

**THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY CRISES AND
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE IN NIGERIA 2007-2017**

BY

ATTAH, DAMIAN UZOCHUKWU

PG/M.Sc/16/83601

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA**

NOVEMBER, 2018.

TITLE PAGE

**THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY CRISES AND
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE IN NIGERIA 2007-2017**

BY

ATTAH, DAMIAN UZOCHUKWU

PG/M.Sc/16/83601

**A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FUFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.Sc) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

(HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM STUDIES)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA NSUKKA

SUPERVISOR: DR. PETER MBAH

NOVEMBER, 2018.

APPROVAL PAGE

This project report has been examined and approved by the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka for the award of Master of Science (M.Sc.) in Political Science (Human Security and Counter terrorism Studies).

DR. PETER MBAH

SUPERVISOR

EXTERNAL EXAMINER

DR. IFEANYICHUKWU ABADA

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

PROFESSOR LEONARD UGWU

DEAN OF FACULTY

DEDICATION

To my Dad, Mr Attah Augustine

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study of this nature could not have been accomplished without the assistance of numerous committed individuals that are worth mentioning.

To the Almighty God, I give thanks for his numerous blessings and guidance. I sincerely appreciate and thank my supervisor, a lecturer and father, Dr. Peter Mbah, whose relentless guidance, supervision and advice to a large extent saw this work to a successful completion.

In the same vein, my immense gratitude goes to our able PG Coordinator and Head of Department of Political Science, Dr. I. M. Abada. My gratitude also goes to my lecturers that taught and imparted knowledge in me within this period- Prof. A.M.N. Okolie, Dr. Freedom Onuoha, Dr. Christian Ezeibe, Dr. Chinedu Ike, Dr. Humphrey Agbo and Dr. Michael Ugwueze. To all my lecturers in the Department I say thank you.

At this juncture, my humble and immeasurable gratitude goes to my parents, late Sir and Lady P.N. Ezeh for their parental care and financial assistance. To my siblings and compeers, I say thank you.

I owe my heartfelt gratitude to the typist KC who painstakingly typed this work. To all mentioned and not mentioned, I pledge my gratitude. Thank you all.

Attah Damian Uzochukwu

Department of Political Science

November , 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Approval Page	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Table of Content	v
List of Tables/Figures	vii
Abbreviations/Acronyms	viii

Abstract	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of The Problem	6
1.3 Objectives of the Study	10
1.4 Significance of the Study	11
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Military Campaign against Internal Security Crises And Human Rights Violations	12
2.2. Social Movements and Human Rights Violations	24
Gap in Literature	33
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	34
3.1. Theoretical Framework	34
Theoretical Application	36
Hypotheses	37
3.3. Research Design	37
3.4. Method of Data Collection	39
3.5. Method of Data Analysis	40

Logical Data framework	42
CHAPTER FOUR: MILITARY CAMPANGNS AGAINST INTERNAL CRISES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS	44
4.1. Operation Boyona and Human Rights abuse in North East	46
4.2. Operation Hakurri 11 and Human Rights Violation in South-South	54
4.3. The JTF Operation and Human Rights Violation in North East	58
CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS	66
5.1. The Press and Human Rights Violation	67
5.2. The Islamic Movement of Nigeria and Human Rights Abuse	70
5.3. The IPOB Movement and Human Rights Violation in South East	74
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	78
6.1. Summary	78
6.2. Conclusion	79
6.3. Recommendation	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	82

LIST OF TABLES/CHARTS

Chart on Civil Rights violation in Giwa barracks Borno state by Nigeria security forces	47
Charts of political rights violation	52
Charts: School Attendance in Some Selected States	53
TABLE 1: Table of Internal Security Campaign By JTF	64
TABLE 2: Chronicles of Killed Nigerian Journalist In 2017	69
Chart on Right Violation by Nigeria Security Forces against Islamic Movement of Nigeria	
Chart on Dehumiliting Treatment Against IPOB Members	77
Chart on Killing of IPOB Members	79

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

IMN	Islamic Movement of Niger
MEND	Movement of Emancipation of Niger Delta
MASSOB	Movement of Acquisition Sovereign State of Biafra
UN	United Nations
BOYANA	Bornu yoba and Adamawa
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
JTF	Joint Task Force Operation
NHRC	National Human Right Commission

ABSTRACT

This study investigated internal security crises and human rights abuse in Nigeria from 2007 to 2017. Internal security crises are those crises generated internally that threaten the peaceful, co-existence and institutional stability of a state. Internal security crises are caused by struggles between classes, struggle for economic and political control of the states, ethno religious diversity and other factors that seek to change the political and economic status quo or to enthrone new crop of elites. In Nigeria, the management of these internal security crises have led to several crises within the state especially crises bordering on human rights abuse. The manner at which the Nigeria security forces respond to internal security crises through the use of excessive force, arbitrary arrest, extra judicial execution and other unprofessional practices have undermine human rights in Nigeria. In lieu of investigating internal security crises and human rights abuse, this study adopted two research questions; Does military campaign against internal security crises accounts for increase human rights violation in Nigeria? And Does repression of social movements in Nigeria accounts human rights violations?. In the theoretical framework, the theory of securitization by Ole Waever was adopted, while time series research design was adopted as research design. The documentary method of data collection and content analysis was used for data collection and analysis respectively. The study concludes that the manner at which internal security is managed in Nigeria is a threat to human rights as it account for most human rights violation in Nigeria. The study hereby recommends for the strict adherence of the rule of engagement while managing internal crises and the use of police to maintain internal peace.

KEYWORDS: Internal security, securitization, human right violation, social movements

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study.

The Westphalia treaty of 1648 entrusted the security of individuals and their environment to the nation state. In respect of this, the idea of national security is vital for the survival of every state. National security is an umbrella terminology that covers human security, health security, environmental security, economic security, military security, political security, food security and other factors that are important for a nation's survival.

National security can be a dangerously ambiguous concept if used without specification (Cho 2012). That is why it is necessary to specify the meaning. The concept of "national security" in the Latvian legal system is defined in Section 1, Part 1 of National Security Law. According to this legal act, national security is "State and society targeted actions, which are diverted to the position, which guarantees the independence of state, its constitutional order and territorial integrity, public prospect of free development, prosperity and stability". According to the definition, the term "national security" can be distinguished in the following features: Purposeful action; From the state and/or sovereignty, constitutional order, and territorial integrity, freedom of public development, prosperity and stability. According to Bello (2013:10), the term national security covers a broad area that deals with the concern of government about the stability and safety of a state. From the ongoing, national security was initially or traditionally perceived as referring to the protection of the territorial integrity of a state and the protection of its citizens from external threats, with specific focus on protection against military attack. Today, the scope of national security covers internal threats including interests as well as

enhancing the lives of people in the state and the provision of infrastructures required for development. There is also the challenge of striking a balance between human rights and making the states secured.

Furthermore, no sovereign state can guarantee her national or domestic security in the absence of internal security; therefore it is quiet difficult for a nation to guarantee it national security without first of all taking care of her domestic or internal security. In order words internal security is the take off stage for national security. According to Imobighe (1990:12) internal security entails freedom from the absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values, socio-political and economic objectives as well as meet the legitimate aspiration of the citizenry.

Internal security is quite an important aspect of national security/development. It equally implies the freedom from danger to life and property and the presence of conducive atmosphere for the people to pursue their legitimate matters within the society. Also Iweze (1990:7) affirms that internal security could also be viewed 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. Internal security involves government coordination of all those actions that would guarantee that the equilibrium of state is constantly maintained or quickly brought to stability whenever it is threatened by any form of civil disturbances or distractions from students, political or religious groups. It is therefore evident from the above definitions that a nation is said to be secured to the extent that it is not in a position to lose core values, life, property and liberty.

The maintenance of internal security is the core value of every state as Dawood and Salusi (2014:1) opined that internal security is very critical to the functions of the state. The essence of the state is the promotion of good life and the creation of political conditions that would enhance the welfare of the citizenry. The state cannot perform the first primary purpose of the state except the maintenance of law and order is achieved. In Nigeria internal security is the prime facie of the government in order to stem the rate of increase in internal security crises and to eliminate the existing ones. Internal security crises are all those factors that threaten the internal peace, law and order, peaceful co-existence of a state.

In Nigeria there many internal security crises like; economic crises, Boko Haram crisis, armed robbery and kidnapping, disease outbreak crop farmers-herds crises. According to Egbefo (2014:4) Many scholars have identified religious, political, intolerance, mismanagement of resources, subversion, sabotage, espionage, armed robbery, muting and coop d'état and so on as the main cause of internal security crisis in Nigeria. There are equally other structural problems that arises due to the failure of Nigeria government failure to address certain root causes of internal security crises. Azeez, (2005), Babawale (2007), Akambi (2004), Asemota (2004), observed that there are problems arising from lack of good government and accountability that is still a mirage and lacking among our leaders, be it at the local government, state government or federal level and the issue is also lacking in the private sector of the economy. Another is the high population growth coupled with unemployment, the effects of rapid population growth on the economic development of Nigeria as well. This has been identified as a major cog in the wheel of economic development in Nigeria and reasons for internal security threat since 1960. (Bolatinwa, M. 1987, Buhari 1987, Lawal M.B 1995). Election fraud and mal-practices among the ruling class cannot still be alienated as the major cause of internal security crises. In Nigeria,

there have been a continual culture of election injustice/rigging malpractices. The electoral rigging and fraud that has been frustrating the wishes of the people to choose those who exercise political power. Precisely because of this history, elections in the country has always been a period of political tension and indeed violence and crises. (Adekanye, 1990, Chukwuma 2006, Daniel 2001, Jibrin 2006). The growing rate of poverty and hunger among Nigerians; Poverty is a situation or condition of hopelessness and a condition of being poor and wretched. Aliyu (1979), defined poverty as a situation in which people live below a predetermined standard value in terms of income and conditions of living, hence the rating and description of individual and nations as being poor. About 50% of Nigerians live below poverty line and about 70% live in rural areas with no infrastructure, food, security and so on. According to Aliyu, most Nigerians are often hungry aggressive and intolerant. The effect of poverty and lack of food makes the poor to indulge in violence and anti-social activities which threatens the security of the state. (Agbede 2005, Eitzen 1980, Obasanjo 1999, Olagbemi 199, Sunday Punch, 2006).

The struggle to manage the above internal security crises and maintain internal peace by the Nigeria security operatives have impugned on different rights of Nigerians. The problem lays heavily on the management method employed by the security operatives against internal peace. Moreover, Mbah and Nwangwu (2014:2) observed that the activities of the Nigeria security force in the northern region have not only eroded the spirit of Section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which makes the security and welfare of the people the primary purpose of government but also undermined the fundamental human rights of the citizenry as enshrined in Chapter Four of the document. They have equally negated other relevant laws established under the constitution as well as several international human rights treaties which the government has, at one time or the other, ratified. It is therefore ironical that

the security agents who are statutorily responsible for the protection and preservation of the fundamental rights of the nationals are increasingly indicted in the infraction of these rights.

The method of managing internal security crises by the Nigeria security operatives like the Nigeria Armed forces (soldiers, airforce, navy), the Nigeria police force (NPF), the state security service (SSS), Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), the Nigerian Prison service, the Nigeria Immigration service and National intelligence Agencies have generated a lot of crises due to the human right violation as regard to the manner at which the security forces handles security issues in Nigeria.

Therefore, human rights could be defined as those universal rights that every person enjoys on the basis of being a human. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was unanimously adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations through the General Assembly Resolution 217A(111) on the 10th of December, 1948. Since its declaration, it has become fashionable for most countries of the world (Nigeria inclusive) to entrench the catalogue of rights in their national constitutions. Human rights according to Kaluge (2013) involves those rights which cannot be said to be given to man by another man but are earned by man for being a human because these are necessary for his continuous happy existence with himself, his fellow man and for participation in a complex society. It is those rights that are the legal entitlements which every citizen could enjoy without fear of the government or its fellow citizens

Finally, on the cause of maintaining internal peace by the Nigerian security operatives, the following classes of rights have been violated by the security agencies in Nigeria and they are; social rights, economic rights, political rights, cultural rights etc.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The management styles employed by the Nigeria security agencies in managing internal security crises have been the major factor that impinges on the rights of Nigerians more than the crises itself. In lieu of the above statement, the bombardment of the IDP camp in the town of Rann in Bornu state amounts to many death in the country. Even though most of these crises could undermine human rights and cause severe death among the citizens but lack of professionalism among the Nigerian security agencies undermine human rights which are the major thrust of this study.

The major reason for the unprotected human rights on the cause of the management of internal security crises is not hinged on the nature of crises involved, non recognition of the universal human rights laws by the local authorities but on the lack of professionalism of the security forces in the management of the internal security crisis. In Nigeria, there are two major documents that serves as guideline to the management of internal security crises. The Nigeria police order paper and the rules of engagement of the Nigerian military. According to Aderemi (2012), the neglect of the rules of engagement is one of the major causes of the increase of civilian casualties in internal security operations. The gross neglect of this rules have accounted for more civilian casualties during internal security operations. For instance on 6th June 2016, International Human Rights Watch body report (2015) noted that the Nigerian Army unlawfully killed more than 350 men, women and children, supporters of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN), a Shi'ite Muslim minority group, in aria city of Kaduna state. The cause of the death according to the report was that the convoy of the chief of army staff was blocked by Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN) protesters, the army who by such instance opened fire on them thereby inflicting more civilian casualties. The Nigerian army's rules of engagement provides for

the use of proportionate force in the face of internal crisis but the army's application and use of live bullets to disperse protesters is against the professional ethics of the military. On the other hand, the neglect of the police order paper has led to massive civilian death by the police.

According to the order (237), it states that a police officer could use fire arm when a police officer is attacked and his life is in danger and there is no other way of saving his life, also when defending a person who is attacked and he believes on reasonable grounds that he cannot otherwise protect him from death. When necessary to disperse rioters or to prevent them from committing serious offences against lives and property. In furtherance to this, Akanam (2015) observed that Police men in Nigeria rely heavily on the provision of the order paper to open fire on anyone claiming to be defensive. The neglect of the provision of the order paper has been linked to so many extra judicial killings against groups engaging in a peaceful protest in Nigeria and every other cases. The death that arose due to IPOB, MASSOB and Islamic movement of Nigeria could be linked to this section alone. According to Amnesty International report (2009), attested to the fact that police order 237 provides for much wider grounds for the use of lethal force than is permissible under international law and standards. These sections are being abused by some police officers to commit, justify and cover up extrajudicial executions. According to Ojo (2010), even though it is important also to note that this order provides a legal ground or backing for a police to get away with murder, the order is equally in negation of the section 33 of the 1999 constitution that provides and guaranteed the preservation and sacredness of human lives. There is hardly any reliable statistical analysis of trends and patterns of security forces killings across Nigeria. This is partly explained by lack of reliable data as a result of inconsistencies in official data and media reports on security forces killings. Reports by the Police and other security agencies hardly give accurate figures and reveal many discrepancies

when compared with media reports and individual accounts. According to Afeno (2014), Killings of criminal suspects and innocents citizens by the security forces are reported in the media almost on a daily basis, historically, law enforcement in the country has been characterized by violence and extra-judicial killings. Extra judicial killings are a routine feature of policing in Nigeria, hundreds of Nigerians are murdered each year by the NPF. Persons suspected of, or arrested for, armed robbery are particularly at risk of extra judicial execution. According to Nigeria Watch Report (2006 to 2014), the Nigerian security forces are responsible for many killings on a daily basis, not to mention torture and extra-judicial executions. They are trigger-happy and unable to maintain law and order professionally and peacefully. Most of the time, the security agencies play to the gallery and ally with the political class to damper the rights of the citizens. The police frequently labeled the innocent victims “armed robbers” the innocent victims of their extra judicial executions. Not only does this labeled help cover their crimes, but it exacerbates public fear of armed robbers and creates the perception that anyone described as such automatically loses the rights to both life and due process.

Moreover, apart from the negligence of the police order paper and the rules of engagement in managing internal security crises, the shoe equally pinches on the lack of appropriate training to handle internal crises. For instance, the army is trained not to maintain internal peace but to guide against external aggression and for that, trained to engage the enemies of the state and engage in deadly mission. It is on this note that the use of the military to maintain internal peace like IPOB agitations, IMN protest, MASSOB, MEND and other social movement cannot be free from human rights violations in Nigeria. The creation of the civilian joint task force during the zenith of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria speaks volume on this. The creation of the civilian Joint Task force has also created room for the neglect of the rules of engagement

and tenet of professionalism. This is because this group is ill trained, and lack the required skills or professionalism to manage internal security crises. In other words, they have helped in furthering extra judicial killings in the country. To buttress this point Odomovo (2016), observed that over the years, various Joint Security Task Forces (JTFs) have been created and deployed for internal security duties as a result of the inability of the police to effectively combat the rising wave of organised crime, militancy and insurgency in the country. Furthermore, the Nigerian security forces hardly adhere to legally mandated rules of engagement, and they are known to use excessive force to arrest, detain and kill anyone who happens to be at the wrong place at the wrong time.

In furtherance to the afore-enumerated issues that are pivot to why human rights abuse have been persistence on the cause of managing internal security problem, there are two strands of analysis that should bear to the mind and they are; firstly, military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increase human rights violation in Nigeria. The use of military in quelling internal crises or uprising in Nigeria negates the core reason why the military was established and also not in consonance with the training they are given. According to the section 32 of the 1999 constitution, the military was established to checkmate external aggressions. The use of the military for internal peace and campaigns has been marred by cases of human right violation because they are ill-trained for it. In most of the developed countries like United states military campaigns or exercise are held outside the border with the core objectives of determining how prepared the military were to protect the state but in Nigeria military campaign are lunched to take care or in the face of internal security crises pave way for such campaigns to be marred by human rights violations.

Secondly, the repression of social movements in Nigeria accounts human rights violations. The security forces clamp down on social movements not only leads to human rights abuse but equally radicalize the movements. Most social movement are governed by sets of ideology the application of force to disperse protesters like Islamic movements of Nigeria, Indigenous people of Biafra, Movement of the Actualization Sovereign State of Biafra and other civil society organizations in Nigeria have impinge on the rights of such organization.

