University of Hradec Králové
Philosophical Faculty
Department of Political Science

HUMAN SECURITY AND THE CULTURE OF YOUTH VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

Dissertation thesis

Author:	Kingsley Emeka Ezemenaka
Study programme:	P6701 Political Science
Field of Study:	6701V026 African Studies
Tutor:	Mgr. Jan Prouza, Ph.D.

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Annotation

Human security as a concept and an approach to solving the problems traditional security cannot solve in Nigeria in referent to non-absolute security is at its cradle stage and facing many challenges such as the socio-political situations of the Nigerian state. Although there have been researches on both human security and youth violence, few have studied human security through the lens of youth violence in Nigeria. Therefore, this research investigates the challenges of human security through the lens of youth violence.

For this research a mixed methodological approach was adopted to aid a robust investigation. The mixed method comprises a qualitative and quantitative exploratory approach. Relative Deprivation was used as part of the framework of the research. The purposeful type of non-probability sampling technique was employed for selection of security professionals and authorities for the study. A semi-structured questionnaire was administered. In addition, a total of 4989 cases from a dataset concerning crime in Nigeria was used and a total of 17 interviews involving security scholars and practitioner in the Nigerian government sector from Centre for Strategic Research and Studies, National Defense College, Abuja, journalist on security issues from ThisDay Newspapers, one attorney, a former Chief Superintendent of Police (CSP) and youths were conducted. Quantitative data was analysed using frequency distribution, cross-tabulation and chi-square at $p>0.05$, while qualitative data analysis was done based on content information gathered.

The bulk of the respondents were youths ranging from educated to uneducated, employed to unemployed. The findings of the study revealed that in addressing human security issues, the problems associated with youth violence such as political, social as well as ethnic and religion related problems among many others can be addressed when issues concerning the Nigerian youths are prioritised through decentralisation of responsibilities/power of the federal government and regionalisation approaches to tackle the teething youth problems. Also, restructuring of governmental structures and policies for youth inclusiveness and participation in political matters is necessary. The method adopted for the study involving qualitative and quantitative were in accordance with the set-out objectives.

The study, therefore, expresses that for human security to find a long and solid footing in Nigeria, issues concerning youth violence and development must be at the forefront of the Nigerian political structure and narratives, for the youth comprises the bulk of the population and also represent the future of the country. Otherwise, addressing human security with be futile.

Keywords: Human Security, Security, Youth, Violence, Nigeria

Annotation word count: 394

Acknowledgment

At the commencement of this research program, I was and still a part of a system that places youth as top priority that should be reckoned with in the society. My thoughts regarding this study was fomented from the experiences I have had as a Nigerian and efforts I have taken in trying to address issues concerning the Nigerian graduates which led me to join an association named National Association of Unemployed Graduates in Nigeria. It is an association that was created to address the issue of unemployment among the Nigerian graduates while taking a lot into consideration. I became a state chairman and Coordinator of Oyo state with no resources at my disposal to address the goals of the association. Also, my background in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ibadan (a master's degree program) coupled with administration skills acquired as a volunteer communications officer at Nigerian Environmental Study/Action Team equipped me with the necessary skills in discharging the duties of the association as a state chairman and coordinator.

To hone my skills further, I opted to address the in-depth issue concerning human security and youth violence through a PhD program in African Studies while acquiring international best practices and hoping that it will go a long way to put me at the forefront of the struggle of the youth for a better nation building for the country. To this end, I am pleased to note that the program has been successful with attendance at academic researches, workshops and conferences, and involvement in traineeships and internships during this program through the platform given to me by the University of Hradec Králová, Czechia.

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Introduction

In recent times, the study of security has undergone a paradigm shift and emphasis previously focused on issues of national security and state sovereignty is presently centred on the issues of human security. Accordingly, measures previously used to ascertain security viability of a state, such as military strength (viz combat readiness, first and second-strike capability of a state, possession of mass destructive weapon) which was a major assurance of a state's security have been deemphasised and no state today is pursuing expansionist policy with ardent vigour. Apart from Russia and its occupation of Ukraine and parts of Georgia. However, scholars have theorised that security of individuals within a state is a better way of guaranteeing security of a state and also debated on who should provide security to the individuals (Liotta and Owen 2006; Trobbiani 2013; Commission on Human security 2003). For instance, Francis (2006 p,23) avers that security has expanded from its traditional military origins to include 'non-military dimension such as environment, migration, ethno-religious and nationalist identities, poverty and human security and disease'. Human security, therefore, entails a holistic measure that ensures the safety of individuals, including the environment inhabited by the people. The constituents of 'safety of individuals' is quite ambiguous but human security is a foremost goal of the United Nations.

The ambiguity of human security lies in the non-availability of a conventionally acceptable parameter used to determine the level of safety of individuals. More so, some clauses constituting human security such as 'freedom from want' and 'absence of fear' which are abstractions and intellections make it difficult to concretise and measure human security. Nevertheless, human security could be defined as the general well-being of individuals which could be narrowed to an acceptable high standard of living. It includes freedom from poverty and diseases, access to high quality of education and medical care, elimination of all unequal structures capable of limiting the actualisation of an individual's life potentials as well as maximum maintenance of the environment for conducive and harmonious human inhabitation. Consequently,

achieving human security in Nigeria hinges on the actualisation of concern for the youths whose population in Nigeria continues to grow with an appalling high rate of unemployment, thereby making them vulnerable to be used as weapons of destruction in the society.

Nigeria like other African states is remarkably unable to provide human security up to the globally acceptable standard. Since Nigeria's independence, issues such as nation-building, industrial and technological advancement, economic and political development, quality of health care and standard of education are major challenges. Despite numerous resources, human security in Nigeria has remained a salient issue and problem for the Nigerian government and has also declined the nation's economy through major deterioration of channels such as tourism and investment in the country. Apart from government's lackadaisical attitude towards human security many other factors combine to limit its achievement. Worse still, Nigeria is among the countries ranked as home of the worst and dreadful terrorist group, such as Boko Haram and has attracted international concerns, supports and engagements. The implications of human insecurity were negative on the nation's prospect to attain the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the future Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Therefore, there is the need to carry out a detailed research on insecurity situations to unravel the causes of violent activities by the youths in the country.

The political practice of human security dates back to the enlightenment period, when ideas of individual freedom and rights were progressive to stand the commands or orders of government. Integrating themes of human rights and individual well-being, the term rammed in 19th century political dialogue with the upsurge of the nation state, and as regional coalitions were established to implement precise global regimes, the term was used to explain combined strategic security and was enforced through diplomatic or military action. (C.f. Rothschild 1995, Hafterdorn 1991). In this view, Leaning and Arie (2000) reveal that a constricted focus on material resources has stopped analysts from recognising the true bases of susceptibility or resilience in a

population committed to the notion of human security. They assert that compound situations are best elucidated by a complex model of human security. Thus, for a society to be resilient, it need not necessarily have to be rich. Rather, what is essential is a central or base bundle of basic resources, such as material psychological and social resources which together certify a minimum level of survival. These central contributions create a ground from which human development struggles can then push off. If no such grounds exist, development gains will be short-lived and deceptive while the prospective for conflict will be on the increase due to corruption, poverty, unemployment, inequality, all of which are indices that affect development just as explained by Adah and Abasilim 2015, and Joseph 2014. Human security in Nigeria is frequently vulnerable to unfair political, social and economic structures. The dissolution process of social groups, economic systems and political structures portends human security at every stride. Human security provides an enabling environment for human development. Where violence or the menace of violence makes significant progress on the developmental agenda impractical, improving safety for people is a necessity (Government of Canada, 1999:5).

Based on the idea of human security, it is admitted that Nigeria is usually characterised as a deeply divided state in which major political issues are strongly - some would say pugnaciously-contested along the lines of the complex ethnic, religious, and regional divisions in the country (cf. Smyth and Robinson 2001). However, violence in Nigeria has multifarious platforms. From observations, violence manifests through inter-ethnic, ethno-religious clashes; intra-ethnic and/or intra-religious conflicts; and inter-group economic clashes; all of which are derived from conflict types, such as resources-based conflict, cultural conflict and psychological conflict. This violence has contributed to constant declination of human security in Nigeria. And the youths are mostly used to ignite violent confrontations. However, in understanding the term or people categorised as youth, Nigeria population Commission (see Osakwe, 2013) noted that

> varying descriptions and definitions by organizations,
> countries and cultural groups explaining or describing

the term 'youth' cannot be easily defined. However, the Nigerian Population Commission officially defines a youth or young adult as a person between the ages of 18 and 24.

Nonetheless, detailed explanation and the adoption of youth for this research are explained at the conceptual clarification section in chapter two.

One of the major indices that support violence in Nigeria is unemployment. In this regard, Osakwe (2013) avows that, universally, in most national dialogue as well as in development studies and governance, the employment rate, or the lack of it, unemployment is seen as the litmus test for the efficacy and productivity of any administration. For the purpose of human security, it appears that there is a 'fault line' between the youths of Nigeria and national security. The issue of the youth unemployment and its implication for human security is seen as an indicator for all manner of social pathologies not least of which are violence, crime and criminality. Furthermore, the difficulty in defining unemployment is emphasised more when unemployment is placed against its many variables such as 'under-employment', 'low-wage employment', and 'informal employment'.

Emphasising more on human security and the culture of youth violence, Ajaegbu (2012) notes that violent crimes such as murder, armed robbery, kidnapping and terrorism are the most inhumane crimes that continue to plague Nigeria. This, however, has a major connection to unemployment because, as noted and emphasised by Ajaegbu, unemployment is seen as a situation where there is no work for people who are willing to work, who might then result to unscrupulous tasks and activities. Furthermore, Akparanta (1994), (see Oruwari 2006), gives reasons for urban violence in post-Civil War Nigeria, with a deductive reasoning that with the manifold of the war, there were many guns in private hands. This coupled with the harsh economy, deterioration of education and lack of capacity building for sustenance of agricultural and industrial sectors, lured many youths into violence and crimes. Also, Albert (1994), (see Oruwari 2006) notes that the causes of urban violence in Africa is attributed to unemployment, high population growth rate, poor living conditions, poor quality of

urban management and urban culture shocks which manifest in the crisis of employment, housing, healthcare and transportation. Likewise, Aderinto (1994) asserts that the roots of urban violence have been the loss of traditional structures which keep people together. Anasi (2010) opines that though youth restiveness is not a recent phenomenon, it has, however, been a prominent issue in recent times with an increase in the occurrence of acts of violence and lawlessness, including activities such as hostage-taking, oil bunkering, insurgency and cultism notably in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Still on restiveness, Abudah (see Chukwuemeka and Aghara 2010) notes that restiveness is self-generating theory of conflict process within social groups.

Research problem

The problems of human security in Nigeria manifest on different levels. Due to inefficient security in the country, the societies have adopted different measures to secure themselves; such is the idea of community security. However, community security has divided the Nigerian society and has made the Nigerian economy crisis–ridden. It has also surrounded the Nigerian politics with conflicts. Similarly, poverty which contributes to decline in human security hampers the social development, slackens the economic development and threatens the political development of Nigeria. Furthermore, unemployment which is a major contributing factor towards youth violence in Nigeria and threatens human security, causes a fragmentation of the Nigerian society, a collapse of the nation's economy, resulting to a breakdown of the nation's government. Having known that the youths are the strength of any nation, the bulging population size of the youths without employment is also a threat to human security in the nation. Population growth has become a burdensome strain on the Nigerian society. It is an unbearable crisis on Nigerian economy warranted due to the struggle for available limited resources in the country. Consequently, this has become a heavy load on the Nigerian political structures. These challenges and problems are reflected in resource exploration and exploitation, for instance, the Nigerian crude oil, leaving the environment from where these resources are gotten degraded with little or

no special attention given to the effects on the ecosystem and the society at large due to corruption in politics to put adequate measures in place to address the challenges (Ewharieme and Cocodia 2011). Examples of such practices abound in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria (Iniaghe, Tesi and Iniaghe 2013).

Having noted some challenges to human security, other factors such as health security, personal security, corruption and violence and weak governance should also be noted. Further still, violence has endangered Nigerians, encircled the Nigerian economy and has overpowered the Nigerian politics. The culture of violence among the youth in Nigeria is stirred by grievances based on political rights, cultural rights, religious rights and minority rights, among others. For example, the high rate of kidnapping in south-south and southeast Nigeria as well as bombings in some south-south states such as Bayelsa in Nigeria is attributed to venting of grievances for their livelihood needs and adequate representation of their interest in the federal government character since major natural resources that fuels the economy of the nation come from their region. Human security in Nigeria is often threatened by unjust political, social and economic structures. The combination of the fragmentation and compartmentalisation process of violence created by social groups, economic systems and political structures threatens human security at every step. From the problems of youth violence and challenges to security mentioned above, this research seeks to investigate the complex situation surrounding human security and youth violence in Nigeria by asking, what are the causes of youth violence in Nigeria? Youth violence is prevalent in Nigeria which has been attributed to source of insecurity. For instance, the country has witnessed episodes of violent activities at different times and in different regions where youths are instrumental to it course. This has created a concern for this study to be carried out in order to investigate this causes by exploring the variations and this violence. This research also asks, what are the implications of youth violence in Nigeria? Violence has different proclivities and gradient, and with the debate on state and human security, this research question seeks to investigate if youth violence contributes to insecurity of the state and how it can be managed if does. Furthermore, it also asks, what are the

solutions to curb youth violence in Nigeria? In connection with the discoveries of the causes and the implications of youth violence by the first two research questions, this third research question seeks to proffer solutions to curb youth violence based on the data and information gathered through this study. For the research questions to be carried out successfully, the research objectives which guides this study is enunciated below.

First, the research will review the context of youth violence in Nigeria. By doing so, information concerning the causes of youth violence that have been researched and documented will be brought to reintroduced as it relates to this study. Exploring and evaluating the nature and the causes of youth violence in Nigeria. This will aid the research question in situating the causes of youth violence through the understanding of the nature of youth violence. Secondly, assessing the dimensions of youth violence in Nigeria. This objective coupled with the nature of youth violence objective, probes the dimension at which youth violence manifest in Nigeria. Thirdly, defining the relationships of youth violence and human security in Nigeria. This objective helps to clarify the ambiguous information concerning the relationship between youth violence and human security in Nigeria. This part helps to clarify the implication of youth violence on security if there is any. Lastly, discussing and highlighting the consequences of alternative courses of action in curbing youth violence in Nigeria. This objective helps the research question that seeks to proffer a solution to curb youth violence in Nigeria. This is done through the discussion of information gathered from the findings of the study and it is then analysed to ameliorate the causes and problems of youth violence in Nigeria

Significance of study

The choice of this study is based on my pragmatic knowledge of youth violence in Nigeria. The Nigerian state has been afflicted with enormous cases of youth violence as compared with neighbouring countries. Despite the pedestal in which Nigeria has been categorized in the international community as a country with necessary capacity

to develop and stabilise the security atmosphere within the West African region, it lacks a firm command on such an important issue. It should be noted that security is an important vehicle for development in any nation, especially in the underdeveloped and developing nations. As such, there is a need for peace practitioners, security agencies and the government to adopt better strategies for enhancing human security while reducing youth violence in Nigeria.

Also, this research will provide detailed information from the field for the government on areas to adjust or modify as regards tackling security issues in the country. This will serve as a model to adopt when preparing sustainable developmental projects. Further still, it will identify triggers of youth violence affecting Nigeria as a whole by exploring networks, associations, orientations, government security agencies and ministries involved in youth development in the country.

This study can also lead to the formulation of policy suggestions that will enhance governmental relations with the polity/citizens in addressing youth violence and also serve as a reference study for researchers in the study of youth violence.

Scope of study

The scope of this study covers the Nigeria geopolitical zones (is a main division in present day Nigeria, crafted amid the government of president General Sani Abacha. The Nigerian fiscal, political and educational assets are commonly shared over the zones. The zones are North Central, North East, North West, South East, South South, South West and these zones makes up the 36 states in Nigeria) as principal focus for investigation inquiry. The timeline for the study based on data gathering is between 2015-2018. It also covers the review of human security in relation to youth violence variables in Nigeria; while the method adopted for this study is considered adequate to substantiate or authenticate the study with the data collection and recent trends of cultural violence of the youth, based on minority rights, cultural rights, religious rights and electoral violence, amongst others.

Organisation of study

The first part introduces the topic of the study with the background information on the situation of human security at the global perspective, showcasing the need for human security as against the traditional security. It goes further to present the research problem, questions and objectives; while stating the obvious and the significance of the study concerning Nigeria.

The second chapter provides the conceptual clarification explanation regarding the main concepts used in this study which are 'youth' and 'culture of youth violence'. It proceeds by showing the distinction between security being a theory and security in Nigeria as a praxis. The utilization of security and its' applicability in Nigeria as discussed by different scholars and authors were quarantined at the theoretical section.

The chapter three focuses on the methodology and the instrument of analysis adopted for this research with ethical considerations. Thereafter, the findings of the study and discussions of the study is introduced in chapter four. The findings were presented in both qualitative and quantitative style; subsequently, the discussion of the findings was done. After, the discussion was done in regards with the theory adopted for the study. In the last chapter of the study which is chapter five, the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study were presented that section

Current state of Knowledge

On security issues, one of the important works for this study stems from Baldwin (1997) redefinition of security, where he disentangled the normative and empirical concerns of security and the reason why his work is important to this study is that, he provided a common conceptual distinction underlying various conceptions of security; which helps to facilitate most basic questions in social science, aids rational policy analysis by comparing security policy, and facilitate scholarly communication in establishing common ground for those with disparate views. The discussion of his work

on security analysis which focuses on security as distinguishable yet comparable, is applicable to any level that security is needed for.

Another important work is that of Buzan, who also contributed immensely in the debate of the conceptualization of security, but has a lacuna on his insistence that 'security cannot be isolated for treatment at any single level', which, gives the impression that this is conceptually impossible because he mixed conceptual and empirical analysis in the search for a referent object of security.

On human security, Tadjbakhsh (2007 and 2009) work on human security concept and implication is also important in the sense that, it traces the key evolution of the concept of human security with the various definitions and critiques, and with his position on human security as a medium for ethical debates for security. Also, she defines human security to serve as a means in providing "assess the root causes of conflict (whether intra-state or inter-state), to propose adequate policies for resolving crises, and to provide the means for sustainable peace-building." which is relevant to the course of youth violence in this study. There are other important works on human security such as the work of Suhrke (1999) on, human security and the interest of states who made emphasis on how Canada and Norway government has promoted human security as a new leitmotif in foreign policy.

In international relations; both governments have used the human security terminology to cover humanitarian agenda that includes the support for the International Criminal Court, the ban on landmines, regulation of light arms trade, and prohibition on child soldiers. Another important contributor Kamei (2013), on the human security debate, discussed human security and globalization. His study explores where human security has been heading while struggling to establish as a solid concept under the fastmoving international situations due to globalization. Still on human security, Fukuda-Parr (2003), highlighted the new threats to human security in the era of globalization with insecurities such as global crime, trafficking in humans, instability in financial markets, threats to job security, the spread of disease and internal conflicts, at the core of his

discussion. Having noted few important works on human security, different approaches have been undertaken by authors in presenting the epistemological view of human security and human security globalization approaches. This study adds to this debate in filling the gap of human security definitional and operational coverage by using youth violence in Nigeria in as emphasis.

This dissertation adheres to the distinction between primary and secondary sources, so the reader is advised to consult both sections in case the nature of a source is not obvious. All sources cited in the dissertation are reflected at the reference section.

CHAPTER ONE

This section is divided into three main sections which are conceptual clarifications, theoretical clarifications and literature review. The presentation of the clarifications before the literature review helps to understand the concepts which are enshrined and mostly depicted in the literature review section. Understanding the concepts will enable the reader to appreciate and understand the term 'youth' and culture of youth violence.

1 Definition of key concepts

1.1 Security

Security is a paramount issue in every state and as such for its citizens. Security as a whole is everyone's desire and fundamental rights, an enjoyment of which makes citizens to be happy and patriotic to state's affairs. Lots of works have been done by scholars and authors on what security entails. Therefore, intrinsic, and due exploration will be made here to bring these ideas, concepts and definitions to thought and taught for a comparative understanding of security as a concept.

The word 'security' is a contested concept which has been debated by realist and neo-realist as the concept itself is like an "octopus" with different tentacles. While, it is being held in view as a contested concept, Baldwin (1997) describes it as a confused or inadequately explicated concept than as an essentially contested one. Nonetheless, on the grounds of either contest or inadequate explication, security has different meanings to different schools of thought, states, value, appraisal and application. Due to the nature of its complexity in grappling with the conceptual analysis, security as a concept seems to be a neglected concept. Security as defined at the international community is predicated by representative and superpowers but what makes up for security individually becomes what an individual defines as his or her own security.

Tadjbakhsh (2009) avers that the simplest definition of security is 'the absence of insecurity and threats.' This been agreed on does not point out different arrays of security. The adoption of security for wider application and operationalisation has metamorphosed into different approaches to security. To this, Baldwin (see also Buzan 1956) notes that some scholars describe security as an 'essentially contested concept'. Baldwin (1997) note that 'the multidimensionality of security is not a new discovery, even so, he notes that the dimensions of security have not changed with the end of the Cold War but specification of these dimensions that thrived during the Cold War are likely to differ from those of the 1990s'. Additionally, the dimensions of security in the 20th century bear its own prospects, trends and challenges. On this premise, Baldwin disentangles the concept of security from its normative and empirical concerns for its better understanding and operationalisation. He notes that 'explicating the concept of security does not provide empirical propositions, theories, or analytical frameworks.'

1.1.1   Traditional perception of security

It is noteworthy that Buzan and Jones's (1981) conceptual definition on state security and individual security has empirical problems. This is due to their assertion that 'security cannot be isolated for treatment at any single level.' This consequentially contradicts conceptual analysis with empirical observation that the concept of security cannot be separated from empirical facts. Baldwin (1997) notes that any definition of security should specify a 'referent object', for whom or what the security is provided; the question of 'how much is enough' for security; and that absolute security is unattainable makes much sense. However, assembling all the features of security still begs the question of why security is achievable in the Western world than in Africa.

Firstly, in the Western world, security as known does not meet with all the important features and re-evaluation of Baldwin, perhaps some states might have adopted a review and implemented policies that cover this feature recently, but still, there has been relative peace in the adoption and application of security since the end of the WWII in 1945 and the Cold War in 1991.

Another argument is that before the colonialist's invasion into the shores of Africa, there has also been a relative peace for they had institutions that provided security for the people depending on their culture, community and society even though life seemed brutish from an observer who did not partake in a particular way of an in-group culture and norms. Therefore, having done a great deal of effort in reconceptualizing, re-evaluating and redefining security, does what prove to be an international theory and a widely acceptable security applicable globally? If it does, what are the excuses and excess of security problems in Africa besides the political misdemeanours? African leaders seem to lack the understanding of its application in African states perhaps due to the challenge of grappling with security definition as it is obtainable in the international relations.

Baldwin noted that absolute security is unattainable and traditional definitions of the field in terms of military force create confusion and impair debate. This assertion takes us back to the fact that security is a contested debate and for it to be adequately explicated, traditional definition not only in terms of military force, but also traditional and socio-cultural trepidations need to be in place in making sense of the security concept.

The United Nations (1986:2) described security as a condition where states see and enjoy the absence of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion which will enable free development and progress. This is succinctly captured under the same question posed on Baldwin's concept of security argument. From the 80s, and in principle, the United Nations (1986:2) considers security as a condition where states see the absence of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion which will enable free development and progress. Nonetheless, security is seen as a relative and not an absolute term. Thus, national and international securities need to be viewed on different degrees or platforms.

Furthermore, it is worthy to understand that the study of security concepts and polices arose from several major developments in international relations. Thus, there is the

need to revisit other approaches of security concepts for comparison, bearing in mind that there is a difference in traditional security, application of security in Africa and human security due to the consensus by international community towards the end of the Cold War to broaden and deepen the concept of security.

1.1.2 Copenhagen School of security studies

Another important concept of security is the shift from traditional aspect of security studies to a non-military aspect of security provided by the Copenhagen school (Collins 2018). By implication, this means security should be broadened to include sector such as societal security, economic security, environmental security, political security, and military security. However, this definition is not without critics. For instance, the Copenhagen school definition has been criticized as a Eurocentric approach to security. Additionally, other aspects that comprises human societal make up, has also criticized the definition for excluding them from the sectors of security, a typical example of that is the absence of gender emphasized by Hansen (2000). With the jostling of security sector positions which should account for a good security definition, realist likewise contended that the Copenhagen School's broadening of the security agenda jeopardies providing the discipline of security studies "intellectual incoherence"(Hampson et. al, 1998).

On the concept of security and human security in relation to the West African context, Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru (2004:8) on the one hand describe security conditions as one of the ideals of human security, which is seen as people's development. They note that it is not tied to traditional matters of national defence, law and order, but encompasses political, economic and social issues that encourage a life free from risk and fear. The authors conceptualise human security as a critical component of the global political and development agenda, which has to do with strategic concerns and the protection of individuals at national and international levels. Accordingly, the authors note that violent conflict is detrimental to human security and due to the

relationship between violent conflicts in African regions and human security, there is a need for peace and security strategy to address impending and future issues.

Furthermore, "the definition of human security tends to be very broad, often leaving core questions unaddressed, such as: who should provide human security and how should it be provided" (Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004:11). Nevertheless, as the definition of security is all encompassing on the life of people, the poor's definition of security is based on these priorities: stability, predictability and protection in their daily lives. Stability has to do with stable financial security; in other words, a stable and steady income is needed. Predictability deals with financial security, while protection explains the feeling of being protected by laws and orders, a lack of which increases crime in the society (Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru 2004:13).

