THE STATE AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA: AN EXAMINATION OF THE AMNESTY PROGRAMME FOR MILITANTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Williams Apikins Maina sincerely declare that this Thesis titled "The State and Conflict Management in Nigeria: An Examination of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta" was written by me in the Department of Political Science and International Studies under the meticulous supervision and guidance of Prof. Pual Pindar Izah, Prof. Ayo Rauf Dunmoye and Prof. Hudu Ayuba Abdullahi. I wish to further attest that no part of this Thesis had been presented elsewhere for any other degree.

I also declare that all sources of information used in this research were duly distinguished and acknowledged by means of references.

Williams Apikins Maina **Signature** **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This Thesis titled "The State and Conflict Management in Nigeria: An Examination of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta by Williams Apikins Maina meets the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) degree of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and had been approved by the undersigned for its contribution to knowledge and literary work.

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, my beloved parents and to my darling wife and children.

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ABSTRACT

The study was an examination of the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger-Delta by the President Musa Yar'Adua's administration in 2009, within the context of the role of the Nigerian State in the management and resolution of the conflicts.This was against the backdrop of the protracted conflicts that engulfed the region. At the peak of the conflicts, there were frequent attacks and vandalizations of oil and gas pipelines and installations, and the rampant abductions of expartriates by militant groups spread over five hundred camps in the creeks of the Niger-Delta. The Conflict Resolution Theory was adopted as a theoretical framework for analysis for this research because it provided the most comprehensive methods and styles in the management of conflict, termination of conflict, mitigation of conflict resolution of conflicts, transformation of conflicts and peace building(Burton,1991).The research methodology used for this study is the Quantitative and Qualitatve methods, it involved the use of two sources of data viz: the primary and secondary sources.Thus,relevant library materials,questionnaires, oral interviews and focus group discussions provided immense insights on the data required. The multi-stage and cluster sampling techniques as well as the systematic random sampling were used.This approach allows for the division of larger clusters into smaller clusters until the Sample population is reached. Hence, from the nine Niger-Delta States, three States were picked (Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers) using the simple random sampling method. The total population for the area studied was31,224,577 people (NPC,2006) within a geographical space of 112,110 square kilometers (NDRDMP,2006). A sample size of1,111 was drawn, using the Yamane's established table for the determination of Sample sizes (Yamane,1967).The data generated were analysed with the aid of descriptive statistics that involved the use of tables, figures, percentages and frequency distributions.Major findings of the study revealed that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger-Delta was to stop the carnage perpetrated by the militants and to usher in peace, progress and development in the region.This facilitated the full resumption of commercial activities in oil and gas sectors,and assisted the Government to make more money for the implementation of developmental projects earmarked for the Niger-Delta in particular, and the entire country in general. Another finding was that the Amnesty Programme was a viable model for conflict management and resolution that can be adapted in other conflict situations like that of the Boko-Haram terrorists, if its leaders will genuinegly consent to negotiation and mediation. Recommendations proffered among others includes the utmost need for the Nigerian State to take very pragmatic steps in consolidating the gains of the Amnesty Programme by implementing the Post-Amnesty projects to their logical conclusions in the Niger-Delta to ensure that the root causes of the problems which were the drivers of the conflicts are adequately addressed.This will no doubt entrench durable peace in the Niger-Delta.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The State in both its holistic and modern senses is by its nature a product of conflict and generator of conflict situations in the society (Ofoeze in Gaya et al, 2006:175). This is particularly evident in the fact that at all point in time, the State represents certain specific social, political, economic and general material interests of certain dominant social group(s) in the society and which also control it (State) (Ofoeze, 2006). However, it is very important to note that conflicts are inevitable facts of socio-economic existence. Dunmoye (2010) emphasized that in any social formation, conflict is as inevitable as co-operation. Conflict may be functional to the social system by creating a form of social cohesion within groups; but it is the dysfunctional aspects of conflict that are detrimental to the survival of the State. Thus, conflict is a barometer for testing the fragility or otherwise of every State, and creates the basis for future remedy and adjustments (Dunmoye, 2010).

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, is indisputably one of the most richly endowed countries on the continent. It is blessed with immense natural and human resources which provide opportunity for national development (Oyakorotu, 2006, Eskotoyo, 2012). However, since de-colonization in 1960, the nation has been plagued with a civil war and series of conflicts; from the Nigerian-Biafran civil war, to Ife-Modakeke, to Amuleri-Aguleri, Tiv-Jukun, herdsmen versus farmers in Benue and Plateau States, the several ethno-religious crises in Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, Maiduguri, Adamawa and Plateau States, the militancy in the Niger-Delta and the Boko Haram

crisesin the North Eastern Nigeria to mentioned but a few. These conflicts, particularly the recent ones where our interest lies for this study, had continued to attract national and global attention.

Successive administrations since independence in 1960 had adopted several constitutional and institutional 'remedies' towards the resolutions of these conflicts. These include setting up of commissions of enquiries, establishment of developmental institutions, and agencies, State creation, creation of grazing reserve areas for herds men, the use of armed forces, provision of political opportunities and seizure of land (under the land use decree) and the provision of additional incentives to resource producing areas (derivation formula) etc. (Iyayi, 2012, Nwozor, 2010). Some of these measures had relatively worked while some were seen as pacification methods and mere palliatives (Usman, 2010; Kimiebi, 2010).

Thus, some of the crisis in Nigeria, particularly, the militancy in the Niger-Delta Region had continued unabated. At its peak, there were frequent attacks on oil and gas installations and facilities by militants groups which spread over five hundred (500) camps in the Creeks of the Niger Delta. The destruction of Odi Town and the bombardment of Gbaramatu kingdom could not deter the militants and / or resolved the conflicts. The activities of these militants have serious implications to peace and security in the region, oil exploitation, national revenue profit, development of infrastructure and other derivatives. No doubt these became a source of worry to peace-lovers, scholars and policy makers.(Yar'adua, 2009; Abbe, 2009; Clark, 2013).

The Niger Delta is one of the world's largest wetlands, and Africa's largest delta, formerly covering some 70,000 square kilometers (WB, 1995:1) and presently consists of

112,110 square kilometers (NDRDMP, 2006). It lies within the Ibo Plateau and the Cross River Valley (Willinks Commission Report – WCR, 1957). The dominant views see the Constituent States of the region as Bayelsa, Rivers, Edo, Delta, Cross-River and Akwa-Ibom (Tamuno, 2000).

The Region is evidently blessed with numerous resources including vast deposits of crude oil that accounts for about 95% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings (Tamuno, 2000).It has a population of about 31,224,577 million and more than 140 ethnic groups with links to the linguistic groups of Ijaw, Edo, Igbo, Efik, Ibibio and Oron (Brisbe, 2001, NDRDMP, 2006). At present, the Niger-Delta Region seats nine States (Bayelsa, Rivers, Delta, Edo, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Imo, Abia and Ondo States) (Asuni, 2009, NDRDMP, 2006).

The Niger Delta crisis can be classified into three epochs viz;. The Pre-Independence struggle, the Post-Independence crisisand the New wave of violence.