In lieu of the following, the following research question is therefore sieved out;

- Does military campaign against internal security crises account for increase in human rights violation in Nigeria?
- Does repression of social movements in Nigeria account for human rights violations?

1.2.Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are based on two categories. The first is the broad objective, while the second is the specific objectives. The broad objectives of this study are; to explain how internal security crises have violated human rights of people and how the campaign of the security agencies tacking security in Nigeria. The specific objectives of this study of the study are;

- ✓ To explain how the military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increased human rights violation in Nigeria.
- ✓ To analyze how the repression of social movements in Nigeria accounts human rights violations

1.4 Significance of the Study

The relevance of this study is based on two level of significance. They are; the practical significance and the theoretical significance. In the theoretical level of significance; this study tries to establish a gap in the literature and also make contribution to knowledge. This study tries establishing a nexus on the manner at which internal security crises are managed by the security agencies and human rights abuse that follows it. The importance of military professionalism, rule of engagements, police order paper in managing internal crises in Nigeria.

In the practical significance, this study will be useful to students of political science, conflict studies, management administration and defense studies on the issues of internal security management especially the manner at which internal crises could be handled to reduce civilian casualties and abuses of human rights

Justification of the Study

The main focus on the military in this work is due to two reasons; the use of military in keeping internal peace in Nigeria as enshrine in section 217 of 1999 constitution and also because human right abuse is always high when the military are involved.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores a literature search on the topic; “internal security crises and human rights abuse”. It adopts a thematic approach of review of appropriate literature base on the following;

1. Military campaign against internal security crises and human rights violations.
2. Social Movements and Human Rights Violations.

At the end of the literature search, a gap literature was established to form a focus or a stepping stone for further researches.

2.1 Military Campaign against Internal Security Crises and Human Rights Violations

The Nigeria security forces campaigns against internal security crises in order to guarantee national security have resulted in several human rights abuse across the country. The primary duty of the security forces is to ensure the safety of the state and the people, but the security forces on the course of protecting and ensuring the safety of the state from threats within have violated several rights of the people in Nigeria.

One of the major internal security crises that Nigeria faced at the end of the civil war was the Niger Delta crisis. The revenue derived from the Niger Delta region account for almost 60% of the total internally generated revenue. The region is rich with crude oil, which has become the mainstay of the Nigerian economy (Ekuerhare, 2002). The intensive exploration of oil in the region led to the environmental degradation of the area and in extension the abuse of economic

rights of the people in the area. The rise of militancy in the region was lead to the government use of the security forces preferably the military to counter it.

The retort to force and solve the Niger Delta crisis further undermined other rights like the social and live rights in the region while equally giving room for the rise of militants in the area. According to Okumagba (2012) Militancy in the region is a direct response to the human rights violations and the perceived neglect, and marginalization of the region by the Nigerian state and environmental and human hazards imposed on the local Niger Delta communities and inhabitants occasioned by exploration and exploitation by oil multinational companies. Okumagba assertion could be right to some point as the response of the youths of the Niger Delta at the beginning of the crisis in the area under the leadership of Siro Wiwa was through diplomacy and activism. This assertion could equally be faulted because militancy in Niger Delta continued even after the Former president Yar'adua's amnesty program to the youths of the region.

The federal government in trying to address the state of insecurity in the region has continually regarded the activities of militia groups as criminal and therefore a threat to national security and has accordingly declared war against the groups and the communities where they are located to secure the region and the Nigerian state. The militarization and militarist actions have worsened armed conflict in the region for such violent response worsens the very conditions that gave rise to the violence in the first place thereby creating a conflict trap. According to Okumagba (2011)The military operations do not affect the militia groups but affect mostly armless civilians who inhabit this community. In the testimony to the assertion of Okumagba, most of the militant are well trained live in creeks in the Niger Delta. In most of the military operations lunched against these militants, the civilian populations have always been at

the receiving end of the bombardment carried against them. In support of this assertion, the military clamped down or invasion of the Odi community in the Niger delta region recorded more civilian casualty. Human right watch noted in this regard that “It was the activities of the military clamp down at Odi that led to the massive destruction of lives and property after two days of continuous bombardment of Odi community in the Niger Delta”(Human Rights Watch, 1999). The operation led to severe hardships and wanton loss of lives to the civilian population whom they claim to offer security to and at sometimes, the insurgents escape the operations (Teslim, 2013).

Morestill, The continual violation of the environment and human rights violations in the Niger Delta region have gone across the national boundaries (Bullard, 1990, Neff, 1990; Nickel 1993; Nicker and Viola, 1994; Adeola, 1994; Neinberg, 1998). Among recent cases of environmental degradation and human rights violations in the third world are: The murder of Wilson Pinheiro and Francis ‘Chico’ Mendes in the Amazon rain forest, the massacre of father Nery Lito Satur and several others in the Philippines and the public hanging of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other members of the movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in November, 1995 in Nigeria. The subsequent detention, torture, and repression of other members of Mosop are among the most compelling, cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta region. (Adeola 2001). There have been several other cases of government agents particularly the military particularly in the Third World, adopting a policy of systematic genocide against members of minority groups in order to appropriate their lands and natural resources. Minority status, lower socioeconomic status, powerlessness, and other conditions of marginalization constitute the major factors influencing the extent of environmental injustice and human rights violations (Adeola, 1994) Glazer and Glazer, 1998) observed that from the inception of the

existence of people in the Niger Delta, the story of the people of this region has been that of misery, deprivation and poverty. Since the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in the Niger Delta, the oil producing communities have known only poverty, misery and sorrow. The circumstance of the people's existence and the lack of political will of the Nigerian state in addressing the problems have forced militia groups to mount a series of violent attacks on oil facilities, workers and state agencies particularly the armed forces.

The people of the region have utilized various options ranging from dialogue, litigation, peaceful protest and lately open violence (Ogbogbo, 2005; Ovwasa, 1999). The resort to violence by the people of the region may have been as a result of the unresponsiveness to the plight and increasing level of frustration with the state. The people of the Niger Delta have not been passive about environmental degradation and long term neglect. The people have therefore, expressed their dissatisfaction through various forms of protests, which have taken both violent and non violent forms. However, the present situation involving the use of violence epitomized by rising radicalization and militarization of the people's struggles for resource control, environmentally sensitive practices and socio-economic development clearly shows the failure of response of both the Nigerian state and oil corporation to the challenges of the people of the Niger Delta (Omotola, 2006 & Ikelegbe, 2001).

The Nigerian state in return have not been passive to the crisis in the Niger Delta, successive regimes have taken steps aimed at addressing the crisis. However, it is worthy of note that the response of the Nigerian State and multinational oil corporation to the agitations and demands of the communities in the Niger Delta have ranged from double talk, unfulfilled promises and armed twisting strategy (Ovwasa, 1999). State repression and violence have been a common strategy deployed mostly by military regimes in confronting uprising in the Niger

Delta. This often involves the drafting armed security operatives to the region with the mandate to put such uprising under control. Instances of state violent repression against oil producing communities includes Egbona crisis 1989 – 91; Oburu violence 1989; Umnechem Massacre, November, 1990; Bonny Tragedy, 1992; Egi-Obaji Mayhem, 1994; Tai-Baira (Ogoni) Massacre, 1994; Ubima tragedy, 1995; Odi Massacre 1999 (Eteng, 1996; Ovwasa. According to Okumagba (2012) inspite of the international community's reaction to human rights violations in the Niger Delta like the Commonwealth of Nations, the United Nations General Assembly, there are cases of human rights violations in the Niger Delta. The response of the Nigerian state to the Niger Delta crisis has been the militarization of the environment. This has had lost of life, and properties, which can best be described as violations of human rights in the Niger Delta.

Furthermore, the military involvement in the internal security crises in Nigeria has led to infringement of people's rights in Nigeria. In the course of ensuring internal peace in Niger Delta, the first known military campaign or operation was code named 'Operation Hakuri II'. This operation was initiated with the mandate of protecting lives and properties particularly oil platforms, flow stations, operating rig terminals and pipelines, refineries and power installations in the Niger Delta (Tom, 2000). The major aim of Operation Hakuri II' was deployed to the Niger Delta region to counter the operations of Niger Delta militants in Odi community following the killings of some military personnel in the area in 1999. Hence, Teslim, (2013) observed that civilians have always been in danger of both insurgency and counter-insurgency operations in Nigeria. In the Niger Delta, the JTF's operations are not different from the picture painted above, this is because the military in most of the counter insurgency operations in the Niger Delta targets mostly young men irrespective of whether they are militants or not. Beginning with the *Operation Hakuri II* activities in Odi community, among other counter-

insurgency operations in the area, Nigerian counter insurgency has been widely condemned as a result of the strategy employed. In order to revenge the execution of 7 policemen by a group of armed youths in Odi, the state responded with what analyst have described as a ‘revenge’ on innocent, helpless and hapless citizens. The Policemen had gone to Odi to investigate rumours that some Ijaw youths were mobilizing to storm the city of Lagos in reprisal for attacks carried out a month earlier on Ijaw residence in Lagos (an ethnic Yoruba metropolis) by the refractory ethnic Yoruba organization, Odua People’s Congress (Ibeanu, 2002).

Aside, ‘Operation Hakuri II’ was the ‘Operation Pulo Shield’ established in 2004 and saddled with the responsibility of countering insurgency, illegal oil bunkering, piracy, kidnapping and hostage taking in the creeks and coastal areas of the Niger Delta and other adjoining states (Azuatalam, 2012). This ‘Operation’ was to cover the nine states of the Niger Delta region Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers states. In addition to Operation Hakuri, Operation Andoni and Operation Restore Hope have been created and used in different parts of the Niger Delta states. This operations even though restored peace at some extent in the troubled states but accounts to massive civilian deaths of which many of them were unlawfully executed.

The Nigeria military and other security agencies have at the fall of 2012 during the peak of Boko Haram insurgency carried out several internal security campaigns aimed at decimating insurgency and other security threats in Nigeria. Examples of such campaigns are; Operation Boyona, Operation Lafya Dole, Operation Ayam Kpakuma, Operation Safe corridors , operation crocodile smile, Operation Pythom Dance and other military operations aimed at maintaining internal peace in Nigeria . The military is currently involved in security operations in 30 out of Nigeria’s 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), often taking over ordinary policing

functions. The frequent deployment of soldiers has resulted in many cases of excessive use of force, unlawful killings and extrajudicial executions throughout the country. The government's decision to turn immediately to the military for internal public order situations has also seriously undermined the role of the Nigerian police. The unprofessional manner at which internal security issues are managed in the country accelerates the number of abuses of rights of the people they are supposed to protect. The low assessment of crises situations and issues, the employment of maximum or unproportionate force in managing security issues raises the chances of human rights abuse by the Nigeria security forces.

According to the Amnesty International report 2014, the international human rights watch noted that In the course of security operations against Boko Haram in north-east Nigeria, Nigerian military forces have extra judicially executed more than 1,000 people; they have arbitrarily arrested at least 20,000 people, mostly young men and boys; and have committed countless acts of torture. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Nigerians have become victims of enforced disappearance; and at least 7,000 people have died in military detention as a result of starvation, extreme overcrowding and denial of medical assistance. While the same report attested that Hundreds, and thousands of people arrested by the Nigerian military have been missing for months and even years. Some are probably held in unauthorized, unacknowledged detention.

Furthermore, In Plateau state, which has been a theatre for ethnic and sectarian violence of different degrees since the end of military rule in 1999, a Security Task Force campaign code named 'Operation Safe Haven' was established in 2010. The 'Operation Safe Haven' was charged with the responsibility to curtail the spate of killings by ethnic militant men on the Jos Plateau and its environs (Afen, 2014). Like every other military operations that proceeded this

operation many civilians were unlawfully arrested and detained. However, the apparent insecurity in Borno state and some states of the North Eastern part of Nigeria occasioned by the activities of Boko Haram insurgents led to the establishment of a Joint Task Force code named 'JTF Operation Restore Order I' in June 2011 (Sagir, 2012). This JTF was to serve as a counter weight to the Boko Haram whose activities had paralysed the socio-economic life of the inhabitants of these areas. As a result, the JTF which comprised members of the Nigerian Armed Forces, Nigerian Police Force, Department of State Security, Nigerian Customs Service, Nigerian Immigration Service and Defence Intelligence Agency, was mandated to restore law and order to the north eastern part of Nigeria and Borno state in particular.

According to Itiri (2016) it appears that counter-insurgency operations in Nigeria have been more militaristic than strategic and at the same time, it has also been more defensive than engaging. This is because the counter-insurgency operations discussed in this research work have adopted the principle of selective protection (protecting government officials) rather than the principles of targeting intelligence, precaution and distinction in areas where insurgents come in contact with helpless and hapless civilian population. As a result, in an attempt to counter and respond to insurgency, the state has been involved in alarming human rights violations which has affected the civilian population negatively in all ramifications.

Moreover, another glaring instance of human rights abuse in Nigeria was on the course of the present war against insurgency in the North-east. The military campaign against this insurgent group is accompanied by series of human rights abuse, especially in cases of extra judicial killing, torture, illegal detention and other forms of rights denials perpetrated by governments or their security agencies have been reported. In fact, to present a picture of the scores of human rights abuse in the war against the Boko Haram Insurgents, Amnesty

International in a report titled *Stars on their Shoulders. Blood on their Hands: War Crimes Committed by the Nigerian Military* allegorically referred to the soldiers as being interested in gaining promotions by committing human rights abuses not minding if their victims are insurgents or civilian population. The report stated summarily that: In the course of security operations against Boko Haram in north-east Nigeria, Nigerian military forces have extra judicially executed more than 1,200 people; they have arbitrarily arrested at least 20,000 people, mostly young men and boys; and have committed countless acts of torture. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Nigerians have become victims of enforced disappearance; and at least 7,000 people have died in the military detention as a result of starvation, extreme overcrowding and denial of medical assistance (Amnesty International, 2015).^{II} to Odi community, even when the time for the ultimatum had not expired. The Nigeria Police engage unlawful killings are not new as they occur in many instances. In lieu of this, Aderemi (2010) noted that unnecessary and unlawful use of firearms by the police is not a question of a few isolated cases, but of a widespread phenomenon. Many unlawful killings happen during police operations. In other cases, the police shoot and kill drivers who fail to pay them bribes at checkpoints. Some are killed in the street because, as the police later claim, they are “armed robbers”; others are killed after arrest, allegedly for attempting to escape. Many disappear in police custody and are likely to have been extra judicially executed.

The operation BOYONA conducted around May – August 2013, the operation was led by Major General Ewansiha and was conducted in the following states; Borno, Yobe and Adamawa state, while the head quarters was in Maiduguri. The security forces that took part of such operation were; Joint Task Force (JTF): Nigerian Army, Navy, Airforce, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Department of State Security (DSS), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the

Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA). The total number of the troops involved in the operation was 10,000 persons. Operation BOYONA was launched when the state of emergency was announced in May 2013. The operation lasted for just four months was marred with several human rights violations. In Yobe, Borno and Adamawa state, it was reported by Amnesty international that The highest death rates were recorded in Giwa barracks in May, June and July 2013, where up to 180 deaths were recorded in few some days. In June alone, more than 1,400 corpses were delivered from the barracks to one of the mortuaries in Maiduguri. While other cases of mass extrajudicial executions documented by Amnesty International include the execution of 64 detainees in Presidential Lodge (Guardroom) detention facility in Damaturu, Yobe state on 18 April 2013 and the killings of at least 185 people during a “mop-up” operation in Baga on 17 April 2013. One of the factors that have contributed to the high incidents of deaths of the civilians during military or security forces campaign against insurgency are unprofessionalism and lack of strict adherence to the rules of engagement. The use of civilians in the code name of civilian JTF further contributes to this, as most civilians used in these operations are not well trained in handling ammunitions and are not at home with the psychology of controlling ammunitions. According to Noprin (2007) security forces often respond to civil unrest including protests and riots, with excessive force, which often results in casualties. It is remarkable that killings by the security forces are often counted as evidence of effective counter-insurgency and policing which should not be. It is on this noted that the bone of contention laid on the fact that the security forces are not held responsible for the number of mistaken death that their action cause to the nation. The ignorance of the police order paper on this regard is very bad. According to the police order paper 237 it states that Police officers are never held responsible for their excesses even though the ‘Criminal Procedure Act’ also stipulates that “Any

person authorized by law to use force is criminally responsible for any excess, according to the nature and the quality of the act which constitutes the excess. In regards to the above Chukwuma (1999) observed that Weak institutional accountability measures pays deaf ears to the security forces ineffectiveness. Judicial oversight over security forces is weak largely because the leadership of the security forces prefer internal accountability measures to external oversight bodies. The security forces in the fear of the above prefer ‘Orderly Room Trial’ and ‘Court Martial’ respectively, in trying their erring officers. The lack of cooperation from the security forces often frustrates the oversight functions of the courts and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). Apparently, repressive laws and weak accountability measures reinforce arbitrary killings by the security forces with impunity.

Moreover, apart from killings, unlawful detention, and extra judicial killings citizens by the security operatives, there is equally a case of gross violation of press freedom in Nigeria. Journalists, politicians and activists who criticize the government or the security architecture are always locked up or incarcerated without a formal trial by any court of competent jurisdiction. Despite the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999, clampdowns assault, beatings unfair arrests and police raids against producers of print media have continued. In recent times, the activities of the security operatives have raised the question or the phrase that “there is freedom of speech, but what is not guaranteed is the freedom after speech”. Furthermore, on the cause of the Nigeria Police operation, unlawful killings are not new as they occur in many instances. In lieu of this Aderemi (2010) noted that unnecessary and unlawful use of firearms by the police is not a question of a few isolated cases, but of a widespread phenomenon. Many unlawful killings happen during police operations. In other cases, the police shoot and kill drivers who fail to pay them bribes at checkpoints. Some are killed in the street because, as the police later claim, they

are “armed robbers”; others are killed after arrest, allegedly for attempting to escape. Many disappear in police custody and are likely to have been extra judicially executed.