1.1.3   Human security

Human security originated as a result of many debates on 'collective security' towards the end of the Cold War. Collective security in this sense means a holistic and encompassing security that cuts across many aspects of human life and not just about state security. In other words, the main objective of security policies or referent object is the primacy of human life. This explains the nexus between traditional security and human security (Fukuda-Parr and Messineo 2012), Also, Alkire (2003:03) provided a working definition of human security as "to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfilment."

Although, the definition of human security has not been without different approaches, the salient ones that bear meanings to this literature are worthy of note. Annan (2001) asserts that 'human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms. Rather, it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratisation, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of

law.' He further explains 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 healthcare and ensures that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potentials. Every step in this direction is also a steep towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict.'

Furthermore, Annan (see also Canadian Foreign Ministry Website 2001) notes the Canadian definition of human security to be the "means of freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives.' Embedded in this definition are five foreign policy priorities adopted for advancing human security. This has to do with protection of civilians, peace support operations, conflict prevention, governance and accountability, and public safety. Annan continued by highlighting definitions from the Human Security Network and Government of Japan. However, one pertinent point that cuts across most of these definitions is the guaranteed "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want"; this makes it different from the traditional security.

Accordingly, Tadjbakhsh notes that the Canadian definition of human security is the minimal approach while the UNDP's is the maximal definition of human security. Based on this assertion, he explains that the broadest definition of human security definition anchors on "freedom from want", "freedom from fear" and a life of dignity, Tadjbakhsh brings to fore three schools of thought bearing on the definition of human security, thereby presenting it as a concept that has no widely accepted definition. These schools of thought are:

> 1) The realist and neo-realist tradition that sees human security to lack analytical rigour but a political agenda and therefore human security is not a new or acceptable paradigm worthy to study.

> 2) The second school of thought accepts the term of human security but limits its definition with a focus on 'freedom from fear' and factors that engineer violence.

3) The third approach adopts a broad definition that is seen as an essential tool for understanding contemporary crises. This definition aligns with "freedom from want", 'freedom from fear', and freedom from indignity.

Toiskallio (2017) also added a new conception known as ethical action competence to the debate on the definition of human security. Ethicality as ethical action competence is a radicalised practical wisdom. It means "the ability to cope with, and to judge among competing and incommensurable schemata." It is the readiness 'to face the worst, to wade into the difficulty of factical life without the guardrails of metaphysics or ethics' (Caputo 1993, p 102). As such, Toiskallio's conceptualisation could serve as one that will lead to a relationship that opens us to the infinite otherness of all other human beings because universal principles and rules cannot keep us safe when we are concretely confronted with other fellow human being. Therefore, ethicality is to deconstruct that kind of structuralism via the question of why it is that we are doing bad things within the sheltering structures of goodness and morality even though trained to behave in accordance with moral, cultural, and political codes of conduct; thus, ethicality goes further than solving moral problems (Toiskallio 2017:46).

"Human security is not about weapons; it deals with human life and dignity" (UNDP 1994). The UNDP highlighted salient definitions of human security as encompassing with economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Complimentarily and comprehensively, Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru (2004) (see also Keizo 1998) describe human security as 'the keyword to comprehensively seizing all of the menaces that threaten the survival of daily life, and dignity of human beings and to strengthen the efforts to confront these threats".

Similarly, Hussein, Gnisci and Wanjiru (2004) (see also Sen 2002) develop and describe the concept of human security as 'a fundamental part of broader development processes, integrally connected with security human capabilities. Thus, Sen (2002) provides the elements that lie at the core of human security concept to encompass: a

clear focus on individual human lives (in contrast to state security models), an appreciation of the role of society and social arrangements in making human lives more secure in a constructive way, a reasoned concentration on the downside risks to human lives and a choice to focus on the 'downside', emphasising the more basic human rights.'

Taking a cue from the definitions and concepts of security and human security that have been identified so far in this section, it is also worthy to note that security, particularly human security with its multiple definitions and approaches does not rest only on the government, who has to provide security at the national and international levels. Rather, human security is collaborative, starting from the smallest unit of the society in ensuring personal security to a collaborative and cooperative security for the state. However, it is on this wider and collaborative approach of multiplicity of actors on human security that has brought the concept to criticism.

Fakuda-parr and Messineo (2012) explain that multiplicity of actors, ranging from governments, international organisations, researchers, NGOs use the term for different purposes, such as agenda setting, advocacy, analysis and in diverse contexts, including foreign policy, international diplomacy, analytical framework for evaluating the state of the world and proposing appropriate policy priorities as a field of study and research in international relations with different approaches on security concepts emerging yearning for recognition makes the term security too broad to grapple with and criticized. Like most disciplines that come under attack by scholars at inception and early stages as it progresses, human security has not been without colossal critics from scholars and policy makers. Yet, it stands tall amidst all challenges.

One of the reasons why human security has received so many critics is its void of a concrete definition as some dub it with different term such as highlighted by Tadjbakhsh (2005), It is not ascertained whether the term should be known as a theory, concept, an entry point for analysis, a world view, a political agenda or policy framework. Nonetheless, he notes that the need to analyse root causes of conflicts and

find solutions to end it begets the expansion of the idea of security in the academic and policy-making arena. Thus, the debate on human security has divided scholars and policy makers into three categories, which are: those for whom human security portrays an interesting idea but lacks analytical strictness or quality; those for whom human security is acceptable but insist that it should have a narrowly conceived definition; and those for whom the broad definition of human security is important for understanding and addressing contemporary issues. Also, Tadjbakhsh (2014) avers that human security is a malleable tool for analysing the root causes of threats and multidimensional consequences for different types of insecurities. Nevertheless, no country has come to terms in adopting human security at the national level due to scepticism about its utility for domestic policymaking.

For clarification, Cilliers (2004) opines that security is time-bound and malleable. This means that security is the protection against, or safety from a future risk of severe deprivation, death or injury that requires rules orders and impartial adjudication for its implementation and application to everyone. Furthermore, he expresses that for all states, national security has two facets, which are internal and external, and the predictability and control of human understanding of human security pave way for adequate national security. Security here can then be described as a concept that has traditional instrument of national security, such as the criminal justice system which consists of the justice, police and correctional services/prisons, the military and the intelligence community, while human security is synonymous to the nature of governance which consists of its institutions, rules, norms and values associated with it and its efficacy in addressing the security threats of the society in all ramifications.

Human security is an overlapping of security at the individual, national, and international levels that seeks to address real life problems yet the concept is a contending issue with reasons mentioned earlier by different scholars. However, one may ask, how does a concept that is multidimensional in solving real life problems

become an issue? If a concept is broad and can be operationalised to address real life problems, then why does one have to rely on the specifics only to generate another specific for each case of event? A lot of questions can be generated on the criticism, but for this section, there is the need to move forward and leave the few questions generated for abstract thinking.

Alkire (2003:8) connects some of the dots and the broadness of human security by noting that human security shares the 'conceptual space' of human development, which is also people-centered and multidimensional and defined in the conceptual space of human choices and freedoms. She also points out that human security and human rights are likewise deeply interconnected. Perhaps, one of the salient points in her works is the acknowledgement of the human security approach in identifying and preparing for recessions, conflicts, emergencies and the darker events of society. Also, on human development, Cilliers (2004) explains that, 'if human development is freedom from want (a process widening the range of people's choices), human security can be understood as the ability to pursue those choices in a safe environment and on an equal basis with others. Thus, Cilliers (see also Lodgaard n.d.) portrays that human development contributes to human security by tackling the long-term structural causes of conflict and by strengthening the capability of societies to deal with conflict in a peaceful manner.

For those who criticise human security as a discipline by implying that it is not a field worthy of interest or has no new knowledge on it, it should be noted that their stance is questionable as interest in human security over the years has gathered momentum and pressure in addressing issues affecting the state and international community with multidimensional approaches, unlike the traditional security. Human security has prevailed in addressing extreme poverty, illiteracy, internal conflicts and forced displacement, impact of HIV/AIDs, environmental degradation, etc. These areas in one

way or the other impact negatively on the security of the state but can be addressed by different approaches that human security offers.

Accordingly, UNESCO (2008) notes that human security is people-centered, which means a method of addressing security issues from the general to the specific needs. The fundamental freedoms expressed in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, along with the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind noted in UNESCO constitution and the values enshrined in spiritual and religious traditions are integral for cultural diversity practiced by individuals in their daily lives. In other words, human security should be understood from the perspectives of ethical, normative and educational frameworks.

Inter alia to the conceptualisation of security and human security is the notion of a troubled peace. The whole enigma attached to human security by critics and also to traditional security is a troubled peace. Finding a solution to peace promoted different approaches to security. However, as UNESCO (1945) succinctly puts it, peace that anchors on political and economic orders of government will not be an encompassing, "peace that will address and secure unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world. Therefore, peace must be founded upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" (UNESCO op.cit: xvii). Thus, the Charter of the United Nations avows that peace and security are in-dissociable. Adding to the importance of human security, UNESCO (see also Espiell 1998:67) explained that just as human rights can have no real substance without democracy, the same goes with the saying that, "there is not democracy without human rights". Thus, the notion of security is interwoven with national security which is synonymous with the rights of state and of human and not the security of the state against individuals.

It is argued in this study that the concept of human security should (or could) be expanded from the core of physical hurt, injury, or abuse. On the one hand, human security is defined by some people as the security against hunger, disease and environmental contamination as against physical violence. However, the conditions of

abject poverty or powerlessness are viewed as not qualitatively different from vulnerability to physical violence during conflict. On the other hand, human security has been argued to include structural violence, which refers to the structure of relevant political-social system, such as apartheid (Cilliers 2004:14).

In operationalising the concept of human security amidst its criticism as being too broad and of questionable feasibility, Owen (n.d.) employs Geographic Information System (GIS) as a tool and method for spatial analysis correlations that will be valuable for both humanitarian and development agencies in identifying and locating high priority beneficiaries for specific threats while processing social and economic recovery from armed conflicts. The operationalisation of human security with the Owen's method provides for the conceptual groupings of threats and provision of a degree of disciplinary alignment on the overarching concept, which holds that individuals require protection from environmental, economic, food, health personal and political threats. Owen argues that human security can be more manageable and analytically useful.

For the inquiry of this study, the operationalisation of human security in this research is on violence posed by youth.

1.1.4 Applicability of security concepts on Africa

The need for security in Africa cannot be overemphasised but security in Africa takes different degrees or daises with different approaches. The most discussed on the application of security in Africa are issues on political and socio-economic threats affecting Africa. In West Africa, conflicts have been transformed in scope and lethality (Hatchful and Aning 2004). The transformation of conflicts over the years from the post-colonial era has manifested on platforms such as resources, psychological, cultural and religious dimensions. Also, the securitisation of the state that is mainly anchored on the military approach has witnessed changes through the adoption of political

regimes that support and provide enabling environment for human security through human rights and human development as against the rigid traditional security.

"Africa poses important security concerns to the world because of its frequent internal conflict, corruption and weak political structures that have made African states insecure and unstable" (Bouchat 2010). "Most prevailing senses of insecurity in the Third World countries are from within, despite the rhetoric of their elite being to the contrary" (Sesay and Ismail 2003:21). Thus, Sesay and Ismail (see also Acharya 1997) are of the opinion that part of the challenges of the Third World countries is that the state security structure of the elite does not overlap with security of its inhabitants and inadequate preparation for future engagements on security has been a source of insecurity in many ways. Based on this, Poku noted that,

> colonialism was based on authoritarian command; as such, it was incompatible with any preparation for self-government. In that sense, every success of administration was a failure of government. Future African leaders continuously exposed to the environment of authoritarian control were accustomed to government on the basis of force (Poku 2008:101).

Poku explains that one of the shades of state's insecurity is reflected in weak political systems coupled with socio-economic problems which make states unable to provide protection for the ordinary people. He stresses that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were set up in order to alleviate poverty, hunger, diseases and environmental degradation which causes insecurity among people would not achieve its expected goal of year 2015 as at the time the predictions was made due to so many factors, such as structural adjustment pressures and the promised advantages of economic restructuring on the continent.

Though, MDGs failure in meeting with the goal of the program has been noted, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have also been found lagging in upholding the aim of the programme whose realization is predicated on inclusive peace, justice and

the well-being and dignity of all people through human security by 2030 as described by Amina Mohammed, the Deputy Secretary-General of United Trust Fund for Human Security (UN news 2017). Consequently, the failure in actualizing the programme of the MDGs is seen as a problem caused by African security institutions that did not secure and sustain the programs in meeting up with the predicated precepts of the adopted set objectives of human security. Therefore, these measures need to be considered when implementing the SDG programme. Also, looking at the current trend, the MDGs are still far from being realised in Africa. The achievement of the aim anchors on the economic and structural positive adjustment and stability. This provides the basis for the motion that sets the MDGs on its path. Understanding the dynamics of dissatisfaction among people which manifests as grievances and conflicts is essential for the rationale of security and human security approaches in Africa.

Cilliers explains the nexus between national security and human security by asserting that according to dominant theories of international legal practice, both individual and international security is dependent upon national security (Cilliers 2004:14). Thus, over the years, African state securities have been disrupted and destroyed both by domestic contradictions and foreign forces/policies. Even so, Africa has traditionally followed an expansive approach to the concept of human security (Cilliers 2004:14). Espousing the challenges on security, African securities have been disrupted domestically by its highly diverse political culture over struggles or resources during the pre- and post-colonial eras, but with adequate measures in place to address altercations traditionally at the pre-colonial era. While on the other hand, foreign policies in Africa, using Nigeria as an example, has shown the exacerbation of insecurity by the creation of artificial colonial state among highly diverse political cultures and structures.

The political differences of different ethnic groups in Nigeria coupled with religions, the colonial impostures and construction of nation state like that of the Europeans have caused and are still causing many conflicts leading to insecurities. One of the problems of such ideologies and adoption foreign policy such as federalism which is not working

so well due to the hybridization of polices that rest at the level of elites that produced corruption and political marginalization due to discovery of oil and resulted to the Nigerian Civil War that lasted between 1967 and 1970. The Nigerian Civil War started when the Igbo formally seceded from the Nigerian state and created an Igbo country called Biafra due to challenges and marginality of the Igbo in the country at the national level, among other factors.

Another interesting case is the Rwandan genocide which manifested due to the Belgian ethnic and class divisions of Rwanda into Hutu and Tutsis on their morphology. The act of the Belgians to confer power to their favoured ethnic group of the 'elite' gave birth to huge grievances that led to the genocide. The genocide destroyed all forms of security and instilled fears in people many years after the genocide. Recently, the Somali people of the Horn of Africa though divided among clans but united by a common culture, history and identity were divided by colonial powers into five different states, have sought reunification by force of arms through guerrilla movement in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya (Poku 2008:99). Poku (see also Zartman 2007) notes further that this was due to the lack or absence of modification based on ethnic, racial, religious and cultural underpinnings except for artificial boundaries. Security is challenged by both rebellion and internal lawlessness in Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Angola, Zimbabwe and South Africa, among other African countries.

More than forty-two wars have been fought in Africa and which resulted to millions of refugees and internally displaced persons with alienation to human security. On the nexus of poverty and human security, and having noted human security attributes such as secure/insecure livelihood, peace/conflict and inclusion/exclusion, realising that poverty and inequality result in exclusion and poverty therefore plays a conspicuous role in conflict perpetuation through grievance exacerbation (Salih 2008:171). Human security is affected by poverty and the relatively high incidence of social and violent

conflicts that is compounded by inequality as highlighted by Salih. The salient feature on how poverty affects human security shows the weakness and fragility of a state. In other words, an increase in poverty is synonymous to deteriorating or little structures or strands of human security; and this is applicable to Africa.

Bayley (2012) provides a highlight of the security status and concerns of some African states. He notes that the main conflict between *Al shabaab* and the African Union in Somalia with fragile political stance has set Somalia on the part of its third decade of state collapse and requires the need of an acute humanitarian assistance. Thus, the problems in Somalia are exacerbated by external powers in the state seeking to impose their own solutions of reacting to the growth of political Islam which negates the ideology of the *Al shabaab* extremist group, thereby refuting any form of Western intervention and influence. Succinctly, the conflict in Somalia orchestrated by *Al shabaab* drew concerns from neighbouring states. The measures taken by neighbouring states such as Kenya and Ethiopia to dowse the conflict were to pressurize the resources and control of *Al shabab* so as to find a lasting solution for Somalia and, thereby reduce the spill over effects, particularly the influx of refugees to their states who might be carriers of the dangerous radical ideology and thus transfer same to their citizens. The fears of the international community are not different from those of the immediate states such as Kenya and Ethiopia bordering Somalia where British Muslims whether of Somali or other region are being recruited for international terrorism purposes.

1.1.5 Security in Nigeria

Having presented and argued earlier on the concept of security and the dimension of security, this section discusses how security is implemented and orchestrated for the polity. The discussion on Nigeria's security kicks off with the existing laws that were adopted before Nigeria's independence, and goes further in discussing the political situations and security practices at work in the Nigerian state. The 1999 Nigerian Constitutions explicitly states in Section 14 (2) of (b) that 'the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government' (Constitution of the Federal

Republic of Nigeria 1999) and somewhere else under the purview of the Constitution with the National security agencies act for establishment of advisory councils, it states in Section (2) of (a) that 'the national security council shall be charged with responsibility for matters relating to public security'. (http://www.lawnigeria.com/LawsoftheFederation/NATIONAL-SECURITY-AGENCIES-ACT.html).

It is on the concept of 'public security' which is ambiguous as mentioned above that this study considers the definition and implementation of security in Nigeria. The scope and adoption of security in Nigeria have mainly been focused on the military with little effort in addressing human security holistically. Contrary to the military approach to security in Nigeria, Katsina (2012) defines security as 'a state of reduced or contained threats and tension in which the stability of a state is not in an imminent danger of disruption from within and without; while insecurity is a manifestation of deep-rooted and structurally entrenched crisis of development that creates the environment for the emergence of conditions of poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the country.' Katsina's emphasis was right for even in the huge amount of money ($2.1 billion) allotted to the security sector for counter-insurgency operations under President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration between 2010-2015, was misappropriated due to corruption; and this led to the infamous *Dasukigate* in Nigeria (Alechenu 2016).

The military approach to security has led to many security anomalies in the state such as the upsurge of Boko Haram terrorist group and the Niger-Delta militants to mention a few. Also, security crises and conflicts between north and south in Nigeria have been noted to be politically motivated according to Crawford (2012). The assertion that political parties are the architects of security problems in Nigeria is rightfully put. This is because the nation's political leaders continue to fractionalise and pit one other in utter disregard of constitutional norms while neglecting developmental concerns of the polity, thereby leading to insecurity.

On the nexus between the security sector reform (SSR) in Africa and Nigeria's security issues, Bendix and Stanley (2008) note that non-state actors that include private security and military companies and non-state armed groups need to be included within SSR because 'development donors had been dealing with security-related issues in an *ad hoc* manner since the early 1990s.' The issue of SSR raised here is important in the sense that a strong SSR helps in managing and bridging gaps and lapses of violent conflicts, which has been implicated as one of the main causes of poverty.

The Nigerian security for her citizen is observed to be weak. In fact, since the discovery of oil at the Ogoni land in Niger Delta, events have shown that 'the Nigerian state is more concerned about the security of oil production and the safety of oil installations than the security of the inhabitants of the region and their well-being. As a result, 'alienation by the government has only served to heighten the people's sense of insecurity, as threats to their sources of livelihoods intensify by the day' (Owolabi and Okwechime 2007).   Similarly. Egbefo and Salihu (2014) having defined internal security as 'the totality of the nation's equilibrium state which must be maintained to enhance the state performance of its responsibility without unnecessary interruptions from anywhere' note that internal security contributes to the weakening of the security in Nigeria.

They further state that, 'apart from the external pressure in Nigeria, internal politics which affects the growth and expected development of the economy, poses a great threat to internal security.' Thus, internal security simply suggests freedom from threat and the ability of the government to create and sustain an atmosphere conducive for the pursuit of economic interest by the population without interruptions from anybody. The causes of internal security problems are highlighted as government accountability, poor nature and scope of economic development, the effects of rapid population growth on the economic development of Nigeria, electoral fraud, poverty, high rate of illiteracy among Nigerians, consequence of corruption and unethical practice in Nigeria and the synergy between national security and democratic rule (Egbefo and Salihu 2014). In

Akpan's (2015) study, he identifies unemployment, illiteracy and faulty institution and corruption as some of the factors responsible for national insecurity in Nigeria, which is characterised by violence, kidnapping, assassinations, armed robbery, food insecurity, environmental insecurity and other vices in the nation.

It could be averred that the problem of security in Nigeria is partly generated by the legislative arm of government. Nigeria's fledgling democratic experiment requires a security sector that is under the watchdog of a legislative body that is alive to the performance of its oversight functions over the nation's security forces. Aluko (2015), thus, posits that the oversight security problem which accounts for conflict and violence in the country can be addressed through the devolution of security forces in line with democratic principles and practices. This, in turn, will build or create an effective parliamentary oversight on Nigeria's security agencies and address security issues as soon as it emerges without waiting for many protocols and delays from the presidency.

In Nigeria, history of conflicts has manifested at different times. The Ife-Modakeke crisis in the south-west and the outbreak of conflict in Aguleri-Umuleri communities in the south-east over land are examples of intractable violent conflicts affecting the security of the nation. At the height of these communal conflicts caused by claims of ownership of lands through history, lives were lost. Obiakor (2016) rightly notes that cases of conflict in Nigeria include inter-ethnic, inter-communal, inter-religious and inter-personal forms of conflicts. However, the case of 'indigene-settler' problems among Aguleri and Umuleri is peculiar since the conflict led to a reconstruction and distortion of Umuleri's history which in some ways poses security threats in the country. The security constraint is that it will deepen the 'indigene-settler' problems through allocation of developmental project from the state and consequently leads to acrimonious relationship between the communities.

For Osaji (2016), peace is becoming elusive and is a mirage in Nigeria and attaining national security and governance requires leaders to embrace religions and the fear of God. He argues that religion provides security for the society and the nation at large.

From the aforementioned, it is true that religion can provide security but at the same time religion can be a double edge sword depending on the extraction of its functions by the leaders at the religious setting.

The Niger Delta region in Nigeria is prone to and ravaged by violent conflicts. Indigenes of the communities mostly attack government and multinational industrial installations for oil exploration. This is because the oil industry is booming in Nigeria and the revenue of oil companies is increasing, but Nigerian locals are suffering daily from poverty and endangered environment (Ololube, Kpolovie and Amaele 2013:455). These attacks have in different ways weakened the Nigerian economy and increased security threats in the state. Thus, a consequential effect on the state's economy has a direct implication on the security budgets and plans of the state. A lot of measures have been put forward to address the incessant conflicts within this region.

On this premise, Ololube, Kpolovie and Amaele (2013) opine that 'the successful integration of the Niger Delta region into federal planning, structures and funding will enhance development, livelihoods and human security not only for the region but also for Nigeria's educational development.' The lack of state capacity to address the various forms of socio-economic and political marginalisation triggers the problems associated with human security which invariably affects the national security on macro scale.

Similarly, Ujomu and Olatunji (2013) state that 'the problem of national and human security in Nigeria is seen mainly and clearly 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.' The interesting thing in the observations of scholars on the issues of human security and national security in Nigeria is that the political leaders are aware of this and it has manifested in repetitive forms. This puts the leadership style Nigerian politician have adopted into question.

This has prompted some people to say the Nigerian state is not democratic in its dealings or seen as 'quasi democracy, for if the problems ravaging Nigerian security is

not curbed or managed but repetitive, increasing and causing the polity many troubles, then other forms of political structure should be exploited. On the other hand, Ujomu and Olatunji point out ethnicity as one of the factors that causes the problems of national and human security with a suggestion to 'overcome the human nature, inimical cosmological and political ethnicity, a new set of competing or higher values must be identified, entrenched and given legitimacy as directing principles' (Ujomu and Olatunji 2013:49).

This makes sense because Nigeria needs to set its principles right to address a lot of anomalies within the country. It is obvious that measures such as the federal character are put in the system to address things like this, but we must truly ask how effective they are, especially the federal character. That is, apart from the representation of the ethnic groups within the federal system, does the principles of those representing the leaders tally with the objectives of the work that is done? Therefore, addressing seething issues by making the priorities of leadership clear from the onset is critical in addressing security challenges within the country.

On security votes, Egbo et, al. (2012) informs that the ambiguity and secrecy associated with the concept of national security is a causal effect of institutionalisation of unaccountable governance at all levels of government. Having traced the use abuse of security votes from the military regime of General Babangida to the present democratic era, the study suggests that security votes have expanded in recent years. An example of the misappropriating and stealing of money in disguise of security was evident in the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration with the probe on former National Security Adviser, Rt. colonel Sambo Dasuki for the misappropriation of $2.2 billion dollars arm procurement deal (Vanguard 2015). The effect of this misappropriation of funds is seen on the performance of the Nigerian soldiers in the battlefield with the Boko Haram insurgents because the arms procured were not good enough to overpower the Boko Haram terrorist group in the country which in turn has led to loss of lives.