Pre-Independence agitations and crisis by the Niger Delta people to the environmental degradation that led to the systematic debasement and assault on the oil communities leading to the collapse of the eco-system began before the independence of Nigeria (Oloya and Ugbeyavwighen, 2009) the agitations against environmental degradation and for Resource Control in the Niger Delta dates back to the pre-colonial era when the Royal Niger Company (RNC) tried to deprive the people of their legitimate trade and industry. When the British Merchants were challenged by King William Dappa Pepple of Bonny Kingdom in 1854, he was deposed and exiled to Fernando Po(Oloya and Ugbeyavwighen, 2009).

King Jaja of Opobo was deposed and exiled to West Indies when he opposed British traders' direct dealing with his subjects to forestall their exploitation. Similarly, for moving to prevent British's exploitation of his subject, Prince Nana of Ishekiri was deported to Accra, Ghana in 1894. In about 1897, the Oba of Benin Kingdom was dethroned and exiled in Calabar where he died in 1913. (Oloya and Ubgyavwighen, 2009).Also, for challenging the Colonial authority of British, when the Royal Niger Company (RNC) stopped the people of Nembe, in Akassa City States from trading in their palm-oil and other palm products, there was mass protest which resulted in the attack on the Royal Niger company's depot in Akassa in 1895. The Company invited the British Royal Navy and they destroyed the Akassa City States. (Efiong, 2009).

During the colonial period, the core Niger Delta was a part of Eastern region of Nigeria, which came into being in 1951 (one of the three regions and later, one of the four regions). This region included the people from colonial Calabar and Ogoja divisions, which are the present Ogoja, Annag, Ibibio, Oron, the Efik people, with Igbo as the majority. The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) was the ruling political party in the region. The NCNC later became National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, after Western Cameroon decided to separate from Nigeria. As Efiong (2009) explained, in 1953, the old Eastern region had a major crisis due to the expulsion of Professor Eyo Ita from Office by the majority Igbo tribe of the old Eastern region. Eyo Ita was the pioneer Vice Chancellor of University of Nigeria, Nsuka, he was one of the pioneer nationalists from Nigerian Independence. He was an Efik man from the old Calabar kingdom (Effiong, 2009).

The minorities in the region, mainly people of the old Calabar kingdom, the Ijaw and Ogoja, demanded a State of their own, the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers (COR) State. The struggle for the creation of COR State continued and was a major issue on the status of minorities in Nigeria during Constitutional Conferences in Europe for Nigeria's independence (Effiong, 2009).

These were the major pre-independence agitations by the Niger-Delta people against environmental degradation, the lack of basic social ammenities and the Control of their oil resource.

The Post Independence Conflicts in the Niger Delta constituted the second epoch of the conflicts. The Post Independence crisis in the Niger Delta for the control of oil resources and environmental problems began as far back as February 1966, when former Police Officer from the Niger Delta named Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro led a rebellion on behalf of the Niger Delta. Boro was a young under graduate from University of Nigeria, Nsuka, he recruited forty (40) men into an organization known as the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF). Boro gave his men training in the use of firearms and explosives in the creeks and bushes. On February 23, 1966 the men attacked a Police Station at Yenagoa, raided the armory and kidnapped some officers including the Police Officer in Command of the Station. They blew up oil pipelines, engaged the Police in a gunfight and declared the Niger Delta an Independent Republic. The revolt was however suppressed and Boro and his men were sentenced to death (Adejumobi, 2009)

Boro's declaration of the Niger Delta Republic in 1966 was engendered by the infrastructural neglect and the menace of environmental degradation, largely a

consequence of oil exploration, exploitation and oppression by the dominant ethnic groups that governs the Nigerian State (Boro, 1966; Wiwa,2005; Daffinone, 2008).

After Isaac Boro, was the entrance of Kenule Saro Wiwa; a human right activist. He vigorously campaigned and internationalized the Niger-Delta struggle on the platform of the Movement for the survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP). He and eight of his comrades were publicly hanged for the murder of four Ogoni Chiefs in 1995 by the General Sani Abacha's regime to serve as deterrent to others. However, the death of Ken and his colleagues attracted local and international condemnation. Unfortunately because of Government's lack of political will and commitment to solve and/or address the developmental problems in the Niger-Delta Region, the struggle metamorphosized from passive resistance to the militancy.

The third epoch of the Niger Delta Conflicts was the "New wave of Violence (Saliu 2008).Several militant groups were formed in the Niger Delta. This ushered in youth restiveness and militancy in the Region with all its manifestations. A higher dose of criminality was injected into the new wave of agitations in the Niger Delta region. This entails killings, raids, murder, attempted murder of political figures, attacks on sensitive targets, sabotage engaging security agencies in fire power, oil theft (bunkering), proliferation and arm-deals etc. according to Jega, the frequency of engagement of militants in criminal acts earned the Niger Delta the notorious reputation of being the flashpoint of violence in Nigeria (Jega, 2008: 346).

There had been deliberate attempts by regimes in Nigeria to achieve peace in all volatile regions; however, the institutional and administrative enquiries could not resolve

the conflicts (Adeyemo and Adeyemi, 2010). At a point in time, the Niger-Delta was one of the most fragile regions in the world (Thaiv 2012). The violence were attributed to plural interwoven factors like environmental degradation, lack of basic social amenities, quest for larger share of oil resources, neglect, poverty, etc. (Douglas, 2001); these were the conditions that precipitated inter-tribal wars, conflicts and militancy that later metamorphosed into what Okonta (2013) described as crime and criminality viz oil bunkering, arms smuggling and trade, commercial kidnapping, pipeline vandalism, armed robbery and assassinations to mentioned but a few.

The Amnesty Programme was then proclaimed for the Militants in the Niger Delta. However,there is a wide spread divergence in the opinions of analysts and commentators (Abbe, 2009; Kuku, 2013; Mitee, 2013) on the raisondetat for the proclamation of the programme for militants in the Niger-Delta (Soyinka, 2013; Nwozor, 2010; Agary, 2013; Tinubu, 2013; Chukwumerieje, 2013; Usman, 2010; Agbo, 2009; Ihonvbere, 2010; Mitee, 2010; Kuku, 2013, etc). It is within this context that an examination of the Amnesty programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta becomes the Research Problematique.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This study examined the Amnesty Programme for the Militants in the Niger-Delta within the context of the "State and conflict management in Nigeria". This is against the backdrop of the long drawn combustible conflicts perpetrated by the militants in the Niger Delta to the corporate interest of the Nigerian State. These conflicts had a history from the days of the local Chiefs, Kings and Obas to the days of Isaac Adaka Boro and Kenule Saro-Wiwa to the days of Alhaji Asari Dokubo, Ateke Tom and Tompolo etc, on

development and environmental problems in the Niger-Delta. The failure to adequately address these environmental and infrastructural problems in the Niger Delta opened up a way for some restive youth within the Federation to take up arms against the State in agitation for fair and greater share of the Oil resources produced in their domain. The Conflicts were symptomic of how environmental and economic degradation have resulted in a violent response infused with sentiments of cultural solidarity (Angaye, 1999: 15). As the conflicts degenerated, the activities of the Militants drew considerable attention from local and international Stakeholders. The consequence of commercial kidnapping and sabotage of oil and gas pipelines across the Niger Delta cuts Nigeria's crude oil export and deprived the power stations gas, causing drastic decline in power generation and distribution across the country (Orode, 2009: 50).

