS source May, 2014, Bompai Headquarters, and Zone I police Headquarters Kano), coordinated attacks targeting at both security personnel and security formations, as well as civilians, runaway shooting, assassinations, attacks in the mosques and in the churches, bus stations and motor packs, market places and schools

etc., through means of locally craft weapons and sophisticated arms and armaments. These have claimed several lives, and destroyed properties of several millions of naira, and led to continuous brutal attacks against eminent figures in the state including His Royal Highness the late Emir of Kano Alhaji Dr Ado Bayero, the Officer Commanding Mobile Police Headquarters Hotoro, Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmud Adam, Hajiya Sa'adatu Rimi, The Father of the executive Governor of Kano state Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso The district Head of Madobi Maje Dadin Kano, the Commandant of Kano Vigilante Association, among others. But, with the current security measures and arrangements adopted the security risk has now been drastically reduced as at May 2014. It was reported that since October 2013 up till 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2014 there was no report of any serious armed attack throughout Kano Metropolis, (Director SSS Kano, Interview, Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014).

Also, it is worthy of notice that the way and manner by which the 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 attacks were systematically master-minded and systematically and successfully perpetrated and executed by Boko Haram Insurgents which led to the attacks on eight different security formation in less than three hours and claimed 285 lives, (Interview, Police Officer, Police Headquarters Bompai, Monday November 25, 2013). But, with new security approach and effort intensified through the new security arrangements succeeded in recovery of huge caches of small arms and light weapons in different parts of Kano Metropolis. According to the SSS Intelligent report (May 2014) between 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 to May 2014 the security organizations in the state has succeeded in recovering an estimated 5000 different type of SALW of different calibers and sophistications. They included local craft weapons, locally made gun and pistols, assorted

ammunitions, RPG, AK 47 assault rifles, double barrel gun, hand grenades, improvised electronic devices IED of different sorts, rocket propellers, machine guns, vehicles and motor cycles used in carrying out attacks, (Interview, Director SSS Kano, Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2014).

In another development with respect to how recovery of arms and arrests of insurgents and criminals reduce the level of security threats in the area, in the year 2014 Kano state commissioner of Police Alhaji Ibrahim K. Idris revealed that based on the new campaign they launched tagged as ‘declaration of war against terrorists’ in Kano state particularly in the metropolitan areas, between January to June 2014 alone over 200 terrorists were arrested in various locations: Yankaba, Rijiyar Zaki and Kurna. Several military uniforms, arms and other incriminating items have also been discovered. This indeed, help reduced the level of security threats and attacks in the state.

Consequently, this led to the arrest and disbanding of various criminal and insurgents’ hideouts and strongholds in throughout the metropolis and the state in general. Thus the metropolis and the state in general has become no longer a safe haven for insurgents and criminal armed groups, however, they strike at regular interval. But, in essence, their powers in organizing and executing coordinated attacks have been weakened and incapacitated. Thus, the waves of attack and armed robbery have been seriously reduced. Because, the level of effectiveness of security arrangements adopted in the metropolitan area has led to lowering of human security risk, dangers and threats.

This can be justified from the table below:

**Table 21 Nigeria Police Kano State Headquarters Annual Reports on Armed Recovery and Arrest 2012/2013**

| Year                 | Arms recovery   | Arrest                             |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 2011                 | 56 AK 47 rifles   | 118 armed robbers                  |
| 2012                 | 19 AK 47 rifles, 3 riot gun, 4 double barrel guns, 1 revolver, 11 pulp actions, 11 pistols, 122 locally made guns, 5 single beretta guns, 2 air rifles, 2,460 of different calibres of ammunitions, 563 live catridges, 6 hand grenades, 41 AK 47 rifles magazines, 7 bags of ammonium sulphate, 26 tins of Unexploded IED. | 139 Insurgents                     |
| 2013                 | Properties worth 200, 000,000 = 00k   | 150 armed robbers                  |
| 2014 (January- June) |   | Over 200 Insurgents/ armed robbers |

Source: Nigeria Police State Headquarters, Bompai Kano.