Contrary to the military approach adopted by the Nigerian state in the implementation of security for the populace, community policing emerged to meet the needs of security; this shows the lacunae in the military approach of security. Community policing addresses problems that are criminal, affect quality of life and increase fear among citizens. It is carried out by identifying, analysing and addressing community problems from the roots (Okeshola and Mudiare 2013). It also creates a peaceful, secure and an enabling environment for investors as well as societal and personal development. However, it also comes with its challenges as provision of security through partnership with the police and the polity is unrealistic due to poor public perception of the police (Gbenemene and Adishi 2017), corruption and inadequate logistics (Okeshola and Mudiare (2013).

Before the recent 2019 presidential election in Nigeria, there have been debates by the elite, researchers and policy makers on the adoption and creation of state police; due to the inefficiency of police and the control of the police by the elite for personal gains which has been played out in different situations and using the recent 2019 presidential election as example, where police and other security agents/officers were used by politician to hamstrung their political opponent , with little focus in protecting the franchise of the Nigerian citizens and their lives. Although state policing has been advocated by the elite and politicians, it does not seem to satisfy the human security yearnings, perhaps due to its perceived ineffectiveness and challenges of its control and the same pitfalls affecting police at the national/federal level as highlighted in the study of (Ogbochie 2014 and Agwanwo 2014).

1.2   Youth

According to the United Nations, youth is defined as 'a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence.' As a category, youth is more fluid than other fixed age-groups. Yet, age is the easiest way to define this group,

particularly in relation to education and employment. For statistical purposes, youth is defined as that category of persons without prejudice to other definitions by member states (United Nations Secretary-General's Report to the General Assembly 1981). What constitutes and defines 'youth' has evolved over time.

To conceptually define youth, one of the crucial things noted by the Secretary Kurt Waldheim is that the term 'youth' varies in different societies around the world. The UNICEF pegs adolescent as those whose age falls between 10 and 19 years; for World Health Organisation, young people are those between the ages of 10 and 24 years; while for UNFPA, youth are between 15 and 24 years of age (UNFPA 2017). For the United Nations Habitat (2012), youth is statically defined as the group of people who falls between the age range of 15 and 32. Likewise, the African Youth Charter defines youth as those whose age are between 15 and 35 years (African youth Charter 2006: 2). In European countries, youth is defined as, "the path from a dependent childhood to independent adulthood when young people are in transition between a world of rather secure development and a world of choice and risk" (European Commission 2009: 17).

Having highlighted the varied important definitions of the term 'youth', this study adopts the African Youth Charter's definition. This choice is based on the following. Firstly, in the African society, the youthful category defers from that stipulated in the other definitions above. Secondly, the study is focused on African (Nigerian) youth; and thirdly, over the years, there is a growing and teeming population with scarce economic resources for individuals to be self-dependent, which, as against the backdrop of other definitions of youth on dependency on parent, makes the classification of youth to be difficult and challenging in the African context. Simply put, children and young people in contemporary Africa depend on their parent for so many years due to scarce economic resources, mostly borne out of youth unemployment, which invariably extends their period of dependence on their parents.

Other factors that also explain the adoption of the African Youth Charter definition is assertion that the youthful age is between 15 and 35 years; this being the age when most of the youths in the African setting are dependent on their parents are period also known as waithood as mentioned by Dhillon and Yousef (2007) and Honwana (2012: 4) noted that "young people in waithood are increasingly unable to become social adults and full-fledged citizens". Also, since Nigeria belongs to the African Union Organisation, it therefore makes sense to adopt the Union's classification and definition of youth.

1.3   Violence

A prelude to the discussion of youth violence is delineating the difference between aggression and violence. Bushman et. al. (2016) define aggression as any behaviour intended to harm another person who does not want to be harmed; while violence is an aggression with the goal of extreme physical harm such as injury or death (Bushman and Huesmann 2010). Therefore, all violent acts are aggressive but not all aggressive acts are violent. Part of the significance of this study on youth violence is explicated in Bushman et.al (2016) (see also David-Ferdon and Simon 2014) who note that more US youths perpetrate, and experience very high rates of violence compared to youth from many other developed nations. Thus, if violence is high among youths in advanced nations where there are strict laws and monitoring agencies, how much more in developing and underdeveloped countries in Africa where rule of law is compromised.

1.3.1   Youth violence

The striking information on the rate of youth violence in the United States of America shows that youth violence is not a phenomenon limited to a particular region in the world but fuelled by certain factors. As noted by the World Health Organisation

(WHO), homicides rates vary by region with 0.9 per 100,000 in the high-income countries of Europe and parts of Asia and the Pacific, to 17.6 per 100.000 in Africa and 36.4 per 100,000 in Latin America. The information about the causes of youth violence increases yearly and this informs the need for substantial government programs and intervention to address this debacle. Therefore, in 'designing national programs to prevent youth violence, it is important to address not only individual cognitive, social and behavioural factors, but also the social systems that shape these factors.' (World Health Organisation, 2015).

Although, the youth are accessible to violence due to their energy and proclivities, their dispositions to violent act are determined by varying issues, such as social, political, religious and psychological issues. The assumption that youth violence is limited to a particular region or attached to a particular group of people based on religion or social norms is largely incorrect.

From a global perspective, alcohol and drugs, low self-esteem, social and peer pressure, poor communication skills, over-developed sense of ownership and control, under-developed ability to communicate, damage to ego and pride retaliation have been accounted for as causes of youth violence in Australia and as such, youth violence affects everyone in every community (http://www.iffoundation.org.au/causes-of-youth-violence/). On the part of parent of teens in United States, Witmer (2016) notes that violent behaviours are more prevalent than they should be. Thus, media influence, teen's neighbourhood, domestic and child abuse, insufficient parental supervision, peer pressure, drug use, traumatic event and mental illness accounts for violent behaviours among youth. It has also been noted that risk factors, although not direct causes of youth violence, increase the likelihood that a young person will become violent. Thus, risk factors contribute to youth violence. (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2016).

Youth violence is a mass of phenomena and without curbing its effect on human security, it will remain overarching problem in the society and national security. Why

is youth violence central to human security in this study? This question is partly answered by Akpan (2015) who notes that "the youths have the key to peace and stability; they make things happen and can even change the course of a nation's historical growth and development. For instance, in 2011, the youths in some countries in North Africa and indeed the Arab World changed the course of their history through agitation for their improved welfare through employment which later led to uprising that brought down governments in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen etc. popularly referred to as Arab Spring (Gidado, 2012).

In the words of Annan 1998, "for too long, conflict in Africa has been seen as inevitable or intractable, or both … caused by human action, and can be ended by human action." Someone may ask what more can be attributed to security or human security apart from physical hurt, injury, abuse or the threat thereof? Cilliers (2004) concisely puts it that "apart from the recognition that peace, security and democracy are necessary preconditions for attracting investments, garnering growth and development and reducing poverty.

It demands that participating governments commit to set of targeted initiatives, intended to strengthen their political and administrative frameworks in line with the principle of transparency, accountability, integrity respect for human rights and the promotion of the rule of law." One of the problems of fuelling youth development is national development. Development here, is emphasised in all ramifications, starting from personal development to state development. Also, it is part of the mechanism shapes youth perspective and orientation in the society. To an extent, the shaping of the youth to the ideal society could be good or bad depending on the exposure and the kind of orientation the youths are given.

So, personal development implicated here is the essence of the youth being able to function properly. Looking at Gyampo's (2012) work, he emphasized that "youth played a crucial role in the political development of Ghana, served as pressure group against the dictatorship of autocratic chiefs and in the pre-colonial times." However,

since the inception of Ghana's fourth Republic in 1992, the participation of the youth in the development process has been weak. Consequently, the pseudo participation of young people in Ghana's development process creates serious disequilibrium in society and has grave implications for the youth and national development.

This trend is like what is obtainable in Nigeria, where the youths have never been seen as significant in the nation's political and developmental process. They have only played significant role in terms of fuelling the economy as the workforce. Most of their achievements have been borne out of individual effort and pure talent. Individualism in the sense that they attain and carve out their niche by themselves as against the daunting challenges of personal developmental struggles of the economic, political structures and policies of the country.

For Boonzaier, Lehtonen and Pattman (2015), they showed another dimension of youth violence in form of sexual problems among youth, such as lesbians who experience 'corrective rape' and as such have their rights breached. They note that youth can represent a time of risk exacerbated by inequalities of gender, age, class and sexual orientation and other differences, but can also represent a time of transformation for engaging toward social change.

Having noted that the place of youth in conflict in Africa needs more attention as available research focuses more on child soldiers in relation to recruitment, effects of conflicts, disarmament and reintegration, Muthoni (2011:157) uses the case studies of Al-shabaab in Somalia and Mungiki in Kenya to examine the implications of conflicts to youth development the states. In her paper, she notes that the youths are active independent active actors in conflict and the participation of in of youth in conflict can sustain conflict and violent situations for a long period. Furthermore, she argues that youth reactionary groups/perpetrators are social group responding to poor policies of their government that ignore, exploit or exclude them. Consequently, youth in armed conflict are a threat to human security and global peace (Muthoni 2011).

In Tanzania, Outwater et al., (2015) reveal that unemployment is the major cause of youth violence. The authors, therefore, suggest that to decrease death by community violence, there should be employment creation, youth engagement and creation of a supportive enabling environment for small enterprises.

1.3.1.1 Culture of youth violence

Culture as a concept in one of the most contested term in the academics. The meaning of culture varies, and this has affected its operationalisation as a concept. White (1959: 277) notes that 'one wonders what Physics would be like if it had as many and as varied conceptions of energy!' She explained further that "to some, culture is a learned behaviour. To others, it is not a behaviour at all, but an abstraction from behaviour. Whatever that is, culture exists only in the mind, according to some; it consists of observable things and events in the external world to others."

From the sociological perspective, Durkheimian's conceptualisation of culture as expressed in Lincoln and Guilot (2004:3-4) entails a system of collective consciousness with strong representation and reflection rooted in concrete values, beliefs, and symbolic systems of social groups.

Cultural mechanism flows from social structure and process which is constituted and sustained and showcases how it feeds back to motivate and channel individual and collective action. Thus, the collective efforts to come to grips symbolically with a couple of an uncertain world is sum total of human beings. Durkheim's thoughts align with structuralism because he stressed the functional role of culture to the structure of culture's engagement with society. However, Geertz (1983) notes that culture should be understood as a system of meaning and not values. Values are significant and enduring beliefs or ideal shared by group of individuals of the same culture that determines what is good and bad that provides the crucial legality of social arrangements. Hence, the value inherent to culture of youth violence in this study attunes to members belonging in a group of categories exhibiting violence in a social agreement; a way of life learnt through social arrangements.

For Schoenmakers (2012:03), "the concept of culture in the sociological parlance is used in rather specific way and even given a narrow and scary nationalistic interpretation." However, political scientists see culture as too vague a concept. So, comparing socio-political situations cannot handle or decipher the entirety of culture as a concept. When it comes to investigating political issues and developments, researchers mostly prefer to analyse power relations in a social, economic or administrative context.

It is certainly not self-evident to include culture in studies on politics or to think about culture in terms of power relations. But even when political scientists introduce culture in their studies, one can question the way they use the concept. Often, they also refer to a slightly old-fashioned and essentialist interpretation of the concept (Schoenmakers 2012:03) Just like White (1959) discussion on varying concept of culture, another similar argument by Williams (1983) on the challenges of defining culture is pointed out that "culture" is one of the most complicated words in the English language based on one of his relationships with civilization which he elaborated in his etymological study.

The concept of culture revolves around the academia, with different meanings. A brief information on the term culture has been explained in order to appreciate its adoption in framing the topic of the study; and for clarity, the culture of youth violence as it is implied in this study means the violent attitude and behaviour acquired through socialisation that the youths rely on for the implementation of violent activities. This negates the notion that a particular society or a group acculturates youths to be violent in addressing issues in the society. Though, there exists element of age groups in some African societies that teaches some aspect of the society to be warriors to defend their villages, groups and societies from impending attacks; nevertheless, this does not

appear as the primary purpose for youth acculturation into violence in the society in this case.

1.3.1.2 Youth violence and its culture in Nigeria

Youth violence in Nigeria has been attributed to certain cardinal factors, such as unemployment ethnic and religious conflict, etc. Insecurity associated with youth violence is clarified by Caldeira thus:

> Insecurity is not limited to indicators of economic crisis, unemployment rates, urbanisation or even state expenditures on public security at which we must look in order to understand contemporary violence. Rather, we have to consider the everyday functioning of the institutions of order, the continuous pattern of abuses by the police forces, their disrespect for rights, and routine practices of injustice and discrimination. (Caldeira, 2000, p. 209).

On unemployment as indicator of one of the causes of youth violence, Ajaegbu's (2012) study, adopts Ted Gurr's Deprivation Theory to explain that if the factors creating the feeling of deprivation and frustration as a result of unemployment among the youth are addressed, then Nigeria youths will not engage in violent crimes. In other words, unemployment as linked with deprivation and frustration causes violence in Nigeria.

Concisely, Ajaegbu states that 'unemployment appears to be the root cause of violence in Nigeria.' However, the issue of unemployment as expressed by Ajaegbu (see also Awogbenle and Iwuamadi, 2010) is highly dependent on the viability of the economy. He concluded his study by indicating that economic growth in Nigeria is not the only solution to curbing unemployment, but other solutions that encourage skills acquisition for the youths to sustain themselves in a competing environment should be considered.

Another dimension of violence as explained by Oruwari and Opuene (2006) (see also Aderinto 1994) has its root in the loss of traditional structures that kept people together. Oruwari and Opuene traced the increase in violence and emergence of cult groups to the aftermath of the Nigerian Civil War that lasted from 1967 to 1970. In other words,

the experience of the war exposed a lot of youths directly and indirectly for survival means. Thus, the survival method that was learnt from the war was violence, and this has since festered like a wound on the flesh that is unable to heal.

Oruwari and Opuene (see also Akparanta 1994) describe that the reasons for urban violence in post-Civil War Nigeria was due to abundance of guns in private hands, coupled with hard economy, deterioration in the standard of education, and lack of specific training in areas relevant for sustaining both agricultural and industrial sector. Furthermore, Oruwari and Opuene (2006) classify urban gangs as youth who are school dropouts and unemployed youths terrorizing people in the neighbourhood with associated crimes, such as stealing, rape, murder, extortion and jostle for territorial control. They stated that 'neighbourhood gangs are the most common in Port Harcourt.' Thus, the primary motive for gang formation is for economic, power and politics.

Youth and national security in Nigeria were also explicated by Osakwe (2013) who posit from a historical perspective that the "youth bulge and unemployment are catalysts to national security issues. Thus, the words 'youth', 'unemployment' and 'security' now have a worldwide currency, and have gone viral in Nigeria and served as a lightning rod for all manner of issues, events and challenges." In other words, the three themes aforementioned are central to the holistic challenges on security in Nigeria. Osakwe points out other cases threatening national security attributed to the youth, such as the cases of Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra State, the Niger-Delta low intensity war, Ife-Modakeke dispute, post-election crisis, and the Boko Haram in the northern Nigeria (Osakwe 2013).

In the south-western Nigeria, Ogbeide (2013) examines the youth violence and electoral process in Nigeria's Fourth Republic and reveals that youth's violence has a significant effect on the electoral process in Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria. Ogbeide notes that youth energy is either used positively or negatively, depending on the individual or in some cases the society. The energy of the youths is negatively harnessed since they are idle and have nothing to engage them positively and productively. Ogbeide's

study concludes that most youths who are perpetrators of electoral malpractices are unemployed, uneducated and idle. Therefore, these three factors affect the state's security at the micro and macro scale when explored further.

Succinctly, Ukeje (2012) asserts that youth violence is in many ways an expression of youth agency in the context of a social and economic system that provides little opportunity. He notes further that many societies in contemporary Africa are only now coming to terms with the concerns of the youths, and its potentially destabilising impact on social relations, may be replacing ethnicity and religion as a more powerful framework for explaining dynamics of social change on the continent.

Thus, understanding the structural conditions that shape youth experience and provision of incentives for violent choices in the way it is being expressed is salient to having a holistic dialogue about the youth problem in Africa. However, the narratives of violence should not be associated as the mainstream on youth without considering underlying social meanings of violence, such as legitimate claim against an authoritarian and incapable state. It is, thus, argued that the failures of governance and statehood in Nigeria breed an anarchical or disruptive system in the state and provide a platform and justification for disruptive behaviour against the state systems and structures.

The exclusion of youth concerns in the state, directly or indirectly builds up stress and pressures against national security. Goddey (2013) examines youth violence in Rumuekpe, Rivers State, Nigeria and reveals that the cause of youth violence is the perceived mismanagement and unaccountability by the youth leader. For this reason, there was a clamour for the youth leadership to be changed. The mismanagement and unaccountability were based on the insincerity in activities of the oil companies operating in Rumuekpe in effective enforcement of community development programme in Rumuekpe.

Thus, the violence that erupted due to this agitation on issues such as oil polluted rivers, absence of alternative water source, numerous unemployed youths, insecurity in the communities, visible dilapidated school buildings and destroyed ecosystem affected Rumuekpe community, oil multinationals and the Nigerian state negatively. Chukwuemeka, Anazodo and Nzewi (2011) in their study on youth restiveness/violence in south-south Nigeria observe that the dissatisfaction of the people from the region on the level of development of their region and the damage done to their ecosystem by the action of the oil multinational companies through oil spillage are the major causes of youth violence.

In the northern Nigeria regions, most of the youth violence occur as an ideological focus. Using the Marxian theory on Political Economy that explains revolutionary movement as inevitable for social change, Tenuche (2009) examines the cause of violence in Ebira land. Tenuche argues that the type of violence in Ebira land is not ideological and not political, but the absence of a well-articulated society by the state. Most of the violence in Ebira land take place in Okene. Okene which is part of Ebira land has its reputation for violence at any slightest provocation.

Having noted different factors causing youth violence/restiveness, Igbo and Ikpa (2013) note that the youth restiveness in Nigeria can be curbed through skill acquisition programmes, enlightenment and counselling. The skill acquisition programmes mentioned by Igbo and Ipka bring to mind the empowerment programmes for the youths such as the Subsidy Reinvestment and Empowerment Programme (SURE-P) and Youth Enterprise with Innovation in Nigeria (YOUWIN) amongst others, which the Nigerian government implemented in addressing the teeming pressure and problems of unemployment affecting the country.

As good as these initiatives and innovations are, it is saddening that it is like a candle fire trying to boil a big pot of water. These initiatives are very few and often times met with different policies that put a cog in the wheel of its activities in addressing youth unemployment. In other words, these programmes have been politicized and

sometimes the outplay, merits or the result of youth within the system is met with doubts and scepticism. Furthermore, Igbo and Ikpa note that 'youth restiveness may occur as reappraisal attack, such as the Tiv youths' reprisal attack on the Junkuns in Markurdi following the Tiv massacre in Taraba State and in Zaki-Biam by Nigerian Soldiers (Igbo and Ikpa 2013).

The study of Okonta (2012) reveals that the youth, who constitute over 50% of the voting population in Nigeria, was deliberately excluded from the political process. This explains the attack on governors, politician and traditional rulers by the disenchanted northern youth in 2011. However, the main causes of the violence in the 2011 post-election were election rigging and brigandage. He also notes that poverty and youth unemployment are growing in the north, and this drives social unrest in the region. The nature of the political violence as explained by Okonta was anchored on youth militias, ethnic hegemons and democratisation in the northern Nigeria. The violence, however, took the form of ethnic and religious rhetoric. After the result of the 2011 presidential election was announced, in which President Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian southerner and candidate of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) emerged the winner against Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim northerner and candidate of the Congress of Progressive Change (CPC), the youth who were mostly Muslims took to the streets chanting anti-government songs that Buhari was robbed of victory through election rigging.

The youth, who were armed with clubs, knives, guns and other dangerous weapons, attacked supporters of the PDP in the northern cities and towns. They attacked the homes of the Emir of Zaria, Emir of Kano, attacked southern Christians and burnt down churches that are perceived to have supported the PDP candidate. They also accused the northern governors and politicians of sowing disunity and anarchy in the region. The riot spread through all 12 northern states- Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara. The killings of southern Christians, however, had a reprisal attack by the Christians. In the end, about

a thousand people lost their lives and almost 100,000 people were displaced in the northern cities and towns affected by the protest (Okonta 2012). Having noted this, it is important to also state that there has been an increase in unrest caused by Fulani herdsmen mainly in the northern and southern region of Nigeria since 2016/2017.

Idongesit (2014) also provided a perspective on youth violence by linking the media consumption to forms of challenges to the youth. The challenges as argued by Idongesit is the motivation of youth to perpetuate or exhibit negative attitude on the society due to their exposure and susceptibility to media content, such as unhealthy sexual practices which linked to gender-based violence and other vices (Idongesti 2014). A good example as observed among the youths is the fact that most of the youth after being exposed to some kinds of sexual practices which are foreign to the Nigerian 'cultural norms', want to try out what they have ingested through the media. However, this violence is perpetuated mostly through the influence of alcohol and other substances that give them the morale to do so against the will of their 'prey'.

More so, a good number of cases have been reported about kidnapping and killings through offline meeting after first contacts through the social media, all in the name of socialization.. A typical example is the killing of an ex-general's daughter, Cynthia Osokogu, by her Facebook 'friends' (The Vanguard 2012).

The transcendence of the civil society from a mobilised popular civil struggle, the extension of the agitation against multinational oil companies (MNCs) to include the Nigerian state, the elevation of the agitation from developmental issues to political demands e.g. restructuring of the federal system, resource control and the resolution of the national question through conference of ethnic nationalities has birthed the transformation stage that produced youth, youth militancy and youth militias with volatile demands and ultimatums that have increased confrontations and violence in the multinational oil companies and the state (Osaghae, et. al. 2007). Furthermore, Osaghae, et al, noted that:

The youths presently spearhead and constitute the vanguard of Niger-Delta conflict nationalists. They chart the course of methods, tactics and strategies and define the momentum, vitality, vocalization and diction of conflicts. The insurgency has involved diverse well-armed and fairly well-trained youth militias, which, using speed boats and operating fairly freely in the swamps, creeks, estuaries, rivers and coastal areas of the region, have engaged the Nigerian military and seized oil facilities, ships barges, workers and equipment. Increasingly, the youth militancy has become criminalized, with the region being transformed into an arena of economic crimes, violence, and war. (Osaghae, et. al. 2007).

Apart from the mainstream of ethnic and religion factors fueling youth violence in Nigeria, Anasi see (Elegbeleye 2005) pointed out three major factors of youth restiveness which are, 'peer motivated excitement of being a student, the jingoistic pursuit of patriotic ideas and perceived victimisation arising from economic exploitation. The aspect of youth excitement of being a student brings to mind another dimension of youth violence which is witnessed in the Nigerian tertiary institutions. Youths who are mostly students at tertiary universities engage in violence, either by destroying institutions' properties or causing instability to activities and disrupting the peace of the society during escalated protests. However, some of these actions are seen as ways of drawing the attention of the authorities of institutions, state government and federal government to address issues troubling them.

During civil protests which sometimes turns to violence, the youths who are mostly students exhibit this violent nature due to the youthful age and motivation to vent their unaddressed locked anger over a long period of time. Nevertheless, these actions are often met with brutal repression by security agencies or penalties to students as form of school closure or made to pay for the damages done to the institutions before they resume school activities.

Idoko indicated that the youths are involved in between 90 and 95% violent conflicts in Nigeria. This also involves the role of area boys known as (thugs) almajiris, ethnic militias (OPC, BAKASSI boys, EGBESU boys). It was also noted that youths are

involved in cultism, armed robbery, war and armed conflicts. One of the cardinal points mentioned that cause the youth violence is a dysfunctional structural divide and discrimination at the level of state and society (Idoko 2007).

Halliru (2013), in his study on political violence and youth gang in Bauch State, the northern Nigeria, reveals that the perpetrators of political violence in Bauchi state are mostly male with little or no education. Thus, the study recommends promotion of economy growth at the rural areas which will have direct and indirect consequences on youth participation in political violence in Bauchi state. Furthermore, Halliru (see also Alanamu 2005) notes that 'political violence that characterises the Nigerian state is attributed to the history and processes inherent in the its formation during the colonial era.'

From the research, it is shown that majority of the youth gangs perpetrating violence were never arrested by the police neither were those arrested tried in court This inaction of the police does not send deterrent messages to the youth to keep off violence. Unfortunately, however, the police have also met with many restrictions from politicians, traditional and religious rulers when they try to carry out their duty. This then questions the legitimacy of the police force as a whole. The masses have urged the police force to carry its duties regardless of the culprits involved in violence and crime in the state and country. As good as this may sound and seen as the ideal, it has not run so smoothly as it should be. There are lot of challenges facing the police in addressing political violence.

Concisely 'fear is an ever-present feature of life in Nigeria. It is the outcome of an obvious situation of insecurity of lives and properties. People increasingly die, are maimed or injured due to violence' (Egbue 2006). Egbue's study, with focus on school socialisation as its impacts on the preparation of youth for future economic life shows that there is the need to retain indigenous cultural identities within a contemporary context. In other words, there is the need to understand cultural differences and divergence of culture in dealing with youth during school socialisation and education.

Understanding this will enable the leaders of society and the state to manage youth related issues and challenges within the country.

Badejo and Adetunji (2012) identifies 16 factors that predispose youths to electoral violence in Nigeria. These factors are: illiteracy, unemployment, influence of drugs, poverty, way of getting part of 'national cake', tools for politicians, lack of information on politics, lack of transparency, lack of self-worth, peer group influence, exposure to violence in the mass media, quality of family life, proliferation of arms, ethnic militia, religious affiliation and corruption in the body polity. The result of their study reveals that 'there is no significant difference in the factors that predispose youths to electoral violence on the basis of educational qualification except for lack of self-worth.