The operation python dance was an operation meant to restore peace in south east. The security forces campaign against the Indigenous People Of Biafra agitation in the south east Nigeria in 2017 witness a similar scenario of what have been happening in the north east and other part of Nigeria. During the campaign that was ear-marked “ Operation Python Dance”, the military have been accused to have taken the leader of the group Nnamdi Kanu into custody despite the bail granted him by the court before the campaign. Several other youths were allegedly killed and others detained during the campaign. The escalating violence between security forces and the pro-Biafra group, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) is terrifying. During the protest movement by IPOB and MASSOB, it was reported that over 150 members of MASSOB were arrested by security operatives. Two members of the group were killed and several others wounded in the ensuing clash as Joint Security Task Force members attempted to apprehend members of MASSOB during church activities marking the 16th anniversary of the movement. The Security operatives are alleged to have used brute force on the unarmed MASSOB members whilst informing them that they are carrying out a Federal government directive to clampdown on the group. The zenith of the human rights abuse was during the operation Python dance that saw many members of the secessionist group killed, detained by the security forces. In the southeast, the security forces have responded with violence to peaceful gatherings, protests and prayer sessions of IPOB members and supporters. In all incidents documented by Amnesty International, the military was deployed and in most cases they used lethal force to stop gatherings and protests. It is evident that the constant deployment of soldiers for what should be routine policing functions is

contributing to the increased level of unlawful killings by state officials in Nigeria, the human right organization reported. The military also often claim to have used their rules of engagement for internal security operations, which contain provisions reflecting international law enforcement standards, but it is clear from witness testimony and video evidence that they did not comply with their own rules of engagement. The sum total of the military campaign all over the country was witnessed by around 2017 to 2018 whereby operation crocodile smile was conducted in south south, “Ayam Akpame” in Middle belt and “safe corridor” in the south east. Most of this operations were marred with following human rights abuses and they are unlawful detention, extra judicial killings, forced disappearance, and mostly restriction to the freedom of movement.

2.2. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

In a common parlance social movement is a collection of individuals guided by common interest and whose objectives is to achieve those interest. According to Snow, Soule and Kries (2004) collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.

Nigeria is bedeviled by many social challenges that promote widespread killings by the security forces. Poverty and social inequalities can cause ethno-religious conflicts, criminality, and insurgency, all of which result in violent responses by the state. Henrik (2014), noted that ‘To restore order’, the security forces often kill more people than are killed at the initial stage of a conflict. Hence, killings by the security forces are very common in areas most affected by

ethno-religious violence, criminality, militancy, and insurgency. For instance, arbitrary killings by the security forces were very common in the pre-amnesty Niger Delta because of militant activities, while the imposition of emergency rule in the North-East following the Boko Haram insurgency has resulted in widespread killings by the security forces. According to Afeno (2000) over the years, the Nigerian army has been regularly deployed to assist the police in law enforcement and internal security operations. This practice results largely from the belief that the presence of the security forces is sufficient to guarantee internal security. Data from the Nigeria Watch database, however, indicates that the intervention of the security forces in violent incidents often exacerbates the situation. Marc-Antoine (2014), observed that Killings of criminal suspects and innocent citizens by the security forces in Nigeria are reported in the media almost on a daily basis. Historically, law enforcement in the country has been characterized by violence and extra-judicial killings. Since its origin as a ‘consular guard’ whose primary function was to protect the economic and political interests of the colonial authority, the security forces have continued to use excessive force, including arbitrary killings, in their engagement with the civilian population. In the immediate post-colonial period the repressive character of the security forces was heightened as a result of the militarization of internal security during military rule, when the army, police, and para-military forces were used to repress and kill people arbitrarily. Since the end of military rule in 1999, successive civilian governments have militarized law enforcement by routinely deploying the army for internal security operations.

One of the most suppressed social movements in Nigeria is the press. According Akinwale (2011), in spite of the proliferation of press organizations, constitutional provisions for press freedom have not been fully enforced, as both the military regimes and civilian administrations have in turn violated constitutional rights to press freedom in Nigeria. The

security forces crank down on activist, and journalist cannot be overlooked, despite the passage of the freedom of Information (FOI) acts by the federal government that guarantees press freedom and free access of information. Despite the legal provisions that guarantee press freedom in Nigeria, the press are always the easy target of the security forces on the event of any crises in Nigeria. The sustainability of Nigerian democracy is at stake in the absence of complete press freedom. A political scientist stated that democracy is not just about rights; it is equally about participation, interest representation, and contestation' (Aiyede 2000:17). Lack of full recognition for the press is a major political constraint and violation of right in Nigeria.

The danger of repression of press freedom in democratic dispensations should be the principal concern of any civil society. Any democratic society that lacks complete press freedom are at risk of falling victim to violence. Members of the press, especially journalists and editors who struggle against forces that seek to suppress press freedom, have been brutalised. Nigeria, China, Cuba and Eritrea were among the countries with high prevalence of arrested and jailed journalists in 2007 (Bush 2008). Several cases of arrested journalists were reported in Nigeria even during democratic dispensations (*The Punch* 2008). Generally, state restriction of freedom of expression and police brutality were regular threats to members of the press. Police raided editorial offices and arrested employees of press organizations including the *Daily Independent*, *The News*, and *The Observer* during the 1999-2003 democratic dispensation (*The Punch* 2008; Onadipe 2002). The police action was said to be the result of press publications considered critical of the Nigerian government, as most of the time, the press publish some document that the government feels it discredits them. As such, the police tend to question the power of the press to checkmate that governance institutions has been curtailed, with grave implications for socio-economic development in Nigeria.

The use of the security forces by the government to suppress social movement is a negation to the rights of association and other human rights at large in Nigeria. The application of maximum force by the Nigerian security forces in managing internal security threats especially social movements' agitation; religious and other protest is not new. Scholars like Salisu and Mohd (2014), Walker (2012), Chothia (2012), Cook (2011) and Onuoha (2014) agreed that Boko haram whose name was once *Shabaab* Muslim Youth Organization was once peaceful under the leadership of Mallam Lawal. When Lawal travelled to continue his education in Madina Saudi Arabia, Yusuf became the leader of the movement. In addition, Yusuf's Leadership opened the group to the popularity and political influence. The use of force by the police to silence the group by recording the killing of its leader made the group radical.

Furthermore, in recent time another glaring but recent instance of use of force against social movements in Nigeria by the security force was the recent confrontation between the military and the members of the Islamic movement of Nigeria in 2016 and also military confrontation and campaign carried out against IPOB in 2017. During a peaceful demonstration by the members of the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) the convoy of the Chief Of Army Staff (COAS) was blocked, unarmed protesters, the security details of the army chief Lt Col Baratai opened fire on this people and killed most of them. The Nigeria soliders latter attacked his house killed his two sons and kept El Zakzaky and his wife into custody even against the court rule for his release. According to Amnesty International report (2017) on the matter, the human rights body stated that the military used unlawful and excessive force against IMN supporters, unlawfully killing hundreds of unarmed men and women who posed no threat to their lives or the lives of others. More than five months after the incident, the families of those killed have neither received the remains of the dead nor been informed of where they were buried.

After the incident, the military meticulously destroyed most of the evidence at the scenes of the clashes. Soldiers sealed the areas around the IMN headquarters and other sites from 12 December onwards. Other sites belonging to the IMN in Zaria were also completely or partially destroyed . According to Nabhon and Aghedo (2015), the professionalism of the security agencies has also resulted in the infliction of pain upon the offenders and the innocent masses through coercion. It becomes very clear in capital offenses where society takes the lives of offenders convicted of murder, armed robbery or treason or even innocent citizens on flimsy reasons. At some point, alleged criminals are executed without trial at any law court in Nigeria.

Morestill, not only that the security forces have applied maximum force against unarmed protesters, Nigeria paramilitaries like the department of security services, the Nigerian police force and the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) have been in the culture of unlawful detention of IMN, IPOB members and other civilian against the directives of the law court. The protest by the Indigenous People of Biafra that started immediately after the 2015 election was marred by clashes between police, soldiers, with the protesters. Since August 2015, the security forces have killed at least 150 members and supporters of the pro-Biafran organization IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra) and injured hundreds during non-violent meetings, marches and other gatherings. Hundreds were also arbitrarily arrested and most of the time they shot while protesting. According to Amnesty International report in (2015) The security forces have arrested hundreds pro-Biafra activists. In addition, DSS has arrested eight IPOB coordinators; some at IPOB events and others at their homes. While some have been released, many others were charged with treason with cases still lingering in the court, which carries the death penalty under Nigeria law. The military took the bodies of people killed and injured in Onitsha and Asaba to the military barracks in Onitsha. Video footage verified by

Amnesty International shows soldiers loading dead and wounded people into their Hilux van. Despite overwhelming evidence that the Nigerian security forces have committed human rights violations including extra judicial executions, torture and other ill-treatments against unarmed protesters, activist and religious and ethnic upraising, there has been no action by the Nigerian authorities to hold accountable or to bring the officers or the command involved in the action to book. Amnesty international equally showed evidence through 87 videos of the events showing the killings of pro-Biafra activists and the immediate aftermath of these fatal shootings. Yet the Nigerian government has not done anything to end the unlawful and brutal crackdown. There has been no independent investigation nor has the President instructed the armed forces to comply with international human rights law in responding to IBOP protests. Morestill, the shooting on 9 February 2016 at Aba National High School, which bystanders and pro-Biafra activists filmed from the beginning till end, shows total disrespect for human rights on the part of the Nigerian military. The video footage, reviewed and verified by Amnesty International, shows that soldiers ran into the field and surrounded the pro-Biafra activists, who were unarmed and not violent just singing and dancing. The military acted as if they were in combat and took up a crouched aiming position, establishing a perimeter. Although police were also present, they showed no intent to police the crowd, nor were they in charge of the operation. After the police withdrew, tear gas was fired and seconds later, the military fired live ammunition unrest of Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB).

Morestill, another version of human rights violation on social movements was how the security forces managed the struggle for resources control in the Niger Delta region. During the halt of the Niger Delta struggle against the degrading their environment by the oil explorers through oil spillage, the security forces rather than employing community integrative approach

through peaceful dialogue that will be aimed at finding a breed ground applied excessive force to curtail the violence. The first group of activist that suffered during the struggle was Ken Saro-Wiwa, Baribor Bera, Saturday Doobee, Nordu Eawo, Daniel Gbokoo, Barinem Kiobel, John Kpuinen, Paul Levura and Felix Nuate were hanged on 10 November 1995, raising a storm of outrage across the globe. Their politically motivated prosecution and unfair trial for the killings of four traditional rulers, before a special tribunal appointed by the military government, came to exemplify the authorities' repression of human rights. In 1993 Shell Nigeria had withdrawn personnel from its facilities in Ogoni in the face of local protests. The executions, carried out in defiance of appeals for clemency from heads of state, intergovernmental bodies and human rights groups worldwide, earned Nigeria international sanctions, suspension from the Commonwealth, and unprecedented scrutiny and denunciation. The oil corporations are usually put under pressure by the federal government to maximize oil production; therefore, they are left to operate almost unregulated. Human lives violation in the Niger delta reached its climax, the judicial murder of four Ogoni chiefs and the murder of an activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight compatriots after a kangaroo court trial in 1995.

According to Julia (2010) the killings was met with outraged and caught the attention of the international community as well as led to the temporary expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth. However, many of such or worse incidents like the Ogoniland "wasting operation" in very remote and inaccessible part of the Delta area are unreported. Instances of extrajudicial killings committed by state security agents are in abundance in the Niger Delta. Consequently, they adopt substandard environmental, health and safety practices in their field operations which cause environmental pollution in the oil producing states pollution. According to Owugah, (2000)the oil which brought so much wealth to the nation and to those

in power, brought disease, death, and loss of livelihood to the people of the oil-bearing areas. The indigenes of the Niger delta rose against the degradation of their environment without compensation and was met with force by the Nigeria government. According to Onwuazombe (2017) Human rights abuses and violations in Nigeria in general and in the oil producing communities in particular cut across the entire spectrum of rights. The abuses come in different forms and could be direct or indirect. The inhabitants of the Niger Delta region are subjected to regular rights abuses and violations by the state security agents and the oil corporations. The perpetrators of rights violations are hardly or never held accountable or brought to justice due to the myriad of problems besetting the judicial institutions.

In 1987, at Iko village, Okonta & Douglas (2010) policemen were invited by Shell to disperse a local protest against the obnoxious practice of environmental destruction and degradation; they were ferried to the site in three boats belonging to Shell. It was reported that Shell was reported to have murdered eight people occupying Utapete flow station, wounded many and raped women on the spot. Also, on October 30, 1990, Shell's Divisional Manager (East) specifically requested for the type of mobile police used at Iko to forestall an anticipated violent demonstration at Etche village of Umuechem; sequel to the above request, heavily armed mobile policemen descended on Umuechem and shot at everyone on site. It was reported that: By mid-afternoon, several villagers laid dead or bleeding from bullet wounds. They returned on November 1, and murdered about eighty more civilians some of them in their sleep. Over five hundred houses were set ablaze and for several hours the policemen chased after domestic livestock when there were no other villagers left to kill or molest, killing goats and chicken for the fun of it.

Internally displaced women face a range of protection issues on a daily basis. Most notably, sexual and gender-based violence is an unfortunate reality for many. Often without the protection of family and communities they had before displacement, internally displaced women can be vulnerable to rape, domestic violence, forced prostitution, trafficking and any number of other violent situations. Women who have lost their husbands to conflict, also face additional challenges and responsibilities as heads of households, and often have to rely on basic survival skills. The following stories bring to life some of their realities. According to Amnesty International report (2018), most women in Borno IDP camp have been in one way or the other sexually abused by the security forces. The use of forces and the threat of use of starvation to lure women to sex have been a culture inside the IDP camp in Borno state.

There is hardly any reliable statistical analysis of trends and patterns of security forces killings across Nigeria. This is partly explained by lack of reliable data as a result of inconsistencies in official data and media reports on security forces killings. Reports by the Police and other security agencies hardly give accurate figures and reveal many discrepancies when compared with media reports and individual accounts. According to Afeno (2014), Killings of criminal suspects and innocents citizens by the security forces are reported in the media almost on a daily basis, historically, law enforcement in the country has been characterized by violence and extra-judicial killings. Extrajudicial killings are a routine feature of policing in Nigeria. Hundreds of Nigerians are murdered each year by the NPF. Persons suspected of, or arrested for, armed robbery are particularly at risk of extrajudicial execution. The police frequently label as “armed robbers” the innocent victims of their extra judicial executions. Not only does this label help cover their crimes, but it exacerbates public fear of armed robbers and

creates the perception that anyone described as such automatically loses the rights to both life and due process.

The creation of the civilian Joint Task force (JTF) has also created room for the neglect of the rules of engagement. This is because this group is ill trained, and lacks the required skills or professionalism to manage internal security crises. In other words they have helped in furthering extra judicial killings in the country. To buttress this point Odomovo (2016) various Joint Security Task Forces (JTFs) have been created over the years and deployed for internal security duties as a result of the inability of the police to effectively combat the rising wave of organised crime, militancy and insurgency in the country. Members of these task forces, who are usually drawn from the Army, Navy, Air Force, Police, State Security Services (SSS), Department of State Security (DSS), as well as Immigration and Custom officials, often act like occupying forces against the civilian populations, killing people arbitrarily. The security forces hardly adhere to legally mandated rules of engagement, and they are known to use excessive force to arrest, detain and kill anyone who happens to be at the wrong place at the wrong time. According to Nigeria Watch Report (2006 to 2014), the Nigerian security forces are responsible for many killings on a daily basis, not to mention torture and extra-judicial executions. They are trigger-happy and unable to maintain law and order professionally and peacefully

GAP IN LITERATURE

Even though the relevant literature has provided for the ex judicial killings, unlawful detentions across the country by the security forces and also provided that political reasons, economic reasons as the major causes. This study hereby infers and tries to establish that lack of professionalism , neglect of the police order paper and rules of engagement among the security agencies is the major cause of human rights abuse

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is all about the methodology which the research adopts on the course of its investigation on the internal security crises and human rights abuse. In this chapter; the theoretical framework, hypotheses, research design, method of data analysis and method of data collection that the research adopted will be well treated.

3.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

This work adopts the theory of securitization theory. The major thrust or the basic assumption of the securitization theory is that it states the sole actor in the international system that makes any issue a security issue. Also it assumes that security is a illocutionary speech act that solely by mere pronouncement. In the international politic securitization refers to the ability of state actors to make a particular issue a security matter. It could be regarded as an extreme politicalisation of issues that enables extraordinary means to be used in the name of security. The theory of securitization is the ideology of Copenhagen School of thought but the word securitization was coined by Ole Waever in 1995. Securitization is a process-oriented conception of security, which stands in contrast to materialist approaches of classical security studies. Classical approaches of security focus on the material dispositions of the threat including distribution of power, military capabilities, and polarity, whereas securitization examines how a certain issue is transformed by an actor into a matter of security in order to allow for the use of extraordinary measures.

It therefore follows that by labeling an object a matter of security, that it becomes one. According to Waever (2004: 13) an objective transform into a security issue once a state

actor pronounce it one. By stating that a particular referent object is threatened in its existence, a securitizing actor claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent object's survival. The issue is then moved out of the sphere of normal politics into the realm of emergency politics, where it can be dealt with swiftly and without the normal (democratic) rules and regulations of policy-making. For security, this means that it no longer has any given (pre-existing) meaning but that it can be anything a securitizing actor says it is. Security is a social and intersubjective construction. So to prevent issues from becoming a security issue, a successful securitization consists of three steps. These are: (1) identification of existential threats; (2) emergency action; and (3) effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan et al. 1998: 6). To present an issue as an existential threat is to say that: 'If we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant (Buzan et al. 1998: 24). This first step towards a successful securitization is called a securitizing move.