Thus, it became inevitable that the Nigerian State must manage the Niger Delta conflicts tactfully. The Nigerian State under President Umar Yar'Adua in 2009 included National Security, particularly in the Niger Delta in its seven point National Development Strategy and later it proclaimed the Amnesty programme for the restive youths, called militants. The Amnesty programme was signed on 25th June, 2009 by Mr. President; Alh. Umaru Musa Yar'adua (Orode, 2009: 51).

However, this singular act of government drew serious criticism and controversies. For instance, while some proponents of the Amnesty Programme had described it as a welcome development and believed it would entrench a long lasting peace in the region and properly integrate the region into the Nigerian project (Obi, 2012; UNDP, 2012; Yar'adua, 2009), some antagonists of the programme had described it as 'pacifist', as it would only allow the continual exploitation of oil to the detriment of the

oil communities, hence, the programme was doomed to fail (West, 2012;Soyinka, 2013; Dokubo, 2010).

Considering the controversies generated on the proclamation the Amnesty Programme, the juxtapositions on it, and the futility of previous Regimes'efforts to resolve the Niger-Delta crisis; it became not only expedient but desirable to examine the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger Delta with in the context of the role of the Nigerian State in conflict management and resolution.

1.3 Research Questions

In a view to examine the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta, this study will proffer answers to the following research questions:

i. What is the rationale for the proclamation of the Presidential Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta Region?

ii. Is the Amnesty Programme packaged by the Nigerian State for the militants the best option?

iii. Was the Amnesty Programme adjudged to be a viable strategy for the resolution of the conflictsin the Niger -Delta?

iv. Was the implementation of the phases of the Amnesty Programme- Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) for the militants in the Niger-Delta successful?

v. What are the divergent public opinions on the Amnesty Programme in terms of its achievements, challenges and the way forward?

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Against the stated background, the study examined the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger Delta within the context of the State and conflict management in Nigeria. Hence, the following specific objectives were adopted for the study:

i. To determine the rationale or the raison-d'état for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta;

ii. To examine if the Amnesty Programme packaged by the Nigerian State for the militants was the best option?

iii. To investigate if the Amnesty Programme is adjudged to be a viable strategy for conflict management, resolution, transformation and peace building?

iv. Toinvestigate if the implementation of the distinct phases of the Amnesty Programme-Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) ware very effective?

v. To probe the divergent public opinions on the Amnesty programme in terms of its achievements, challenges and the way forward.

1.5 Research Propositions

Propositions are assumprtions which researcher is not too sure of their credibility but is aware that such relationship exits (Odoh, 1991:24). As a guide to research, it can be confirmed and refuted by the data generated and analysed from which the major findings of the research are obtained (Odoh, 199124).

In an attempt to examine the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta, these research propositions were adopted to serve as guide to the study.

i. That the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger –Delta region was a 'Political Solution' to a problem that had defied several other institutional palliative efforts.

ii. That the Amnesty Programme proclaimed by President Yar Adua for the militants in the Niger-Delta was a viable model for conflict mitigation, management and resolution and peace building.

iii. That the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Phases of the Amnesty programme were timely and successfully implemented for the militants.

vi. That there are divergent public opinions on the Amnesty Programme in terms of its achievements, challenges and the way forward.

1.6 The Significance of the Study

Over the years, several scholars, analysts, political commentators, Statesmen, academics have commented on and written about the Amnesty Programme (Baridam, 2011; Thaiv, 2013; Abbe, 2010; Okonta, 2001; West, 2010; Soyinka, 2013; Ikiajani-Clark, 2009; Best, 2009; Gowon, 2013; Obasanjo, 2013; Shagari, 2013; Shonekan, 2013; Usman, 2009, etc).

However, we thematically noted that most of these enduring works and comments on the Amnesty Programme are concentrated on the analysis and theories of resolving environmental degradation, marginalization, structural underdevelopment,as the drivers of the conflicts in the Niger-Delta. The implementation of the phases of the Amnesty Programme (Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration) which were essentially socio-economic and political processes on the improvement of the material conditions of

the rural people in the region as a veritable tool for ending the conflict was overshadowed and/or de-emphasized.

Vast amount of the literature reviewed eulogizes the militants (militias) and exulted them as "champions of their communities".However, we observed that some of the militia group leaders are criminals viz: murderers, assassinators, kidnappers, arm smugglers and dealers, oil bunkerers and political thugs to mention by a few..

Bulk of the literature reviewed influenced the view that the Amnesty Programme was not a genuine credible process. However, the study revealed that it was a genuine credible process that involved representatives of armed youths in the Creeks, community leaders, market women, civil society groups and that it comprehensively covered most militants. Thus, the Amnesty Programmeencouraged polycentric approach towards the resolution of conflicts in the Niger-Delta. Some literature reviewed tagged the Amnesty Programme as an illegal and unconstitutional process. However, we noted that the proclamation of the amnesty was consistent with Section 175 of the 1999 Constitution ofthe Federal Republic of Nigeriaon Mr. President's prerogative of mercy.

The study also noted that in many of the existing literature on the Amnesty Programme, Regime change and democratic governance in addressing grievances and conflicts was not underscored. We noted however, that democratic governance provides that institutions and processes of democratic rule can lead to change of attitudes, build mutual trust amongst belligerent parties, which can have ameliorating impacts on grievances and conflicts over a long time.

Vast amount of the literature reviewed did not capture the "Exclusive Nature of the Amnesty Programme." Many Itsekiri, Ilaje, Urobo and Isoko youths in the Niger Delta were excluded from the Proramme. The ljaw youths were the major beneficiary.

The application of the Conflict Resolution Theory (CRT) to the conflict in the Niger-Delta offered comprehensive and balanced theoretical explanation of the Niger Delta conflicts, the Amnesty Programme and the resolution of the conflicts. None of the literature reviewed noted this critical point.

The Amnesty Programme came with 'political opportunities' for the Niger Deltans. This is very significant because never in the history of Nigeria have they had considerable number of their kinsmen and women appointed to prominent political positions. None of the available literature reviewed captured this fundamental point.

In the review of literature for this study, we noted that, there was no categorical condemnation of the militia groups; most of the comments and documentations on the Niger-Delta Conflict exulted the ethnic militias as "Champions of the Local Communities". However, we observed that not every body is convinced about the militia activities. Hence we noted that some of us are not convinced about MEND's conviction. Its actions are quite mercenary and appear to achieve only one purpose – the filling of their personal pockets…. I am yet to see how MEND has used all the proceeds from oil bunkering to improve their local communities. If we are to believe all the stories we hear, all the militants do is buy more flash cars, build new mansions in Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt and carry more women (Researcher's survey, 2012)

Some literature on the Amnesty Programme have classified and generalized the challenges and constraints of the Amnesty Programme as synonymous to "failures of the programme". We rejected that generalization to the Amnesty Programme in this study and opined that the Amnesty Programme was successful as it brought peace to the Niger-Delta region and it is a viable instrument towards the pursuit of global peace. Hence the Nigerian experience has influenced several countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe, etc. in the choice of policy – "Amnesty Programme" as a local mechanism to the resolution of protracted conflicts. Put differently, the study debunked the theoretical application of the term "failure" to the problems, challenges and constraints of the Amnesty Programme.Thus, in Africa, in particular, there emerged a new lexicon – "The Amnesty Phenomenon to the resolution of conflicts"..