This suggests that the level of educational achievement has no bearing on respondents' perception of factors that can make youths engage in electoral violence.' Additionally, electoral violence as seen in the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria also use ethnicity as a tool. This is shown particularly, in Lagos where some Yoruba's due to their dissatisfaction on Igbos voting for the presidential candidate of People's democratic Party (PDP) as against All Peoples party (APC) have been told to leave Lagos state and go back to their homes and regions in south East.

Further on the involvement of youth in electoral violence in the north central region of Nigeria, the key findings of Mercy Corp's study reveal that the underlying causes of long-term conflict are complex. It was averred that 'specific violence triggers have already emerged in the pre-election phase and may lead to far worse violence during and after elections.' Also, it was observed that state-level elections may be more violent than national elections based on the fact that, identity groups struggle for local power.

To this end 20% of the study's respondents predicted violence in community during or after state-level elections; while 14% predicted violence in the community during or after the presidential and national assembly elections. However, one of the main factors which fuel these events is the fact that the perceptions of social exclusion that

perpetuate deep grievances among communities is a result of limited confidence in government institutions. Above all, the most pressing source of tension in many communities in the north central region is the competition for scarce resources among identity groups (Mercy Corps 2015)

Similarly, Shamsudeen (2015) provides a detailed information in his study by highlighting and mapping the electoral violence in Nigeria. These violence as shown in his study took place between June 2006-May 2014 in the following zones: north-west zone (Kaduna State); south-west zone (Oyo State); north-central zone (Middle Belt) (Plateau State); south-south zone (Rivers State); north-east zone (Bauchi State); south-east zone (Imo State) had fatal incidents of elections violence. However, this does not include terrorist attacks by Islamic or militant groups, but central to groups involved only in political violence. The stakeholders involved in the electoral violence in Nigeria as identified by Shamsudeen (2015) are political groups (that is, the ruling party and the opposition parties), security forces/agencies, criminal groups, godfathers and religious institutions and/or ethnic organisations.

In addition, Eziaku (2013) highlights that media is linked with the exacerbation of the Nigerian youths in violence. His study informed that youth behaviour on violence is influenced by the social environment and media content and no one is wholly immune to the effects of media violence. He concludes that youth violent behaviours increase as violent contents on media increase. Gboyega (2007) also notes that youth violence, which plays out on the campuses of tertiary institutions through cultism, is a problem because the tertiary institutions are subsets of different macro societies and the violent activities of the cultists are reflections of society's increasing use of violent methods to resolve conflict frustrations and conflict situations. He notes that Nigerian tertiary institutions have witnessed unprecedented violent behaviours occasioned by students' involvement in campus cultism.

To corroborate Gboyega (2007), it is pertinent to note that cultism has now extended its tentacles beyond tertiary institutions to secondary schools in Nigeria. For example,

in Port Harcourt, cultism is deep rooted among the secondary school student who uses violence on their fellow students, teachers and the society. Though cultism issue is not a new phenomenon in Nigeria, its activities still abounds. For example, during my undergraduate years between 2003-2007, I witnessed numerous cases of cultist violent activities around and outside the university premises that disturbs the peace of the society. The mode of operation of cultist groups are similar to that of gangs. They fight for supremacy and control of the student's political positions such as the student union government (S.U.G) and sometimes it could be over women and the ability to exert force on fellow students, they are dreaded and feared due to their ability to cause harm and in some cases kill people.

Summarily, they put themselves as the "student elite" on institutional campus. To sum it all up, youth violence in Nigeria manifest based on different factors as pointed out earlier. But the prevailing violence that is commonly witnessed in Nigeria is as a result of violence resulting from cultist activities. Other factors or causes of youth violence such as electoral or political violence are seasonal and takes place when there is election, while religious violence and resource-based violence occur occasionally.

1.3.2   Radicalization of youths

At the outset of this study, violence is set out to be one of the main focus of discourse as a threat to human security. However, radicalisation just as violence needs to be disentangled from its broad concept in the sense that both terms are divided into two. There are violent forms of radicalisation and non-violent forms of radicalisation. Same applies to the methods employed by individuals to achieve this aim.

Radicalization has to do with is a procedure by which an individual or a gathering comes to receive progressively outrageous political, social, or religious beliefs and goals that reject or undermine the norm or contemporary thoughts and articulations of the country.

For, Pisoui and Ahmed (2016:02), academic studies and practical work have approached radicalization at the cognitive level and at the behavioural level. While it is clear that both are relevant, what remains largely unclarified is the interaction between the two and their sequence along the radicalisation process. It was also revealed that another way through which individuals are radicalised is visual and audio method, which in contemporary period, the social media plays a major part to influence and radicalise individuals and young people. Buttressing radicalisation through the cyber space, cyber-radicalisation as identified by Munir (2017) is a process with technological innovations and advancement that extremist groups employ by using the Internet for spreading their radical thoughts.

While definitions and concepts often seem to be for academic debate, they are also necessary for practical work. Understanding radicalisation and its manifestation is crucial in order to be able to recognize when it occurs or in order to devise adequate prevention measures (Pisoui and Ahmed 2016:03). Abeyagoonasekara (2017:08) notes that in 'South Asia, issues of poverty, ethnic frustrations, lack of education and unemployment, especially among the youth, can result to radicalisation and lead to violent extremism.' In South Asia, the radicalisation of Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) youth as well as the radicalisation of Southern Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) extremist youth are noted among many radicalisation processes in the world.

Also, in Africa, cases of child soldiers in Liberia as noted by (Sesay, et, al. 2000) and Sierra Leone explained by (Denov, et al 2005), and Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda for state and non-state armed groups abound.

1.3.2.1   Radicalization of youths in Nigeria

In the Nigerian context, radicalization has gone from national to international. One of the first experiences of international radicalisation leading to terrorism is the case of

Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab who wore an under-wear bomber (The Telegraph 2018). However, unemployment, deprivation or poverty was not the motivating factor because the culprit is from an affluent family. So again, radicalisation as noted earlier could take different forms. Though there seems to be some overarching variables such as poverty and unemployment as the main reasons for youth participation in radicalisation process, there are other variables, such as radical religious teachings and ideological dogmas.

Taking a cue from Pisoui and Ahmed, it becomes important therefore to examine the link between radicalisation and youth violence in the Nigerian context. Apart from the Nigerian civil war, Nigeria used to be a relative peaceful country void of extreme radical violent activities until globalisation caught up with Nigeria. Globalisation itself is not bad but whatever has its advantage also has its disadvantage. This is the precept which some radical religious group in Nigeria focuses on by blaming westernisation for the import of as ideas, cultures and political structure in an osmosis-like manner which conflicts with some conservative approaches to daily living in their society and political structures.

However, on the local or national level, before globalisation, radicalization and violence had manifested through intra and inter-ethnic and tribal wars and conquests. In the contemporary Nigeria society, while it seems radicalisation of youth is infinitesimal, the limited presence of radicalisation group goes a long way to destabilise the peace and security of the society when the ideology behind such radicalisation group is instituted. To some scholars, countering radicalisation can be achieved through education. There is need to change the school systems and train young minds with peace education. But for Macaluso (2016:01) he notes that "studies have shown that the relationship between education and radicalisation is ambivalent and there is no evidence that access to education may decrease the risk of radicalisation.

The limited understanding of radicalisation processes has so far led to ineffective and even detrimental policies." While Macaluso studies reflects the indecisiveness of education in the reduction of radicalisation, education is an important tool in addressing radicalisation because it has been argued that, though education is a means for both radicalization and de-radicalization, government in conflict affected countries are interested in financing measures that counter extremism as part of education programs; as a way of prevention and peacebuilding approaches necessary for youth in countries that have never had a conflict as well as states that are in very tenuous post conflict. (de Silva nd 2-3). For instance, it is noted that "Strategic and market-linked skills development has an important role to play, especially in and around urban centers such as Mombasa. Since vocational education is a devolved function, an appropriate intervention would involve the close engagement of the relevant county governments." (de Silva nd 15).

1.4   Cultism

A prelude to this section is understanding the term 'cult'. English Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2017) defines cult as 'a relatively small group of people having religious beliefs or practices regarded by others as strange or as imposing excessive control over members.' Thus, cultism is the practices and devotions of a cult which can be a religious sect or a group of people with common interest and shared values possessing a pragmatic, charismatic and extreme leader and members.

Webster (2017) puts forth that the earliest known uses of the word cult is recorded in the 17th century broadly denoted as 'worship' which took a specific branch of religion or rites and practices and by 18th century cult was referred to as a non-religious admiration or devotion of a person, ideas or fad. It is pertinent to know that Africa has a long history of cult and secret society group, such as Ekpe in Nigeria; Ogboni Fraternity in Nigeria, Benin and Togo; Poro Cult in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and

Ivory Coast; Sande Cult, the female version of Poro secret society, among others are primordial and predates the conceptualisation of the word cult in the 17th century.

In pre-colonial and post-colonial African societies, there are age groups of people in the societies who belong to different cult groups. The diverging point of the primordial cult and secret society groups of the Africans to the contemporary ones is that the contemporary cults which consist mostly of youths take a different philosophical dimension, mostly exhibiting violent activities and causing troubles in the society. Hence, there is no clear-cut category of cultism adopted in this study, because the tertiary institution cultism that was created mostly for student's membership in the tertiary universities now includes non-students. They also perform some rituals during membership process for an individual.

Therefore, defining cultism as a tertiary based cult or religious based cult due to some of the rituals being performed during initiation ceremony will be misleading. Also, some youth can also belong to traditional and religious cult in the society which makes it more ambiguous to classify them as a student cultist. In other words, the use of cultism in this study is to define a group of members associated with the known cultist group created in the Nigerian tertiary institutions that saves as a platform of association where violent activities are committed.

1.4.1   Cultism in Nigeria

In Nigeria, cultism is largely associated with tertiary institutions. Security agencies and operatives have become weary in addressing cultist activities because it is shrouded in youthful exuberance. Mostly, the focus has been on tertiary institution with little attention on the secondary school/college students. There is an emerging trend of cultism in secondary schools as it is believed that cultist activities in Nigerian tertiary intuitions have extended tentacles to secondary school students. The implication of cultism among the secondary school therefore is worrisome because it poses security

threats in the society and conformity of student's behaviours toward the self-consciousness, and 'ideal' behaviours for tranquillity, peace and security in the society are eroded. Also, students who grow up in the standards of cultist activities tend to exhibit violent behaviours, committing crimes in the society with no distress.

Cultism in Nigerian universities began at the premier university known as University of Ibadan between 1953 and 1954 academic session. The 1986 Nobel Laureate Prize Winner in Literature, Professor Wole Soyinka, is said to be a co-founder of the first cult group in a Nigerian tertiary institution. The group was known as 'Pyrate Confraternity'. The aims and objectives of Pyrate Confraternity (PC) also known as 'Association of Seadogs'" were: to abolish convention, revive the age of chivalry and end tribalism and elitism (Gboyega 2007). Consequently, this foundation of the cultism which became violent cultism, which has led to the loss of thousands of lives due to power tussle and internal wrangling, has led to the creation of similar organisations such as "*Buccanners*", "*Eiye* Confraternity" in 1968, "Black Axe" in 1970 and others after the founding fathers of the first "*Pyrate* confraternity" graduated from the University of Ibadan (Edun 1999). *Pyrate* confraternity was founded by students who have now gotten to the height of their careers such as Professor Wole Soyinka, Aig-Imoukhuede, Pius Oleghe, Ralph Opara, Nat Oyelola and Professor Muyiwa Awe in the 1953/54 session at Tedder Hall, University of Ibadan (Abayomi and Nnabugwu 2012).

In the south-eastern part of Nigeria, cultist activities have been observed on different occasions among secondary school students who engage in violent fracas with rival secondary schools students, to the extent of beating and incurring harms on teachers who get on their way. Attempts to address these trends by security agencies such as the Nigeria Police Force has not proven to be effective. It is on this grounds that this study takes eclectic approach in understanding the dimension and trend of the cultist activities in Nigerian secondary schools to find means of addressing the problems

before it becomes widespread throughout all secondary schools in the society as it is with most of the tertiary intuitions in Nigeria. The implication of cultist activities not addressed will create acrimonious and perturbed societies. Cultist activities destroy the moral and standards students acquire through the process of education (Pemede and Viavonu 2010). Thus, when the students who are mostly teenagers are exposed and toe the line of violence as against societal ethics, security in the society is put to test. Using cultism as an analytical tool to explain violent behaviours among secondary school students is crucial for the society, the education sector and the state. The questions that emanate are: How are cultism instituted in Nigerian secondary schools? What is the motive behind cultism in Nigerian secondary schools? At what scale is cultism in Nigerian secondary school practiced? What are the observed effects of secondary school cultism on secondary school education in Nigeria? This study, therefore, seeks to interrogate these questions.

Largely, cultism in Nigerian secondary schools are subset of cultism in the tertiary institutions. Suffice it to say that cultism in secondary schools creates belligerent groups and as the students grow older and acquired experience in the cult systems, they are brandished to oppose any idea that is not in line with the beliefs they are indoctrinated with. They acquire and obtain material things through violence. From the prelude and with the beleaguered state of Nigeria within the International community, education is central to moral development and salient in the trajectories that the country must adopt towards achieving a strong state in terms of security and development. Therefore, the study explicates the theoretical phenomenon of violent behaviours, the nexus between cultism and violent behaviours among secondary students and the control of cultism and violent behaviours in secondary schools. For a quick pointer as the study progress, the observable phenomenon of cultist activities in secondary schools is limited to public/government secondary schools and not private secondary schools.

1.4.1.1 Dimensions of cultism in secondary schools

From global perspective and taking a cue from the everyday life on social media especially from Media Take Out platform on Facebook, it has been observed that teens/youths exhibit violent behaviours on their peers, adults, and teachers in the school. Steffgen and Ewen (2007) have in fact appropriated the violence students perpetrate on teachers to class-oriented strain, time pressure and quality of school environment.

Unlike the predicting factors of Steffgen and Ewen's study which is probably limited to the area of their study, this current study departs from the views that violent behaviours among secondary school students are limited to class-oriented strain, time pressure, quality of school environment and psychological problems. Though psychological issues have some strong explanatory evidences on students' violent behaviour to teachers, in this part of the world, secondary school students' violent behaviours play out through multi-causal factors, championed by acculturation of violent activities such as cultism and beliefs of a group.

Networking is central to every developing organisation and sect. Networking is also a key factor for cultist activities in south-east secondary schools due to their burgeoning attitude for dominance, control and recognition. The networking and spread of cultism in secondary schools are championed by their headquarters at the tertiary institutions. This networking involves the mandate and guidance of the bigger cults in the tertiary institutions in creating secondary cults group which they refer to as feeder team.

There have been evaluations provided on how to prevent violence related beliefs, among these evaluations, notably, Dahlberg et al. (2005) in their compendium as the "set of tools to assess violence-related beliefs, behaviours, and influences to evaluate programmes to prevent youth violence." Although they provided about 170 measures, though the list is in fact in-exhaustive, this study also introduces and contributes

necessary measure needed to address the menace of youth violence in secondary schools in Nigeria.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Theoretical framework: Theory of relative Deprivation

This study adopts the relative deprivation in advancing the discussion and analysis herein. The theory adopted is expected to point out the variables and discuss the assumption and application of the variables in connection with findings of this study. The theory progresses with the development of relative deprivation, to RD critics, revitalization of RD theory and the RD models.

2.1 Origins of the theory

Relative Deprivation is credited to Samuel Stouffer who built up the methodology while learning social psychology during World War II, where he was trying to explain the American soldier anomalies puzzle on satisfaction that focused on individuals and their referent groups. (Pettigrew 2015). According to the Pettigrew, there are three critical components of RD definition that are commonly overlooked. Individuals undergoing RD experience in turn three psychological processes: (1) they first make cognitive comparisons, (2) then cognitive appraisals that they or their ingroup are disadvantaged, and finally (3) that these disadvantages are seen as biased and arouse angry resentment. If any one of these three requirements are not met, RD is not functional (Smith et al. 2012).

The feature of RD is that it is used for causal attributions comparison mostly for individual phenomenon in social psychological studies which is done at micro level. In other words, permits objective comparison between individual or group of people situation to the rest of the society. However, Gurr's (1971) work on why men rebel, employed RD at the macro level with interesting findings. For Gurr, RD is the disparity between what people want, that is, their value expectations and what they actually gain, which is their value collecting capabilities. Gurr (1971: 87) states that "the intensity of

relative deprivation varies strongly in terms of the average degree of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities."

Furthermore, he argues that people are more likely to revolt when they lose hope of attaining their societal values, and that the intensity of discontent/frustration 'varies with the severity of depression and inflation.' Gurr alludes to Relative Deprivation (RD) as "the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the 'ought' and the 'is' of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence" (1971: 23). In relation to political violence, Relative Deprivation theory holds that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare leads men to political violence (Richardson 2011: 01).

2.2   Gurr's theoretical models of Relative Deprivation

Gurr and Moore (1997) and Moore and Gurr (1998) discusses that, in understanding the interactive system of connections affecting rebellion, there is the need consider the position of two more factors. In the first place, we should distinguish the significance of system reactions to collective action—particularly the blend of accommodation and repression—in enhancing or compounding domestic and ethnopolitical conflict Francisco, 1995; Beissinger, 1996; Schock, 1996; Gurr and Moore, 1997; Moore, 1998, 2000). Second, we should distinguish the powerful-feedback impact created by rebellion itself, which has been set apart as one of the main sources of raised levels of state repression (Francisco, 1995; Moore, 2000).

The model system of relationships shown below is the Gurr and Moore (1997) interactive heuristic simplification and a dyadic phenomenon of the model. It shows the connections that produces rebellion.

Fig.1: Theoretical Regression Model: Linkages Among the Core Concepts
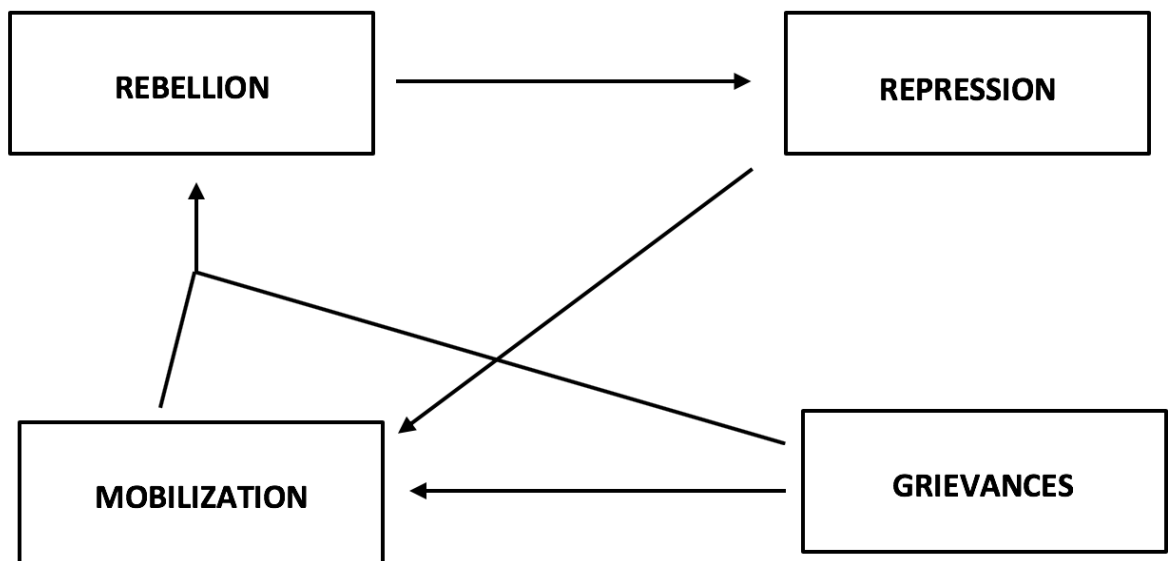
Source: (Gurr and Moore 1997).

A description of the model above according to Gurr and Moore (1997) shows that the variables are interdependent. For the manifestation of rebellion, repression acts on mobilization and mobilization creates rebellion. Grievance refers to widely shared dissatisfaction among group members about their cultural, political, and/or economic

standing vis à vis dominant groups. Gurr and Moore 1997:02). From the model above, grievances lead to mobilization of people and also has a link in influencing rebellion independently. However, this model has been updated since its creation. An example of the update of this model was done Saxton (2005). Hence, the Saxton model with modifications of variables will be adopted for this study.

Fig.2: Theoretical Regression Model: Linkages Among the Core Concepts
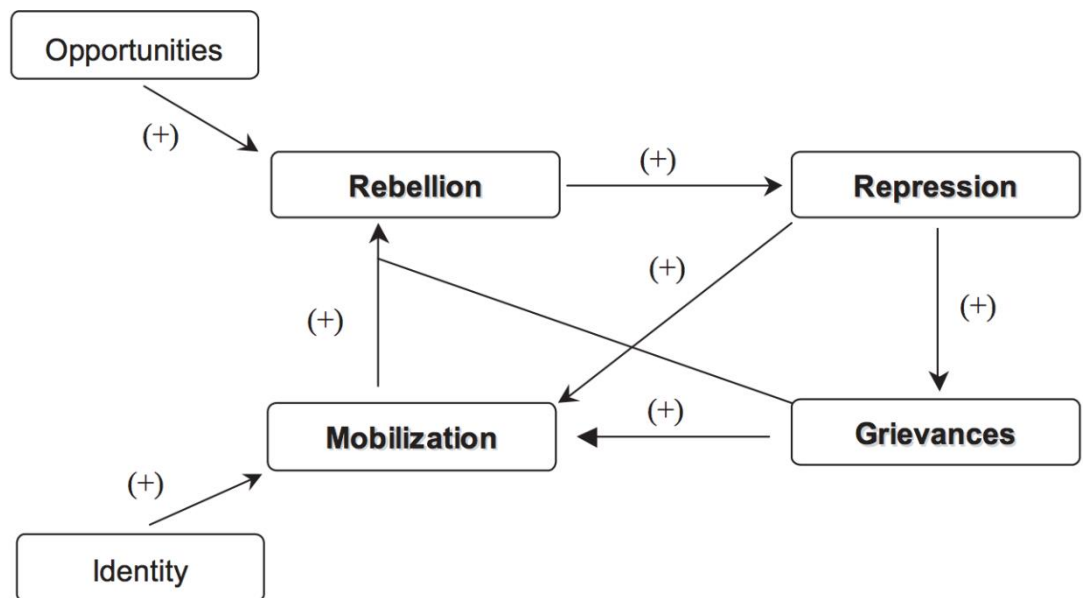
Source: (Saxton 2005).

From the model depicted above, unlike the first model created by Gurr and Moore 1997, external variables such as opportunities acts on rebellion, and identity acts on mobilization and for the core concept, Saxton argues that repression acts directly on grievances. Saxton model gives a better explanation of the Gurr's logic, that conflict is not a linear function but sometimes cyclical or spiral event whose intensity could gradually rise and fall.

Taking a que from the Saxton (2005) model on ethnopolitical rebellion in Spain, the adjusted RD model depicts the application of the theory on how the culmination of the explanatory variables depicted by the RD model outcome (opportunities as shown in the model) affects the dependent variable (youth violence).

2.3   Horizontal inequalities

RD theory has been adopted and explained in different dimensions over the years and one of such detailed discussion within the theory of RD is the HI theory by Francis Stewart. Stewart's concept of horizontal inequalities (HI) helps in the understanding of group violence in multiethnic societies (Stewart 2007). As noted by Stewart, HIs "are multidimensional and encompass economic, social, cultural status and political dimensions, additionally, she explained that,

- Economic HIs are inequalities on ownership of properties, revenue, and employment opportunities.

- Social HIs are inequalities on the access to social services such as education, health, and housing; also, human outcomes that includes nutrition.

- Political HIs are inequalities that are about distribution of political opportunities and power at different levels, including political administration and military power.

- Cultural status HIs are inequalities that manifest as differences in recognition and (de facto) hierarchical status of different groups' that involves cultural norm, customs, and practices. (Stewart 2007:409)

Hence, this study follows the Horizontal Inequality dimension in the discussion of different factors associated with youth violence and human security.

The application and relevance of RD "impacts on different types of social and political action from the wide range of activities available to citizens in contemporary democracies as well as into how this relationship might vary based on the wider economic context" (Grasso, Yoxon, Karampampas et, al.2019:01). In other words, RD has divergent effects on activities and associations, such as parties or anti-cuts organizations, voting, contacting, demonstrating.

The feature causes associated with RD such as protest, discontentment, rebellion, and marginalization may be legally legitimized, it may be structural, or it may occur in passing as (Wodak 2011) explained. For example, on inequality and mortality a similar case to the nature of youth violence and human security this research sets out to investigate. Another aspect of inequality is the that of income inequality. Deaton noted that "income inequality poses a risk to health and individual health is negatively affected by relative deprivation within a reference group" (Deaton 2001a:01). Another study on inequality, relative deprivation and financial satisfaction by Hastings showed that his studies revealed "that higher state-level income inequality decreases financial satisfaction overall, and this effect is especially pronounced for those in the middle of the income distribution." (Hastings 2019:01). From the aforementioned two cases. This again shows the variations of RD.