A securitizing move is a theory an option open to any unit because only once an actor has convinced an audience (inter-unit relations) of its legitimate need to go beyond otherwise binding rules and regulations (emergency mode) can we identify a case of securitization. In practice, securitization is thus far from being open to all units and their respective subjective threats. Rather, it is largely based on power and capability and there with the means to socially and politically construct a threat. In this way, the study of security remains wide, but with restrictions pertaining to 'who' can securitize it is neither unmanageable nor incoherent. This has been said it should be noted that Waever (1998) is extremely critical of framing issues in terms of security. For him, 'security should be seen as a negative, as a failure to deal with issues of normal politics' (Buzan et al. 1998: 29). Because of this, he favours a strategy of desecuritization whereby securitization is reversed and issues are moved out of 'the threat defence sequence and

into the ordinary public sphere' where they can be dealt with in accordance with the rules of the (democratic) political system.

In the final analysis, issues that are securitized are core to the existence of the state of which politics are not supposed to be applied on because of how delicate those issues were. Securitisation theory shows us that national security policy is not naturally given, but carefully designated by politicians and decision-makers. According to securitisation theory, political issues are constituted as extreme security issues to be dealt with urgently when they have been labelled as 'dangerous', 'menacing, threatening, alarming and so on by a securitising actor who has the social and institutional power to move the issue beyond politics. So security issues are not simply 'out there' but rather must be articulated as problems by securitizing actors. Calling immigration a 'threat to national security', for instance, shifts immigration from a low priority political concern to a high priority issue that requires action, such as securing borders.

Theoretical Application

From the basic tenet of securitization theory one could decipher two core reasons while human rights abuse has been the order of the day by the Nigeria security agencies on the course of managing internal security crises in Nigeria.

The Nigeria military operation against internal security crises have been geared towards the protection of the state and its sovereignty over the people, which account for the failure because of the unpronounced attitude of the government toward upholding human rights. The state centric approach of security in Nigeria has made the security of the state the core issue of the Nigeria security apparatus or agencies. Issues that threaten national unity or the sovereignty of Nigeria are swiftly dealt with in Nigeria than issues bordering on human rights. To this extent the

Nigeria state and its security can move to any extent to protect the state even if it amount to violation of the citizens rights to live. The above assertion is correct because the government has securitized the safety of the state as an entity while other issues of core national interest like human rights receive little or no attention from the government. Going by the fiscal budget, the money allotted for defence alone is greater that the budget on other factors like education and human rights.

Secondly, the repression of social movements especially those ones that the state feels that their existence either constitute a threat to the government of the state shows contentious politicalization of human rights in Nigeria is an abuse of rights itself. Most of the time human rights issue becomes subjective of whose rights was violated? And who violated it? The theory of securitization is of the assertion that objects that needed attention should be securitized in order to attract extraordinary attention, but the continuous politicalization of rights or the failure to secutilze human right accounts for increase in right violation during internal security management.

Hypotheses

The tentative answer to the questions posed in the research questions are;

1. Military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increase human rights violation in Nigeria
2. Repression of social movements in Nigeria accounts human rights violations

3.3. Research Design

The research design adopted in this study is time series. It involves the collection or keeping a record of events to make a meaningful statistics. Time series analysis comprises methods for analyzing time-series data in order to extract meaningful statistics and other

characteristics of the data. Time series forecasting is the use of models to analyze and predict future values based on previously observed values. According to Brockwell and Davis (1986) time series analysis refers to problem in which observations are collected at regular time interval and then correlated among successive observations.

Time series calls for a lengthy series of observations and measurements of the dependent variable (y) before the occurrence of a presumed causal event or intervention (X). This is followed by another series of measurements of the same dependent variable (y). The change between the last measurement before the intervention (X) and the first measurement after it, is the principal focus for measuring the effects of the experiment (Leege & Francis, 1974). These successive observations and repeated measurements of target variables are carried out at equally spaced intervals of time.

The time series design is descriptive, which is particularly important when the effect of the causal event or intervention extends over a considerable period of time. It requires little more than good graphing skills for organizing, storing and interpreting results. The interpretation of the data occurs through visual inspection and analysis of graphical patterns which reveal trends, levels or variability. At its most complex, it involves complicated statistical analysis to separate unaccountable variations of indices across time (Glass, Wilson & Gottman, 1975).

The time series design assumes the form of an experimental design where an on-going phenomenon is observed before and after a presumed causal event in order to study or evaluate it, and to make predictions about possible future trends. It is the only design to furnish a continuous record of fluctuations in the experimental variable over the course of the entire observation (Gottman, McFall & Barnett, 1969).

The fact that a lengthy pattern of performance data is available makes this design far more useful than the one-group pretest-post-test design, and despite any deficiencies it may have, the design is a fairly powerful tool which may be applied to many existing databases at minimum cost (Leege & Francis, 1974).

3.4. Method of Data Collection

In the method of data collection, the study utilizes the documentary method of data collection. Document review is a systematic collection, documentation, analysis and interpretation, and organization of data as a data collection method in research. . The following data collection methods were used: stakeholder interviews, review of administrative data, survey of police services, human rights reports and a document review According to Scott (1990:34) a document is any written material other than record that was not specifically prepared in response to some request from an investigator. Guba and Lincoln (1981:228), Silverman (1993:4) has provided a classification of documents as; (1) files (2) statistical records (3) Records of official proceedings (4) Images. Document analysis is a qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic (Bowen, 2009). Analyzing documents incorporates coding content into themes similar to how focus group or interview transcripts are analyzed (Bowen, 2009). A rubric can also be used to grade or score document. O’Leary, (2014) states that there are three primary types of documents: Public Records: The official, ongoing records of an organization’s activities. Examples include student transcripts, mission statements, annual reports, policy manuals, student handbooks, strategic plans, and syllabi and Personal Documents: First-person accounts of an individual’s actions, experiences, and beliefs. Examples include calendars, e-mails, scrapbooks, blogs, Facebook posts, duty logs, incident reports, reflections/journals, and newspapers.Physical Evidence:

Physical objects found within the study setting (often called artifacts). Examples include flyers, posters, agendas, handbooks, and training materials.

Furthermore, document analysis is a social research method and is an important research tool in its own right, and is an invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation, the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Bowen, 2009). In order to seek convergence and corroboration, qualitative researchers usually use at least two resources through using different data sources and methods. The purpose of triangulating is to provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility (Bowen, 2009). Corroborating findings across data sets can reduce the impact of potential bias by examining information collected through different methods. Also, combining qualitative and quantitative sometimes included in document analysis called mixed-methods studies.

The choice of document method data collection in this study is that, documentary method give research chance of collecting data from both primary and secondary for easy analysis. It gives room for the access of data in those places that the research cannot physical visit but depend on the information provided by documents. For the sake and nature of this study, document gives room for array of data because most of the victims of human rights abuses may be dead and could not be easy located while it is equally not easy for the research to visit some conflict zones.

3.5. Method of Data Analysis

The study adopts content analysis as a method of data analysis. Content analysis according Roberto (1952:1) is a method of quantitative analysis that attempts to characterize the meaning in a given body of discourse in a systematic and quantitative fashion. Harold Casswell, Lerner, and De Sola Pool (1952:45) emphasized that the sole reason for content analysis is when

one wants to answer a quantitative question. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1278) defined content analysis as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic process of coding and identifying themes or patterns. It is an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication following content analytic rules and step by step models without rash quantification.

Content analysis is ideal for study that adopt the documentary method of data collection as it permits the quantification of data collected from documents. The quantification gives room for analyzing data collected through document.

3.6 Logical Data Framework

S/N	Research Question	Hypotheses	Independent variable	Empirical indicators of variables	Source of data collection	Method of data collection	Method of data analysis	Theoretical framework
1.	Does the military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increase human rights violation in Nigeria?	Military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increase human rights violation in Nigeria	Indicator (X) Military campaign against internal security crises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Operation Hakuri 11 ✓ Operation python dance ✓ Operation layfa dole ✓ Operation Zaman layfa ✓ JTF operations 	Newspapers Magazines Books Govt. Official documents	Documentary Method	Content analysis.	Securitization theory
			Indicator (Y) Increase human rights violations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Social rights violation. ✓ Civil rights violation ✓ Political violation ✓ Economic rights violation ✓ Right association violation 				
2.	Does the repression of social	Repression of social movements in Nigeria accounts	Indicator (X)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Suppression of IPOB agitation ✓ Suppression of 				

	movements in Nigeria accounts human rights violations	human rights violations?	The Repression of social movements	IMN agitation ✓ Killing of members of IMN ✓ Suppression of the press.				
			Indicator (Y) Violations of human rights	✓ Social rights violation. ✓ Civil rights violation ✓ Political violation ✓ Economic rights violation ✓ Right association violation.				

CHAPTER FOUR

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INTERNAL CRISES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Introduction

This chapter seeks to explain the link between military campaigns against internal security crises, and human rights violation in Nigeria. The growing wave of violence as a result of the Boko Haram activities in the north east, the Fulani herdsmen, the struggle for resources control in the south South, ethno religious agitation and succession movements like IPOB and MASSOB have plunged Nigeria into one sectarian violence or the other. Most of the time, these internal security crises in Nigeria are caused either by economic, political and other social factors that seek to change the status quo or to enthrone another crop of elites; a notable example of this is IMN movement that seek to establish a prototype of the Iranian social-political structure in Nigeria, while the IPOB that seek a change in the economic and political structure of Nigeria, MEND and AVANGER groups in Niger Delta seek to change the revenue sharing formula while the Boko Haram seek a political transition of Nigeria from a secular democratic state to an Islamic state.

The struggle to manage this plethora of internal security crises in Nigeria led the Nigeria security forces to stage several military campaigns that were designed to take care of the internal security crises in Nigeria. In most part of the country, one campaign or the other was designed by the military to respond to one threat, see table 2 at the end. To this effect, the manners at which the military campaign against internal security crises, the crises itself have accounted to several human rights violations in Nigeria. Rights violations as a result of internal security crises have resulted on the course of military campaign against these crises. Each

internal security challenges that Nigeria have witnessed has varying degree of human rights violation as result of the activity of the actors or the purveyors of the conflicts. The Boko Haram and the Fulani herdsmen crises which are the leading internal security crises in Nigeria as noted by SBM INTEL (2018) have accounted for more deaths and have violated mostly the civil, political and the economic rights of the people, while so many have been displaced all over the north eastern region as result of the conflicts. The chart below depicts the major internal security crises in Nigeria and the level of fatalities of each purveyor of the crises.

Moreover, the management of internal security crisis and the crises itself led to the violation of the following rights by the both actors of the conflicts; the civil rights, political rights, economic rights, social rights, cultural rights etc. while civil rights, political and economic rights are most violated rights in Nigeria. The military campaigns against these crises have raised the number of rights violated during these crises. The violation has increased proportional with the increase in the number or the activities of insurgent groups in Nigeria. The military on the course of managing these crisis have engaged in so many unprofessional practices like; uncoordinated bombing of civil IDP camp in Rann, Bornu states in 2017, Opening of live fire on protester in Anambra and Kaduna state at the members of Islamic movement of Nigeria and IPOB respectively, unlawful detention, torture and extra judicial killings and other activities that violate the rights of humans.

At this juncture, in order to test the hypothesis to determine whether military campaign against internal security crises account to human rights violation in Nigeria, the following military operations; operation BOYONA, operation Layfa Dole, operation Ayam kpatuma ,

Operation Hakuri, and other joint task force (JTF) operations in Nigeria will be analyzed to see how the activities of the military indicted the people's rights in Nigeria.

Finally, in order to determine, the extent of human rights violation as result of military campaigns against this crises, the following military campaigns; Operation Hakuri 11, Operation python dance, Operation layfa dole, Operation zaman layfa, JTF operations will be analyzed to determine how it account for violations of the following rights; Social rights violation, Civil rights violation, Political violation, Economic rights violation, Right association violation.

4.1. OPERATION BOYONA AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE IN NORTH EAST

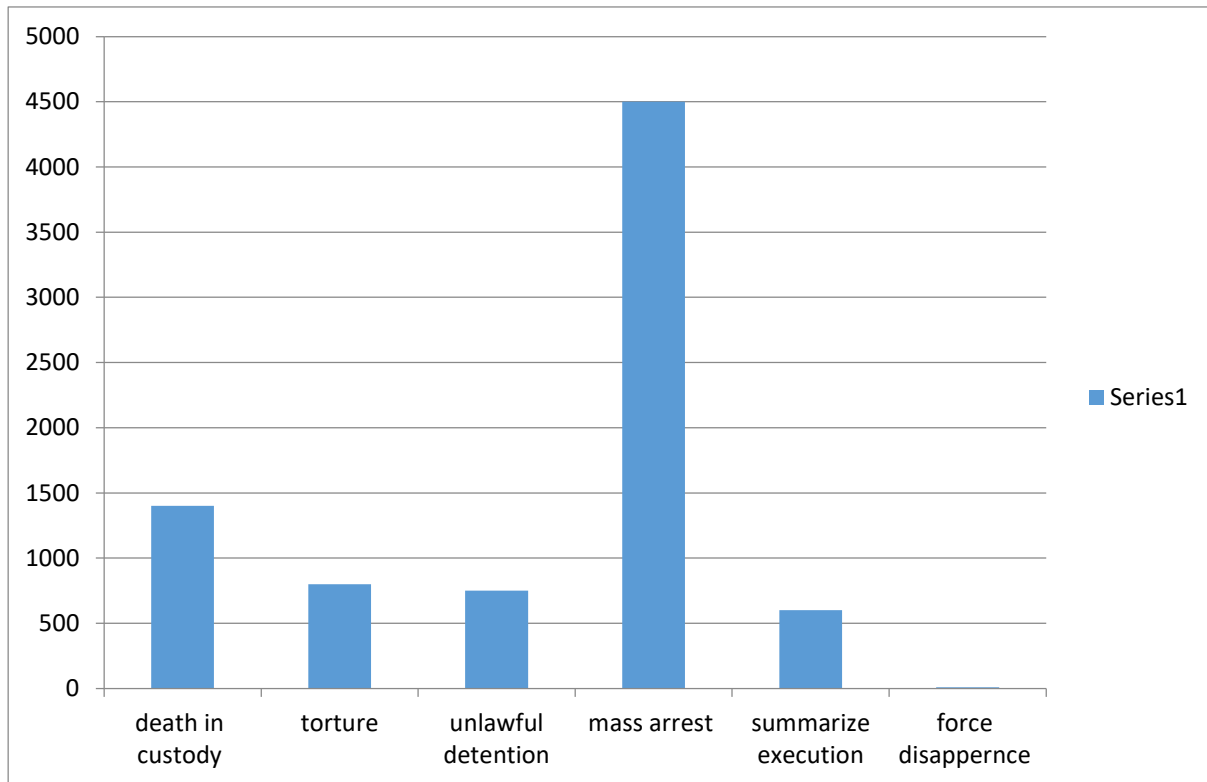
The word BOYONA is an acronym that originate from the keywords of the states in Nigeria where the operation was meant to cover; that is the Bornu (BO) state, the Yobe (YO) state and the Adamawa (A) State. The preceding security situation in the country that necessitated the operation was the raising wave of insurgence as a result of the Boko Haram activities, Nigeria Army (2013) The operation BOYONA was launched in May 2013 with the total number of 10,000 troops. It kicked off when the state of emergency was declared in those three states and was meant to tackle insurgency in north east. During this operation, the major human rights violated was the economic, cultural and the civil rights while the major violators was the two parties in the conflicts; the Nigeria security forces and the boko haram terrorist organization.

Among all the rights violated by the military during this operation, the most abuse rights was the civil rights. This is because, both actors in the conflict played enormous roll in the violation of this rights especially towards non combatant. As regards to the violation of the civil

rights violated by the Nigerian security forces during the operation BOYONA , the breakdown of civil rights violated are; extrajudicial or summary execution/ death in custody due denial of life saving treatment to detainees, unlawful detention, torture and forced disappearance.

For the sake of clarity, the researcher quantified and put into chart to depict the extent of the violation of the component of the civil rights of the citizens in the three states that operation BOYONA was conducted. The figures used in constructing this histogram was extracted from the Amnesty International report “Stars on their shoulders, blood on their hands”

CHART 2: CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATION IN GIWA BARRACKS BORNO STATE BY Nigeria security forces



Source: compiled by author from the amnesty international report Stars On Their Shoulders. Blood on their hands. War crimes committed by the Nigerian military (2014)

From the above chart, Amnesty International report titled Stars On Their Shoulders. Blood on their hands. War crimes committed by the Nigerian military (2014) and Hagler (2018) noted that death has occurred in the custody of the Nigeria security forces, there are torture, unlawful detention, mass arrest, force disappearance and summarized execution.

On death in custody, Amnesty International (2014) noted that more than 1400 deaths have been reported at detention facilities of Giwa and Mai Malari barracks in Maiduguri, and in the Multinational JTF facility in Mile 4, Baga, in sector Alpha (“Guantanamo”), Presidential Lodge in Damaturu and the JTF base (“Rest House”) in Potiskum (Yobe State) and in 23 Brigade Barracks in Yola (Adamawa State). It is therefore paramount to note that most of the deaths that occur in the detention facilities have been master minded by the Nigeria security forces either directly or indirectly. Report from the same human rights organization has it that some detainees were left to either die of hunger or ailments, while some were executed. To buttress and give more clarity to this point; The Nigeria right watch (2014) observed that some are suffered to die. The major causes of deaths in detention facilities were starvation, thirst, severe overcrowding that led to spread of disease, torture and lack of medical attention, and the use of fumigation chemicals in unventilated cells.

According to Hagler (2018) The Nigerian Security Forces have been responsible for various deaths of detainees in detention facilities scattered in the North East. Hagler (2018) attested that in March 2011, more than 7, 000 men and boys have died in detention facilities. Amnesty International (2014) reported that the highest death rate was recorded in Giwa Barracks in May, June and July 2013 when about 180 deaths were reported. Even though the problem of the Amnesty international report lies on the fact of difficult in verification of data presented about the actual number of deaths that have occurred under the watch of the Nigeria security

forces but United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2015) noted that detainees in the above detention facilities were deprived of food and water and kept in overcrowded conditions which resulted in death. It has been noted of the numerous condemnable and atrocious incidents of extrajudicial killing and executions carried out by the security forces of government in the North–East. At least about 27 of those incidents are recorded that were committed between 2012 and 2014. Amnesty International. At least 1, 200 men and boys were killed in these incidents. These individuals were killed by Nigerian Security Forces after capture and when they presented no danger, in gross violation of international humanitarian law (IHL).