Essentially too, the logic behind the Amnesty was to decelerate the increasing boldness of the militants, thus, it was a veritable mechanism to checkmate the expansionary pressures of militancy as exemplified by the invasion of the Atlas Cove Jetty on 12th July 2008 and the 2010 Abuja Independence Day Bombing by militants. Hence, it is beyond reasonable doubt that the programme provided leeway for the Government to infiltrate and weaken the militant groups while buying time to re-strategize for a peaceful Niger Delta. We observed that none of the literature reviewed emphasized and underscored this very important point.

The gaps identified in the available literature reviewed were bridged by the "new ideas"revealed which constituted the significance of the study. These will to alarge extent expand the frontiers of knowledge about the conflicts in the Niger-Delta, theproclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants and the resolution of the conflicts.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

One of the fundamental essenceof the State is the maintenance of law and order in its territory, the Research was an examination of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta within the context of the role of the Nigerian State in conflict management, resolution and peace building. It became very imperative for a definite understanding of the size/unit that will be observed (the Niger-Delta Region and the State Actors, Non-State-Actors and other stakeholders involved).In line with the above premise, the Nine Niger Delta States (Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers) covering about 112,110 square kilometers (NDRDMP, 2006) was large an area for such vigorous study in a short-time-span, the study therefore scoped on the three Niger Delta States viz Rivers, Bayelsa, and Delta States with the aid of the multi-stage cluster sampling technique and a sample size of 1,111 was drawn using the Yemane Taro's published Table for the determination of sample sizes (Yamane, 1967).

In the course of the field survey, several problems were encountered by the researcher. The terrain of the Niger Delta States was difficult, particularly in the creeks where transportation/movements were mostly by canoes and/or speed boats. The abductions/kidnappings in the South-South and South-East wasanother threat which created psychological frenzy for the researcher. Even some of the research assistants who were familiar with the terrain suffered discriminations for being non-Ijaws. The admittance of the researcher into the Obubra Camp of the militants was a tough and hectic struggle. I was denied entry into the camp despite the letters of introduction I had

from the Department of Political Science, A.B.U, Zaria and the Local Government Chairman. I was told to contact the Chairman of the Presidential Amnesty Office, Mr. Kingsley Kuku in Abuja who later graciously facilitated my entry into the camp through telephone contacts. I had previously met him in Abuja and had fruitful discussions with him and his Special Assistant on the subject. He had advised me not to be sentimental in my reportage.

The study suffered some limitations like accessibility to some principal actors as well as some of their willingness to provide relevant and valid information. Another constraint was logistics, due to the difficult terrain of the region, the cost of transportation was very high. Thus, financial constraints and risk to life were other limitations. The cost of living is very high in the Niger Delta, especially in Port-Harcourt and Warri, and movements or transportation to and fro the various Creeks and towns (villages) were dangerous especially for persons with zero skill in swimming in the event the speed boats capsized. However, all these constraints were overcomed to make this dissertation a fruition.

The High Chief of Okrika Land, Chief Ateke Tom, the Supreme leader of the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) and one of the prominent Militant leaders in the Niger Delta granted me an Interview. The interview provided valid information for the research; hence, the in-accessibility of Alh. Mujahid Asari Dokubo, the leader of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) could not hamper the investigations. The interview had been transcribed and attached as appendix iv.

On the high cost of transportation in the region, I was able to manage my financial resource throughout the period of the Field work. Further to this, despite the dangerous

movements to and fro the various Creeks and Villages in the Niger Delta through the Speed boats and Canoe for persons with zero skill of swmming in the event the speed boats capsized; we were determined, and we undertook the movements in the boats and canoe with floater jackets.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In this section, we examined several theoretical definitions of the State, Theories of the Stateand conceptualized the term "Conflict". We also examined some relevant literature on the role of State in conflict management and peace building in the World, Africa, West Africa and Nigeria.To this extent, relevant literature ontheNiger-Delta conflict, Amnesty Programme and the failures of the previous State's major interventions towards the resolution of the conflict in the regionwere critically examined (Heywood, 2002; Hegel in Heywood, 2002; Ofoeze, in Ikejiani-Clerk, 2009). Lastly, we also examined relevant literature on the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta Region by the President Umaru Yar'Adua's administration. Some arguments for (protagonists) and against (antagonists) the Amnesty Programme were also reviewed(Soyinka: 2012, Abbe: 2012, West: 2013, Orubebe: 2013, Dokubo, 2013, Oluwaniyi, 2012 etc). All the literature reviewed for this study were appropriately acknowledged.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Conceptual Definition of the State

The term 'State' has been used to refer to bewildering range of things: a collection of Institutions, a territorial Unit, a Philosophical idea, an instrument of coercion or oppression, and so on (Hegel, in Heywood, 2002: 86). These references stems, in part,

from the fact that the State has been understood in three very different ways, from an idealist perspective, a functionalist perspective and an organizational perspective. (Hegel, in Heywood 2002: 86).

The Idealist perspective/approach of the State is most clearly reflected in the writings of Hegel (2006), he identified three 'moments' of social existence, viz: family, civil society, and the State. Within the family, he said, a 'particular altruism' operates that encourages people to set aside their own interests for the good of their children or elderly relatives. In juxtapose, civil society was seen as a sphere of "Universal egoism" in which individuals place their own interests before those of others. Hegel conceived of the state as an ethical community underpinned by mutual sympathy i.e. "Universal altruism" (Hegel, in Heywood 2006: 86).

The drawback of idealism, however, is that it fosters an uncritical reverence for the State, and by defining the State in ethical terms, fails to appropriately distinguish between Institutions that are part of the State and those that are outside the State. (Hegel, in Heywood 2006: 86).

Functionalist approach to the State focused on the role or purpose of State institutions. The central function of the State is seen as the maintenance of social order. According to Hegel, the State being defined as the set of Institutions that uphold order and deliver social stability.

The weaknesses of the functionalist approach is that it tends to associate any institution that maintains order (such as the family, Mass Media, Trade Unions and the Church with the State.

The Organizational approach, defines the State as the apparatus of government in its broadest sense that is, as the set of institutions that are recognizably "public" in that they are responsible for the collective organization of social-existence (Hegel, in Heywood 2006: 86). The virtue of this definition is that it distinguishes lucidly between the State and Civil society. The State comprises the various institutions of government, the bureaucracy, the military, the Police, the Judiciary and the social security system, etc. This makes it possible to identify the origins of the modern State and its emergence in the 15^{th} and 16^{th} century Europe of a system of centralized rule that subordinated all other institutions and group, spiritual and temporal. (Hegel, in Heywood 2006: 87)

As posited by Hegel, reaching an agreement about what we mean by "the State" provides a basis upon which to examine a deeper problem: what is the nature of State power, and what interests does the State represent? From this perspective emerged what Hegel exposed as theories of the State. The State is seen in this sense, as an 'essentially contested' concept. There are rival theories of the State, each of which offers different accounts of its origin, development and impact on society. The controversy about the nature of State power has increasingly dominated modern Political analysis and goes to the heart of ideological and theoretical disagreements. These relate to questions about whether, the State is autonomous and independent of society, a reflection of the broader distribution of power or resources. Moreover, does the state serve the common or collective good, or is it biased in favour of privileged groups or a dominant class? Similarly, is the State a positive or constructive force, with responsibilities that should be enlarged, or is it a negative or destructive entity that must be constrained or, perhaps smashed altogether?