As presented table 21 above in 2011 it recovered 56 AK 47 assault rifles and arrested 118 suspected armed robbers. Similarly, in 2012 it recovered 19 AK 47 assault rifles, 3 riot gunner, 4 double barrel gunners, 1 revolver gun, 11pulp actions, 11 pistols, 12 locally made guns, 5 single Beretta guns, 2 air rifles, 2460 of different calibres of live ammunition, 563 live cartridges, 6 hand grenades, 41 AK 47 rifle magazines, 4 pistol magazines, 7 bags of ammonium sulphate, 26tins of unexploded IED, 139 insurgents were arrested. Additionally, on 17<sup>th</sup> September, 2012 at 18:00 hours in Rimin Kebe Quarters, Nassarawa local Government they also recovered 4 AK 47 assault rifles and detonated 30 IED. In addition in 2013, 150 armed robbers were arrested and property worth 200,000,000.00k recovered.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This research was conducted on the premise to evaluate the challenges of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on human security in Kano metropolis, particularly from 2000-2015. Primary and secondary methods of data collection were used which involve in-depth interview and questionnaire administration which essentially provided the necessary information needed to analyse and interpret the data obtained in the course of this study. Similarly, review of literature was conducted on the basis of thematic approach involving numerous conceptual clarifications on insecurity and security as well as human security as expounded by scholars. The conceptual clarifications was also covered on Small arms and light weapons (SALW), the challenges of SALW with particular emphasis on the ways and manners by which they affect human security in Nigeria and the area of study. It also covered the chronological event of armed violence in Kano metropolis. The study explains how proliferation of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) and their wide use particularly around 2007-2015 in the state had led to intensification of criminal activities and robbery, which culminated in the in the 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2012 attack that led to the destruction of properties and the lost of over 285 lives 75% of which were civilian. This trend has affected the economy of the area and the state in general thereby seriously paralyzed the commercial activities. Consequently, various security measures were adopted in the area leading to the arrest of some of the suspected insurgents and criminals, as well as the recovery of large cache of arms and ammunitions. These have to a larger extent incapacitated and weakened the capacity of the insurgents and other criminal gangs in

organizing coordinated attacks and perpetrating mass killing in the area. This succeeded in restoring relative peace in Kano metropolis which has been a flash point of gun violence in the state; however, there exist rare cases of attacks through IED at various public gatherings and places, which instil the climate of terror in the mind of the populace thereby reinforcing fear, anxiety and relative sense of insecurity.

In view of the security challenge facing Kano Metropolis the study argues that if the security of the area and that of the state in general could be guaranteed the security measures already introduced should be maintained. This is because as have been observed the measures have succeeded in checking current security challenges of SALW proliferation and spate of attacks bedevilling Kano metropolis as at the period of this study. Finally the study concludes with summary of research findings, recommendations and bibliographical references.

Based on the various literatures reviewed and the analysis and interpretation of the data generated through in-depth interview and administration of questionnaires, the following findings have been generated:

- Human security situation in Kano Metropolis has been fluctuating between relative peace and calmness and relative insecurity. This is however inextricably linked up with differences existing in terms of effective security measures and less security risk and threats on one hand, and mass proliferation and wide use of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) which accelerates the problems of human insecurity in Kano metropolis.
- The current human security challenges in term of waves of armed attacks bedevilling Kano Metropolis have been by-product of proliferation of small arms

and light weapons (SALW) acquired mainly through smuggling from Chad, Cameroun, Niger and Libya, confiscation and direct seizure from security personnel and attacks on security formation and patrol vehicles, local manufacturing, connivance with corrupt security personnel.