One of such horrific mass extrajudicial executions occurred on 14 March, 2014 in Maiduguri, Borno State. This happened after the attack by Boko Haram on the military detention facility at Giwa Barracks during which detainees were released. Nigerian Security Forces slaughtered about 649 men and boys who ran away from Boko Haram attack and were recaptured. In many occasions most of these executions are carried out by the military in collaboration with the civilian JTF members. Again, in Bama, after the security forces took over in March, 2015, shot and killed everyone who was not cleared by the Civilian JTF as a resident and who has not link or sympathy to Boko Haram. Extrajudicial executions of members of Boko Haram suspects and sympathizers were routine practice for the Nigerian Military. This is for persons who were captured and who presented no more danger. Others uncountable were shot dead inside detention facilities, while others were either shot or had their throats cut right after being captured during cordon and search operations (Amnesty International, 2014).

Furthermore, another instance of civil rights violation during the Operation BOYONA is torture on those in detention facility. Torture is routinely and systematically used by the Nigerian Security Forces to extract confessions or as a form of punishment. Torture in detention facilities

of the Nigeria security forces always take the form of driving a broom into a man genitals, beating, tying the bicep and triceps muscles of the hand with rope until blood seize to circulate around the veins and arteries. According to Amnesty International (2014) victims of torture are always suspended from metal poles and shocked with electric batons by soldiers among other methods. Victims of torture or other ill-treatment rarely have access to medical assistance and many die as a result of their injuries. Amnesty International has previously documented a widespread pattern of torture and ill-treatment in both police and military custody across Nigeria. A detailed report, ‘Welcome to hell fire’: torture and other ill-treatment in Nigeria , published in September 2014, found that torture and other ill-treatment in the north-east of Nigeria increased as the conflict escalated.

Morestill, operation BOYONA was also marred with mass or arbitrarily arrest which is accompanied by unlawful detention of those arrested. At the end of any attack by the Boko Haram or any other major conflicts in any part of Nigeria, the first thing that the security forces do in the area of attack is to arbitaray arrest and detain people. For instance there have been mass arbitrary arrests and detention by Nigerian Security Forces since 2009. Soldiers have arrested people without reasonable suspicion that they have committed a crime. According Amnesty International between January 2012 and July 2013, more than 4, 500 people have been arrested.³⁰ The civilian detainees were held in Giwa and Mai Malari barracks in Maiduguri, and in the Multinational JTF facility in Mile 4, Baga, in sector Alpha (“Guantanamo”), Presidential Lodge in Damaturu and the JTF base (“Rest House”) in Potiskum (Yobe State) and in 23 Brigade Barracks in Yola (Adamawa State). According to Amnesty International (2014) On numerous occasions, particularly following Boko Haram raids, soldiers have gone to the town or village, rounded up hundreds of men and boys and taken into custody those identified as Boko Haram by

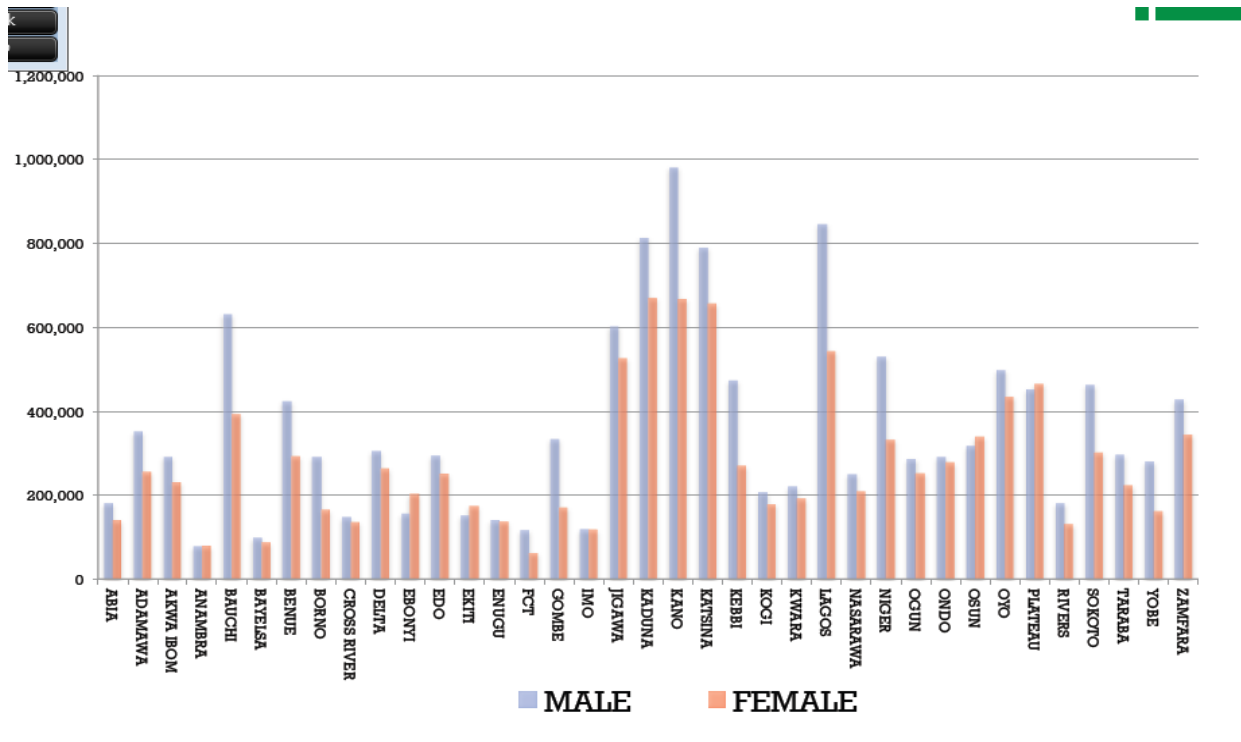
paid informants. Amnesty International has also documented arrests during house-to-house raids and at checkpoints, as well as targeted arrests of suspected Boko Haram members' relatives. Most of those arrested are young men, although Amnesty International has recorded arrests and detention of boys as young as nine years old. Amnesty International has also documented the arrest and detention of 30 women and girls. The number of arrests increased significantly following the imposition of a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states. According to military sources, between January 2012 and July 2013, more than 4,500 people were arrested. In addition, The authorities set up a civilian militia in 2013, the Civilian Joint Task Force (JTF), to work with the security forces in Borno state by identifying and helping to arrest Boko Haram members. Civilian JTF members play a key role in mass arbitrary arrests and in screening operations in which informants point out Boko Haram suspects. Civilian JTF members have been involved, as Amnesty International has documented, in beating and killing men after their arrests.

On the other side of the rights violation by the Boko Haram terror group, which the major actor in the conflict in the north east, the group have engaged in the arbitrary killings, torture, destruction of property, and hostage taking of non combatants. One of the notable indices of this is the Chibok and Dapchi saga where many school children were abducted and educational facilities destroyed.

Furthermore, Social rights violated in the north east ranges from rights to education, and political rights. In most cases, the educational rights were violated by the Boko Haram terror group through bombing of schools and abduction of the school children. The state of Emergency declared by the federal government in the eve of the 2015 election together with the terror activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in the north east affected the political rights of the

north east indigenes as many people were disenfranchised due to emergency rule and displacement due to terrorism.

Charts of political rights violation



Source: INEC (2015).

From the figures depicted in the INEC chart on the state by gender distribution on the 2015 general elections; there is a low participation of voters in the north east states between men and female as against other state which those northern states are said to have greater population and land mass. Correlating the figure depicted above; especially with that of the Yobe, Bornu and Adamawa states, with other states, that is not affected by Boko Haram incidence, it shows a higher level of participation. Moreover, when the same result in Yobe , Bornu and Adamawa is correlated against that with later year like 2007 or 2011 election when the Boko Haram incidence were still low; the result revealed in the chart below shows a higer level of participation in those state than in 2015, in lieu of this; it is evident that Boko Haram and the Emergency rule

proscribed by the Nigeria government in 2015 undermine the political rights of the citizens in 2015 general election.

Moreover, the education rights of the children in the north east were equally undermined by the wave of insurgency in the area. Many schools were bombed down and school children were kidnapped in community schools in Chibok and Dapchi respectively installing fears on students not to put in appearance in schools. However, apart from attacks on schools and educational facilities, the random attacks in villages, churches, mosques and recreational centres, markets affected school children adversely. The Boko Haram terror group which name translate into western Education is a sacrilege made all effort to discourage school children from being in school. The inability of the Nigeria security forces to protect children and educational facilities is another pointer to educational rights violated. It is equally important to note that not only the primary and secondary schools where attack, some higher institution of learning in the Northeast were not spare especially University of Maiduguri.

CHARTS: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN SOME SELECTED STATES

Highest Number In School	Lowest Number In School
Ondo State 119 out of every 120	Zamfara State 28 out of every 120
Anambra State 117 out of every 120	Borno State 29 out of every 120
Cross River State 114 out of every 120	Kebbi State 34 out of every 120
Delta State 113 out of every 120	Sokoto State 42 out of every 120
Abia State 113 out of every 120	Yobe State 42 out of every 120
Plateau State 113 out of every 120	

Source: Federal Ministry of Statistics (2011) The Nation (2011).

From the above chart, it is evident that insurgency activities in Adamawa, Bornu, Yobe affected the educational rights of the children in the area, which could be seen as there is low turnout of school children in schools in Yobe, Bornu and Adamawa states respectively.

4.2. OPERATION HAKURRI 11 AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN SOUTH-SOUTH

The word “HAHURRI” is an Hausa language which stands for “SORRY” in English. The operation Hakurri 11 was the first joint task force operation in Nigeria. The operation’s special mandate was to Protect lives and property ; particularly oil platforms, flow stations, operating rig terminals and pipelines, refineries and power installations in the Niger Delta (Tom, 2000). Basically, ‘Operation HAKURI II’ was a punitive military operation that resulted in massive destruction of lives and property after two days of continuous bombardment of Odi community in the Niger Delta (Human Rights Watch 1999). Interestingly the core motive of any JTFs operations are intended to protect civilians from violence and their presence often creates the expectation among host communities that they will be protected from violence and human rights abuses.

However, internal security operations of JTFs have become notorious for bombing insurgents in civilian populated areas thereby killing innocent people and destroying human habitations and sources of livelihood (Lawan, 2013; Amnesty International, 2012). The failure of such operations to protect the civilian population was demonstrated in the 20 November 1999 bombardment of Odi community in Bayelsa state by operatives of ‘Operation HAKURI II’. After two days of intense bombardment with heavy artillery, aircraft, grenade launchers, mortar bombs and other sophisticated and deadly weapons, about 2,483 persons mainly women and children were killed and numerous buildings destroyed (Courson 2006, p.3). The atrocious spectacle of Odi was replayed on 22 and 24 October 2001, when a detachment of the Nigerian Army invaded Zaki Biam and neighbouring communities in North-Central Nigeria, in a reprisal attack that resulted in the extra-judicial executions of many unarmed civilians and the destruction

of numerous property (Human Rights Watch, 2002). The killings in Odi and Zaki Biam are clearly arbitrary and thus a violation of the human rights of the inhabitants of those communities, because those were killed were neither insurgents nor organized armed groups. Organised armed groups, according to the 'Interpretive Guidance' of the International Committee of The Red Cross (ICRC), are those that recruit their members mainly from the civilian population and possess the capacity and military organisation to either 'take a direct part in hostilities' or conduct hostilities 'on behalf of a party to the conflict' (Melzer, 2009, p.69-72). These attacks were generally condemned as a violation of human rights law and international humanitarian law (Human Rights Watch, 1999; 2002).

The major human rights violated by the operation were the environmental, civil and economic rights. This is because the military was in the later part of the operation set to revenge the killing of 9 policemen in Odi community a situation that later witnessed massive destruction of lives and property forcing the youths of the village to seek refuge outside their homes. On economic rights, the right portends for the condition necessary for the economic and social wellbeing of the citizens. In a nutshell the rights provides for the following; rights to property, rights to work, rights to fair wage, rights to reasonable limitation of working hours, trade union rights etc. the above plethora of rights was entrenched in the section 43 of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria. In Odi community, the operation hakuri handlers abridged the economic rights of the people of the area by destroying property and means of livelihood of the people. At the end of the operation, a property worth of 10 billion naira was razed down by the military. The scourged earth policy of the federal might directed against Odi community had a devastating effect that at the end, t he troops demolished every single building, barring the bank, the Anglican Church and the health centre, and may have killed hundreds of unarmed civilians

(Human Rights Watch, 1999). While the civil rights of the citizens of the community was not also spared as the operation that lasted for two days violated the rights to lives of 2,483 civilians(Vanguard, 2002).

Furthermore, the Niger Delta region during and after the operation Hakuri 11 witnessed several cases of environment rights abuse, even though Nigeria and some other countries have entrenched environment rights into law, but still several abuses of that law still go on. According to Ajjiya and Habibu (2014) Environmental Rights' are basic rights without which life on earth will be hazardous and indeed, meaningless. It includes right to clean air, clean water, good soil, right to a balanced and healthy ecology, etc.

The importance and sensitiveness of the environmental rights is recognized both in Nigeria and beyond; the problem lies in the implementation of those rights which has cause environmental rights violation especially in industry locations area in Nigeria. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Charter), to which Nigeria is a party, also recognizes, in Article 24, the right of all peoples to a "general satisfactory environment favourable to their development". This right is more widely known as the right to a healthy environment. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Commission) stated that Article 24 of the African Charter imposes clear obligations upon a government: "It requires the State to take reasonable and other measures to prevent pollution and ecological degradation, to promote conservation, and to secure an ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources (Amnesty Internal, 2009:12) The case of environmental rights violation is nowhere better seen in the Nigeria other than in its Niger Delta region, where the transnational national companies (TNCs) and some indigenous oil companies, the militia arm of oil bearing communities (OBCs), the Nigerian state are all involved in one way or other in violating or

aiding the violation of environmental rights, which by extension adversely affect other human rights components. This competition or survival struggle over the environmental resources has led to the review of the relationship between the TNCs and the OBCs on the basis of the human rights violations in the Niger-Delta. One of the major causal factor of environmental rights abuse in the Niger Delta region is oil spillage, gas flying and other industry processes as result of oil exploration and refining in the region. Gas flaring for instance causes an extensive damage to surface vegetation, agriculture, human health and aquatic life. It has a devastating effect on the people causing cancer, stroke and acidic rain as a result of the depletion of the ozone layer. It causes loss of fertility in soil and the strange growth of fauna in plants (NHRVM; 2008:200). Also, Akinola (2000) observed that Medical research has further shown that gas flaring forms part of the basis of low life expectancy age in the Niger Delta region that is pegged at 43 years. Similarly, in the Niger Delta, 12 per cent of new born babies do not survive their first birthday.

Also, In May 2009 the JTF code named ‘Operation Restore Hope’ destroyed seven communities suspected of harboring militant camps in Delta state. Subsequent hostilities between MEND and men of ‘Operation Restore Hope’ in Gbaramatu kingdom in Delta state claimed more than 500 lives and displaced about 5,000 people (Francis et al. 2011, p.200). This particular operation was very atrocious because it was a coordinated land, water and aerial bombardment, involving a combine force of the Army, Air Force and Navy personnel. The bombardment which lasted for two weeks from 13 to 27 May 2009 caused the violent death of many people, mostly women, children and the aged, and endangered the lives of many others who were forced out of their communities into forests and swamps (Francis et al, 2011). Ironically, the use of excessive force by operatives of ‘Operation Restore Hope’ actually

intensified the level of organized violence in the Niger Delta as it triggered a cycle of attacks and counter-attacks that eventually resulted in high civilian fatalities (Chiluwa, 2011).

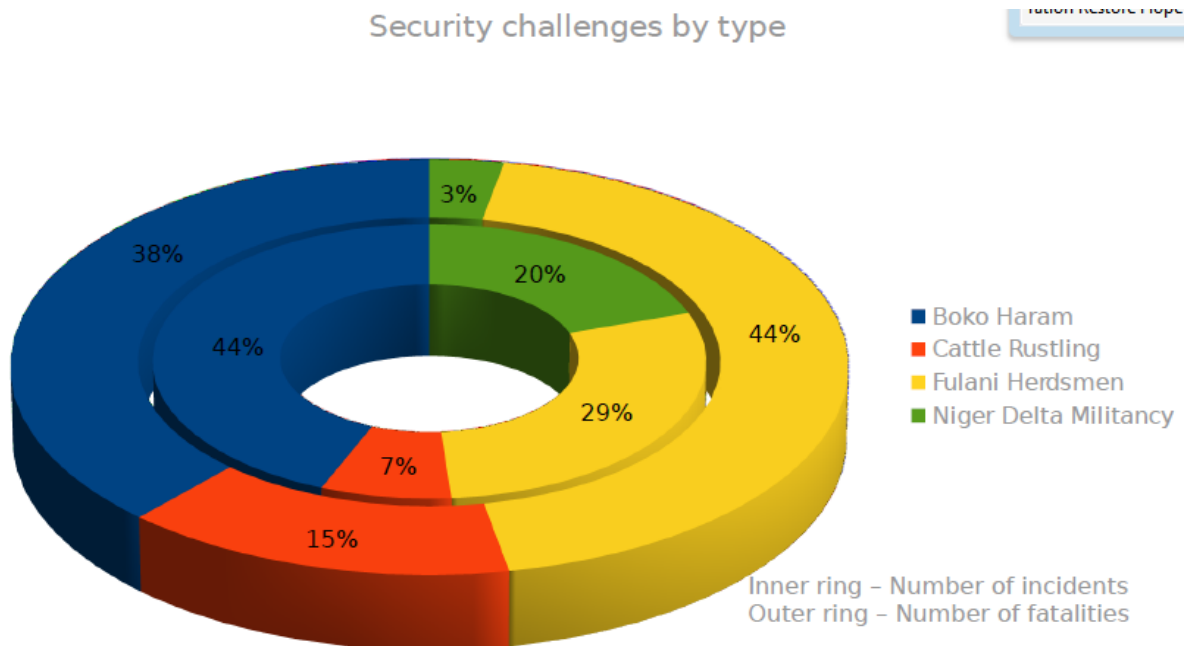
4.3. The JTF OPERATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN NORTH EAST.