As a social science concept, there is no universally accepted definition of the State. Scholars have viewed and described the concept in several ways with different phraseologies, criteria and perspective, resulting in what Ofoeze (2009), opined as a plethora of definitions. Thus, for example, defining "State" from a structural approach, Max Weber the foremost German Sociologist, saw the State as "that aspect of human society which has exclusive monopoly of the legitimate exercise of force" (Weber, 1920).

Weber describes the State as a

> *... Political authority which maintains domination over a specific geographical area ... to ensure internal stability and external security with monopoly of force being its central distinguishing feature* (Weber, 1920).

Aligning her perception of the "State" with that of Max Weber, Ikejiani-Clark (2009) view the State as "A territorial human society which exercises … supreme powers over individuals and groups within it for the purpose of regulating and maintaining a general hierarchy of social values and institutions" (Ikejiani-Clark, 2009: 176).

The aforementioned views and definitions ascribe to the State the monopoly of legitimate exercise of force. Hence, the State is ascribed with the supreme sovereign authority throughout its territory.According to Ikejiani-Clark (2009), this informed Hugue and Harrop (1987) who defined and assigned sovereign status to the State. They posited that the State is:

> *the authority decision-making institution for the entire society to which all groups, institutions and persons are legally subject ... it is the ultimate regulator of the*

> *Legitimate use of force within its territory (Ikejiani- Clark, 2009: 176).*

The State is also seen as illimitable and omnipotent in its exercise of authority and power. Laski (1967: xii) made this assertion lucidly when he averred that:

> *The State is in fact the final depository of the social will, which sets the perspective of all other organizations. It brings within its power all forms of human activity the control of which it deems desirable … it is the key stone of the social arch. It moulds the form and substances of the myriad human lives with whose destinies it is charged!* (Laski, 1967: xii).

Laski buttressed further that "whereas all other associations are voluntary in character and can bind the individual only as he chooses membership of them, once he is a resident of some given state; legally he has no choice but to obey its commands. That the State so to say, is the crowning point of the modern social edifice, and it is in its supremacy over all other forms of social grouping that its special nature is to be found" (Laski,1931:59) .

Defining the State, Gauba (2004;114)refers to it as a formal concept, that is, a formal organization of the State.The concept of the State postulates a particular type of organization which excludes top organizations of certain societies real or imaginary which introduces the idea of "pre-state societies and stateless societies."(Gauba, 2004:114).

On his part, David Easton (1953) observed thus, " One person sees the State as an embodiment of moral Spirit, itsconcrete expression", another, as the instrument of

exploitation used by one Class against others. One author defines it as simply an aspect of society, distinguishable from it only analytically; another, as simply a synonym for Government; and still another as a separate and unique association among a large number of other associations such as the church, trade unions and similar voluntary groups (Easton, 1953).Contributing on the definition of State, Machiavelli (1469) defines it as the Power which has authority over Men. This definition describes the nature of the State not the 'end' of the State. This is against the backdrop that the State is usually conceived in terms of the 'ends' of the State (Gauba, 2004:114). Similarly, Maclver (1926)distinguished the State from other kinds of associations in that it embraces the whole of the people in a specific territory and it has the special function of maintaining social order. It performs this function through its agent, the Government, which speaks with the voice of Law.

Frederick Watkins (1968) defines the State as a geographically delimited segment of human Society united by common obedience to a single Sovereign. This definition lays special emphasis on the element of Sovereignty, the characteristic of the Supreme law-making authority whose decisions are final. The Supremacy of the commandsof the State is an essential element which distinguishes it from all other associations of Man. Lastly, Geoffrey K. Roberts in his work, a Dictionary of Political Analysis (1971) tried to evolve a working definition of the State as " A territorial area in which a population in governed by a set of political authorities and which successfully claims the compliance of the citizenry for its laws, and is able to secure such compliance by its monopolistic control of legitimate force."(Geoffrey, 1971:45).

All the above definitions agreed with each other on the fact that the State possesses the exclusive monopoly of legitimate exercise of force. Thus, in reality the State is the illimitable sovereign authority exercising the ultimate supreme power to make and enforce authoritative decisions that are binding on all persons, groups and institutions within its territorial jurisdiction.

Amongst all these definitions of the State, the Organization approach would be adapted for discussion in this work because of its broadest capture of the phenomenon called state. It distinguishes clearly the various institutions in the State from the State Itself. (Haywood, 2002)

2.2.2 Conceptual Definition of Conflict

Any definitional enterprise must take into cognizance the fact that conflict is part of several movement of history. Hence, Francis,(2006:20) observed that " conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable part of human existence" Conflict is defined as the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups. Conflict has also been defined by Igwe, (2002:84) as " a universal and permanent attribute of nature , life, and society, necessary and unavoidable when, in terms of dialectics they serve to advance the positive evolution of phenomena and unnecessary and avoidable when irresoluble and their consequences are very negative for the Society and Man".(Igwe, 2002:84). A situation of conflict is created by attitudes transformed into specific goals and aspirations, hence, Okolie (2009) as an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidabje concomitant of choices and decisions.(Okolie, 2009:52).

Conflict as a pervasive and invidious phenomenon canoccur at the level of the individual, group, community, State, Nation, or at international level. Faleti, (2006) further defines Conflict as an important phenomenon and part of human existence and a natural part of our daily lives. Other Scholars defined Conflict as " a breakdown in the standard mechanisms of decision-making so that an individual or group experiences difficulty in selecting an action alternative". Yet, another definition says Conflict is " any social situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic relations or interactions".(Ikpah, 2008).

Further Conflict definitions has it as "involving aperceived or real incompatibility of goals, values, expectations,processes, or outcomes between two or more interdependent individuals or groups" (Ikpah, 2008). Besides the definitions mentioned above, there are many others, and in any definition of Conflict, one thing is critically clear, there is an interaction, interpersonal and/or group interaction or communication breakdown.

Conflict is mostly depicted as if it is totally negative. This is not always the case. Conflict can either be constructive (positive) or destructive (negative). It is common to come across suggestions that conflict can be used constructively to explore different solutions to a problem and stimulate creativity by reorganizing and sensitively exposing conflict as a way of bringing emotive and non-rational arguments into the open while deconstructing long standing tensions. On the other hand, conflict if not handled properly could be very destructive and used mainly to inflict harms on, neutralize, or subvert the aspirations of opponents(Nwachukwu,2009).The definitions above practically demonstrate inter alia, that Conflicts are expression of opposing interests. Thus,

Conflictmeans a State of open, prolonged fighting; belligerency, clash, contention difference and friction etc.

We can also comprehend the meaning of Conflict from four mutually related senses as expounded below.(Okolie, 2009).

1. A State of open and often prolonged fighting, an armed battle or war.
2. A State of disharmony between incompatible or antithetical persons, ideas, or interests,
3. Psychologically, a psychic struggle is often unconscious, resulting from mutually exclusive impulses, desires, or tendencies.
4. Opposition between characters or forces in a work of drama or fiction especially opposition that motivates or shapes the action of the plot..