On social and political activism, Grasso, Yuxon, Temple (2017), noted that RD has a divergent effect on social and political activism which is evidenced in their study that shows "a negative economic context has a mobilizing effect by both increasing the

stimulating effect of relative deprivation on protest activism as well as by closing or reversing the gap between resource-poor and resource-rich groups for volunteering with parties and voting." This explanation aligns with the assumed mobilization of youth into violent activities in Nigeria when the deprivation cuts across horizontally on a wide range of deprived youths in terms of poor resources or unavailability of resources such as social welfare and the unavailability of jobs for an individual to function well in the society.

In recent times, Gurr's relative deprivation theory have been revitalized in explaining and researching issues on nationalism, ethnicity and identity conflicts. For instance, Saleh (2013) informed that the more politicized identities become based on RD, the more they display a ferocity which makes them a force to be reckoned with and social identity causes security concerns. Also, while unemployment a variable associated with economic factor contributes to deprivation and has been argued as a predictor of terrorism.

 Richardson (2011) study, revealed that unemployment and population size a variable associated with mobilization is one of the major concepts of RD model of ethnopolitical conflict described by (Gurr and Moore Model 1997 and Lindstrom and Moore 1995) are strongly correlated with increased instances of terrorism. Farooq, Bukhari, and Ahmed (2017) study revealed how RD theory has been used to clarify the Arab Spring socio-economic shortages (unemployment, education, and poverty) and political inefficiencies that lead to collective turmoil for the Middle East and North Africa.

Nonetheless, this study explores the causes of youth violence through the personal and group types of relative deprivation as highlighted by (Tougas and Beaton, 2002). The RD theory has been revitalized in different ways to explain causal attribution phenomenon. In adopting RD theory, the theoretical assumption of Gurr which he argued, that exposures to new ideologies "depicting a golden millennium" is not

sufficient by itself to cause discontent or raise expectations and discontentment which leads to violence which is likely to occur because men are already dissatisfied and perceive ways of achieving their goals in an ideology will be tested in this study.

2.4   Criticism of RD

As noted by Pettigrew (2015), the failure of Stouffer to initiate a prototype measure for RD and the fact that Stouffer referred to RD as a post hoc explanation for the series of surprising result has led to a lot of diverse and conflicting measures which has affected RD ever since. Criticism of RD work has centred on its use as a predictor of collective protest and violence… the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a torrent of publications attacking this use of RD; such as Edward Muller (1980) in political science and Charles Tilly (2003). The earlier focus of this critique involved questioning the then-popular J-curve hypothesis (that endeavours to recognize the purposes for the collective rebellion of individuals who are seen as victims of prejudice). Also, RD has been criticized for not explaining why some people who feel discontented fail to take action and join social movements. But counterargument elucidates that some individuals are disposed to conflict-avoidance, and they are short-term-oriented, that pending life difficulties may arise since there is no guarantee that life-improvement is achievable from social action.

More critics of RD are based on weak and inconsistent results that abounds in research works such as Thompson (1989) who noted after his analytical research that there is no support for Relative Deprivation on high unemployment to increased violence. Also, Snyder and Tilly (1972) work debunks the idea that collective violence is as a result of some population in the society that feels dissatisfied experiencing hardship after a period of wellbeing, and Schmitt, Maes and Widaman (2010), who also noted against the backdrop of social justice literature on protest, that RD can only impair wellbeing but not cause protest according to social justice literature. There are recent works that offers successful statistical models of collective action that include RD together with indicators of social mobilization and social identity such as that of (Abrams and Grant 2012).

Over the years, the RD theory has evolved. Runciman (1966) has supported the RD theory by expanding the construct in adding to its debate in explaining and distinguishing egoistic and fraternal RD. Also, the theory has journeyed from a focus on international conflict to internal conflicts. For instance, since 1945, civil or internal conflicts have been more common than international or inter-state conflicts (Singer 1996 p35). An important dimension showcasing the evolution of the Gurr's (1971) relative deprivation theory provides, an explanation based on contrast between groups and expected authentic access to success and power. Furthermore, Gurr's RD theory reflected in his 1995 publication on, minorities at risk: global view of ethnopolitical conflicts pointed out how ethnic factors are associated with economic and political issues on conflict (Gurr 1995).

In recent times, Tougas and Beaton, (2002) identified and explained three types of relative deprivation which are the personal, group, and deprivation experienced by others. These type of deprivation amounts to the aggregation for mobilization of youths in the act of violence. The personal deprivation reflects on single individual, the group reflects on aggregation of individuals who identify and are members of a group that share some common traits such as religion, ethnicity and association such as cultism among many others, while deprivation experienced by others are different deprivation spread across the society such as horizontal inequality.

2.6   Adjusted model of RD

Fig. 3: Specified model of youth violence grievances and rebellion in Nigeria
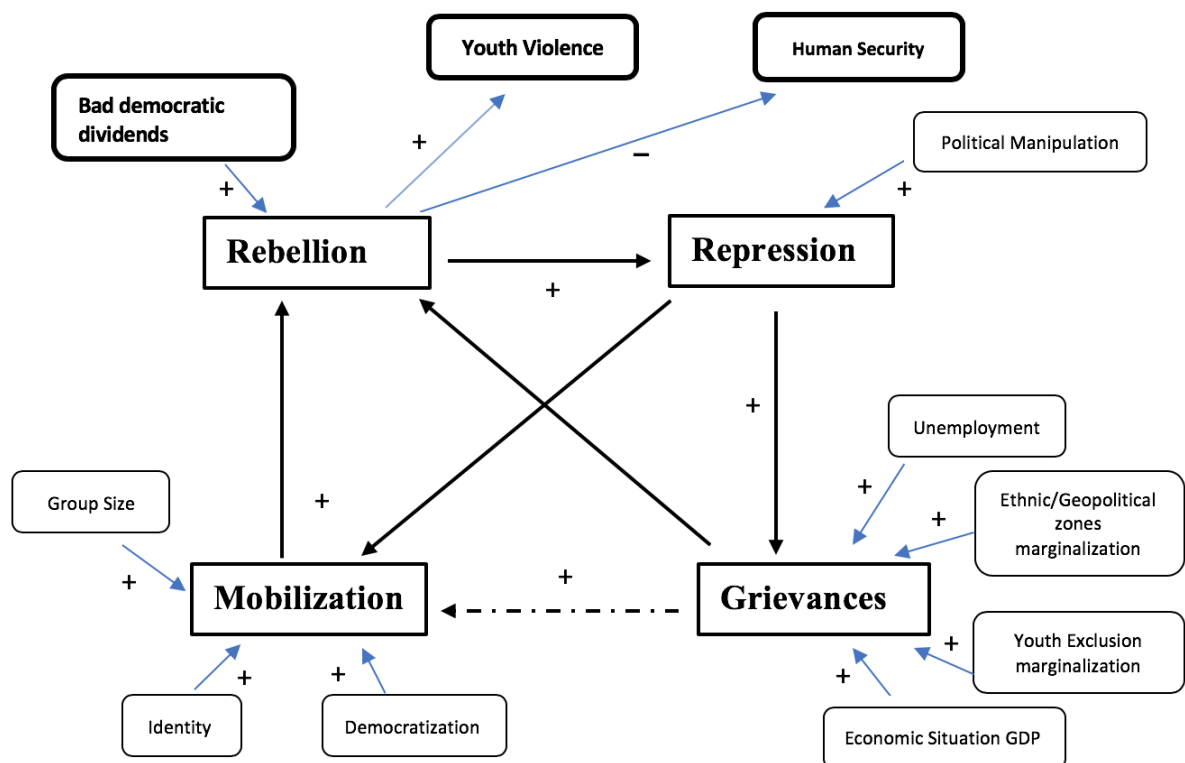
The adjusted model of RD shown shows the connecting variables associated with rebellion, grievance, mobilization, and youth violence and Human security. In the model above, what triggers rebellion is bad democratic dividends which leads to

rebellion. Rebellion causes repression, and repression leads to grievances. Repression is influenced by political manipulation, which then leads to the variables impacting on grievance know as unemployment, geopolitical zones marginalization, youth exclusion/ marginalization and economic situations. These are accounted for as the direct influence on grievances.

Also, grievances when strong enough leads to rebellion but when it is not strong enough, it fuels mobilization as shown with the dotted lines. For mobilization, identity, group size and democratization are accounted. The minus (-) sign indicates that the variable does not lead directly to another variable while the positive sign (+) indicates that it leads to another variable. Hence the human security dependent variable in the model is negative with rebellion but positive for human insecurity. For the explanation of the measurement of the explanatory variables of the adjusted RD model used for this research, see the methodology section.

2.6.1 Explaining the factors in the adjusted model

The RD model is governed by four main concept which are rebellion, repression, grievance and mobilization. However, the explanatory variables which are political factors, economic factors, economic factors, religious factors and resource-based factors are associated with the main concept of the RD.

Political Factors: are the political manipulations that causes repression. Usually, the level of political repression is associated with the quality of regime and its durability. Hence, political manipulation here reflects on a government that is dominated by a particular ethnic group, that enforces unequal treatment to other ethnic group and geopolitical zones e.g. Therefore, ethnic, and geopolitical marginalization for this study are the deliberate ethnic and regional marginalization based on development and political ascension to power and important positions in the country. Also, democratization which is a means to a more democratic political regime in Nigeria is

still a contending issue, because in some cases dominant political parties do not respect rule of law which stirs up opposition in adopting measures such as political thugs that are mostly youth in destabilizing the peace of the country.

Economic Factors: are factors associated with financial capital and the availability of capital financial capital for the working class to live a normal life in the society. For example, the scarcity of financial capital with a low GDP in the country leads to unemployment low and delayed payment of wages for the working class; consequently, impacting on grievances.

Religious Factors: these are group of people who identify themselves with either Muslim, Christian or other sects/cultist groups. The membership of individuals identifying themselves in different religious group makes up the size that determine the force acting on rebellion as shown in the model.

Resource based Factors: these are factors associated with resources such as land conflict such as the Ife-Modakeke conflict in Osun state, the Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra state and, crude oil conflict involving militants and multinational companies such as Shell, Chevron, etc., in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Also, the conflict involving farmers and herdsmen are also classified in this section because the conflict is on agricultural resources. These conflicted factors are associated with the rebellion variable in the RD model.

2.6.2   Rationalization of the adopted deprivation explanatory variables

With emphasis made on inequality, the adoption of RD also helps this study to find out if youth violence and it assumed effect on human security goes beyond the situation in Nigeria; or spans across violent activities such structural violence as explained by (Galtung 1996). Structural violence, manifests in various forms including ethnicity

(Young 1986) poverty and inequalities (Fearon and Laitin 2003), or colonial legacy (Reno 1998).

Deprivation such as unequal access to basic amenities and the lack of jobs are some of the factors among many others youth who engage in violence justifies in venting their anger against the society and the government. In other words, comparison that causes relative deprivation in this study is between the youth who and the government whose main component are the elite. Thus, the deprivation manifests in social factors and political factors situations in the country. The social factors encompass the wellbeing of an individual in the society. This includes, the ability of an individual in having access to basic needs, social welfare (just as it is in most advanced countries), jobs etc. While, the political factors include, the availability of youth inclusiveness in political affairs and decision makings among many others.

2.6.3   Clarification and justification of theoretical approach

Some scholars and authors are of the opinion that the multi-ethnic societies in African states are one of the main problems of security in Africa. Others have attributed the problems of security to the political history of bad governance, one-party statist and/or military rule as well as mismanagement of key resource industries (Hatchful and Aning 2004). This is why RD theory has been adopted to investigate economic and identity issues associated with youth grievances in the state resulting to instability while leaning on a broad perspective of security as against the traditional security in Nigeria that has not given way for other sectors of security to thrive adequately in the country.

During the postcolonial state formation in Africa, full security that is synonymous to human security which is intertwined with human right and development was inefficient and subtle, due to the struggle over resource and conflict for state formations that abound.   Bouchat (see also Monhan 2008) notes that Africa's natural riches which fosters state economy revealed to be double edge is likely to exacerbate a resource

curse and benefits that accrue to elites thereby undermining development and democracy. However, the undermining of democracy has a direct consequence on human security and national security. Undermining democracy may lead to civil order and on this, Bassey (2003) asserts that for 'the symptom of collapse of civil order' to occur which can manifest through aggravating trend that is anchored on the 'visceral ties of ethnicity and religion, and economic deprivation, government will need to search and create new forms of activism when civil conflicts occur.

Another important example of RD theory approach and its' ability in explaining identity issues leading to instability in Africa is the case of Libya. Joffé (2012) describes the genesis of British interest in Libya and the security problems caused by Gadaffi's regime as the outbreak of a Civil War in mid-February 2011 and the collapse of Gadaffi's regime which left splinters of militia groups identified as the Benghazi, Misurata and Zintan who fought the war. These militias challenged the authority of National Transitional Council (NTC). The breaking down of the Gadaffi's regime resulted to security problems and humanitarian needs because no concrete institution existed through which the state can be rebuilt easily. Additionally, the remnants of the old regime retreated to Mali, Niger and Algeria where, led by members of Colonel Gadaffi's family, continue to threaten the new Libyan state. As RD theory would postulate, this type of instability falls under social identity deprivation of different groups and parties involved.

At the Western Sahel, security concerns, as Scholze (2012) describes them, are based on the colonial drawing up of borders. This influenced the economic and social relations of the ethnic groups of the Sahel region which are Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. These countries are multi-ethnic with different religions which bear on social relations. Mali and Burkina Faso have a national consciousness among their citizens; whereas in Niger, regionalism and ethnicity are the most important features of identity. This awareness and consciousness are problems due to the artificial boundaries created by their former colonial master. Another salient point Scholze notes which has

contributed to the security concerns of the Sahel is that rebels such as the Tuareg rebel of National Movement for Liberation of Azawad were soldiers who served in the Libyan army and retuned home at the collapse of Gaddafi's regime. Scholze sums it up that other movements were all military depots in Libya who contributed to the exacerbation of conflict in the Sahel, and currently, the military invasion may cause humanitarian catastrophe with civilian casualties and suicide bombing and thus a negotiation is out of reach to settle the problem as at the time his ideas were described.

In Nigeria, security concerns as Smith (2012) puts it shows that the crisis in northern Nigeria with lawlessness stretching northwards to Mali is malevolent enough to derail and destabilise the new prosperity and stability of West Africa. Apart from the security threats championed by *Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad* (known locally as Boko Haram or 'Western culture is bad/forbidden'), that once directly attacked international representatives at the UN office in Abuja, killing 18 people, security problems also manifest at the middle-belt and the oil-rich Niger Delta even with the amnesty programme for militants.

Accordingly, Smith notes that the militant groups are pursuing local political feuds. Due to these personal dissatisfactions on the government by the militants, Royal Dutch Shell and other companies claimed that 400,000 barrels of oil is lost per day due to elaborate schemes of bunkering and oil theft run by the militant groups and pirates. Thus, the security crises in the northern and southern parts of Nigeria are political in nature. For the recurrent and unending loss of human lives by insurgency in Northern part of Nigeria, championed by Boko Haram attacks, whose positional view is that (western education is bad for their people) because, westernization through political decisions and implementation did not improve the life of the northern people in general. It was on this dissatisfaction presented by Boko Haram, led to the home-grown insurgency and gathered international attentions.

Based on the Boko Haram attacks, it has been reported that even with the huge allocation of finances to equip and aid the military in the war against insurgency, the

financial resources are been mismanaged due to lack of political commitment and corrupt governance, (Brechenmacher 2019); which makes the Nigerian Army ill prepared for the war against terrorism (Carsten 2018). Though, the president Goodluck administration was accused of financial mismanagement on security allocation which led to the infamous Dasukigate (BBC 2015) yet, the current president Buhari's administration after declaring that Boko Haram has been technically defeated, (BBC 2015), still witness sustained attacks on the Nigerian Army infrastructures and the communities around the conflict zones. For instance, there was a triple suicide bombing in Borno in June 2019 that led to the loss of about 30 lives. (Punch 2019).

On the part of the commencement and resumption of hostilities in the southern part of Nigeria, political problems stems from the long feud immersed in agitation, protests and struggle against perceived injustice, inequality, disinheritance, marginalisation and neglect since 1966, 1998 and 2009, birthed in political issues, which made the region slipped into periodic insurrection and insurgency (Ikelegbe 2010; Chikwem and Duru 2018). This also extend to the south east of Nigeria with the resurgence of Biafra based on deprivation and marginalization in the country.

Taking a cue from the state of the security problems as enunciated by regions above, it is pertinent that the upsurge of conflict and arms against the state is as a result of dissatisfaction by the people who felt their security as human, better put human security, is threatened and are, thus, forced to act against the political structures of the state. This is a typical expression of Gurr's theory, that assumes that fear as well as frustration leads to aggression,

In the case of Sierra Leone, Bendix and Stanley (2008) capture the concept of human security on security sector reform (SSR) in another dimension by noting that there have been exclusive and abusive security institutions that justify arbitrary violence in the name of national stability, but this method or approach of security should be reformed to policy statements that indicate a more people-centered understanding of security. In

other words, security must be encompassing, that is, sensitive to the specific individual security and needs of vulnerabilities of different segments of society with the recognition of the gendered nature of security arrangement of difference or marginality between men and women.

The emphasis on the gendered nature of security was made because of the frequent complaints about insensitivity to gender-based violence and the failure to investigate rape and domestic violence in Sierra Leone. This promoted activist to identify gender-specific security issues. Also, in Liberia, it was revealed that gender-based violence and armed robbery have been reported to have high rates and pressing problems on security and attracted a positive development of people-centered security. (Bendix and Stanley 2008:26).

Still on the security sector reform and its comparison between Sierra Leone and Liberia, that of Sierra Leone reveals that there has been a continuous and serious attempt at comprehensive reform that is inclusive of the military, police institution, intelligence agencies and criminal justice system. Thus, the comprehensive approach is enhanced by a high degree of coordination among relevant actors in Sierra Leone and between the government departments of the main donor country which is the United Kingdom. However, that of Liberia has a narrow focus on only two elements of the security sector which is the military and the police. This approach of security sector reform has been criticised because it is seen as not inclusive and encompassing and utilising it to address security problems in the society will yield little success due to the militarist force employed and attached.

The difference, therefore, is that the inclusive approach cuts across all sectors addressing security issues effectively. State security, in most of Africa, is not threatened by conventional threats of armed attack by other countries but by more insidious measures many of which flow from the very weakness of the state and the absence of control over its own territory. Other factors contributing to insecurity include resorting to extra-legal measures to gain and retain political power, such as

providing support to armed factions in neighbouring countries favourable to its own domestic demands, etc. Thus, Africa's security challenges, and to some degree, its developmental problems, are primarily linked to the lack of both state institutionalisation and political leadership (Cilliers 2004:15, 44).

Regarding security meted out by the state, the civil society plays a vital confrontational role in checking the unhampered power of the executive where the state is the sole actor in the provision of economic goods to the society and economic decisions and choices are proliferated by politics. Another issue that affects the application of security in Africa is rooted in tradition and customs. For example, the issue of chieftaincy which is an important position and title for adult in West African societies is not taken lightly when individuals of the same society struggle for the position associated with chieftaincy. Just like political position at the level of the state imbedded with political powers, chieftaincy titles in West Africa societies wields local and traditional authorities.

These authorities put an individual who wields such title in parlance with the elite in the society. The position also serves as a medium in which the political elites at the national level reach out to the local societies for programs and issues concerning the society. Therefore, the position of chieftaincy title depending on the power wielded for such position if often contested and could turn violent among members of the same group; often times when such conflict erupts it keeps evolving and takes a very long time before it is settled, consequently the effect of the conflict slows down the pace of development programme in such community and society.

A good example is that of the Dagbon Kingdom in Ghana as noted by Ahiave (2013), regarding the conflict in Dagbon which was focused on the issue of succession to kin between to royal families known as Abudus and Andanis, Ahiave pointed out that the violence witnessed is associated mainly to communal and chieftaincy violence and as such the causes of conflict as implicated from his study reveal that cultural, political

and social dynamics were responsible for the emergence, escalation and intractability of the conflict in the Dagbon Kingdom in the northern region of Ghana.

For protest, it is known to be a peaceful means by which group of marginalised people vent their anger without resorting to violence. From an empirical analysis, Quaranta (2015) notes the five indicators of protest to be: signing a petition, joining in boycotts, attending lawful/peaceful demonstrations, joining unofficial strikes, and occupying buildings or factories (Quaranta 2015:22).

In some cases, in Nigeria, protest could be volatile, thereby leading to violence. An example is the case of the Shiite conflict in Nigeria, (Shiite is one of the two branches of Islam, and in Nigeria, Shiite are members of an Islamic sect that aims for Islam expansion in Nigeria; its spiritual leader is Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky) protests in Nigeria which often lead to violent confrontations with the security sectors. The violence starts whenever the security personnel repels the advancing protesters, who then exhibit a counter reaction of throwing stones and harmful substances to the security men. This often leads to a full-scale violence marred by sporadic shooting with live ammunition instead of rubber bullets. However, in disentangling the Shia rules of engagement on 'protest' with that of the army rules of engagement, it should be noted that:

> In December 2015, a fracas involving followers of the radical Shia cleric Ibrahim el-Zakzaky and a convoy carrying Nigeria's chief of army staff degenerated into a bloodbath. By the end of it, soldiers had slaughtered at least 347 members of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, including women and children, and buried them in mass graves. Mr Zakzaky and his wife, Zeenah Ibrahim, suffered multiple gunshot wounds. They survived but were detained incommunicado until a brief appearance on Saturday designed to quash rumours that they were dead. (Financial times 2018)

From the aforementioned, it was revealed that there was a transcendence from protest to violent confrontations with both sides adopting blame game on who started the fracas. "The military previously blamed the unrest on the Shia sect, which it accused of trying to assassinate the army chief, Gen. Tukur Buratai; and the Islamic Movement

of Nigeria (IMN) denies those allegations." (BBC News 2016). By implication the example of violence and protest leading to violence explained by BBC (2016) is reflected in the Tougas and Beaton (2002) personal and group deprivation of RD.

The personal and group deprivation of RD justifies the adoption of the theoretical construct adopted in this study. Group deprivation manifest through social movement that facilitate mobilisation, sustain commitment and connects politics and everyday life. It also construct alternative collective identities, and preserve group traditions, innovations, and ideologies over time, even if these activities may hamper their chances to advance their political goals or attract support." (Leach and Haunss (2009: 275).

Chapter Three

3 Methodology

This chapter discusses the method adopted for this study. It discusses and highlights different terminology and how information was collected, the population used, the sampling size, measurement and analysis conducted.

3.1   Research methodology

This research adopted a mixed method qualitative and quantitative approach. During the inquiry of the study, relative deprivation was adopted to support the needs of this research, through exploratory approach coupled with interviews and data gathering. The choice of the method is to efficiently cover the issue that the study sets out to examine. Depending solely on either qualitative or quantitative will create huge validity gap in understanding the issues associated with human security and culture of youth violence in Nigeria.

For data collection, this study used both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Primary data were collected through online survey and datasets involving youth perception and participation in violence in Nigeria. Data were also sourced from government officials including security officials, security professionals both in the academics and non-governmental organisations.

Secondary data were sourced from relevant and grey literature as well as reports and government documents.

3.2   Population

The studied population was mostly youths comprising the educated and the non-educated youths in Nigeria, as well as state security officials in the government security sectors, security professionals and academics. A total of 4989 cases of youth violence cases from Watch Nigeria Program Dataset from 2015-2018 was used for youth

participation in violence evaluation and 191 respondents out of a targeted 200 online survey respondents were identified for youth perception regarding youth violence.

For the online survey, the total population engaged in this study were 191 youths who were engaged through online survey across the Nigerian geopolitical zones (the zones are North Central, North East, North West, South East, South South, South West and these zones makes up the 36 states in Nigeria) through online ethnic forums such as (the North East-West selected population was 48, South East 48, South South,48 and South West 47 geographic zones representing all ethnic group) as population representative. The ethnic online forum comprises of respondents of different religions as well. The selection of the population is to eliminates dominance of a particular population (category) in the study.

Apart from the Online survey, 10 interviews were conducted to ascertain and compare with the responses provided by the online survey. The interview was conducted among 5 uneducated youths and 5 educated youths offline and 7 interviews conducted among security professionals, scholars and journalist.

3.3   Sampling size and Technique

On sampling size and technique, the purposive type of non-probability sampling technique (where the odds of any member being selected for a sample cannot be calculated); was adopted. Though the focus is on youth, the purposeful non-probability technique ensures that respondents targeted were selected on convenience and ease to access to information.

All interviews were conducted in English, Yoruba, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin language. The adoption and choice of these languages was based on my pragmatic knowledge of youth violence in the country and because I can speak all the mentioned languages fluently. I used the Nigerian Pidgin instead of Hausa not only to make up for my deficiency in Hausa language but also because Nigerian Pidgin is a general language

which most people who have formal and informal education can easily communicate and cut across language barrier.

Also, the Nigerian Pidgin language gives a sense of belonging to the youth. English language in itself was used for official interviews with stakeholders and also at the offices visited during the research; while Yoruba and Igbo language were used to communicate with those who are not fluent in both the English language and Nigerian Pidgin language. Apart from showing that the researcher belongs and understands the community, it creates room for in-depth discussions with the respondents so as to provide valuable information for the research.

The theme of each interview was the respondent's knowledge of and exposure to security and youth violence in their community, society and Nigeria as a whole. The question during the interview did not follow a hierarchical order of questioning but more of a discussion or prose style in order to eliminate the *give and take* response between the researcher and the respondents. Nonetheless, the questions the researcher needed to ask were covered during the discussions with respondents.
At the end of the conversation, notes and recorded messages were transcribed. For each interview, an assessment of credibility and ethnic dynamics were filtered for cross referencing regarding to the study.