- Various factors have been responsible for the proliferation of Small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Kano Metropolis. These include poverty and unemployment among the larger segment of the population and corruption in the side of the security personnel, growing insurgency resulting from primordial and religious sentiments, the state security failures in identifying the multiple ways by which the arms proliferate as the insurgents and criminals have been changing tactics at any given point in time, lack of security consciousness from the general public and ignorance from the side of the perpetrators, as well as social injustice and bad governance.
- Different types of weapons have been used in carrying out attacks in Kano Metropolis, but the most popular are: AK 47, IED, locally made pistols and guns. They are used by insurgents, assassins and armed robbers in fermenting trouble and perpetrating terror and brutal attacks against the defenceless civilians in the area.
- It is very obvious that there are higher numbers of arms in Kano Metropolis, especially in the wrong hands. Hence, small arms and light weapons (SALW) are becoming endemic in Kano Metropolis and despite the security measures adopted the rates of accumulation is increasing in the state.

- The availability of small arms and light weapons (SALW) have been negatively affected human security in Kano Metropolis, The number of casualty and death resulting from the attacks through small and light weapons has been higher, and is increasing. Hence, posing higher serious human security challenges in the area.
- There are different armed groups of varying character and intent operating in Kano Metropolis but major among them are armed robbers, Kidnappers, Insurgents. And they are well armed, trained, and increasingly sophisticated in their operations. Their form of attacks is purposeful in intent and directed at key targets, whether through committing crimes, armed robbery communal tensions or insurgency and terrorism. Hence, without addressing the key issues of poverty and injustice, armed violence will persist. However, Insurgents and armed robbers are the major group that have been threatening Kano Metropolis and in some cases the two are inextricably linked up. As 2011 armed robbery cases paved way for January, 2012 attacks.
- As a commercial nerve centre of northern Nigeria, business activities in Kano Metropolis have been negatively affected, so much such that some businesses even closed down, as well as reported case of loss of several jobs resulting from the security threats from the arms violence in the area.
- Despite the rampant cases of outcry over the gross human violations, brutality and abuses by the security operatives and relating to security measures adopted in the state, majority of the people in the state are optimistic that the measures have been producing positive results.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

Human security represents a condition under which people are free from fear which indicates freedom from violence, and safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression; as well as from free from want which implies poverty and sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Thus, it can be concluded that human security is lacking in Kano metropolis within the period of this study in view of the growing economic challenges in term of poverty and unemployment bedevilling the area. It can also be concluded that absence of human security leads to the development of aggressive and violent behaviour particularly among youth, thereby resulting in increased criminal activities and attacks fuelled by widespread of SALW. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the waves of armed attacks in Kano metropolis have negatively affected various commercial activities thereby compounding the already existing human security problems in the area.

## **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

On the basis of the findings of this research, the following recommendations are proposed which will help to address some of the issues raised in the course of the research undertaking:-

- To address the current state of insecurity, the political and administrative leadership should demonstrate sufficient commitment, dedication and political will in the pursuit of good governance. This should involve combination of political, economic and security strategies that can produce realistic and timely improvement in the welfare of the citizenry. Crucial national issues such as

widespread corruption, poverty, unemployment and all forms of socio-political and economic exclusions should be address through effective poverty alleviation and human development programmes.

- State government should endeavour to introduce mordern security gadget like scanners, trackers, hackers, as a means to have access to all the conspiracy and connections of insurgents and other criminal groups in the state. Proper screening and identification measures should be introduce to cover all public places like schools, hospitals, places of worship among others. In addition, proper census head count should be embark upon by the governments at all levels of the administration that is state level and local government level, in order to have proper information on the identity, status, location, bio-data, profession or occupation, movements and interactions of any individual citizen in the state especially immigrants. This should serve as a means through which identity card should be issued to any citizen or resident in the state for proper identification.
- The apparent lapses in the security apparatuses in the state largely due to inadequate trainings, obsolete working materials and low morale. There is an urgent need for capacity building and resource augmentation for security agencies in the state, so that they can perform better. There is a need to increase the number of security personnel at least to reflect the standard of the united nations of 1 policeman per 400 citizens.