Compounding the problem of underdevelopment in poor Countries are micro nationalism, ethnic, religious, political and communal conflicts which pose great threat to peace, security and progress. Conflicts refers to disputes, disagreements, quarrels, struggles, fights and wars between individuals, groups, communities and countries. Since different groups, individuals and communities have diverse interests, the aims of some groups will conflict with those of others. Thus, conflict occurs when deprived groups and individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology(Angaye, 2003: 1).

In a Press statement on global flash points/conflicts, President Obama (2014)said "We live in a complex world and a challenging time". He further identified some critical conflict areas thus: Disputed Elections in Afghanistan, Negotiations on Iran's Nuclear Programme, Israeli-Palestinian Crisis, Egyptian Elections Problems, Conflict in Russia

and Ukraine, Islamists Al-Sha-bab in Kenya and Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria etc (Obama, 2014). Thus, Africa's continued success relies on all sectors of the society, including the private sector, working together to reduce the high number of conflicts on the continent and to mitigate their impacts.

Despite significant changes in African countries, millions of Africans continue to live in poverty, lacking access to basic healthcare. They are vulnerable to climate shocks and price volatility, leading to food and nutrition insecurity (Valerie Amos, 2014). A major cause of this is conflict, which is a serious obstacle to long term stability and development for Africa's people, its institutions and its businesses. From North-Africa, to Southern Africa, to East to West to Central Africa, conflicts are endemic e.g .Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Rwanda, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda, Sudan,Niger, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Nigeria etc. These countries are in the grip of major conflicts. Families and communities are being uprooted as in South Sudan and Central African Republic, and these countries are losing the fragile development gains they have made (Amos, 2014).

Countries in conflict suffer a rapid decline in cross-border trade, and too often do not attract foreign investment. They often suffer extreme devaluation of their currencies. Their infrastructure is destroyed or damaged, hospitals and schools may be used as camps for displaced people, children miss out on years of education. Conflicts also destroyed the fabric of society and can allow crime to flourish, including gender based violence and trafficking in people and narcotics. It diverts investment from economic and social developments to military architecture. The long-term psycho-social effects of conflict are

clearly significant but difficult to quantify. The impact on children is particularly severe, leading in some countries to a "lost generation".

Conflict theorists such as John Burton (1979, 1997); Edward Azar and others have argued that conflict has biological and ontological basis in human needs,these include identity, security, recognition, participation and autonomy. It is the denial of these needs which causes violent conflicts, or causes re-solvable differences to generate into armed conflict. The conception of conflict, its management and resolution have led to the terms conflict prevention, third party intervention and the focus on dialogue, mediation and negotiation, preventive diplomacy, peace keeping, and peace enforcement. (Francis, in Best, 2006: 21).

Conflict analysis, that is, critical investigation into the root (primary), secondary and tertiary causes of conflict, highlighting the actors, structures and dynamics in conflict situations, it is important in determining intervention strategies (mechanisms) and the management and resolution of conflict. Conflict resolution, in theoretical term, is different from the general category of conflict management which includes efforts and interventions to limit, contain or regulate conflict. As such, conflict resolution emerged as an alternative means of resolving rather than merely palliative pacific settlement of disputes. (Francis, in Best, 2006: 20).

It is worthy to emphasize from the foregoing that there are functional and dysfunctional conflicts. Dysfunctional conflicts are destructive, and according to Angaye, causes loss of lives, property, man hours, investment opportunities, hunger and starvation when open violence, wars, mass strikes, and other forms of disruption occur. On the opposite,

functional or creative conflicts are constructive and reflect the differences and variety of human options and activity which exists in any free society. If creative conflicts between groups which are major sources of innovation, new ideas, institutions and social change are suppressed altogether, a nation becomes stagnant and static. (Angaye, 2003: 13)

2.2.3 The State and Conflict: Theoretical Conceptions

That the State is a product of conflict was recognized very early in history by Karl Marx when he observed that the State is both a product of class conflict and also an instrument for the exploitation of one class by another. (Marx, 1970: 214). According to Marx, the State is

> *the epitome of bourgeois society ... the supreme coercive power in the society as the instrument for the exploitation of the working class" (Marx, 1970 : 214).*

The State arose through class struggle for domination, for as Marx puts it, "the history of all … societies is the history of class struggles". (Marx, 1970: 214).

The ownership and control of the means of production and exchange has varied over different historical epochs. Thus, for example, during the period/era of slavery, the means of production was owned and controlled by the slave masters while during the feudal era, the means of production, which was Land, was owned and controlled by the feudal Lords. While under the present capitalist era the means of production, capital is owned and controlled by the bourgeoisie. (Marx, 1970:214)

Under each of the past historical epochs – Slavery and Feudalism – the state represented the interest of the owners of means of production – Slave Masters and the Feudal lords respectively. In view of the fact that the same owners of the means of production controlled the State during those epochs, the State acted to protect and defend the social, political and economic interests of the owners of means of production. Similarly, under the present Capitalist epoch, the State represents the interest of the owners of means of production – the bourgeoisie and consequently, at all points in time, it acts and will continue to act to protect and to defend the socio-economic and political interests of the bourgeoisie - the owners of the means of production. This is so because the State is nothing more that an instrument of class domination and exploitation. This is to agree with Marx and Engels (1986) that the State is a product of conflict. Claude Ake identifies the State as simply "a specific modality of class domination". (Ake in Nnoli(ed) 2000: 57).

Given the fact that the State is the product of conflict, and since it represents the interests of the owners of means of production, it is not unexpected that the State and all its actions and activities, directly, constitute a primary source of conflict. In the present circumstances, just as it was in the past epochs, being the supreme coercive power in society for the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, the State lends itself as an instrument of oppression with which the dominant economic class – the bourgeoisie – expropriates the other classes in the society. According to Ofoeze, 2007 this state of affairs breeds further clash of economic and material interests and hence conflicts among the contending classes and which the State is unable to resolve, particularly because it represents interests of the economically dominant ruling class (Ofoeze, 2007: 80)

As the conflict of interests persists, the struggle between the contending classes intensifies and escalates to the point when the exploited class might be able, through a successful mass revolutionary process, overthrow the exploiting bourgeoisie class bringing about the establishment of a new mode of production and a new class structure in the society. This is the crux of the Marxist's ideology.

In view of the State's exclusive monopoly of legitimate exercise of force and sovereignty as already stated; it follows that all its actions and policies are authoritative as they carry the force of law and hence are binding on all persons, groups and institutions within its territory. But considering the fact that all its actions, activities, and policies involve the expenditure of public resources which impacts on the people and groups deferentially as either cost or benefits, it follows that the State is a principal generator of conflicts in the society. This is more particularly affirmed by Ofoeze, 2007 because of the fact that all points in time, all policies and actions of the State, all of which are authoritative, are inherently distributive in nature in all their ramifications. However, since it is practically impossible to ensure equilibrium and/or equality in its distributive functions and activities, it implies that those persons and groups who are not favoured would naturally feel unhappy and somewhat displeased and disenchanted not only against the State and its officials and institutions but also against those persons and groups that are favoured or assumed to be favoured by the State's distributive system. As such, conflict situations emerged both between the disaffected persons, groups and those that were favoured or seemingly favoured, on the other hand. May it be noted that even among the groups or individuals who were favoured, conflict may also arise between those who are or indeed are assumed to be more disproportionately favoured, and those

who feel less favoured. Avoiding conflict, mitigating its effects and preventing its occurrence are clearly a prerequisite for economic growth. But how can this be achieved? And what role can African States?