The joint task force (JTF) operation against the Boko Haram insurgency is one of such military operations in the north east that is marred with numerous human rights abuse. Notwithstanding the fact that Nigeria is a ratified signatory to most of the international convention on human rights, while its local law in the chapter four of the 1999 constitution upheld the rights of people especially those rights that is given to any human on the bases of being a human. According to Mbah and Nwangwu (2014:8) observed that the above provision notwithstanding, the members of the JTF deployed to the North-East have become infamously enmeshed in an orgy of human rights abuses. The Nigerian security agents have a long record of human rights abuses, including extra-judicial killings of criminal suspects in custody (Amnesty International, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2005). In the words of Dawood (2014), the Nigeria police is the cause of most violent death in Nigeria. This is typified in the recurrent incidents of human rights violations credited to the JTF. The JTF has been implicated in several human rights abuses that could be narrowed down to detention-related abuses, extra-judicial killings and torture. In the testimony of the above; Human Rights Watch (2012:58) noted that most of these abuses occur mostly on the cause of raids in communities, often in the aftermath of Boko Haram attacks, members of the security forces have executed men in front of their families; arbitrarily arrested or beaten members of the community; burned houses, shops, and cars; stolen money while searching homes; and. raped women. Government security agencies routinely hold suspects incommunicado without charge or trial in secret detention facilities and have subjected detainees to torture or other physical abuse. The above report has also been corroborated by the National Human Rights Commission (2013) and the Amnesty International (2012). The reports by these credible human rights organizations are very weighty. At the outset of the uprising in

July 2009, the police and soldiers carried out scores of extra-judicial killings of detainees. The most typical case was the extra-judicial execution of the erstwhile sect leader, Mohammed Yusuf, and other suspected key members of the group during the July 2009 uprising. As noted earlier, this practice has exacerbated the attacks of the insurgents on security formations. It has ostensibly justified the sect's claim that they kill security agents in retaliation for the summary execution of Mohammed Yusuf and other members of the sect, alleged police abuses like arbitrary arrest and torture, as well as the prosecution of its members. Consequently, the Human Rights Watch (2012:41) notes that: Since 2009, government securities services especially police have been a primary target of Boko Haram. The group has shot and killed police officers on active duty at police stations, roadblocks, government buildings, and churches, and has targeted unarmed off-duty officers in the street, in barracks, and while drinking in bars. Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for bombing police facilities using improvised explosive devices and suicide bombers. The group has also struck at military bases, checkpoints, and vehicles, especially those of the Joint Military Task Force (JTF) in Maiduguri. Besides extra-judicial execution of suspected Boko Haram members, the JTF has also been implicated in other forms of human rights abuses. During raids into communities, soldiers have set fire to houses, shops, and cars, randomly arrested men from the neighbourhood, and in some cases executed them in front of their shops or houses (Human Rights Watch, 2012:59). One of the consequences of this wanton violation of human rights in the region is the growing resentment in communities. This has made community members more reluctant to provide information that could help curtail the insurgency. Similarly, the alienation of the ordinary people has created more distance between the people and the government. This has fundamentally made the whole situation dicey. It is virtually impossible to stop the insurgency without being friendly to the host community. Moreover, the JTF has been associated with detention-related abuses. Many suspected members of the sect have been held for months and even years without charge or trial. These detainees are often denied the right to communicate with their family and lawyers. Most of them have had no

charges publicly brought against them. Lengthy pre-trial detention remains a serious problem in Nigeria’s criminal justice system.

Finally, Nigeria has been bedeviled by one internal security challenges and the other. Difference internal security challenges have difference degree of casualties together with the human rights it violates. The chart below depicts the level of fatalities recorded by the major internal security challenges that have faced Nigeria.

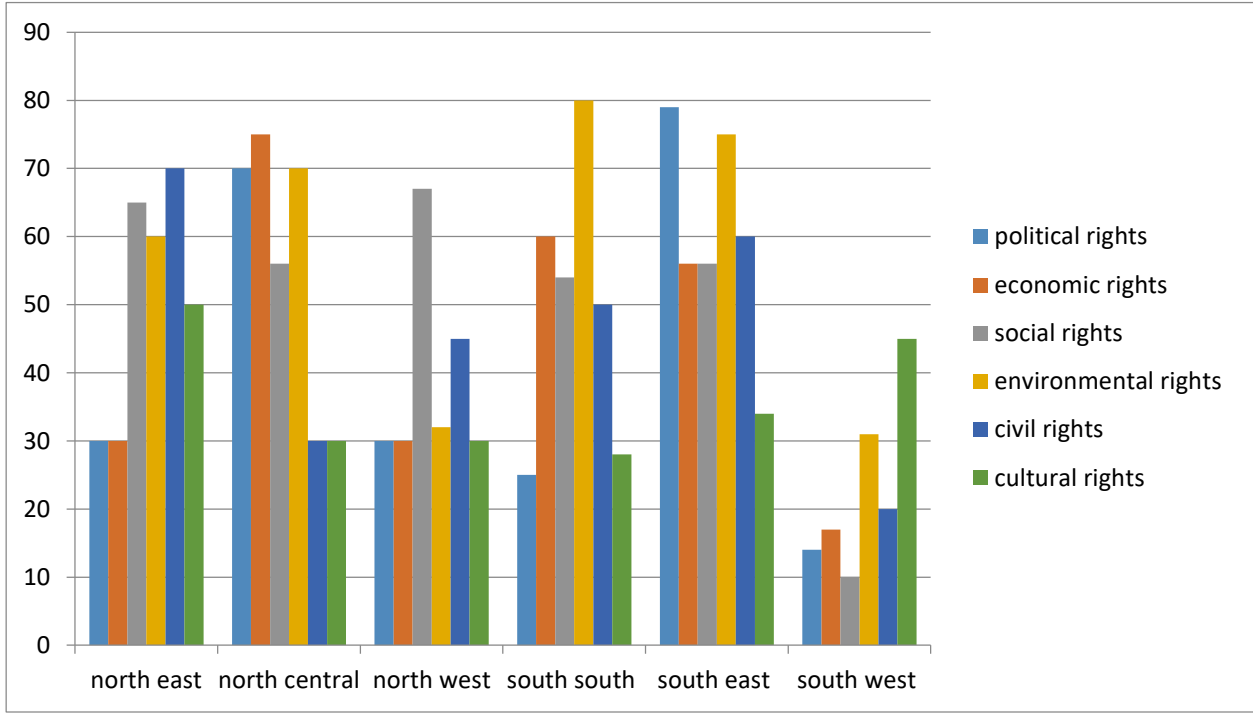


Sources: SBM INTEL (2018)

The above internal crises have difference level of degree of fatalities on civilian population. According to the SBM INTEL report (2018), the boko Haram insurgency have the highest number of reoccurring incidence of attack among the four major internal security crises with 71 number o incidence when their report is compiled, while the pastoral conflicts seconds it with 59

instances of verifiable attacks. The militants’ activities in the Niger Delta totals around 39 incidences while in totality Nigeria experience the total 162 reoccurring incidence from the four major internal security threats.

Despite the above chart that depicts the degree of fatalities recorded by the major internal security crises, the military campaign against these crises in different part of Nigeria as portrayed in the table at the end of these chapter have helped to increase the level of human rights violated on the course of managing this crises. A combination of both rights violated by the Nigeria security forces and the crises itself places the extent of human rights violation as a result of military campaigns towards combating this crises into a reoccurring high frequency. As the chart below depicts the extent of human rights abuses in the six geopolitical zones.



Source: Nigeria Crime Watch 2016

From the above chart, the percent level of rights violations across all frontiers of rights in all the geopolitical zones of Nigeria is summarized. In the north-east, the prevalent internal security crisis bedeviling the region is the Boko Haram crises. The military assault together with the terror caused by the group (Boko Haram) against has led to the violation of the political rights of the region due to high level of displacement due to violence affecting the majority of the indigene of the area from voter and those seeking to be voted for, some are even disenfranchised. Still on the area, the displacement of the people in the area has equally resulted to the violation of economic rights, cultural rights and social rights. In a nutshell, the most violated rights in the region is the civil rights due to the high number of lawful detention and deaths recorded by either through several operation of the Nigeria security agencies or the caused by the crises itself. To buttress this assertion united Nation Security Council enlisted the Boko Haram terrorist group as one of the most dreaded terror group and have accounted for most of the death in North east.

Furthermore, the north central of the country is marred with Fulani herds' clashes and cow rustling. the violence in the region have undermine mostly three categories of rights and they are; the economic rights due to the destruction of crops and lack of grazing lands, the environment rights due to cattle destruction of vegetation and most importantly the civil rights as the crises have claimed hundreds of lives. The North West states are dominated by the religion violence and ethnic clashes among difference community. Most recent of the is the 2015 election crises, the Islamic movement of Nigeria crises and other community crises or sectoral crises between the indigenes and the sojourners in the region. The manner at which this crises is managed have infringe on people's rights like social rights, cultural rights, economic rights and more importantly the civil rights because of the number of the death as result of the crises.

The south south region is the resource power house of Nigeria and Nigeria being a mono economic state that depend so much on oil, the excessive exploration of oil without recourse to its impact on the environment have undermined the environment rights of the people in the area, while resultant effect on the struggle of who controls this resource have led to multiple human life violation especially the most prominent among them “the Odi sega”. The south east region is an area bedeviled by kidnapping, arm robbery and most importantly a great number of secessionists’ movements. The IPOB, MASSOB and other secessionist movement are the major factor that has lead to the militarization of the south east region. The military clamp down on the activities of these groups has violated the social, civil, economic and more importantly the political rights of the people in the area. The internal security crises that dominates the south west region are oil bunkering, kidnapping and arm robbery, ritual killings etc

In conclusion, from the available data presented above, this study accept the first hypothesis that; Military campaign against internal security crises have in so many ways increase human rights violation in Nigeria as available data presented above depicted violation of such rights like the social rights, political rights, civil rights, cultural rights by both the military and the Boko haram or militant combatant on the cause of internal security crises management between 2007-2018 in Nigeria.

TABLE 1: TABLE OF INTERNAL SECURITY CAMPAIGN BY JTF

OPERATION	DATES	AREA	FORCES	COMMANDER	RIGHT VIOLATED	VIOLATORS	
						State	groups
Operation hakurii		Niger Delta	Joint task force		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social rights • Economic rights 		
Operation Restore Order I (ORO I)	12 June 2011 – 15 May	Borno state, Headquarters in	Joint Task Force: Nigerian Army, Navy and Airforce,	Brigadier General Jack Okechukwu Nwaogbo (July 2011 - January 2012) Major General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil rights 	state	

	2013	Maiduguri	the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Department of State Security (DSS), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA). Troops included those from 1 Division, 81 Battalion, 174 battalion, 82 Battalion (~4,000 troops)	Ewansiha (12 January 2012 – May 2013)			
Operation Restore Order III (ORO III)	13 December 2011 – 15 May 2013	Yobe state	Joint Task Force: Nigerian Army, Navy and Airforce, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Department of State Security (DSS), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA). (~2,000 troops)				
Operation BOYONA	May 2013 – August 2013	Borno, Yobe Adamawa states, HQ in Maiduguri	Joint Task Force: Nigerian Army, Navy and Airforce, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Department of State Security (DSS), Nigerian Immigration	May 2013 – August 2013: Major General Ewansiha			

			Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA). (~10,000 troops)				
Operation Zaman Lafia	August 2013 – to date	Borno, Yobe Adamawa states, HQ in Maiduguri	Newly established Army Division 7 (~10,000 troops)	Major General Ethan (August 2013- January 2014) Major General Bindawa (January – February 2014) Major General Mohammed (February – May 2014) Brigadier General Ibrahim (May 2014 19 January 2015) Major General Lamidi Adeosun (19 January 2015 – till date)	Civil rights		
Civilian task force	June 2013						
Operation Python dance							
Operation crocodile smile							
Operation safe corridor							
Operation kpochapu							
Operation Ayam kpatuma							

SOURCE: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (2014)

The table above shows some military campaign against internal security crises and their commanders.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Introduction

In Nigeria, one of the most oppressed groups during the military and the present democratic government is the social movement. According to Snow, Soule and Kries (2004) collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.

The military regime and the civilian government attitude towards this group ranges from arbitrary arrest, assassination, extra judicial killings, unlawful detention and other extra judicial actions that expunge on their human rights. The social movements that have suffered directly or indirectly from the government actions in Nigeria are the press or the journalist, secessionist groups or ethic based groups like (Oduduwa people congress, Ohana eze, IPOB) religious movements like the Islamic movements of Nigeria, resource control, environmental groups like the MEND. Even though these lists are not mutually exclusive or collectively exhaustive, the government tends to control these groups through suppression and use of security forces against their members and against their activities.

In order to determine the extent of repression of the rights of social movements; the following indicators; the press and human right rights violation, the IMN and human rights violation, the IPOB and human rights violation, etc were tested

5.1. THE PRESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION

Despite the freedom of information acts and other legislation that protects the rights of the press, the Nigerian journalist and pressmen have face some many plethora of rights violation from the government. The freedom of information acts (FOA) which provides for; make public records and information more freely available, provide for public access to public records and information, protect public records and information to the extent consistent with the public interest and the protection of personal privacy, protect serving public officers from adverse consequences of disclosing certain kinds of official information without authorization and establish procedures for the achievement of those purposes and; for related matters (Freedom of Information Act, 2011) Is supposed to be the safe haven for all pressmen in Nigeria offers little or no protection to the press as Nigeria government and her security forces turn blind eyes to the provision while dealing with the press.

All over the world and especially in Africa, the press is always the victim of direct violence and at the mercy of repressive dictatorial government. According to the committee on the protection of journalist report (2018) the group reported at the event of 28 september2018 general assembly of the United Nations (UN) that journalist are regularly threatened, attacked, imprisoned and killed around the world. According the group, at the end of 2017, around 262 journalist were jailed all over the world; 70 in turkey, 40 china, 20 Egypt, 2 killed in Nigeria while 12 were assaulted and 52% were behind bars for reporting human rights violation in their countries or divulging what native laws or government called official secret. Moreover, in 2015, the total number of journalist killed on the course of carrying out their duty was put to the figure of 110 by the International Press Centre (IPC) Lagos. Similarly in a May 2018 report of the UN Educational Scientific And Cultural Organization (UNESCO) lamented of arbitrary

imprisonment of journalist which foster self sensor ship and impinges on the public rights to access of information is on continual rise.

In Nigeria, the press are not spared as both state and federal government in one way or the other clamp on the rights of the press to exist and operate freely like every other organization whose rights are protected. In most cases the police or other security agencies engages on illegal detention, arrest and or even kill journalist especially when the report against the government, government officials or even some protected individuals.

TABLE 2: CHRONICLES OF KILLED NIGERIAN JOURNALIST IN 2017

S/N	Name	Media House	Date	Events
1	Jerry Edoho		January 6, 2018	He was picked up in Uyo by police personnel from the Force headquarters in Abuja
2	Nsebiet John	The Ink, Akwa-Ibom State	January 6, 2018	He was detained for a night in police cell, arraigned and granted bail to the sum of N250,000
3	Dapo Olorunyomi	PREMIUM TIMES	January 19.	arrested by armed police officers
4	Evelyn Okakwu	PREMIUM TIMES	January 19.	arrested by armed police officers
	Godwin Aliuna	National Mirror, Ebonyi State:	February 22.	He was attacked by alleged armed robbers in his residence
5	Famous Giobaro	Bayelsa State-owned radio station, Glory FM	April 16.	He was shot dead by suspected hired assassins
6	Samuel Nweze:	Publisher of the People's Leader	June 2.	He was shot by gunmen in front of his office in Abakaliki

7	Charles Otu of the:	Conscience Newspaper	June 2.	He was beaten to stupor with dangerous weapons and later abducted by suspected political thugs in Abakaliki
8	Lawrence Okojie	Nigerian Television Authority, Benin	July 8.	: He was shot dead by gunmen at 8 p.m. while returning from work
9	Amadin Uyi	Silverbird Television, Abuja	August 8.	He was brutalized by police officers during the protest by Ourmumudondo group at Unity Fountain in Abuja
10	Segun Salami	Channels Television, Kogi	August 28.	: He was battered at the state house detention centre by security personnel attached to Kogi State government house
11	Wale Odunsi,	an editor with Daily Post (online publication)	October 11	He was reportedly attacked by security officials at the Kogi State government house
12	Ikechukwu Ibe	Daily Trust Newspapers	October 26.	He was allegedly brutally assaulted by an Army captain at Jabi area of Abuja

Note: compiled from welcome address presented by the chairman of International press centre, lagos Mr. Arogundade on November 2 2017 (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/248117-two-nigerian-journalists-killed-12-assaulted-2017-full-list-ipc.html>)

From the ongoing, the data above shows the level of the security forces clamp down on the press even in the government houses especially that of Kogi states and the Ebonyi state. While attack of press houses especially on that of the premium times and the (Nigeria Union of Journalist)NUJ secretariat in south east which was invaded by soldiers on Python dance

assaulting 12 journalist during the raid. It is evident from these, even not mentioning prominent case like that of Dele Giwa that the relationship between the press and the Nigeria security forces could be likened to that of hammer and anvil and this amount to several human rights violation towards the group by the government.