- Government should check the excesses of the security personnel especially the JTF while enforcing the security measures in the state and introduce ways that would go a long way in promoting human values and dignity, as well as incorporation of democratic virtues in their operations.
- Societal reorientation and sensitization campaign should be embarked upon as a way of enlightening the general public about the danger of arms proliferation and wide use in the Kano metropolis and the state in general. And the need in them to cooperate with security agencies in combating criminal activities and promoting peace in the society.

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**BAYERO UNIVERSITY KANO**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**RESEARCH INTERVIEW**

This is Ph.D research work on "**The Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Human Security in Kano State.**" Hence, your cooperation to answer the questions stated below is highly solicited. As an academic work all the information you provide will be treated in due confidence.

(1) How can you assess the current security situation in Kano state?

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(2) What is the nature of Human security in Kano State?

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(3) How can you assess the current human security challenges in the state?  
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(4) In your own opinion what do you think is responsible for the current challenges of human security laxity in the state?  
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(5) Can we attribute the trend above to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons?  
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(6) How can you described the level of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano State?  
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(7) Do you have an idea on any specific arm or light weapon that caused threat to individual or groups?  
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(8) Have you ever experienced any threat or violence resulting from the used of small arms or light weapons?  
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(9) Which type of weapon or arm threatened your life?  
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(10) Through what way(s) do you think possess arms and light weapon are acquired in Kano State ?  
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(11) How can you assess the level of threat/danger pose by small arms and light weapons in Kano State?

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(12) What is the impact of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano state?

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(13) Which armed group poses more human security threat in the state ?

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(14) How can you assess the measures embarked upon by security personnel in controlling the spate of attacks through the use of small arms and light weapons in Kano state?

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(15) Do you consider the current security measures to be effective way of checking the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the state?

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(16) Do you think the security personnel can check the proliferation of small and light in the state?

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(17) Comment freely on the impact(s) of small arms and light weapons on human security in Kano State?

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(18) Suggest on appropriate measure(s) for controlling the problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the state

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Thanks for your cooperation.



**BAYERO UNIVERSITY KANO**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES**  
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**RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Sir / Madam,

This is Ph.D research work on “The **Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on Human Security in Kano State.**” Hence, your cooperation to answer the questions stated below is highly solicited. As an academic work all the information you provide will be treated in due confidence.

PART ONE: Personal data of the respondent

(1)AGE: 18-35(  ) 36 -49(  ) 50 – above (  )

(2)SEX: Male (  ) Female (  )

(3)RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION: Muslim (  ) Non- Muslim (  )

(4) OCCUPATION:

- (a) Civil servant (    )
- (b) Trader        (    )
- (c) Others specify-----

(5) Educational qualification:

- (a) Ph.D/M.Sc
- (b) Degree/HND
- (c) OND/NCE
- (d) Secondary and Primary Schools
- (e) Informal education
- (f) Others Specify-----

**PART TWO: Research Questions**

(1) How can you describe the state of Human security in Kano State?

- (a) Highly secure
- (b) Secure
- (c) Highly insecure
- (d) Insecure
- (e) Others specify-----

(2) In your own opinion what is the nature of the current security challenges in Kano state?

- (a) Very secure
- (b) Secure
- (c) Highly insecure
- (d) Insecure
- (e) Others specify-----

(3) In your own opinion what do you think is responsible for the current trend of human security laxity in the state?

- (a) State's Security failure
- (b) Poverty
- (c) Corruption
- (d) Primordial sentiments
- (e) Others specify-----

(4) Can we attribute the trend of human insecurity to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the state?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) I do not know

(5) If the answer of the (3) above is yes how can you describe the level of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano State?

- (a) Very high
- (b) High

(c) Moderate

(d) Low

(e) Others specify-----

(6) Have you ever experienced any threat or violence resulting from the used of small arms or light weapons?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) I do not know

(7) Do you have an idea on any specific arm or light weapon that cause threat to individual or groups?