2.4 Previous Major State's Interventions towards the Resolution of Conflicts in the Niger Delta:

It is important to note that the Nigerian State has over the years implemented some half-hearted Constitutional and Institutional measures as deliberate efforts geared towards the resolution of the region's infrastructural underdevelopment. However, much as the Nigerian State has intervened to find lasting solutions to the crisis, very little positive results have been achieved.

a. The Willinks Commission in 1957 (to address the minority fears)
b. 1960 Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB)
c. 1970 River Basin Development Authority To Develop the entire River Basins in Nigeria.
d. 1993 Oil Minerals Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) following the Report of the Belgore's Commission.
e. 1998 Maj. Gen. Popoola's Committee formed by Head of State, General Abdulsalami to look into the problems of the Niger Delta. Report not implemented.
f. 2000 Act of the National Assembly forming the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) – to develop Social and Physical Infrastructures, Environmental and Human Capital in the Region.

g. 2002 Lt. Gen. Alexander Ogomudia's special security Committee Report on oil Producing Area – not implemented.
h. 2003 Presidential Committee on Peace and Reconciliation headed by Maj. Gen. A. Mohammed (rtd) Chief of Staff to the President.
i. April 2004, Standing Committee on Good Governance and Corporate Responsibility headed by Dr. Edmond Daukoru, Minister of State for Petroleum.
j. July 2004, Presidential Standing Committee on the Niger Delta headed by Governor James Ibori of Delta State.
k. 2006 Presidential Committee on the Niger Delta, headed by President Olusegun Obasanjo.
l. 2007; the Niger Delta Development Regional Master Plan launched on 27th March.
m. 2008: Establishment of the Ministry of Niger Delta.
n. 2008: Establishment of the Office of the Special Adviser to Mr. President on the Niger Delta Affairs.
o. The ascendancy of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan a son of the Niger Delta to the Presidency.

Laudable as these efforts appeared, they did not tackle the fundamental issues involved in the oil violence in the Niger Delta. These palliative and pacific measures did not work because they did not address the root causes of militancy in the region (David Adeyemo and Laure Olu-Adeyemi, 2010).

2.5 The Proclamation of Amnesty Programme for the Militants in the Niger Delta Region: Processes and Terms of the Programme:

President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua made history as the first Nigerian leader to "chart a course" supported by all for the resolution of the hitherto intractable Niger-Delta conflicts or problems. He felt that except the Nigerian State adequately resolved the problem in the Niger Delta, it would be practically impossible to jump-start an economy capable of making Nigeria one of the World's 20 most developed economies in 2020 (Orode, 2009: 51).

Hence, in furtherance of government's determination to decisively deal with all the ramification of the conflict in the region, one of its first practical steps was the setting up of the Technical Committee on Niger Delta headed by Ledum Mitee in September 2008. The Committee composed of forty-five (45) "wise men and women" (Ajaero, 2009: 15), with sound knowledge of the Niger Delta terrain after series of consultations, negotiations, and interactions proposed an amnesty for the Militants as one of the key strategies for amicable resolution of the crisis. The Committee believed that the antidote to the problem was not military might (force) but persuasion and dialogue with the heavily armed militant groups who claimed they took to militancy because they felt the people of the oil rich region were marginalized by the successive governments in Nigeria.

The Technical Committee on Niger Delta's recommendations on Amnesty was accepted and approved by the National Council of State (NCS). Thereon,the Presidential Amnesty Programme for Niger Delta militants was announced on 25th June, 2009 by President Yar Adua for militants who agreed to surrender their weapons/arms and renounced armed struggle within 60 days in exchange for disarmament, demobilization

and reintegration. The Presidential Amnesty programme formally started on Thursday 6th August 2009. The programme provided pardon for all persons who directly or indirectly participated in militant struggles or commissioned in the course of militant activities in the Niger Delta. To take advantage, militants were expected to visit the nearest screening centres within the region to turn in their arms, register, take the oath of renunciation of violence, and thereafter register for the reintegration programme. This was consistent with Section 175 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999 Constitution of the FRN). (The Amnesty Programme of Mr. President is in Appendix).

Amnesty was perceived as a period of grace for ex-militants to drop their weapons and be treated as citizens rather than criminals. This was consistent with Section 175 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999 Constitution of the FRN). Though some factions described amnesty as a wrong notion and hence, refused to accept it, others accepted it and surrendered their weapons. (Asari Dokubo leader of NDVF initially refused to accept the amnesty because to him, the State is the criminal not him). However, he was to later accept the Amnesty and given a juicy pipeline protection contract by government worth (15 million per month) (Ujah, 2010).

According to Nwajiaku-Dahou (2009:3) Yar'Adua's amnesty offer was a way of buying out militants and making it pay not to attack the oil industry. The faction against accepting amnesty argued that the Government should first release those militants who were being held captive. That was a clear reference to Henry Okah (Obi and Rustad, 2011:204 in Oluwatoyin 2011). The notion was held by majority in the region that the Amnesty period would make the Joint Task Force irrelevant in the area, therefore, the need to leave (Obi, 2011).

However, General Godwin Abbe (the former Minister of Defence, who became the Chairman of the Presidential Panel on Amnesty and Disarmament in the Niger Delta) insisted on the need for the JTF to remain, as a way to keep criminal elements out of the communities, to ensure that only genuine people returned to their communities, and to ensure that people were protected from the activities of criminal opportunists who might want to take advantage of the situation (Abbe, 2012).

Amnesty is contextualized as a legislative or executive act "Presidential Pardon" by which a state restores those who have been guilty of offences against it to a position of innocence. The advocacy or campaign for it is to bring citizens into compliance with the law rather than punishing them for the violation of same, in the context of the Niger-Delta Region (Ikuomola: 2009). It was meant to serve as a pre-condition for the development; of the region and mainly aimed at addressing the root causes of a conflict, taking militants through the process of changing their attitudes, transforming them into instrument of development and change, and working towards justice and peace. Thus, according to President Yar'Adua

> *This Administration understands the challenges of the Niger-Delta Region and the challenges people are facing and that is why from the beginning I made Niger-Delta a top priority in our Seven-Point Agenda, the Government will work with the youth to ensure that they have a meaningful life through the kinds of programmes that would evolve, train them, help them to establish businesses and help those who want to further their education to whatever level … to ensure that each and every one of them has a career and a life to be proud of and he would stand to be proud of himself, his family and his country and he will be proud that he is a Nigerian* (Yar'adua, in Ikuomola, 2009:1-2).

The decision of the Nigerian State to give Amnesty to militants shows that ex-militants were primarily perceived as perpetrators of crime against the state and hence, the legitimacy role of the state as the "forgiving 'father-figure' ready to accept and reconcile with the prodigal sons" (David and Nyiayaana; 2010; Obi and Rustad, 2011:205).

The Amnesty programme started with the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). This is essentially a social and economic process with an open time-frame principally taking place in communities at local levels. It started from 6th August – 4th October 2009, after which ex-militants were promised a payment of N65,000 monthly in addition to vocational training pending the end of reintegration (Ujah, 2010).