3.3.1   Measures

Regarding measures, the survey instrument such as the semi-structured 200 online questionnaire distributed to the youths with 5 interviews conducted among educated youths, 5 interviews among non-educated youths 7 interviews conducted among security professionals and scholars were developed to investigate issues concerning human security and youth violence. Pilot study was undertaken to check the reliability of questions investigated and retrieved for analysis. This was done by the help of

political and sociological experts and authorities in the fields of framing questions needed for investigations.

The main questions in the survey were to determine the youth perception of and participation in, causes, types and recommendation for youth violence. For the dataset, the activities of youth participation in violence between 2015 and 2018 was retrieved, for comparison. The usage of the dataset and the perception of youth response gotten from online survey, is to compare the causes of youth violence such as (political, economic, religious and social factors) in the country with the effect of these causes of youth violence on (human security in Nigeria). The comparison was done alongside with interviews conducted at the discussion section of the study.

3.3.2 Data Analysis

The quantitative data gotten from the dataset was analysed with Statistical Package of the Social Science (SPSS 20.0) the function adopted for analysis with the SPSS program was the significance test on youth participation in violent crime and the crime category which youths engage in mostly in Nigeria. The adoption of significance test in this study is because it is useful for a comprehensive interpretation of data. Also, it is one of the three criteria that must be demonstrated to establish a position empirically in a study. (McLean and Ernest 1998).

Relevant information regarding participation and types of crime that the youths mostly participate in were presented on charts and tables. The online survey information regarding respondent perception was also presented on a chart while the interview was content analysed. The quality of the data was checked by its frequency and the randomisation procedure that cuts across the focus groups of the population of interest in this study.

3.4   Ethical considerations

During the course of this research, the following ethical procedures were considered:

- The study guide for information gathering was based on: respect of persons, beneficence and legality.

- Individuals were treated as autonomous agents. It was ensured that the subject has received a full disclosure of the nature of the study, the risk, benefits and alternatives with an extended opportunity to ask questions.

- Persons with diminished autonomy such as (government stakeholders and key informants) were entitled to anonymousness

- The study maximises possible benefits and minimises possible harm which might occur from the research.

- There was fairness in distribution and equitable selection of participants/respondents. Also, the respondent's permission was sought before taking notes and recording audio messages for research purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 Findings and discussion

This chapter presents the findings of this research and discussions. The findings and discussions are divided into different sections. The detailed information gathered during qualitative interview and data collection field research is showcased. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study are presented in this section.

4.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis drawn from the dataset adopted for this study showcases the types of youth violence and the most important type of youth violence besieging the country.

Table 1. **Crime category * Youth Participation in violent crime Crosstabulation**

			Youth Participation in violent crime		Total
			Non-Youth Participation	Youth Participation	
Crime category	Other crimes	Count	1367_a	2865_b	4232
		% within Crime category	32,3%	67,7%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	16,2	-16,2	
	Cultism	Count	5_a	608_b	613
		% within Crime category	0,8%	99,2%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	-16,0	16,0	
	Political Factors	Count	8_a	27_a	35
		% within Crime category	22,9%	77,1%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	-,7	,7	
	Protest	Count	12_a	13_b	25
		% within Crime category	48,0%	52,0%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	2,2	-2,2	
	Religious Factors	Count	0_a	6_a	6
		% within Crime category	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	-1,5	1,5	
	Ethnic Factors	Count	0_a	69_b	69
		% within Crime category	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Adjusted Residual	-5,2	5,2	
Total		Count	1393	3588	4981
		% within Crime category	28,0%	72,0%	100,0%

Each subscript letter denotes a subset of youth participation in violent crime categories whose column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the ,05 level.

Source: Nigeria Watch Project Dataset on General Crime in Nigeria 2016-2018

For the achieved result at the quantitative session, adjusted residual was used during the analysis to normalize the data inputted for significance testing because it gives a better test for significance of individual cells with data that is inspected. It also provides information on the ratio of the difference between the observed count and the expected. The Statistical evidence from the Table 1 above shows, there is a subset letter of [a] and [b] that indicates non-youth participation and youth participation in violent crime. The subset [a] indicates that the participation of youth in the category of crime listed is not significant while the subset [b] indicates it is significant. The result of every category is indicated by a count, % within crime category and adjusted residual.

For the crime categories, youth participation in other crimes category is lesser with a record of -16.2 adjusted residual, youth participation in cultism is more with 16.0 adjusted residual, also youth participation in political factors is more with 0.7 adjusted residual count but not significant, for protest, it is less with a record of -2.2 adjusted residual count, for religious factor, youth participation is 1.5 adjusted residual but not significant and youth participation in ethnic factors, is 5.2 adjusted residual and significant.

The variables accounted to be significant are not attributed to chance and the probability of observing the difference by chance is 5%. Nevertheless, the non-significant variables show that within the limits between variation is attributed to chance, of (non-significant). In other words, the variables that shows to be non-significant variables, tested within the parameters of insignificant variables were found there. Therefore, cultism and ethnic factors are significant for youth participation in violence, youth participation in other crimes and protest are significantly less and youth participation in political and religious crimes are not significant.

Statistical evidence from Table 1. shows that cultism, protest and ethnic factors were significant while political factors were not significant. For operationalization, every case examined in the dataset was measured and categorized on the factors that causes youth violence. Though, there may be similarities on political factors on youth violence when operationalized with different factors such as security/insecurity; which may provide an insight as it relates with causes of youth violence.

Cultism in the context of this study involves a group of people with common interest and shared values possessing pragmatic, charismatic leaders and members who exert violence to achieve their aims in the society. Nevertheless, the difference of political factors revealed by the statistical test is bridged by the qualitative information gathered from interviewees at the Centre for Strategic Research and Studies, National Defence College Abuja which is discussed further at the qualitative section. For instance, political manipulation was accounted for as one of the causes of youth violence in Nigeria.

Also, from the online survey, political factors are accounted for as one of the main causes of youth violence, political factors such as election stirs up violence among youth. Due to high unemployment rate in the country, youth do engage in violence during political situations and fighting for the candidate that they feel will address the interest of the youth in terms of development and creation of employment, apart from unemployment, individual and group partisan politics also causes violence during political election. This also justifies the reason a mixed method was adopted for this research in order to cover and account for all the variables and explanations needed to discuss the context of the research.

4.1.1   Qualitative Analysis

Series of interviews was conducted for five (4) people who were mainly security scholars and practitioners from Centre for Strategic Research and Studies, National Defence College, Abuja; two (2) journalists, one is an editor on security issues for 'ThisDay' Newspapers and the other is a defence, conflict and security correspondence with 12 years of experience, an attorney on security issues and 1 former Chief Superintendent of Police (CSP).To make up for the unaccounted response of uneducated youth who could not participate in the online survey questionnaire, 10 youths were interviewed as well. In total, 17 people were interviewed.

Regarding the issue presented in this study, all the professional and expert interviewees engaged in the study knew and understood the concept of human security. However, the interviewees gave different representation of human security. During one of the interview sessions, one of the interviewees made a remarkable statement by saying that, human security is hard to measure, and based on that, there are different measurements employed, depending on what needs to be measured or analysed. Therefore, as applied to the Nigeria situation, which was one of the questions asked, he stated that "considering indicators such as security and welfare in Nigeria, human security has a low performance" (Personal communication 07, February 2019). One of the journalists avowed that:

> Nigerian security system and architecture is still dominated by primacy on state security with human security as a consequence of afterthought. There have not been pragmatic and practical efforts to place emphasis on human security. In fact, most of the policy makers and drivers of our security policy have not prioritized the centrality of human security as the prerequisite for effective and efficient state security. Even at that, Nigeria's emphasis on state security is still at its crude stage where the state security is viewed as the security of the ruling elite sometimes at the detriment of national security.

On the question regarding the causes of youth violence, one of the security professionals interviewed from the Centre for Strategic Research and Studies, National

Defence College, in Abuja stated that, there are four causes of youth violence, which are: political manipulation, marginalisation/exclusion of youth in political leadership, unemployment, parenting problems, and an effect of harsh/hard economic situation. The effect, pressures both the father and mother to engage in paid jobs with little or no time to take care of the children and give them proper training on ways they ought to grow up as good citizens of the country.

He explained that the consequences of improper upbringing/training of a child have effect on societies when these children eventually become acculturated and influenced by bad people in the society at adulthood.

From the explanation of the interviewee, it can be therefore be argued that issues such as violence becomes a way of living for some of the children with improper home training. The assertion on family and erosion of moral standards for an individual to function properly in the society is attuned to Durkehim and Merton (1938)sociological anomie (DiCristina 2016).

Lastly, unemployment and poverty were also noted. Additionally, the above interviewee averred that unemployment is a global trend and does not operate in isolation. Rather it works in combination with other factors mentioned above to influence youth violence. He, succinctly, stated that unemployment in the country depends on high statistics to be significant in cause of violence at a macro level, notwithstanding violence can be played out individually and not only on macro level. Therefore, when unemployment and poverty are merged together, they expose youths to vulnerable situations in finding whatever means necessary to fend for themselves. Furthermore, one of the journalists informed that:

> the factors that causes youth violence have at its core on the lack of emphasis on human security which leaves them with a sense of vulnerability. Also, the exclusion of the youths in socio-political and economic empowerment, as well as indoctrination that emphasises

identity politics and amplifies inherent ethno-religious fault line gives rise to youth violence.

When asked about the youths' capacity and capability to influence security, all of the interviewees engaged in this research noted that for both the youths are instrumental to the achieving peace and security. As stated by one of the interviewees, "youths are clear measurable indicators for peace and security" (Personal communication 07, February 2019).

In a follow up question on whether the government is doing anything to curb youth violence in the country, an interviewee stated explosively that firstly, "any government that does not invest in the youths is not taking the youths seriously." He buttressed his point by highlighting an example of the recent academic strike action in the country by the Academic Staff Union of Universities that lasted over 3 months (between November – February 7, 2019) which made the youth who are mainly students to sit at home, doing nothing. He noted this as a clear indicator that the government is not interested in the youth when compared to the European Union".

Secondly, the government does not promote competitive sport programs that engage the youth and only very few states within the country initiate sport programs for the youth, expressing that government has also allowed public institutions to promote laziness without work, citing the Big Brother Africa (BBA) television show as an example. In other words, the public institutions publicise mediocrity over meritocracy.

Thirdly, he expressed that youth empowerment programmes are initiated only when election period is close; and even with that, the empowerment programmes are not properly institutionalised which leads to the failure and erosion of the empowerment initiatives. Lastly, as regards employment, he noted that the years of experience requested by the private sectors in the country is not regulated and controlled. He stated that due to the incessant strike actions, students might end up graduating later than

expected, thereby jeopardising their eligibility for specific job openings because of age requirement as the delay in the completion of their programmes might cause some to graduate at a much older age

Again, this explains the rationale for adopting the African Union Charter's definition of youth as it enunciates the peculiarities of the African/Nigerian society in terms of productivity and efficiency.

Furthermore, one of the journalists' position on government's efforts to curb youth violence went thus:

> Government is not doing enough to curb youth violence because it is yet to effectively address those socio-political and economic factors that enforces exclusion of the youths in governance, decisions making and improved well-being. Although the recent bill on not too young to run is a right step to even start with, but most youths are still unemployed and excluded.

On the trends of violence affecting human security that have not been reported, one of the interviewees noted that there is an increase in youth involvement in abusive drugs usage, kidnapping, ritualism and Internet fraud (see Ezemenaka 2018 for an extensive discussion). The interviewee noted further that the womenfolk are mostly the victims of insecurity on Nigeria. One of the journalists also informed that:

> The social media has continued to influence the youths who now thirst for a fast-paced life, have unrealistic appetite for glamorous lifestyle without responsibility, and encourage spread fake news and hate speeches mostly by our politicians and their supporters. Also important is the opulent lifestyle of our public office holders, their disappointing promises, inability to deliver governance in relation to the suffering and squalor of the larger populace.

On the question of linkage between overpopulation and security, one of the interviewees from Centre for Strategic Research and Studies noted that for overpopulation, one should first note the indicators of measure and compare population. In other words, he said if Nigerian population is to be judged based on land resources, there are more than enough arable lands for the Nigerian people, stating that

the problem of population as it affects security is not on the quantity and figures of the Nigerian population but rests on the inadequate use of state resources which causes insecurity and by implication, governance structures are weak due to the mismanagement of Nigerian resources. Explicitly, he stated that the population is not currently a problem in Nigeria because the nation has more than enough resources to take care of the polity and citizens.

Finally, on experts' opinion on how the issue of youth violence can be addressed, the interviewees expressed that the federal system has to be restructured, stating that, though it is not going to solve the problem of youth unemployment in a short term, it can at least be managed, and the soaring rate of unemployment will be reduced. They also expressed that effective policies geared towards youth inclusion in governance should be implemented, issues of infrastructures, energy, education and delimiting of entrepreneurs who aid and contribute to provision of jobs should be addressed.

One of the interviewees assiduously said that 'education should be prioritised and the bar of political involvement in politics should be raised using education as a yardstick (at least a graduate from the university), explaining that most of the politicians who govern the country do not understand the underpinnings of the importance of youth development and human security in the country. More so, they send their children to the best universities abroad to acquire good education, while they, due to insufficient and archaic knowledge, govern the Nigerian people in a way that puts them at harm's way causing insecurity.'

Another interviewee gave his opinion on strengthening Nigeria's human security for development by stating explicitly that 'we, the citizens, must pay more attention to the idea or concept of good governance. Here, we must go beyond rhetoric to actual application or implementation of the good governance codes.' Furthermore, one of the journalists informed that:

We need a total reform, update or overhaul of our national security policy and architecture to reflect the needs of the 21st century security. Also, good governance, inclusion as well the restructuring and decentralisation of our security system to encourage people's buy-in and ownership will help improve human security in Nigeria. In addition, inherent in a sustainable solution to the asymmetric warfare and ongoing counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operations is human security.

On 'uneducated youths', (the term uneducated implies no formal education), two sets of uneducated youth categories were interviewed. The first group (5 interviewees) were the ones who have personal businesses that they run, such as tailoring and trading. The second group (5 interviewees) were the ones associated mostly with the transportation business such as conductors. The uneducated youths who were interviewed did not understand the concept of human security as this concept is mostly discussed in tertiary institutions, but they understand security from a layman's term.

The uneducated youths who had private businesses indicated that they will not put themselves in harm's way for the course of any political issues in the society but can involve or indulge in violence when there is an attack on their ethnic group and religious beliefs. On the causes of youth violence, the interviewees informed that unemployment and bad governance are always the causes of youth violence, stating that if there were good structures and plans for the youths by the government, cases of youth violence will be reduced and will not attributed to politic and economic issues but limited to other domestic factors in the society.

The second group of the uneducated youths associated with transportation business who were interviewed in this study due to their exposure to aggression and violence at the transportation parks and for local and national elections in the country , avowed that, if any form of financial benefits is attached to campaigning for or supporting any politician, they will not hesitate to actively participate in such exercise. These group of people invariably implied that the intended support for whomever provides financial

inducements is to mobilise other youths for the campaign, which sometimes might involve violence when other youth factions are also doing the same thing. Also, on other religious and ethnicity, they avowed they are all out to use violence on whomever attacks their beliefs.

4.1.2 Interview cohesion

Most of the expert interviewees engaged in this study shared similar opinion on youth violence and human security as their responses were similar. This cuts across both the researchers in the National Defence College, journalist, the police and the attorney. In cases where the responses and information were similar it was integrated and not written differently to avoid repetition and a clumsy analysis. Conversely, the uneducated youth engaged during interview sessions did not understand the term 'human security' but understood security and violence after a brief explanation was given. The group who as individuals, owned businesses and private means of income, were negatively disposed to violence while the ones who were exposed to the rigors of finding a means livelihood as conductors and touts at the bus park were positively disposed to youth involvement and willingness to participate in violence. During the interviews, political manipulation, marginalization/exclusion of youth in political leadership, parenting problems, and an effect of harsh/hard economic situation were described among causes of youth violence. But the significant causes among the highlighted causes are economic and social factors.

4.1.3 Visualization of questionnaire results

During this research 200 structured respondents were targeted. A Google questionnaire form was created and disseminated over the internet on different social media platforms and other forums to garner a robust feedback from a wider audience. 191 responses were retrieved, and the data gathered has a rich representation of at random from geopolitical zones of the country. In other words, youths all over Nigeria participated

in answering the structured question. On the catchment area of the youthful age, 82.7% of the respondents are classified and coded to be within the age of the youth adopted for in this study and 17.3% were not classified as youths.

As part of the robustness in engaging graduate and non-graduate in this study, 83.8% of the respondents were graduates and 16.2% were non-graduates which included students in tertiary institutions and high schools. The uneducated youths and those who do not know how to fill the Google form were interviewed randomly based on geopolitical zones in Nigeria,

Reacting to issues regarding to protest, 83.2% of the respondents indicated that people in their community would join in a protest if there was any financial benefit to derive therefrom, while 16.8% thought otherwise. It should be noted that a protest is, mostly, seen as a precursor to violent conflict if not properly addressed. It is shown that from the responses retrieved from the willingness to join a protest when paid section, money serves as a motivational factor for youths to engage in a protest. One can deduce that while peaceful means maybe available to address issues within the society, different actors can use money to induce protest which may ultimately result to violent confrontations, ranging from politics, ethnic and personal interest depending on the feelings of an individual.

Though as informative as the responses of the respondents were, when asked if they have been part of any protest, it appears that 42.1% of the respondents indicated that they have while 57.9% indicated they have not. The margins of the responses about second party when asked personally on, have you been part of any protest? section differs from the information concerning willingness to join a protest when paid. Even though, this number is significant, it does not mean that participation in protest automatically leads to youth violence.

Protests vary and are of different causes. The causes are reflected in the follow up question derived from the question regarding involvement in protest is shown in the chart below.

Fig. 4: Types of protest the youths engage in

If yes to the above question Which one?
88 responses
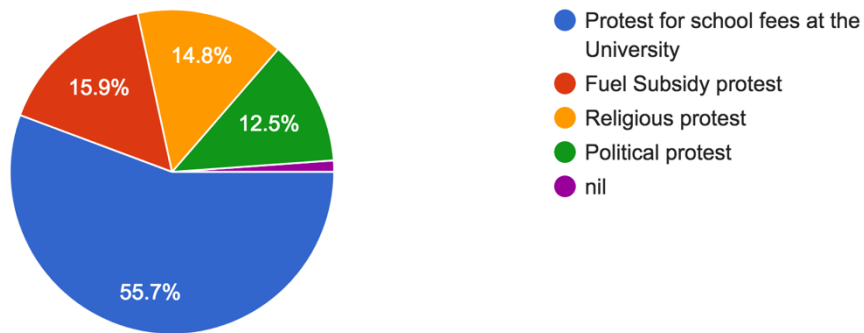
From the chart, it shows that respondent's responses were high (55.7% of the 88 responses) on protest about school fees/tuition fees at the university. These protests are due to tuition/fees increment in Nigerian tertiary institutions, and this kind of protest are mainly found in government owned tertiary institutions and not private institutions. In most cases, student engage in this kind of protest when there is no efficient and justifiable communique with students on why the institution have to increase tuition/school fees. Of course, the directive stems from the administrative head of the institutions and sometimes with government directives which in most cases defies student reasoning on tuition increment even with the Student Union Governments (SUGs) acting as the negotiator for the students' rights in the universities.

The next type of protest the respondents have engaged in is the fuel subsidy protest. This has 15.9% of the 88 responses received from the respondents. As a matter of fact, the respondents participated in this protest, tagged *#OccupyNigeria*, which occurred during President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration that attempted to remove fuel subsidy. There was a huge turnout of youths and the older citizens nationwide to protest this increment. Fuel prices have always been an issue of agitation in Nigeria due to its frequent increase over the years.

In an attempt to curb this increase, the government under the administration of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan attempted to remove the subsidy paid on fuel with the hope to stabilise fuel prices. This idea was not bought by political oppositions who mobilised the populace in a protest against the government's decision. In order to quell this protest, the government summoned the military to calm the protests which was largely done in Lagos State. The result of the military engagement led to few causalities among the protesters. This brings to fore the thin line between protest and violence.

As noted above, the third position in terms of statistical significance on the chart is religious protest, with 14.8% of 88 responses. Religious protest/violence has a long history in Nigeria. The major parties involved in such a protest are the Muslims and the Christians. Other religions, such as the traditional and indigenous religions do not appear on the main stream protest on religious. Again, these protests are dynamic and are of different causes.

Political protest shows 12.5% of 88 responses. Political protest is a constant event witnessed in the Nigerian states. This protest just like others are dynamic and of different causes. Sometimes the protests are associated with ethnicity and marginalisation, such as the Indigenous People of Biafra's (IPOB) agitation for state separatism led by Nnamdi Kanu; the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), a nationalist organisation formed by Yoruba's elites including Fredrick Fasheun to reclaim the annulled mandate of Chief Moshood Kashimawo Olawale Abiola, a Yoruba who won the presidential election of 12 June 1993 but was barred from office; the Arewa

People's Congress (APC), a group in northern Nigeria launched in 1999 by Captain Sagir Muhammed to protect the interest of the Muslim Hausa and Fulani—it has, however, been described as a militant wing of the Arewa Consultative Forum. Other political protests occur during elections and political nominations. Therefore, while cultism, ethnic factors and political marginalization/manipulation has been attributed as main causes of youth violence, organized protest is also shown to be another important factor youth engage in.

4.2   Discussion

4.2.1   Social causes of youth violence in Nigeria

The social systems in Nigeria is a major contributing factor instigating youth violence in Nigeria. It can be argued that the variance of the social situation in a multi-ethnic or heterogeneous nation like Nigeria indirectly supports youth violence based on social factors. This is portrayed by Spolaore and Wacziarg (2017) who reveal that when conflict is about control of public goods, more heterogeneous groups are expected to fight with each other, but when it is about rival goods, more similar groups are more likely to engage in war with each other.

According to the refined RD assumptions of group deprivation as pointed out by (Tougas and Beaton, 2002), social factors are embedded in group deprivation, for it is in the form of a group of individuals, that social factors issues are made manifest among youth in Nigeria. This is evidenced in the empirical findings that identified ethnic and cultism based on deprivation and grievance as pointed out by the RD theory as the significant causes of youth violence in Nigeria. The social variance in Nigeria plays out in all spheres of the societal structure. These variances reflect in all sectors and institutions of the society in Nigeria.

Especially the three major ethnic groups: Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo that are always in conflict over, political and economic positions and power in the society. This also explains one of the main reasons behind the July 6, 1967 – January 15, 1970 Nigerian Civil war (Ezemenaka and Prouza 2016).

Youth exclusion is also one of the factors that prompts violent conflict, and in trying to be part of the state concerns, they get involved through violent activities for their socio-political opinions and demands to be heard. A typical example of this is reflected in the Niger Delta militants' conflict with the Nigerian state. Though some of the opinion and demands of the militants have taken another dimension based on greed, generally, the struggles of the Niger Delta militant/emancipation started off as grievance against relative deprivations as expressed by Ali et al. (2011:41) who notes that 'grievances are the initial motives for the violent conflict in the Niger Delta.'

On socio-economic cause of youth violence, according to the analysis from the crime dataset, cultism and ethnic factors has been pinned as one of the most explainable variables of youth participation in violent conflicts in order to make financial gains or as a means in venting their grievances and anger on the society and state structures and institutions. As noted by Ajaegbu (2012) rising unemployment leads to increase in violent crimes. Cramer's (2011:02) however 'argues that there are no empirical grounds for the commonly made claims that there is a strong automatic causal connection between unemployment, underemployment, or low productivity employment and violence and war.'

In Anambra State, the statistical analysis of Onwuka, et al. (2015) reveals that there is a significant relationship between youth unemployment and violent crimes in Nigeria. Also, Cincotta et al., (2003), Heinsohn (2003) and Urdal (2004) note that there are views on youth unemployment as a key cause of insurgency or civil war. However, according to the National Bureau of statistics, in 2017, four million Nigerians lost their jobs (Punch 2017). So, the issue of varying results on unemployment as a causal factor

of youth violence could be adduced on different cases based on state administration and resources based on geographical locations among many others. From the abovementioned, theoretical assumptions of RD theory on deprivation is positive in this study. Further theoretical association as it relates with the findings in this study is unfolded below.

Theoretical linkage with fieldwork findings

4.2.2   Explaining youth participation in violence with Relative deprivation

At the earlier part of this study, relative deprivation was introduced as the theory adopted in explaining the causes of youth violence. Using relative deprivation tenet and assumptions explained by Gurr, people rebel due to loss of hope in attaining their societal values, and the intensity of discontent/frustration which (varies) with the severity of depression and inflation. A comparison of the factors causing youth violence and the theoretical assumption is elaborated below.

Fig. 5: Causes of youth violence

For people engaging in youth violence what do you think are the most likely causes?