(a) Local craft weapon

(b) AK 47

(c) Pistol

(d) Bomb

(e) Others specify-----

(8) How can you describe the level of threat pose by small arms and light weapons in Kano State?

(a) Very high

(b) High

(c) Moderate

(d) Low

(e) Others specify-----

(9) Through what way(s) do you think Small arms and light weapon are acquired in Kano State?

(a) Black-markets resulting from smuggling

(b) Corrupt Security Agents

(c) Legal Arms Dealers

(d) Local Craftsmen

(e) Others specify-----

(10) Which armed group poses more human security threat in the state?

(a) Security Agents in the name of peace-keeping mission

(b) Ethnic Militias

(c) Religious Militants

(d) Armed Robbers

(e) Others specify-----

(11) What is the impact of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kano state?

(a) Highly positive

(b) Positive

(c) Highly negative

(d) Negative

(e) Others specify-----

(12) How can you assess the nature of the security measures in the state?

(a) Highly detrimental

(b) Detrimental

(c) Effective

(d) Ineffective

(e) Others specify-----

(13) Do you consider the current security measures to be effective means of controlling the spate of attacks from the use of small arms and light weapons in the state?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Others specify-----

(14) Can the security forces check the current security situation facing the state?

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(15) Comment freely on the impact(s) of small arms and light weapons on human security in Kano State?

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(16) Suggest on appropriate measure(s) for controlling the problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the state

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Thanks for your cooperation.

**NAMES OF THE INTERVIEWEES AND THE PLACE AND DATE OF THE INTERVIEW**

| <b>S/No</b> | <b>Name</b>               | <b>Designation</b>           | <b>Place</b>             | <b>Date</b> |
|-------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1           | Colonel Yakubu Bako (rtd) | Former MILAD Akwa Ibom State | ARTV Station Hotoro Kano | 20/10/2013  |

|    |                               |   |  |            |
|----|-------------------------------|---|--|------------|
| 2  | Captain Danlami (rtd)         | Retired Army Officer  | ARTV Station<br>Hotoro Kano                                | 20/10/2013 |
| 3  | SP Zanna K.<br>Maidugu        | Commander SPU<br>Base Zone I Kano                                       | NPF Zone I Kano  | 18/11/2013 |
| 4  | SP Dahiru Garba               | Officer in Charge of<br>F Department NPF<br>Headquarters Bompai<br>Kano | F Department<br>NPF<br>Headquarters<br>Bompai Kano         | 25/11/2013 |
| 5  | Anonymous                     | Official Kano<br>ACOMORAN   | K/Wambai<br>Market Kano                                    | 24/12/13   |
| 6  | Alhaji Ado Kunya              | Importer of Second<br>Hand Cloth<br>K/Wambai Market<br>Kano             | Personal Office at<br>Hanyar Shanu<br>Katsina Road<br>Kano | 12/01/2014 |
| 7  | Alhaji Sani Sulaiman          | Importer of Textile<br>Materials Kantin<br>Kwari Market Kano            | Gidan Labaran<br>Kantin Kwari<br>Market Kano               | 08/02/2014 |
| 8  | Alhaji Muntari Dan<br>Sarki   | Trader in Essential<br>Commodities Singer<br>Market Kano                | Singer Market<br>Kano                                      | 15/01/2014 |
| 9  | Professor Ismaila M.<br>Zango | Deans Students<br>Affairs BUK Kano                                      | Bayero<br>University Kano                                  | 22/05/2014 |
| 10 | Mr Basseyy Etang              | Director State<br>Security Service<br>Kano                              | SSS Headquarters<br>Giginyu Kano                           | 22/05/2014 |
| 11 | Army Sergeant                 | Joint Task Force<br>Kano  | Bukavu Barrack<br>Kano                                     | 20/06/2014 |
| 12 | Lieutenant M. I.O.            | Joint Task Force<br>Kano  | Janguza Barrack<br>Kano                                    | 27/07/2014 |