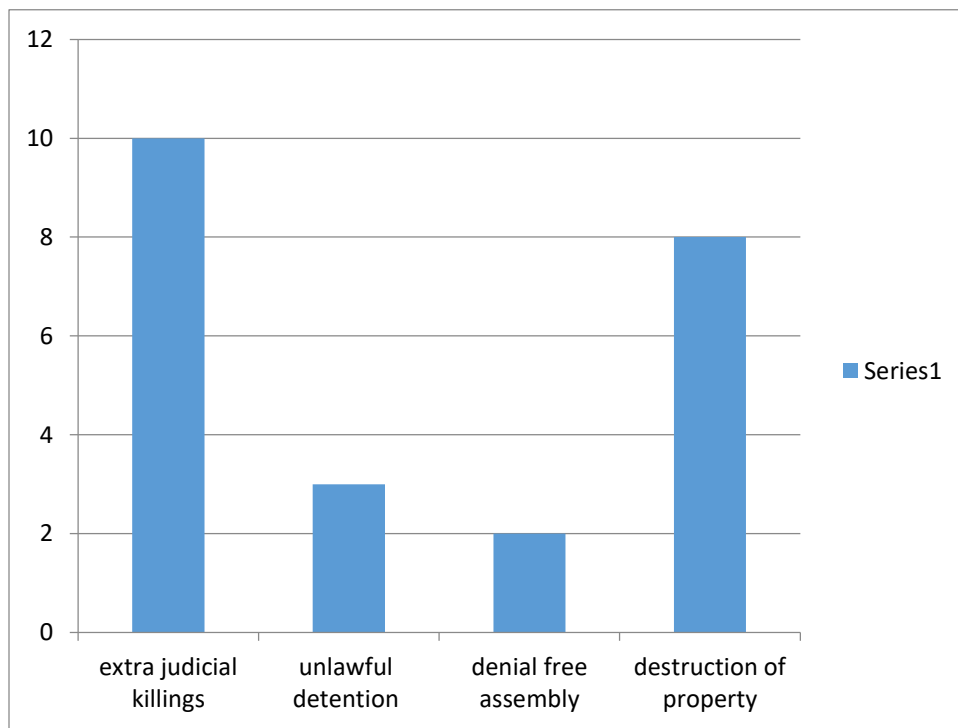
5.2. THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF NIGERIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE

The Islamic Movement in Nigeria is a religious and political organization based in the northern region of Nigeria. The Islamic Movement is headed by Sheikh Ibrahim El Zakzaky, a Shia Muslim cleric. The movement began with a Shia Muslim university activist, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, who is said to have become so impressed with the 1979 Iranian Revolution that he wanted one at home. Later, Zakzaky went to Iran, ultimately becoming a Shia cleric. At home he became the leader of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria and turned it into a vehicle for proselytizing and gaining followers in the 1990s. As a result of his activities, millions have converted to Shia Islam in a country once with hardly any Shia population.

The Nigeria government from the beginning of the above movement has violated their social, civil and economic rights of this group. The Nigeria government notwithstanding her constitutional provision for the freedom of association have both during the military and civil era clamped down of the IMN members in 1980, 1990, 2014 ,2015, 2017 and 2018 respectively. The leader of the movement have been imprisoned in 1990, 1980 2016 till date despite court rule for his release which have been violated so much by the Nigeria government. The military have been used against the group peaceful demonstration in Kaduna state in 2014 where many people are killed and property were destroyed including the Ahmad, Hameed and Mahmud the son of El zakzaky the leader of the group. Moreover, another glaring flash point of the human rights abuse

against this group started at the fall of 2015, during the annual protest by the group turned soar as the Nigeria army claimed that the convoy of the chief of Army Staff (COAS) Lt Gen. Barutai was attacked by the group. The security details of the army chief opened live fire on them killing so many people. The next day they invaded the house of EL zakzakay abducted him and his wife killing his three sons at the spot.

Chart On Right Violation By Nigeria Security Forces Against Islamic Movement Of Nigeria.



Source: Amnesty International report “NIGERIA – ‘UNEARTHING THE TRUTH’: UNLAWFUL KILLINGS AND MASS COVER-UP IN ZARIA”

The table above depicts the extent of human rights violation by the Nigeria security forces against the members of the IMN from 12th may to 14th may 2015. The number of protesters that were killed by the military was 7 persons on 12th of may 2015, while the number

of persons held against court order is pegged at 2 by amnesty international (2015); that is El zakzaky and his wife. Even the Nigeria human rights watch attested that 200 supporters from the group are awaiting trial for criminal conspiracy as at 2017 when the report was published. The group that assembly for religious issues in Zaria have been sometimes denied the freedom of free assembly by the Nigeria security forces as they always clamp down on its members especially during such assembly that happens once every year. On 14th of May 2015, the house of the leader of the group El zakzaky was razed down by the Nigeria security personnel as provided by the picture below

The most glaring among all the violated rights in the case of the Islamic movement of Nigeria is the killing of Elzakzaky's sons and the turn down of court orders and international pressure to release him bail.

Chronology of the human rights abuse by the Nigeria security forces against the members of IMN

The above chronology as presented by the amnesty international on the activities of the Nigeria government, its security forces in managing the IMN crises in December 2017.

- 1. December, afternoon** IMN supporters blocked a section of the Sokoto road in front the IMN headquarters (Hussainiya) and refused to allow the convoy of the Chief of Army Staff to pass. Soldiers opened fire with live ammunition, killing at least seven protesters and injuring several others. A soldier was reportedly killed.
- 2. 12 December, evening** Soldiers surrounded the Hussainiya and were deployed to other locations where IMN protesters were gathered, notably the compound of IMN leader Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky. Confrontations ensued and soldiers shot intermittently at the Hussainiya and Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky's compound throughout the night.

3. **13 December** Soldiers broke into the Hussainya and Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky's compound, setting some buildings on fire and killing and wounding hundreds of IMN supporters.
4. **14 December** The Nigerian Army announced the arrest of Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky's and his wife, both seriously injured during the arrest, and petitions the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to investigate what it alleges was an attempted assassination of the Chief of Army Staff by IMN members on 12 December.
5. **14 December, night** Hundreds of bodies were secretly buried in a mass grave in the Mando area of Zaria
6. **15 December** The NHRC announced it would set up a panel to investigate the killings.
7. **16 December** The Senate set up an ad hoc committee to investigate the killings
8. **17 December** The Governor of Kaduna state announced the establishment of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry.
9. **21 December** The NHRC inaugurated a Special Investigative panel to investigate the killings
10. **16 January** The Kaduna state Judicial Commission of Inquiry was established
11. **29 January** The Kaduna state Judicial Commission of Inquiry was inaugurated
12. **24 March** The Judicial Commission of Inquiry announced that two of its lawyers had for the first time met with IMN leader Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky
13. **1 April** The IMN leader, Ibrahim Al-Zakzaky and his wife Zeinat al-Zakzaky were allowed access to their lawyer for the first time
14. **5 April** The General Officer Commanding (GOC) the 1st Mechanised Division told the Judicial Commission of Inquiry that he deployed troops to search and retrieve "all sort of dangerous weapons". The military said that one soldier was shot and killed and one officer injured.
15. **11 April** A Kaduna state official told the Judicial Commission of Inquiry that 347 bodies of men, women and children killed in the Zaria incidents were buried in a mass grave in an unspecified location in the Mando area, near Kaduna city, on 14 December. This was the first admission by any Nigerian authorities of the large-scale killings.

Source: Amnesty International 2017

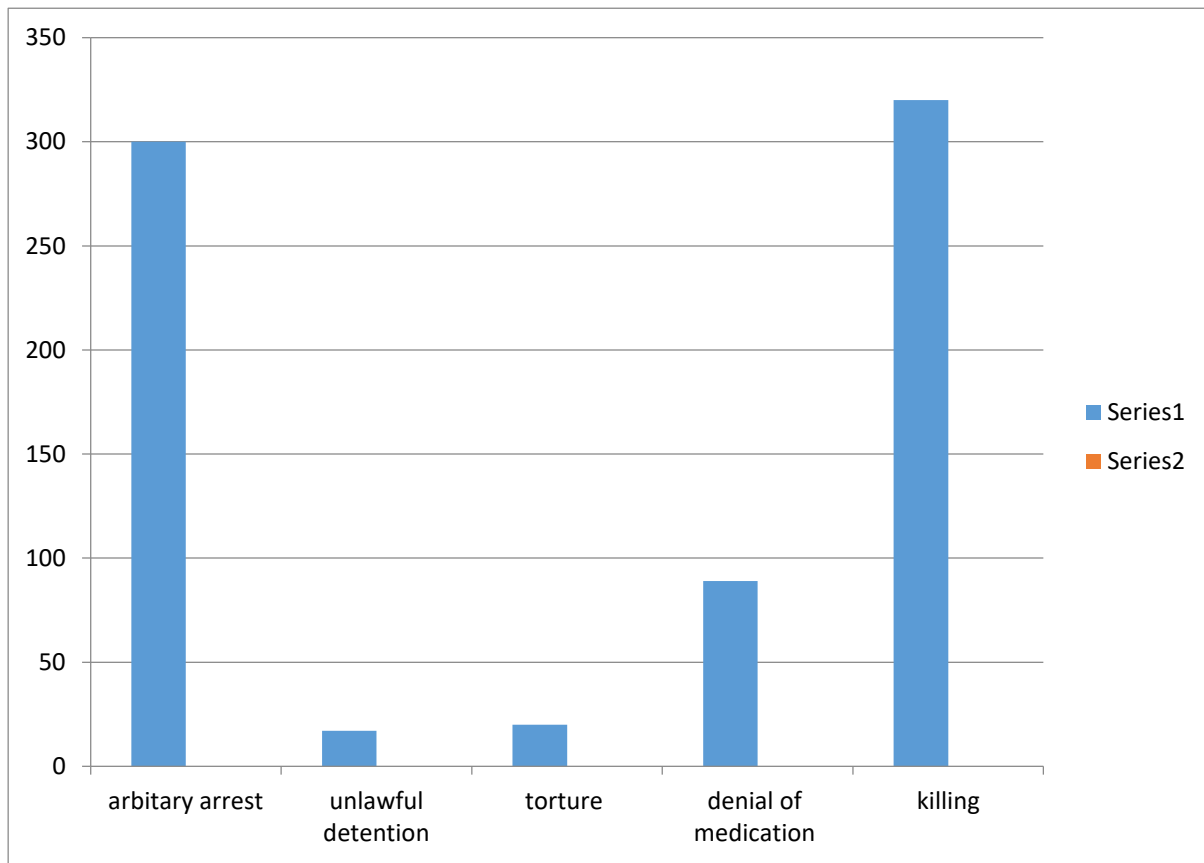
Finally, the extent of rights violation against the leader of IMN doubles that of his followers as the Nigeria security forces believe in the old biblical adage, strike the shepherd and the sheep will run away. The security operatives have not only maimed, killed his sons, detained him against court order to his release, destroyed his property but also continue the crusade of eliminating the group. The sum total of right violation as El zakzaky are civil rights, social rights and economic rights. In view of the evidence provided above, the security agencies have undermine the human rights of the IMN leader and his followers.

5.3. The IPOB MOVEMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN SOUTH EAST.

The movement of Indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) is a political group formed under the ideology of Late Odimegwu Ojukwu with the intension of establishing the sovereign state of Biafra. The movement engages in peaceful activism and protest to sensitize the world and the igbos all over the world on the need for the creation of the Biafra states out of the rest Nigeria. The use of the security operatives against the protest march and sit at home of the group led to human rights violation against these people. The height of these rights violation was during the military campaign tagged “ operation Python Dance”. The protest turn sour On 2 December 2015, according Amnesty International report (2016) the protests degenerated into violence, when two policemen and at least nine protesters, out of the thousands that had blocked the strategic Niger Bridge in the commercial city of Onitsha in Anambra State, were reportedly killed while Several properties including the city’s central mosque and eight trucks belonging to Dangote Group, a conglomerate owned by northern businessman Aliko Dangote, were destroyed during the protests. Since the 2 December 2015 incident, several protesters have been reportedly killed in clashes with security forces in Onitsha, Aba, Port Harcourt, Owerri and Asaba. In June 2016, Amnesty International accused the Nigerian military of killing unarmed Biafra supporters

in Onitsha ahead of their planned May 2016 commemoration of Biafra. According to Amnesty, “opening fire on peaceful IPOB supporters and bystanders who clearly posed no threat to anyone is an outrageous use of unnecessary and excessive force which resulted in multiple deaths and injuries. To trace the history of extra-judicial killings of supporters of Biafra, which predate the present government. For instance, in January 2013 fifty bodies believed to be Biafra supporters were found afloat in the Ezu River in Anambra State. Still, none of the past and present killings have been thoroughly investigated by Nigerian governments

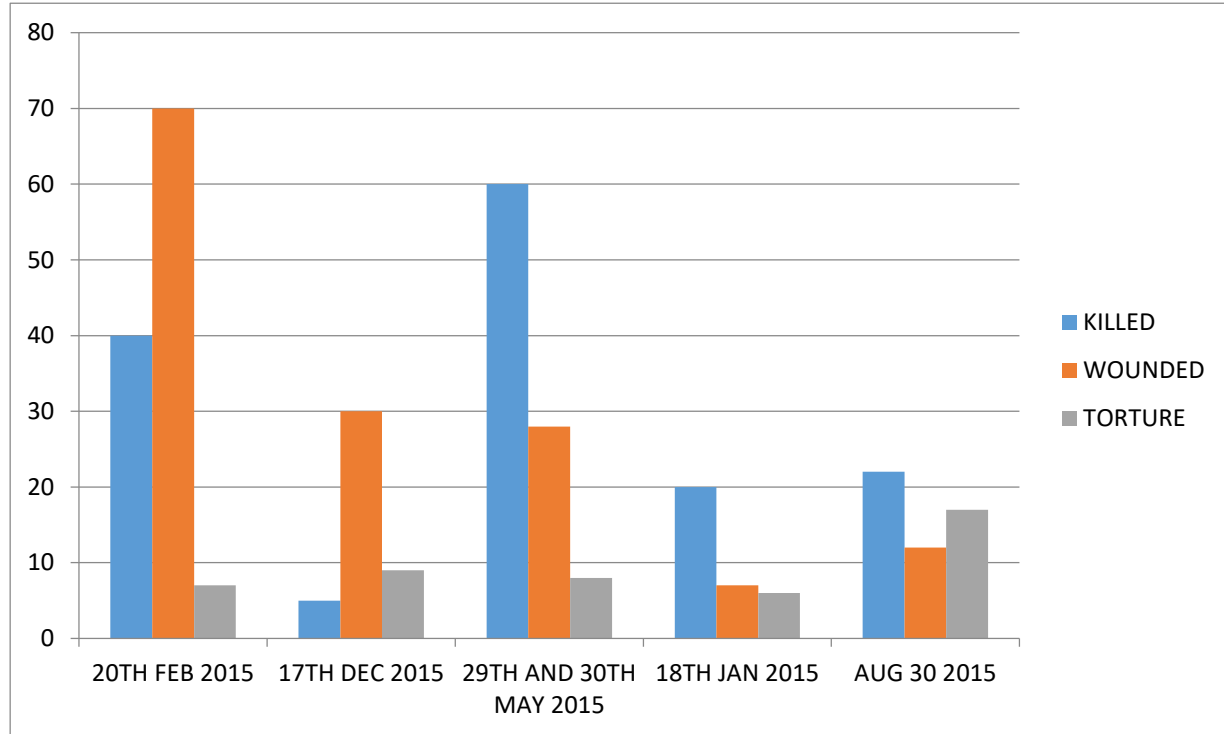
CHART ON DEHUMILITING TREATMENT AGAINST IPOB MEMBERS



Source: compiled from amnesty international report “Nigeria: ‘Bullets Were Raining Everywhere’ Deadly Repression Of Pro-Biafra Activists “ and Biafra Separatism: Causes, Consequences and Remedies by Okechukwu Ibeano

Most of the peaceful protest of the IPOB groups was marred with arbitrary arrest of the members by the Nigeria security operatives. Amnesty international testified that In most cases, the police and military carried out arrests after violently disrupting pro-Biafran gatherings. Since August 2015, hundreds of IBOP members and supporters have been arrested. On 18 January in Aba, for example, the military and police arrested at least 83 people at different locations, possibly to prevent or disrupt an IPOB gathering planned that day at Aba National High School. Then, unlawful detention of the members took place even after several court orders to release most of them that were not found guilty. According to an eye witness interview conducted by amnesty international in (2017:47) The army detained at least 57 people in their barracks on 18 January. The eye witness a 26-year-old trader, told Amnesty International that soldiers arrested him without any reason around 11am at Ngwa Road. According to him, all passers-by raised their hands in the air, but the soldiers picked him and took him to the barracks at the former Ngwa High School. He said: "They picked up a few more people on our way, by the time we got to Ngwa High School Barracks, there were 57 of us. They insisted we had to meet their commander before we were released. The next day, one of their commanders came and interviewed us individually. After the interview you were either asked to join group 1 or 2. Which are later detained. According to an image attached below and verified by the Amnesty international, the use of torture against the IPOB group was common among the military and other security forces. Most of the time, those arrested are subjected to severe maltreatment forcing them to renounce the movement. The image below was posted by the amnesty international of an IPOB member that acid was deliberately pour on his hand to burn.

CHART ON KILLING OF IPOB MEMBERS.



Note: the data for this chart was gotten from amnesty international report “Nigeria: ‘Bullets Were Raining everywhere

On 30 May 2016, Biafra Remembrance Day, during events to mark the 49th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Biafra, when an estimated 1,000-plus IPOB members and supporters gathered for a rally in Onitsha, Anambra state. The night before the rally, a joint security force task force raided homes and a church where IPOB members were sleeping. Other killings of the IPOB members occurred during protest march at difference Biafra states including Port Harcourt.