191 responses
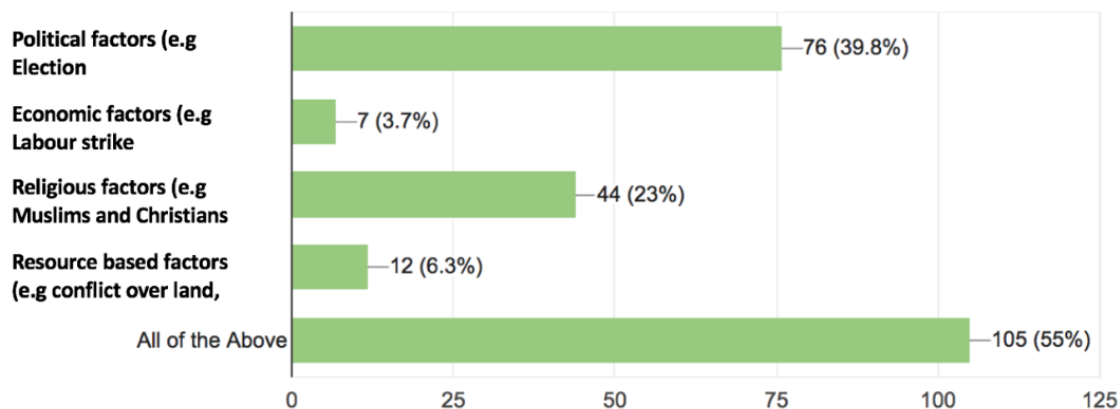
The findings from fieldwork in Nigeria in gathering information from interviewees and information gotten from online survey in Nigeria, the theoretical tenet remains valid and applicable for this research as it touches the issues concerning discontentment/marginalization which fuels youth violence discussed in this study; the data from the fieldwork also support the theories tenet on the huge gap among the unemployed youths.

Also, the assumption by Gurr, which states that, exposure to new ideologies "depicting a golden millennium" i.e., cultism, is not sufficient by itself to cause discontent or raise expectations; thus the occurrence of RD that manifest through youth violence in the Nigerian context is because men/youths are already dissatisfied and perceive ways of achieving their goal in an ideology is valid in this study.

4.2.3   Political causes of youth violence in Nigeria

Political factors were identified as the major causes of youth violence by respondents. This response is in contrast with the observed phenomenon of the predominant causes of youth violence that is associated with cultist activities. The chart fig 5, above shows the responses of the respondents on causes of violence. 39.8% which is 76 responses of the 191 responses accounted for political factors such as election which in most cases, due to high unemployment rate in the country, youth do engage in violence during political situations at the National and local level in fighting for the candidate that they feel will address the interest of the youth in terms of development and creation of employment , apart from unemployment, individual and group partisan politics also causes violence during political election. Also, the actions of political elite through repression that is manifested through political manipulation causing grievances leading to mobilization, rebellion and youth violence is accounted for.

For the local and national level, the exclusion of youths' participation politics in their respective states/region is manipulated by the means of ethnicity. Even though the voting system account for individuals to be elected, yet, the decision of an individual

getting a support is made at political parties. It is at this point, that ethnicity as a means of manipulation comes into play. It was recently, in 2018, that the president signed a bill that will allow young people to contest for elections in Nigeria.

This involves, the reduction of age qualification for president from 40 to 30 governor from 35 to 30; senator from 35 to 30; House of Representatives membership from 30 to 25 and State House of Assembly membership from 30 to 25. (Omilana 2018). Before this bill was signed, what has been the norm in the Nigerian political system starting from the presidency, is the recycling of 'rulers' since the military regime in Nigeria apart from few exception; such as the late president Yar'adua and president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, and at the national assembly, and ministers and other key positions in the country, youths have been largely excluded.

The creation of these socio-political gaps and struggle for lower class in moving up to the higher class of socio-political status in Nigeria is what the RD points out as mechanisms that creates issues such as youth violence in a state like Nigeria. These mechanisms are displayed through unemployment and the inability of the lower or working class being empowered through financial resources to compete with other members of the society unequivocally. Also, at the national level, the principle of federal character implemented by the federal government situated in the section 14, subsection 3 of the (Federal Republic of Nigeria's 1999) constitution, meant to reflect diversity through allocation of jobs, political positions and distribute resources fairly for the governance of each states in Nigeria has not been fair. Even with the assumptions that it is fair, at state levels, the resources allocated are being mismanaged due to corruption, consequently stirring up the majority who are youths to indulge in violence to vent their dissatisfaction and other crime related issues which has a colossal effect on the attainment of human security in the country.

4.2.4 Religious causes of youth violence in Nigeria

Religious factors in fig 5 above amounted to 23%. The part of Gurr's model that reflects religious factor starts from repression. In Nigeria, in some cases, political manipulation associated with repression is intertwined with religious issues. For instance, the Boko Haram terrorist group associated with Islam in Nigeria is the result of political manipulation and repression of the Boko Haram groups that eventually became rebellious and violent in terrorizing the Northern part Nigeria.

Globally, religion, like ethnicity and racial segregation, is a controversial and sensitive issue, often exploited to serve bias and selfish ends that leads to conflict. Despite religiousness of Nigerians, the issue of violence emanating from religion ranks high among issues that trigger conflict and violence in the country. There seems to be a huge gap between the doctrinal teachings and daily practice, for no religion preaches or teaches violence, yet, most religious adherents engage in violence in defense of their religions. In Nigeria, there are many religions both traditional and those imported from different countries such as Christianity, Islam, Harikrishna, Induism, Armoc and Eckankar, among many others.

Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion (ATR) which are the three dominant religions in Nigeria preach and teach peaceful coexistence, but often, their adherents engage in violent conflict, defying the teachings. Therefore, religious violence seems to stem from intolerance, fanaticism, radicalism, fundamentalism, extremism, zealotry, bigotry, and inexplicable ill-sentiments. Religious sentiments and explanations, beyond being seen as the lifeblood of the people's fundamental reality and daily experience, is used to justify mundane or politically motivated situations (Enwerem 1999: 123). Implicitly, if religion is the lifeblood of the people, then genuine peace ought to be a manifestation of religion rather than conflict and violence.

What is worrisome is that Nigerian youths are always availably ready for use to foment violence as a demonstration of their religious activeness. This is traceable to a number of religious violence that preceded the country's independence, especially in the northern states of Jos, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, and Jigawa in which youths were at the

front banner. The politicisation of religion to incite violence became more obvious after independence especially in the late 1970s, when religious fears, propaganda and sentiments have been important features of Nigeria. The sharia debate of whether a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal should be included in the Nigerian Constitution of 1979, during the Constituent Assembly of 1977-78, was perhaps the first major conflict to polarise Nigeria along religious lines, and currently, in December 2019, the Chief justice of Nigeria who is a Muslim has called for the amendment of the Nigeria constitution for the implementation and practice of full sharia law in Nigeria; a move which has sparked an uproar in the country (Salawu 2019). Though the conflict never became violent until the 1980s, as Suberu (1997: 477-508), there has been gradual but steady growth of religious fundamentalism and extremism since the 1980s in Nigeria.

This Islamic extremism and fundamentalism have found financial means to aid their aim and are the primary reasons for Nigerian youth involvement in religious violence, especially those in the north and are of Islamic religion. This is more prominent now that there is increasing link between Islamic fundamentalist sects in Nigeria and the global Islamic extremist movements, like the al-Qaeda. Other causes have revolved around the question of socio-economic condition of the youths on the one hand, and the tenacious hold to Islamic culture, education and tradition which seem to have contradictory ideology with western models on the other hand.

Therefore, ideological fundamentalism is central to Nigerian youths' engagement in religious violence. Fundamentalism is an eclectic word that can be viewed from three perspectives, (i) from a cognitive understanding where the word is associated with a closed personality type that expresses exclusivity, particularity, literality and moral rigour; (ii) from a cultural theological framework where the word expresses opposition to religious and cultural liberalism in defence of orthodoxy and religious traditions; (iii) from a social movement perspective where fundamentalism denotes organisational and ideological uniqueness from other types of religious movements (Komonchak, Collins and Lane 1993: 411). Religious fundamentalism, therefore, emphasises the

authority and necessity of the scriptures and righteousness based on right doctrine and organised warfare against the forces of modernity. This typically exemplifies Islamic fundamentalism whose primary belief is that Islam is superior to all other religions, as God has given Muslims the divine guidance for all of mankind (Lambert 2005: 91); hence, there is no need to adopt change and modernity.

The fundamental ideology in Islam is that the religion is the only true religion for the entire world, and the believers in this religion believe that to bring peace to the entire world, Islam should be spread by force. This ideological stance manifests at various levels of commitment among Islamic believers who can be group into three separates yet overlapping groups. At the 'extreme violent' end of the spectrum is the group Lambert (2005: 159) calls the Revolutionary Islamic Vanguard. He explains this group in terms of size and aim. It is a relatively small groups of individuals who organise, train for, and carry out violent acts with the purpose of establishing a new unified Islamic state.

Its members have interpreted the Quran in the most literal and selective manner such that it provides legitimacy to their violent acts, making them the most dangerous group. Majority of the members are youth who are not only economically disadvantaged but also lack exposure to western education while holding fanatically to puritanical fundaments of Islam. This Vanguard can be further subdivided into two core Islamic sects of Sunnis and Shiites. The most familiar of the violent Sunni sect is the al-Qaeda that advocates *Tarfirim*, a doctrine that requires elimination of non-believers, no matter their background or religion.

In Nigeria, such Revolutionary Islamic Vanguards have galvanised youths to foment religious violence starting with the Maitatsine movement in the 1980s to Boko Haram in 2009. On the philosophical doctrine and ideology of Maitatsine and Boko Haram sects, Danjibo (2009) avers that purification of Islam which is believed to have been corrupted by modernisation (westernisation) and the formation of the modern state and the total condemnation of all western cultures is central to both. The Maitatsine is aptly

referred to as the opener of the gateway for religious crises in Nigeria. Though before the Maitatsine, such reform groups promoting a purist vision of Islam based on sharia include Izala Movement, Muslim Students' Society and Islamic Movement of Nigeria, (aka Brotherhood/Zakzaky).

The Boko Haram is highly revolutionary calling for the Islamisation of the whole country which must be achieved by violent means if peaceful means become unfeasible. Many members of the Maitatsine and Boko Haram are youths whose economic fortunes are despicable that frustration and despondency will propel them to any violent act, including suicide bombing. While the spate of violence is so high and driven by over zealotry and fanatical belief in achieving Islamic agenda by violence, Ajaebu (2012) concisely states that 'unemployment appears to be the root cause of youth violence in Nigeria'. This assertion holds true because idleness provides the basic opportunity for religious extreme and fanatical ideologies to thrive. Even outside religion, the cause of youth violence as in the case of Niger Delta Nigeria is also ascribed to idleness, underemployment and unemployment opportunities.

The second group which is larger than the Vanguard is much harder to identify. Unlike the Vanguard, they do not show as much radical and fanatical commitment to the ideological cause and have not crossed the line into religious violence. This group is more or less a shadow party that do not get physically involved in violence but support the Vanguard's acts of violence in secret and proxy. Their supports come in finance and justification of the goals of the Vanguard as morally religious. This group is spread throughout the world with large numbers living in western countries where they are able to earn huge amount of money which they donate to the group. In Nigeria, there are individuals suspected to belong in this category, and most of them occupy top positions in the government. Sometime ago, a former governor of Borno State was accused to have supportive link with Boko Haram as the primary sponsor of the sect (Tukur 2014).

The third group identified does not include individuals or groups but nation-states and large organisations that offer support to the Vanguard. Such states are divided based on the sect they are supporting, for example, Saudi Arabia is the largest supporter of the Sunnis group (Coll 2001: 85). In Africa, Libya under Col. Muammar Gaddafi was accused by the United States of America as the chief exporter of terrorism and in fact, that terrorism was one of the primary interests of his foreign policy (Obeidat 2015). In Nigeria, during the military era of President Ibrahim Badamosi Babaginda, Nigeria was purportedly registered as a member of Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), an action that received wide condemnation based on the secular, multi-religious beliefs and heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian society. The present government under president Muhammadu Buhari has been adjudged several times by some as pursuing Islamic oriented agenda which some believe is geared toward Islamising the whole country. Those who share this opinion point to his lackadaisical attitude and effort in curbing the herdsmen menace and believe the president is their patron, which consequently provide them a platform to engage in violence without fear of arrest or prosecution.

Religious radicalism, extremism and fundamentalism in Nigeria are often discussed with exclusive focus on Islam as a chief source of violence. Notwithstanding that socio-economic condition and political factor exacerbate youth violence in Nigeria, many of these political and socio-economically motivated violence often hide under religious vis-à-vis Islamic radicalism and fanatical fundamentalism. But is Islam a religion of violence? Islam like Christianity is a religion whose sacred scripture, history and tradition include both peace and violence (Jurgensmeyer 2003).

The prophets of the holy books, the Bible and Quran, like Joshua, David, and Muhammad were both military strategists and warriors, and as such involved in violence. History shows that Islam and Christianity have justified violence in the name of self-defense, holy wars and wars of conquest commissioned by God, which many sects recite violent texts in their historical contexts to justify their extremism and

terrorism and violence. In Nigeria and probably as in elsewhere, there is wide acknowledgement of Quranic citation of violence. Likewise, the part of the Holy Bible that command violence, murder and even genocide[1] is deliberately and consciously overlooked or unconsciously omitted. Jenkins (2011) observed that the Islamic scriptures in the Quran were actually far less bloody and less violent than those in the Bible…a specific kind of warfare laid down in the Bible which we can only call genocide.

But the question is why the visible violent acts of Islam while Christianity seems to be more tolerant, lenient, open-minded and receptive to change? One could say that there is sharp divide between Islam and Christianity as regards practical methods of conversion and evangelism. Islam practically subscribes to violent methods as an obligation. Kimberly (2011) describes the views of Chandra Muzaffar, a political scientist, Islamic reformist and activist that the Quranic exposition on resisting aggression, oppression and injustice lays down the parameters within which fighting, or the use of violence is legitimate. What this means is that one can use the Quran as the criterion for when violence is legitimate and when it is not. Christianity adopts persuasive methods with the hope that the fight belongs to God Himself. Major polls consistently reported that Islam is a significant component of religious and cultural identity in Muslim communities globally and they admire 'faithfulness to their religious beliefs' which can culminate into violent extremism. Holding much to their spiritual and moral values as a source of progress, thus, extremism is provoked from perceived threats to Muslim religious and cultural identity as well as political domination, occupation and alienation (Esposito and Mogahed 2008).

Having stated the obvious, it should be noted here, however, that not everyone who practices Islam in Nigeria subscribes to violent conversion and radical practices of Islamic religion, as a matter of fact, the southwestern states in Nigeria, whose occupiers

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[1]For passages on mass killings and genocide in the Bible, see, for example, 1 Samuel 15:1–9, Joshua 6:20–21, Deuteronomy 2:32–35 and 3:3–7.

are predominantly Yoruba and practices Islam, are viewed as subtle or non-original Muslims by their northern counterparts/brethren in Nigeria. The reason for this perception is that the southwestern Muslims in Nigeria do not subscribe to violence for conversion and are a bit liberal with the application of the Islamic doctrines in the society and their day to day activities.

4.2.5   Economic causes of youth violence in Nigeria

Economic factors were also identified as causes of youth violence, in fig 5, economic was accounted for 3.7%. Here, economic factors are the variables such as labour strike which is explained by grievances in Gurr's model where economic situation such as low GDP leads to underpayment or government owing workers' wages/salary. For instance, in some states in Nigeria government worker are owed salaries for 8 months or more. This amounts to untold hardship and affect people, due to this, people mobilize for protest and sometimes violent activities takes place during such protest.

Also, RD theory depicts the struggle for the lower or working class in moving to middle class, which often times creates conflict manifested in different ways such as crime, violence and destabilisation of the society. This is also the case sometimes for middle class trying to achieve the upper class but not with the same gradation and magnitude at which the lower-class clamour to get to the middle class. RD theory portrays the youth exclusion from the political/elite class.

Examples of youth violent cases abound in the northern parts of Nigeria and the causes are multifaceted. Economic causes of youth violence are intrinsically linked with electoral violence. This is because, as mentioned at the section of the causes of youth violence, youths who engage in political violence support a candidate that they feel will be their benefactor and improve their standard of living in the society. Though, economic deprivation causes youth violence, other factors such as ethnicity and religion are also important factor attributed to causes of youth violence. The common causes shared by both the quantitative and the qualitative as the causes of youth

violence is the ethnic factors. The ethnic factors include political manipulation and marginalization/exclusion of youth in political leadership. The exclusion of the youths plays out both at the local and national level in the country.

Currently, Nigeria happens to be the most populated black nation in the world, with a score rate estimated to be about 198 million people (National Population Census 2018) and by 2020 when the next census will be taken. Already, a forecast by Worldometer (2018) shows the analysis and the expected range of Nigeria population in 2020-2050. The figures are shown in the Table below

Table 2. Nigerian population forecast between 2020-2050

Nigeria Population Forecast

Year	Population	Yearly % Change	Yearly Change	Migrants (net)	Median Age	Fertility Rate	Density (P/Km²)	Urban Pop %	Urban Population	Country's Share of World Pop	World Population	Nigeria Global Rank
2020	206,152,701	2.62 %	4,994,191	-60,000	18.1	5.42	226	52.7 %	108,711,170	2.64 %	7,795,482,309	7
2025	233,691,888	2.54 %	5,507,837	-60,000	18.5	5.08	257	56.7 %	132,547,150	2.85 %	8,185,613,757	5
2030	264,067,527	2.47 %	6,075,128	-60,000	19.2	4.74	290	60.3 %	159,240,806	3.09 %	8,551,198,644	5
2035	297,323,173	2.40 %	6,651,129	-60,000	19.9	4.41	326	63.4 %	188,612,714	3.34 %	8,892,701,940	5
2040	333,172,092	2.30 %	7,169,784	-60,000	20.7	4.10	366	66.3 %	220,824,256	3.62 %	9,210,337,004	4
2045	371,119,359	2.18 %	7,589,453	-60,000	21.5	3.81	407	69.1 %	256,584,400	3.90 %	9,504,209,572	4
2050	410,637,868	2.04 %	7,903,702	-60,000	22.4	3.55	451	72.0 %	295,479,827	4.20 %	9,771,822,753	3

: **Worldometers** (www.worldometers.info//)
, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision. (Medium-fertility variant).

Table 2 above reveals different estimated forecasts of the expected growth of Nigerian population during different decades. Now, the real figures will be corroborated when the actual census is conducted in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the fact still remains that this great number of people will be adding to the fragile youth bulge problems. This study shows that a lot of youths dissociate themselves from radicalisation for violent activities, as the online survey shows that most of them would rather engage in protest, but the miniature number of the existing radical individuals/groups evidenced through the dataset analysis that pinpoints cultism is increasing. Likewise, population growth

has a part to play in the increasing numbers of radical groups who take advantage of the insufficient security and development policies in the country.

Also, a couple of factors has been associated with increase in population and underdevelopment, such as high fertility rate by Obinna (2018). Kareem (2018) also notes that on 1st January, 2018, Nigerian welcomed 20,210 babies which accounted for the third highest number on new-borns on the first day of the new year behind India and China. This surge in Nigerian population is a result of poor policy and will only get worse.

Relative deprivation has its predictive power on the issue of population. Nonetheless, the findings of Piazza (2006), Fearon and Laitin (2003) and Richardson (2011), who indicated that nation's population size and political regime characteristics are a significant factor which influences violent crime such as terrorism. However, some countries like India and China have proved that a high population size helped to maintain the economy from falling into recession during the global financial great recession of 2008 through 'black money' as explained by Kaushik Basu, the chief economist of the World Bank and former chief economic adviser to the Indian government (Rowlatt 2016).

Apart from the Rowlatt clarification on the positive effect of population on economy, this study also suggests that population can contributes to youth violence in Nigeria. This happens when 'a rapid increase in population puts a considerable strain on the economic and political system of a country and may be accompanied by a rise in all criminal activity, including terrorism' Piazza (2006).

In the Nigerian case, population is a problem because people and government are not held responsible for the overpopulation. For example, some religions and society support men marrying many wives and birthing children, and in most cases the women are divorced and left with many children to take care of. Also, in the absence of

adequate social welfare from the government and the inability of the mothers to take care of the children, the children end up on the streets fending for themselves to make a living through begging and menial jobs. It is at this point of exposure on the street that they become radicalised and are available and instrumental to religious and political actors who use their energies negatively and violently towards their personal agenda; and in the end, they destabilise the peace and security of the country.

The Nigerian government is currently considering a policy to limit the number of children that a woman can have in Nigeria. According to the minister of finance, Zainab Ahmed, the tremendous increase in population has been identified as one of the great challenges confronting the successful implementation of the economic recovery and growth plan (ERGP) in Nigeria (Nnodim 2018). However, as appealing the idea of reduction of children per mother is in order to curb population increase, the policy will be a difficult feat to achieve if at all it will be put in place. Forces that will challenge this policy include religious confrontations, ethnic culture and uneducated men and women in the society among many others.

Having noted the effect of population, it should be borne in mind that population in itself is not a problem when it is being exploited positively. For example, the higher the population of a country the better the flow and circulation of capital (finances). A high population also helps to build the state economy. Also, the population of a country which is comprised of youth mostly helps to develop the state in terms of infrastructures and developmental programs enabled through the working class. It, therefore, becomes a strong and positive mobilisation platform for the country's growth in as much the administration governing the population size is well-structured and void of ill mismanagement of resources such as corruption.

4.2.6   Resource-based causes of youth violence in Nigeria

Resource based factors also accounts for 6.3% as a causal factor to youth violence in fig 5. In this part the 3 main component of Gurr's model are accounted for. On a macro scale, resource-based youth violence is as a result of repression with political manipulation of resources, which then leads to grievances, mobilization and rebellion. A typical case is the Niger Delta resource violent conflict. Those who are instrumental to the conflict against government infrastructures and facilities due to repression and manipulation of resources by the government are the youths of Niger Delta.

4.2.7 Ethnic/ Geopolitical zone causes of youth violence in Nigeria

Though scholars have argued that unemployment is a factor that causes, youth violence, another important explainable variable that adds up and should be considered in the discussion of youth violence is ethnicity.

In Nigeria, Ethnicity is mainly associated with geopolitical zones, and the part of Gurr's model that explains and connect with the section of this study is repression and grievance. On a large scale, political manipulation associated with repression triggers ethnic causes of youth violence in Niger. For the purpose of the following discussion on Ethnic/Geopolitical zone causes of youth violence, ethnicity will be adopted for emphasis.

Ethnicity is an important variable for explaining violence due to its position on identity. Isajiw (1993) provides a detailed explanation of ethnicity having considered that ethnicity has been noted to be a complex phenomenon with primordial approach as the oldest in sociological and anthropological literature.

Further discussion and approaches of division that leads to discontentment and frustration, based on epiphenomenon is (best represented by Hechter's (1978) theory of internal colonialism and culture division of labour that was discussed. For, Bonacich's (1972) economic structure of society are divided into two sectors, which

are the centres and periphery a source of economic discontentment and class division. On subjective phenomenon (based on stimulation of Barth's (1969) extreme position reflected in his seminal work on ethnic group boundaries social-psychological reality or perception of 'us' and 'them' is another explanation that can disposes men to violence when there is discontentment. On less extreme position on ethnicity, Gans (1979) as causes of violence, Gans noted that ethnicity over time is not anymore what it used to be due to acculturation and assimilated cultures and societal practices.

A collective whole of the above narrative of ethnicity is explained by Isajiw who notes that, over the years and taking account of the evolving ethnic definition, "ethnic identity refers to ethnicity as an individually experienced phenomenon. Ethnicity is an abstract concept which includes an implicit reference to both collective and individual aspects of the phenomenon." . Having noted this, what really matters is to situate ethnic motivated violence in this study.

From the foregoing, it is imperative to note that ethnicity that creates the 'us and syndrome held by Nigerians due to cultural, value and regional differences is instrumental in the role of youth engagement in violence in the struggle over resources, politics and other values enshrined in the society. For example, ethnicity plays a major role on how the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo address and relate with one another. Ezemenaka and Prouza (2016) note the derogatory names attached to the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria. At the national level, there is a struggle among ethnic groups about who should accede to political power such as the president, and during these periods, ethnic mobility for campaigns are employed by politicians which creates violence among ethnic groups. Even, in homogeneous ethnic group, there are still division and ethnic identity mobilised for struggle of resource or values which invariably leads to violent clashes. For example, in Anambra state, there is the case of Aguleri and Umuleri conflict over ownership of Otuocha land described in detail by (Onwuzuruigbo 2012 and Obiakor 2016), and Ife-Modakeke conflict in southwest Nigeria.

Apart from the primordial approach, constructivist perspective of ethnicity and how it degenerates into youth violence is obviously dominant in Nigeria. It is the meaning or construct given to ethnicity that causes conflict and not ethnicity itself. Wolff (2006) aptly observes that ethnicity on its own does not cause conflict as several factors are always at play in each conflict situation, because identity is a fact of human existence which is what people make of it or use to create difference between ethnic cohesion, harmony or conflict. Likewise, Suberu (2006) and Nnoli (1978) assert that ethnicity does not and will hardly exist in a pure form because it is a consequence of ethnic group identity mobilisation and politicisation, especially in a competitive ethnically plural environment or context.

No doubt, the environment they had in mind was no other than the Nigerian society. While conflict emanating from ethnicity thrives well in a pluralistic society, it is not a sufficient and sole condition for conflict since ethnic identity results from contact with other groups in many spheres. No violence at a huge scale takes place in Nigeria without the active participation and involvement of the youth especially in unleashing terror and violence. The members of Niger Delta militants, Boko Haram, Egbesu boys, Bakkasi boys as well as killer herdsmen are all youths exerting their energies negatively. Senior citizens of the country barely participate in physical violence related activities because they are too old in engaging with violence, what they can possible do, is incite and strategize in the planning of violent activities. Other conditions such religious factors also explain the causes of youth violence which is discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Politicisation of conflict in Nigeria has often been engineered through idle and willing youths. The construction of ethnicity and its utilisation as a mean to achieve an end, often political end, lead to conflict orchestrated by identity. Relying on primordial sentiments, a group attaches itself to a prominent political leader who exploits the primordial sentiments by constructing it into an identity of 'us' and uses it as an instrument to foment conflict against another group or the state perceived as 'them'.

In Nigeria, it has been observed that when the president is from the north, southern youth foment violence and conflict; and when the president is from the south, northern youth foment violence and conflict. For example, between 1999 and 2007, there was youth restiveness in the north championed by sharia law and its implementation in the whole of Nigeria because President Olusegun Obasanjo was from the south, and between 2007 and 2010, when Musa Yar'Adua (a northerner) was the president, the southern youth became restive, especially the Niger Delta youths.

Also, between 2010 and 2015, the north became a theatre of war as Boko Haram, member of which are mainly youths, swore to undermine the state and government of President Goodluck Jonathan, a southerner. Though some scholars (Jibrin 2014; Muhammed 2014; Nda-Isaish 2014; Haruna 2014), argue that Boko Haram has been in existence before Goodluck Jonathan assumed power, Ekumaoko and Iremoko (2017) present a different position, postulating that the Boko Haram became a conspiracy of the northern political elites who sought to remove Jonathan and restore a northerner as president at all cost. As often the case, the youth were the available and a willing tool in fomenting terror and violence in Nigeria. It is therefore not a coincidence that the violent activities of Boko Haram have relatively waned since a northerner became president in 2015.

4.3   Cases of youth violence in Nigeria

It is impossible to recreate the exact nature of causes of youth violence all over Nigeria which simultaneously affect human security but there are general or similar patterns that culminate in violence as enumerated in previous sections. Nonetheless, this section provides different cases of youth violence consequential to ethnicity, religion, macro problem of political violence, poverty and resources with the aim to evaluating and analysing this study.

The cases presented herein starts from past events over different timeline and era to the contemporary or present situation in the Nigeria context.

4.3.1 South East Nigeria: The Bakassi Boys

The concept of vigilante groups in Nigeria has been in existence for a very long time, even before the colonialist and the military regime. For example, in the south east they are traditionally known as "Ndinche", community guards formed by volunteers in villages who would bring suspected criminals to the community council, often called "Amala", and then display them in front of the village to their shame before being handed over to the police (Amnesty International November 2002).

The establishment and introduction of Bakassi Boys in 1998 was due to high crime that were not checked or countered by security operatives. The Bakassi Boys were known to be vigilante and an extension to the work of law enforcement with little or no training and availability of equipment for their operations. Before the introduction of the Bakassi Boys in south eastern Nigeria, Anambra State used to be a dreadful place even for the citizens and indigenes of the society. The crime rate was very high, and could not be countered effectively by security operatives, and there was a wide belief that even the security operatives aid the operations of criminals in the region.

The Bakassi Boys, consisting of mostly young and able-bodied people was created in 1998 by traders in the Nigerian city of Aba who wanted to protect themselves from armed robbers and 'hoodlums' (Ukoha 2002; SAS 2005). Having had success in reducing crime in Aba, the Bakassi Boys became ' highly demanded' and their activities spread to other cities in eastern Nigeria, most especially in Abia, Imo and Anambra.

As the activities of the Bakassi Boys flourished across south eastern Nigeria, their power grew out of the confines of vigilante operations and thereby began to take laws into their hands by meting out *jungle justice* on whoever they found guilty of an ascribed crime detrimental to the society's values; this group was purportedly hijacked by politicians later on to influence or threaten opponents. Due to their excessive

negation of law enforcement, violation of human rights and the inability of the Nigeria Police Force to curb and exert authority over them (Human Rights Watch and CLEN 2002), they were disbanded in 2002 (Centre for Development and Conflict Management Studies).

4.3.2 South West Nigeria: The Oodua People's Congress (OPC)

The Oodua People's Congress was formed in August 1994 by Dr. Frederick Fasehun to protect and promote the interests of the Yoruba people (HRW 2003: 04). Its creation has been linked to the annulment of the June 1993 elections by the country's military government, and the 1994 arrest of Moshood Abiola, a Yoruba presidential candidate widely thought to have won the cancelled elections (COAV 2015 and Babawale 2002).

> The primary objectives of Dr. Fasehun's OPC are outlined in its constitution, as follows:
>
> To gather all the descendants of Oduduwa all over the earth especially in Africa, the Caribbean, South America and North America for a most profound, all embracing and absolutely unflinching UNITY;
>
> To identify with our historical and cultural origin with a view of re-living the glory of our past for the purpose of posterity;
>
> To educate and mobilise the descendants of Oduduwa for the purpose of the above; To integrate the aspirations and values of all the descendants of Oduduwa into a collective platform of an Oodua entity;
>
> To monitor the various interests of descendants of Oduduwa, by whatever name called, anywhere on the face of the earth and struggle for the protection of these interests;
>
> To ensure maximum self-determination of the people of Oodua; To further the progress of Oodua civilisation by

> protecting and promoting our values, mores and the inter-generational transmission of same;
>
> To locate a bearing for an Oodua worldview and establish its place in the world;
>
> To mobilise the people of Oodua for the national cause (CDCMS 2003)

Over the years, the establishment of the OPC evolved into a 'militant' group championed by Gani Adams a carpenter by profession with a new aim stated below:

> self-determination and social emancipation for the Yoruba, regional autonomy, self-government and self-management, economic reconstruction and control, reconstructed, reconstituted and genuinely federal Nigerian union, reunion of all Yoruba in Kwara and Kogi states (in the north) with their kith and kin in the southwest, an independent army, police and judiciary, and Sovereign National Conference (Adebanwi 2005, 344, SAS 2005:344).

The Oodua People's Congress (OPC) is active mostly in the southwest region of Nigeria which are Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Kwara, Ondo, Oyo, and Ekiti (Nigeriaworld 2005). Taking on several different roles, it has evolved from political agitation for Yoruba autonomy and promotion of Yoruba culture to violent confrontations with members of other ethnic groups, and, more recently, vigilantism and crime-fighting. In its two main spheres of activity—ethnic militancy and vigilantism—the OPC has been responsible for numerous human rights abuses and acts of violence (Human rights watch 2003). Cited below are two out of the numerous cases of human rights abuse elaborated by Human rights watch (2003):

> In one case, Dele, a man in his twenties who was a part-time worker for the African Petroleum oil company was killed by the OPC as he was going to visit his girlfriend one evening at Ijora Estate, in Apapa Local Government, Lagos, in the second half of 2000. Earlier, a group of thieves had been in the area, some of whom had been wearing

suits. Dele, who happened to be wearing a suit, was stopped by the OPC who suspected him of being one of the thieves. He showed them his identity documents, but they refused to believe him. The OPC members asked him to give them the name of the person he was visiting. He gave his girlfriend's English name, but she was generally known by her Yoruba name, so after asking some residents, the OPC members claimed there was no one there by that name. They accused him of lying, beat him to death, and then set him ablaze. His body was left there for two days. (Human Rights Watch interview, Ajegunle, Lagos, September 7, 2002)

Another case is described by a resident at Idi-Aaraba in the Mushin area of Lagos:

A resident of Idi-Araba in the Mushin area of Lagos told Human Rights Watch that the OPC had begun operating there in early 2001. 'They used to go to people's houses. They accused a Hausa man of buying stolen property. He wasn't in when they went there, so they took all his belongings out and burned them. They went around killing people, cutting their heads and burning people in public. Once I saw a dead body of a Hausa man at the junction of Idi-Araba bus-stop. He was an armed robber who had been burnt alive. I saw him roasted with his bones sticking out. The body was on the street with the flames still burning. He had been left there. On Adekunle Street in Idi-Araba, a Yoruba boy was accused of being an armed robber. They chopped off his head and put it on a pillar. These two cases were within a few days of each other, later in 2001.' (Human Rights Watch interview, Idi-Araba, Lagos, May 25, 2002: Human Rights 2003)

Due to violent confrontations with the police and other human rights abuse, the OPC was banned in 1999. However, human rights abuse by OPC activities continued till 2002.

4.3.3   North East Nigeria: The Almajiri

According to Omeni (2015), the word *Almajiri* is a generic term associated with angry and violent men in northern Nigeria. *Almajirai* share common features: they are from poor rural families and live beyond the state's purview and regulatory interventions in traditional Qur'anic 'boarding' schools. (Hoechner 2013: 8–9). There is a substantial

body of research literature that links the *Almajiri* phenomenon and violence in northern Nigeria (Abbo, Zain and Njidda 2017) with three different major narratives.

One explains that *Almajiri* system itself is an instrument of radicalisation for children and youths (Awofeso, Jan and Pieter 2003 and Soyinka 2012); the second asserts that the linkage between *Almajiri* system and violence is flawed (Hoechner, 2014 and Omeni 2015); and the third narrative explains that the economic destitution of Almajiris makes them prone to radicalisation and consequentially culpable of fierce rebellion (Falola 2009 and Danjibo 2009). Agbiboa (2013) for example, finds a connection between socioeconomic deprivation in northern Nigeria and the incidence of insurgency in the region.

Having noted this, it is unfortunate to note that it is on the basis of deprivation that the *Almajiris* are being used as instrument to fight and induce violence through crime such as suicide bombing by Islamist terror organisations such as Boko Haram. (Gomment and Esomchi 2017).

4.3.4 Cultism and violent behaviours among secondary school

Cultism in tertiary institutions and secondary schools in Nigeria is likened to gangs in America. According to Taylor (2013: 341), "a street gang is a group of three or more persons who come together in association and communicate a philosophy that they will commit violent acts on persons, deface or destroy property; who has a name and communicate to others in the community that they are the most violent, callous, and most dangerous group in that community while claiming some specific, identifiable, self-proclaimed geographic location."

Observation across different ethnic groups that I visited in Nigeria and among whom I lived over the years reveals that secondary school youths are quite becoming harsh and

violently disposed in relating with people, a result of de/re-construction of different values held by societies. The disposition of the Nigerian youths of the 1980s to 1990s on social relations in the society is different from that of the youths of the 2000s. The difference between these categories plays out in the dynamics of change. This does not mean cultism was not an issue in the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, cultism was a dreadful issue but was limited to the tertiary institutions and meant for matured individuals who knew what they are getting into. The cases are however different in the secondary school students as explained by (Igomu and Ugwoke 2018, Ayobami, 2018 and Usman 2015)

because the students engaging in this act are teenagers. (Birabil and Okanezi 2017). Thus, cultism shapes the social behaviour of teenagers in secondary school. Consequently, the effect of such social behaviours becomes detrimental to the society

The difference between secondary school cultism and child soldier is the scale at which atrocities are committed. In the secondary schools, students who are teenagers have gone through the process of cultist initiation or indoctrinated like to explore what it feels like to possess power. The subsequent effect of wielding such power among the students is that it is used wrongly. The training they acquire during the years they spend in these cult groups becomes part and parcel of their lives. The nexus of cultism and violence cannot be overemphasised; an example is the violent case of the '*Badoo*' cult gang in Lagos state terrorising the resident of Ikorodu.

There is similar process among the cultist group in the secondary school, because cultist group also indoctrinate and instil fear on the secondary school students so as to perpetrate violent activities. The most important distinction of this violent activities lies in the important goal of terrorism and the violent activities can be classified into micro and meso-level of violent activities. Many vices are implemented as strategies for perpetuating crime by these cultist organisations which include stealing, internet scamming, vandalization, kidnapping, torture and killings.

Cultism in secondary school breeds culture of violence among youths. Culture in the sense that students and youths get to learn and imbibe violence as a part of their lifestyle in the society, as against the 'norm' of the cultures of their respective societies that do not subscribe to 'violence'.

4.3.5   The effect of cultism

The effect of cultism manifests on individual and educational, societal and national developments (Destiny 2008). On individual development, Destiny explained that cultism brings untimely death to many youthful lives, affects the morale of the individual, promotes acts of indiscipline and immorality among youths and renders the individual unsociable, psychologically deranged and emotionally destabilised.

On educational development, cultist activities in secondary schools erode quality and standard education, diminish integrity and competence in educational system and threatens the peaceful and progressive co-existence in schools and societies. On societal and national development, cultism is a threat to the internal security of the society and nation, leading to loss of lives and property. This brings sorrow to many families whose loved ones are killed, maimed, raped and victimised in the society. It also weakens the family ties, and societal and cultural values due to the way cultists are churned out in terrorizing the nation, which invariably tarnishes the country's battered image, credibility and national pride.

In the interview section, a respondent who is a teacher informed that, cultism in secondary school is very common, especially in Rivers State, Nigeria. She said that it no more hidden. She explained that secondary school students are recruited and initiated by senior cults from the tertiary institutions. She noted that recruitment into the cult group is gender friendly as it involves both boys and girls; and the junior secondary school students are not exempted as well. Another teacher who was one of

the respondents on the effect of cultism in secondary school informed that teachers are discouraged from going to classes to teach and it kills their morale. The respondent noted that she has been beaten after school on two different occasions by her students without any justification for such. She avowed that sometimes during lessons, cult members storm the classes and disrupt lessons and when such happens the lesson for the day is cancelled because everyone runs to safety. It was made known by respondents that the existing cultists threaten and beat up target students to join them and, in most cases, they have no choice but to join the group.

Buttressing the aforementioned, Destiny (2008) notes that some join cultist group in school because of: depression, academic imbalance, attainment of popularity, bully avoidance, parental background, friends influence and parental failure in moral development. Other reasons are inferiority complex, need for financial advancement, protection, ignorance and societal influence. Another respondent revealed that most of the cult members in secondary schools end up dropping out of school to become hoodlums, thugs and louts.

A group of secondary school students who were interviewed concerning cultist activities of in the school gave different insight. Some of the respondents revealed that one of the reasons why students join cultism in secondary schools is to portray themselves as 'big boy and big girl', which means they can do whatever they want within the school among students and teachers, yet go unpunished in most cases except for serious cases involving serious damage or death. Only then, are punitive measures such as rustication from the school meted out with the intervention of top-ranking security personnel in the police. Some respondents avowed that the sole reason some to join cultism is to be able to get sexual pleasures.

From the respondents, when a boy or a girl is marked or appears on their list, they go for her and when their proposals through wooing are declined, they threaten such

individuals to give in to their demands or be severely punished, harmed and bullied until the students changes his/her school; even when they change their schools, they are traced and their established networks continue to threaten such individuals. The only way they can escape such threats, therefore, is to go to a private school or change their community or region entirely which most parents cannot afford.

Furthermore, security operatives who were interviewed on security, especially the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) as they have been implicated in this study revealed that the cases of cultism in secondary schools in south-east is noticed and has its grounded fears as it involves juveniles. An interview with a high-ranking official at the NPF on why cultism in secondary schools have not been contained revealed that the constraint in containing these activities is that cultist activities are synonymous to insurgency tactics though not entirely the same. Even when culprits are apprehended, they are too young to be prosecuted. In most cases, what they get is rustication from the schools they attend and where damages and losses are incurred, their parent are made to pay, many of whom may not even be able to pay for the damages.

The respondents also acquiesce that, in some cases, well connected and 'big brother' cultist networks at the headquarters in the tertiary institutions bail them out. Thus, the NPF respondents indicated that what serves as the cog in the wheel of doing their job is that, sometimes, politicians and local chiefs are involved. The NPF respondent suggested that the responsibility to curb and reduce cultism in secondary schools falls on families. In other words, families of students have a very big role to play on how they raise their children; this means that good morale upbringing will go a long way to dissuaded students from joining cultist activities in schools.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Recommendations

Following the theoretical framework established in this study that served as a rudder for this work; that expresses, marginalization and deprivation by relative deprivation theory as causes of violence and crime committed by youths, coupled with the findings of high rate of youth participation in violent activities in Nigeria. It affects the actualization of the full potential of human security in Nigeria. The Nigerian government can do better in revamping existing or creating workable institutions that helps in provision of youth needs to function properly in the society which will reduce youth behaviours towards violence on the society and the state. There are various ways which the government can go about youth behavioural change on violence and enhance human security but among all the measures the government can take, effective institutions are very important.

Effective institutions in a state is very important, for example "In most societies, political, economic and military powers are created through institutions that structure human organizations and relationships. These institutions simultaneously give individuals controls over resources and social functions and by doing so, limit the use of violence by shaping the incentives faced by individuals and groups who have access to violence" (North, Wallis and Weingast 2009:xvii). The importance of institutions is based on the fact that, institutions generate behaviours, part of the institutional elements are rules norms, beliefs and organization (Grief 2006).

Also, there are family problems, where parents have little or no time for their children while focusing all attention on their job in order to durable income for the family also needs to be revisited. This has to do with wages of workers in the country. Whenever the Federal Government increases the minimum wage in the state, prices of all services

and goods increase simultaneously which defeat the aim of the wages increment for the citizens and this issue needs to be addressed. Thereby giving parents ample time in paying attention to their young ones and notice when their children behaviour start is not in conformity with the norms of the society.

Notwithstanding, as argued earlier at the theoretical framework section some societies have cultural traditions that exhibit violent practices while some family have also directly or indirectly infused violent behaviours on the youth. This coincides with the World Health Organisation's explanation that "rules or expectations of behaviour-norms within a cultural or social group can encourage violence." (WHO,2010:102). Such behavioural patterns situated in traditions and cultures in Nigeria should be discouraged with incentive programs.

Another entry point in curbing youth violence and radicalisation is through education. For example, on radicalization and cultism stated earlier, some of the youths who participate in violent activities are being coerced or pressured to join such group with little or no information on the consequences of their actions. Therefore, unlearning the widespread benefit of violence by being a member of a violent group will also assist in reducing and reshaping youth behaviour towards violence.

Also, economic and security regional or geopolitical zones programs for positive engagement of the youths towards individual development and state building should be made available which also helps to reduce youth involvement in violence. Sadly, addressing the problems of these violence through empowerment scheme is treated with levity in some cases. For example, in 2018, the All Progressive Congress (APC) commissioned fruits, wheelbarrow and complete shoe polishing basket kit in the Borno Youth Empowerment scheme. By implication, the empowerment is to provide 'employment for the youth' and consequently reduce their engagement with violent activities.

Unfortunately, this sort of empowerment will keep the youths under subjugation (by being engaged as fruits hawkers and cobblers) with little or no aspirations to move higher on the economic ladder to improve their lives and their society. During discussion with some educated respondents at the northern region, religious clerics, politicians and Emirs were implicated for keeping the youth under subjugation so that they can be used for their own personal agendas through mobilisation of support from these youth empowered with the demeaning scheme. who follow these leaders blindly without question. The pictures of the shoe polishing kits allocated to youths as empowerment program in Gwoza Borno are shown at the annex section of this study.

On population discuss, China and India is an example of how population has been harnessed positively However, if the Nigerian government is unable to boost and provide employment opportunities and enabling environment for the youth to fend for their selves and families, a variant to delimiting violence and crime, then government should consider implementing policies to manage the population while discouraging increase in population until the government is able to show that the country can sustain increase in population through available resources. The government will also need to work with private organizations in facilitating procedures and structures needed to engage youth positively for the society and the state.

For operational exertion in curbing youth violence, early warning systems or signals concerning violence should be installed and improved if available, and not to be ignored when signs of violence are looming. This will involve restructuring and improvement of security in the country in general. Nonetheless, achieving a better security rest on addressing root or basic cause of youth violence in the provision of the needs for youths to live a sustainable life in the state.

Finally, "Controlling violence depends on the structure and maintenance of relationships among powerful individuals" (North Wallis and Weingast 2009:18). Therefore, curbing youth violence will have to take the inclusive approach of problem solving by consulting with the traditional rulers and also religious institutions in Nigeria. Having noted these recommendations, though human security itself is vast by definition, but addressing and curbing youth violence in Nigeria will aid in the actualization and a sustainable ground for human security to thrive.

CONCLUSION

This study started by presenting the cause of youth violence and how it affects the attainment of human security in Nigeria through set research questions and objectives for the investigations. The study questions the causes of youth violence in Nigeria, the implications of youth violence and the solutions to curb youth violence in Nigeria. For the causes of youth violence, cultism and ethnic factors were found to be significant among different crime categories investigated that the youth indulge in depicting violence related activities, which affects security in communities and in the country.

The theoretical assumptions set out at the beginning of this study has helped in unravelling and answering the research questions and argument associated with the cause of youth violence situated in deprivation, grievances and class struggle set out for this study. The relative deprivation adopted in this study situates and explains the causes and implication/effect of youth violence through the precepts of discontentment/frustration such political, economic social, and religious factors among individuals in the society.

It also helps to explain, the systems such as cultism and radicalization that have been created by youth that leads to criminal and violent activities created by economic and social factors. Both theories help to explain that unemployment has indirectly been weaponized to control the masses for political gains in Nigeria. For detailed understanding on the context, evaluation, dimension, relationship of violence and human security with consequences of youth violence were discussed in line with theory and the findings from the field work which was done through the analysis of the qualitative information and quantitative data used for this study. Thus, the perpetuation of violence rest on the ability of the youth being instrumental to violence as end users. For this study, violence among youth does not rest solely on the uneducated youth, as a matter of fact, there are evidence of educated youths who participate in violent crimes

and radicalization documented by scholars who have studies different regions of violent conflict.

Also, cultism being one of factors that was pointed out to be significant as causes of youth violence in Nigeria are mostly found in the tertiary institutions.

From available information, the centrepiece that justified Bakassi boys, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and other local vigilante operations was the need to curb excessive crime. In other words, there was a huge lacuna due to the inefficiency of the state in attending to the increase in crime described by the theories adopted for the study. Also, those who were instrumental to the success of these operations were mostly the youth. The violence was meted out by the youths as they dim fit within the mandate of their structures. The nature of the problem was initially security but later took a political dimension. Even the perpetrator and victims of the high crime who took to armed robbery were mostly youth. This indicates the presence of a very bad political structure in the state, because if there were good political structures attending to the society as it should and focusing on the people's needs, there would be lesser crime rate.

Regarding the case of the OPC, created as a result of a political marginalization in country that adopts and practices "federalism", the most widespread killings were associated with ethnic confrontations where members of other ethnic groups were killed and other individual cases that abound. The nature of the violence perpetrated by the OPC was mostly ethnically inclined, and again those exerting these acts of violence were mostly the youths, especially the uneducated ones. But the fact still remains that the youths, who serve as perpetrators and also victims, are mostly used as instrument in advancing ethnic causes.

On the Almajiri, the issue of violence is again traced back to the involvement of some desperate young men deprived of necessary socioeconomic benefits. However, their involvement was borne out of an orchestrated and a complex system created to fight a system that has alienated them. In other words, the failure of the government or the political structure of the state to tend to the needs of the common man in the society under its governing ambit most times lead to youths' involvement in violent crimes. Though most of the youths' involvements in violence are assumed to have political underpinnings, yet, religion also plays major part as revealed in this study.

"Social Scientists have only a limited understanding of what goes on inside of people-what motivates, pleases, angers and scares them." (North Wallis and Weingast 2009:27). Efforts have been made in great details to present the issues concerning human security and youth violence in Nigeria in adopting theories to study similarities and general patterns of youth violent behaviour in the Nigerian society. The issues associated with human security are vast. The study of human security as mentioned earlier is diverse with different security issues and it should be noted that youth violence is just a factor/variable among many others in measuring the challenges and situation of human security in Nigeria.

There are other factors that can be used to study and understand human security in Nigeria. However, using youth violence as an indicator has shown the situation of human security in Nigeria in great depths. Reasons being that youth is made up of the majority of the population and they represent a great case study to be used as indicator in understanding the adoption and implementation of human security in Nigeria. Succinctly, as presented in the findings, the practicability of human security in Nigeria is still at its latent stage.

Also, the issue presented and discussed in this study regarding the causes and drivers of youth violence as it applies to Nigeria are also broad and are overlapping. The findings of this study have shown how youth violence continues to affect the nation's

security. The account of different scholars and experts' views on the way forward in addressing youth violence and the strengthening of human security has been noted. On the part of the government, political factors such as unemployment has been attributed as a potent cause of youth violence; nevertheless, the government alone cannot address this issue of unemployment which creates path for youth engagement in violence.

Therefore, emphasis needs to be made and reiterated by the government and private sectors in addressing the trends of unemployment. The passing of the 'not too young to run' bill in Nigeria by President Muhammadu Buhari's administration is a way forward, but more of these policies need to be implemented and operationalised to bridge youth exclusion on matters concerning youth and state development. Until there is a turnaround, different waves of violence and conflict will continue to unfold and birth insurgent groups with the youths being instrumental to their success.

This study is limited in its ability to access documented cases of youth violence from police records and from local government sources. Hence, the need to adopt online survey and crime data from IFRA-Nigeria for investigation in this study was adopted. There is no coordinated system such as a federal database available to retrieve documented information from the police and other security establishments apart from interviews. At the state level, the available records for investigations are not satisfactory and access to the information is met with difficulties. Therefore, more investigation is required in different regions and mostly in the Northern parts of Nigeria because it is an hotspot of violent activities in Nigeria.

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APPENDIX

Image 1: *wheelbarrow and complete shoe polishing basket kit for beneficiaries of Borno Youth Empowerment scheme*

Image 2: *Borno Youth taking their wheelbarrow and complete shoe polishing basket kit*

https://www.legit.ng/1169808-borno-house-reps-member-empowers-5000-youths-photos.html