From the analysis and data presented so far, this study accept that hypotheses that military clamp down on social movements accounts for human rights violation in Nigeria. This is because, the military and other Nigeria security forces have engaged in arbitrary arrest, unlawful detention, extra judicial killings of the social movements, this is evident from the manner at which the Nigeria security forces arrest and detain the leaders and members of this group even when a ruling from a competent court has order for this release.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1. SUMMARY

The prime facie of every government is to maintain internal peace within her territory. Internal security is the freedom from all those factors that impinges or threatens the peaceful existence of the state. In a nutshell, internal security entails freedom from or the absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of the nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives as well as meet the legitimate aspiration of the citizenry. While on the other hand, the relationship between different classes in any social relation bring about ware and tear; these ware and tear if not managed well lead to internal crisis within the state. These crises could be cause by the struggle for resource control, struggle for the control of the state power and structures, economic, social factors etc.

The management of these internal security crises in Nigeria have been marred with so many human rights abuses. Most of the time, on the cause of managing internal security crises, the following plethora of rights have been abused; political rights, economic rights, civil rights, social rights, cultural rights, while civil rights, economic and political rights have been adjudged by Ibeano (2000) as the most violated rights in Nigeria during internal security crisis.

The reason for the numerous rights violation by the security agencies on the cause of managing internal crises are lack of professionalism, politicalisation of security issues, weak civil- military relation, failure to stick to the rule of engagement while dealing with internal

crises, weak political institution and lack of co-existence among the three arm of the government.

6.2. CONCLUSION

The managing styles employed by the Nigeria security forces in managing internal security crises have led to various rights infringement in Nigeria. The use of force against social movements or groups like the Islamic movement of Nigeria (IMN) , indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB), movement of emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) have been marred with human rights abuse. The security force set aside the rule of engagement and applied maximum force against these groups even when the groups are not armed. The security clamped down on the press and press houses is another point to human rights violation against social movements in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the uses of the military in maintaining internal peace through military campaigns have further undermine the rights of the citizens in peace where such campaigns were held. For example, the operation python dances, the operation Hakuri 11, the operation BOYONA, operation layfya Dole, have been marred by human rights abuses. Finally, the abysmal or fictional relationship between the arms of government is another factor that further human rights violation in Nigeria. The failure of the executive to obey court orders or ruling and detain citizens illegally is a wrong approach towards managing internal security crises in Nigeria.

6.3. RECOMMENDATION

Internal security crises is general phenomena that could occur anytime in all sovereign states as far as there are interaction between and among different actors with divergent interest within the state. The problem of internal security crises lays on the managing styles employed by the government. That is while, most of the time, the number of human rights violated on the cause of managing internal security crises doubles the one caused by the crises itself.

On this note, this study hereby recommend as follows;

Use of Excessive Force in keeping Internal Peace

Most of the time the Nigeria government and its security forces adopt a suppressive approach to most internal security crises especially towards social movements. This is evident as the government has always deployed security agents at event of any civil protest like the IMN, IPOB and MASSOB. This very act usually lead to human rights violation anytime is done as the security agents will retort to use of force.

Recommendation

The government should use dialogue towards social movement as most of the time civil protests are not meant to attack the government but to bring the government into negotiation table. The use of the military in managing internal crises created by social movement should be discouraged and when military is to be used, such operation should be commanded by a civilian like the police, Civil defense, DSS etc that is at home with the nature of the environment and nature of the crises.

Management of Protest

Most of the time, in order to curtail internal security crises especially mass protest. The security forces have resorted to sporadic shooting into the air that have left many unarmed civil dead. This particular case is evident in the manner at which the government has managed the IPOB and IMN protest.

Recommendation

In managing internal security crises, the security agencies should separate the rule of engagement used in internal crises from the one used in inter- state conflicts or full blown out war. The government should make use of rubber bullets and hot water cannons that is mostly used in develop countries.

Military Campaigns

The use of military campaigns to manage internal security crises especially civil uprising and terrorism have generated a lot of human rights violations in Nigeria. Most military operation have led to many civilian deaths and in most cases unarm civilians

Recommendation

There should be a well coordinate civil-military relations during military campaigns. The military should endeavor to work with other arms of the government especially the law court and the police in order to ease the extent of human right abuse that arises from arbitrary arrest, unlawful detention and extra judicial killings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Brockwell, Peter & A Davis, Richard. (2002). *An Introduction to Time Series and Forecasting*. 10.1007/978-1-4757-2526-1.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Chiluwa, I., 2011. 'Media Representation of Nigeria's Joint Military Task Forces in the Niger
- Francis, P., LaPin, D. & Rossiasco, P., 2011, *Securing Development and Peace in the Niger Delta: A Social and Conflict Analysis for Change*, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington DC.
- Francis, P., LaPin, D., and Rossiasco, P., 2011. *Securing Development and Peace in the Niger*
- Glass, G. V., Willson, V. L., & Gottman, J. M. (1975). *Design and analysis of time series experiments*. Boulder, CO: Colorado Associate University Press
- Glass, G. V., Willson, V. L., & Gottman, J. M. (1975). *Design and analysis of time series experiments*. Boulder, CO: Colorado Associate University Press
- Glazer and P.G. Glazer, (1998), *The Environmental Crusaders: Confronting Disaster and Mobilizing Community*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Guba, E. and Y.S. Lincoln. 1981. *Effective Evaluation: Improving the Usefulness of Evaluation Results through Responsive and Naturalistic Approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers
- Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1278) **Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis** https://www.researchgate.net/publication/7561647_Three_Approaches_to_Qualitative_Content_Analysis/download
- IFRA-Nigeria epapers series, 2014, n°3742
- Leege, D., and Francis, W. (1974) *Political Research: Design, Measurement and Analysis*. New York: Basic Book Publishers.
- NOPRIN (2007) *Criminal Forces?: An Interim Report on the Nigeria Police Force, Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN)*, Lagos.
- O'Leary, Z. (2014). *The essential guide to doing your research project* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Onadipe, A., 2002, 'Nigeria and Democracy: Third Time Lucky?', *Contemporary Review Company Ltd.*, (www.findarticles.com), 30 March 2008

- Safir H. (2003), *Security: Policing your Homeland, your State, Your City*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Scott, J. 1990. *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Scott, J. 1990. *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Scott, J. 1990. *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Scott, J. 1990. *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Silverman, D. 1993. *Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage.
- Snow, Soule and Kries (2004) *The Blackwell Companion To Social Movements* [Blackwell Publishing](#)
- Tom, M., (2000) *Beyond the Execution: Understanding the Ethnic and Military Politics in Nigeria*, Lincoln: IUniverse.
- Treece, E.W. and J.w. Treece. 1982. *Elements of Research in Nursing*. St. Louis: The C.V. Mosby Company

Journals

- Nickel (1993),, The human right to a safe environment: Philosophical perspectives on its scope and justification, *The Yale Journal of International Law*, (18) 281–295.
- Ikelegbe (2001), Civil society, oil and conflict in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria: Ramification for a regional struggle, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38(3) [18]
- Ikelegbe 2001), The perverse manifestation of civil society: Evidence from Nigeria, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39(1) 1-24.
- Adeola, (2000) Endangered community, enduring people: Toxic contamination, health, and adaptive responses in a local context, *Environmental and Behaviour*, 32(2) 209-249.
- Itiri, N. U. (2015). "Civilians in Counter-Insurgency Operation in Nigeria". In *The International Journal Of Humanities and Social Studies*. Vol.3 (11). Accessed from [www.thejhss.com\(23-09-2016\)](http://www.thejhss.com(23-09-2016))
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27-40. doi:10.3316/QRJ0902027

- Ajiya and Habibu (2014) Issues and Challenges on Environmental Rights: The Nigerian Experience American International Journal of Social Science Vol. 3, No. 5; October 2014
- Akinwale (2011) **Repression of Press Freedom in Nigerian Democratic Dispensations** Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2010
- Cook, D. (2011). The Rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria" Combating Terrorism Centre. At West Point <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-rise-of-boko-haram-in-nigeria>
- Nabhon and Aghedo (2015), SECURITY ARCHITECTURE AND INSECURITY MANAGEMENT: CONTEXT, CONTENT AND CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA
- Onwuazombe (2017) Human Rights Abuse and Violations in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Oil-Producing Communities in the Niger Delta Region
- Okonta, Ike and Oronto Douglas 2001. Where vultures feast: 40 years of Shell in the Niger Delta Benin-City, Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth.
- Wæver, Ole (1999) 'Securitizing Sectors? Reply to Eriksson', Cooperation and Conflict 34(3): 334–40.
- Brockwell, Peter & A Davis, Richard. (2002). An Introduction to Time Series and Forecasting.
- Mbah and Nwangwu (2014) The Counter-Insurgency Operations of the Joint Task Force and Human Rights Abuses in Northern Nigeria, 2011–2013. *Journal of Educational and Social Research* MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy

Book chapter

- Atkinson, P., and A. Coffey. 1997. Analysing Documentary Realities. In: D. Silverman, (Ed.). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, pp. 45-62, London: Sage Publications.
- Atkinson, P., and A. Coffey. 1997. Analysing Documentary Realities. In: D. Silverman, (Ed.). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, pp. 45-62, London: Sage Publications
- Gottman, J. M., & Glass, G. V. (1978). Analysis of interrupted time-series experiments. In J. Kratochwill (Ed.), Strategies to evaluate change in single subject research. New York: Academic Press.
- Idowu, J. (2013), "Indigeneship and Citizenship Crisis: A Challenge to Nigeria's National Security" (36-49) in V. Adefemi Isumonah, Musibau Olabamiji Oyebode and Adeola Adams (eds.) *Nationalities, Identities and Terrorism: The Nigerian Experience*, Ibadan: John Archers.
- Imobigbe, T. A. (1990). Doctrines for and Threat to Internal Security. In A.E Ekallo and Vogh M.A. (Eds.) *Nigerian defence policy: issues and problems* Lagos: Malthaouse Press Ltd.

- Iweze, C.C. (1990). Instrument of Internal Security and an Alternative Force. A. E Ekoko and Vogh M.A. (e.d.)
- Nweze A. (2004), "National Security Threats in Nigeria" in Briggs, D.A. and J.G. Sanda (eds.), *Issues of Peace and Security*, Kuru-Jos: National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies: 69-94.
- Ovwasa, (1999), Oil and minority question, in Saliu, H.A. (ed) *Issues in Contemporary Political Economy of Nigeria*, Ilorin: Sally and Associates. Eteng, Minority rights under Nigeria's Federal Structure, Proceedings of the Conference on Constitutions and Federalism Held at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, 23–25 April, (1996), 111–168.
- Vogt, M.A. (1990), "Nigeria Defence Policy: An Overview" in Eboko and Vogt (eds.) *Nigeria Defense Policy: Issues and Problems*, Lagos: Malthouse Press: 92-110.
- Wæver, Ole (2000) 'The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post Sovereign Security Orders', in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, eds, *International*
- Webb, E.J., D.T Campbell, R.D Schwarz and L. Sechrest. 1984. *The Use of Archival Sources in Social Research*. In: Bulmer M. (Ed.). *Sociological Research Methods - An Introduction*. London: MacMillan
- Webb, E.J., D.T Campbell, R.D Schwarz and L. Sechrest. 1984. *The Use of Archival Sources in Social Research*. In: Bulmer M. (Ed.). *Sociological Research Methods - An Introduction*. London: MacMillan

Conference papers

- Aiyede, R., 2000, 'The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratisation Process in Nigeria', *Paper Presented during the Fellowship at the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies (TCDS)*, New School University, New York, September-December 2000
- Bush, G.W., 2008, 'Statement on World Press Freedom Day', *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 5 May, Vol. 44, Issue 17, pp. 636-637.
- Courson, E., 2006, 'Odi Revisited? Oil and State Violence in Odioma, Brass LGA, Bayelsa State', *Economies of Violence, Working paper 1*, p.3.
- Ibeanu, O., (2002) "Oiling the Friction: Environmental Conflict Management in the Niger Delta, Nigeria", Environmental Change and Security Project Report, No. 6, The Woodrow Wilson Centre, Washington, DC.
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu and Momoh, Abubakar (2008) 'State Responsiveness to Public Security Needs', Nigeria Country Case study produced for the project on 'the Politics of Security Decision-Making', accessed August 7, 2014 https://www.academia.edu/1944700/State_Responsiveness_to_Public_Security_Needs_The_Politics_of_Public_Security_Ddecision-Making_-_Nigeria_Country_Study

Government publications

Security Council Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Nigeria 2017

United Nations News, 2013, 'Ban 'shocked and saddened' by civilian deaths in Nigeria violence'', viewed 17 May 2018, from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=44722#>

United Nations, 1949, 'United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948', viewed 27 May 2014, from <http://www.supremecourt.ge/files/upload-file/pdf/act3.pdf>

United Nations, 2006, 'United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy', Resolution 60/288 adopted by the General Assembly at the 60th Session on 8 September, viewed 22 May, from <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/504/88/PDF/N0550488.pdf?OpenElement>

United Nations, 2008, 'Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-terrorism', Factsheet No.32, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, viewed 24 May 2018, from <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Factsheet32EN.pdf>

United Nations, 2011, 'Statement by the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights while Countering Terrorism' at the 66th Session of the General Assembly, New York, 20 October, viewed 19 May 2018, from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Display/News.aspx?NewsID=11736&LangID=E>

United Nations, 2013, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism, presented at the 68th Session of the General Assembly, 18 September, viewed 19 May 2014, from <http://justsecurity.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/10/2013EmmersonSpecialRapporteurReportDrones.pdf>

1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria

Newspapers

Azuatalam, C., (2012) 'JTF Rebrands to Operation Pulo Shield', The Nation (Nigeria) available at <http://www.thenationonline.ng.net>, accessed on 24 September, 2015.

Hamza, I. & Sawab, I., 2013, 'Civilian JTF' Hunts Boko Haram in Borno', *Daily Trust* (Nigeria), viewed 25 October 2013, from <http://www.weeklytrust.com.ng/index.php/top-stories/12952-civilian-jtf-hunts-boko-haram-in-borno?tmpl>

Lawan, D.A., 2013, 'State of Emergency: JTF Dumped 3 335 Corpses in Borno Hospital – Report' *Sunday Trust* (Nigeria), viewed 21 October 2013, from

<http://www.sundaytrust.com.ng/index.php/news/14757-state-of-emergency-jtf-dumped-3-335-corpses-in-borno-hospital-report?templ>

Marc-Antoine(2011) ‘Nigeria Watch: Third Report on Violence in Nigeria (2006–2011)’, accessed August 11, 2018 <http://www.nigeriawatch.org/media/html/NGA->

Musa S (2012) Nigeria: Understanding JTF – Operation restore order in Borno

Sagir, M. (2012). “Nigeria: Understanding JTFs Operation Restore Order in Borno State”. Daily Trust, Abuja

State. Daily trust, Nigeria

Teslim, O. O., (2013)‘Counter-terrorism or Militarism?’, Daily Trust, February 5.

Watch-Report11(1).pdf

Human rights Body

African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, 1986, viewed 22 May 2014, from <http://www.humanrights.se/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/African-Charter-on-Human-and-Peoples-Rights.pdf>

Amnesty International NIGERIA: ‘BULLETS WERE RAINING EVERYWHERE’

Amnesty International (2014)STARS ON THEIR SHOULDERS.

Amnesty International Nigeria: Human rights violations by the military continue in the absence of accountability for crimes under international law

Amnesty International report 2016 “NIGERIA – ‘UNEARTHING THE TRUTH’: UNLAWFUL KILLINGS AND MASS COVER-UP IN ZARIA”

Amnesty International, 2009, ‘Killing at Will: Extrajudicial Executions and other Unlawful Killings by Police in Nigeria’, viewed 28 October 2013, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR44/038/2009/en/f09b1c15-77b4-40aa-a608-b3b01bde0fc5/afr440382009en.pdf>

Amnesty International, 2011, ‘Nigeria: Unlawful Killings by the Joint Military Task Force in Maiduguri must stop’, Amnesty International Joint Public Statement, 14 July, viewed 26 May 2014, from <https://www.amnesty.org/fr/library/asset/AFR44/013/2011/fr/ae35378a-f483-49c9-9fb6-19eff2f92942/afr440132011en.pdf>

Amnesty International, 2012, ‘Nigeria: Trapped in the Cycle of Violence’, viewed 28 October 2013, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR44/043/2012/en>

Amnesty International, 2013, ‘Nigeria: Authorities must Investigate Deaths of Boko Haram Suspects in Military Custody’, viewed 31 October 2013, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR44/025/2013/en/a41b9f6e-1cfa-4ea2-a43a-da13a13377b0/afr440252013en.pdf>

BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS. WAR CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE NIGERIAN MILITARY

DEADLY REPRESSION OF PRO-BIAFRA ACTIVISTS 2016

Human Rights Watch (2005). “Rest in Pieces: Police Torture and Deaths in Custody in Nigeria”, Vol.17, No.11.Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/node/11631> on 8th May, 2018.

Human Rights Watch (2012). “Spiralling Violence: Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria”, Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover> on 8th May, 2013.

Human Rights Watch (2013). “Satellite-Based Damage Assessment for Town of Baga, Borno State, Nigeria”,30th April, Retrieved from <http://www.reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/satellite-based-damage-assessme-40kon> 5th July, 2018.

Human Rights Watch, ‘World Report2014—Nigeria’,accessed August 6, 2014 <http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/nigeria>

Human Rights Watch, 1999, ‘Nigeria-Destruction of Odi and Rape in Choba’, viewed 15 June 2013, from <http://www.hrw.org/press/1999/dec/nibg1299.htm>

Human Rights Watch, 2002, ‘Nigeria - Military Revenge in Benue: A Population under Attack’, viewed 12 May 2018, from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/nigeria/>

Human Rights Watch, 2002, ‘The Niger Delta: No Democratic Dividend’, viewed 4 July 2018, from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/nigeria3/nigerdelta.pdf>

National Human Rights Commission, 2013, *The Baga Incident and the Situation in North-East Nigeria, An Interim Assessment and Report*, NHRC, Abuja

NIGERIA 2017 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT Nigeria Watch Fourth Report on Violence in Nigeria(2006–2014)

Nigeria Crime Watch 2016

Written statement to the 32nd session of the UN Human Rights Council (13 June – 1 July 2016)