The Nigerian State took total ownership of the whole process, including shouldering the financial and political responsibilities for guiding the process to fruition. The international community was appealed to for support of the amnesty programme in more practical ways, especially, the involvement of Foreign Embassies in the issuing of visa to ex-militants to travel abroad for educational and vocational training, and in prevailing on oil companies operating in the Niger Delta to develop the region through economic empowerment and job creation for the restive youth. The international presence could also be seen in the inclusion of the South African and American scholars of the Herbert Lurtini Non-Violence Centre, South Africa and University of Rhode Island Centre for Non-Violence and Peace Studies, United States (Oluwaniyi, 2013).

2.5.1 Disarmament

Disarming ex-militants in the Niger Delta region followed a drastic process because of the timeline provided for the exercise by the Federal Government for the militants to surrender their weapons. The collection was carried in different ways; the major way was the disposition of arms by group leaders and their members.

UNDP Report (2006:8) provides a more detailed clarification of disarmament thus: It is the collection, verification of usability, documentation, control (storage) and disposal (disabling and destruction) of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and some times of civilian population. Disarmament must also include the development of responsible arms management programmes. Though disarmament is a critical process of the Amnesty programme Sworbick (2007:20) underscores the need to avoid back-to-front mechanism as it delays the period expected to fully disarm. For instance, in the Congolese disarmament, combatants eager to hand in their weapons sometimes waited for weeks until they could disarm. Bored, bereft of food supplies but arms, these restive/restless combatants were prone to kill, rape, and rob in nearby communities and sometimes never disarm (Sworbuk, 2007:20). This scenario was depicted at the Obubra Camp of the Niger Delta militants; delays in the commencement of the programmes led militants to terrorize the villagers, raped innocent girls, stole their goats and patronized dangerous joints (FGD on 18th Nov. 2012 with three Obubra youths).

Basically, the major category was the disposition of arms and ammunitions by group leaders and their members, based on one man, one gun/weapon, to the Joint Task Force members in the creek where they surrendered. But in reality, it was discovered that

first, the number of men that supposedly submitted weapons outweighed the total number of weapons disposed. Secondly, it was also observed during fieldwork that the figures of total participants surpassed the number of genuine militants. The need to justify/confirm this, led to further enquiries and it was realized that most of the participants joined the amnesty to benefit from the Government largesse, which to them was "revenue from the oil extracted from their backyard" (FGD with some ex-militants in Delta State on 21st Nov., 2012).

Camp commanders went to their communities and appealed to households to release their children and wards for the amnesty and other benefits. In the end, group disarmament, which relies on the identification of combatants by their commanders, made it possible for commanders to include non-combatants in the programme. By 4th October, 2009, most militant leaders had surrendered their weapons (Sam Omatseye, 2009) to the disarmament committee in their respective Local Government Areas in Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Ondo, Edo, Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States.

The 2nd category of disarmament was carried out by the Bayelsa State government led by Timipre Sylva at the state's stadium. The collection was publicly carried out with the media, both print and electronic, available to broadcast the submission and acceptance of amnesty by the different militant groups. Camp groups, including Ebikabowei Victor Ben's (popularly known as Boyloaf) group, converged in Yenagoa in Funfare where the disarmament took place. The Bayelsa State government recognized the disarmament day (22nd August, 2009) as Annual Peace Day that must be marked and observed as public holiday (Olaniyi, 2009:13).

All the groups surrendered 95,970 live ammunitions, 520 rifles, 14 gun boats and many military fatigue during the disarmament programme (Olaniyi, 2009:13).

Based on the United Nations (UN) regulation of one man, one gun, 8,299 militants out of the total number of militants who disarmed were documented by early October 2009. However, by 25th October, 2009, the total number of ex-militants had increased to 15,260 registered ex-militants. Subsequently this number increased to 20,192 out of which 780 were women. But it was later realized, especially with the case of Edo State, that all "disarmed militants were not genuine militants, but were only interested in the financial and other benefits that accrued to genuine ones (Osagie, 2009). Out of the 450 militants who disarmed only 250 weapons were counted. This reveals that 200 men were not part of the militant group (Osagie, 2009:8-9).

There seems to be a contradiction in the total number of women posted by the Amnesty Office and the total number of women who showed up at the Obubra Camp. The Amnesty Office shows 133 registered females after disarmament, on its website but based on records at the Amnesty Camp, over 700 women participated in the demobilization programme.

Table 2.1: Showing Disarmed Militants

S/N	States/Organization	Male	Female	Registered
1	Akwa-Ibom	155	8	163
2	Bayelsa	6,900	61	6,961
3	Cross-River	159	1	160
4	Delta	3,361	-	3,361

5	Edo	450	-	450
6	Imo	297	3	300
7	Ondo	1,198	2	1200
8	Rivers	6,958	39	6,997
9	NDDC	571	19	600
	Total	**20,049**	**133**	**20,192**

Source: Amnesty Programme Website Available at http://www.nigerdeltaamnesty.org. Accessed on 10th Sept. 2012.

The 3rd category was the surrendering of arms to the disarmament committee in November, 2009 by self-inspired ex-militant groups after the initial deadline had been met. This category included militants who submitted arms after realizing that there were benefits to be gained by ex-militants who surrendered arms at the inception of the programme. The total number in this group was 6,160 (Amnesty Website: 2012). The various disarmament periods brought the total caseload to 26,352 militants disarmed. However, the issue of total number of militants raised a lot of controversy. Osagie (2009) observed that many non-militants joined in order to take advantage of the monthly allowance and vocational training. It was learnt that commanders or leaders actually added a lot of names including names of friends, siblings, relatives and kinsmen. The result is that the leaders benefitted extremely from allowance paid to members (Osagie, 2009).

All the arms surrendered were moved to the Enugu Depot of the Nigerian Army and were demolished on 18th May 2009. A total of 934 riffles, 107 pistols, 1,424 guns, 11 RPG from Delta, Bayelsa and Edo States were destroyed, while 864 rifles, 557 guns, 59 RPGs and 50 pistols were destroyed before the end of May 2011 (Oluwaniyi: 2013).

Though a lot of weapons were retrieved during the disarmament, the one man, one gun strategy reveals that the probability that not all weapons were surrendered is very high.

2.5.2 Demobilization

This was the formal and controlled discharge of active militants from armed groups. It involved the processing of individual militants in designated camps. During demobilization process, reinsertion packages were given to disarmed militants. Reinsertion is a form of transitional assistance offered to help cover the basic/immediate needs of ex-militants and their families. This included, transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short term education, training, employment and tools (UNDP: 2006).

In a layman's term, demobilization was to bring back ex-militants to purely civilian life. Sequel to disarmament, ex-militants were paid a stipend of N65,000:00 monthly allowance and this payment lasted until the end of their reintegration. The allowance serves as reinsertion package to divert their minds away from militant attitudes. In addition to the payment of allowances, accommodation arrangements were made for registration and rehabilitation and training purposes in six designated areas in the region namely two in Aluu, Rivers State, two in Agbarho, Delta State and two in Uyo, Akwa-Ibom State. But Government had to change its decision due to potential cost of maintaining the facility and used only the Obubra Camp. Due to the inadequacy of the camps to accommodate the whole 20,192 ex-militants simultaneously, decisions were made at the initial stage to divide them into batches, with each batch spending four (4)

weeks on reorientation, counseling and spiritual regeneration of the ex-militants (Oluwatoyin: 2013).

Registration for the ex-militants included data capturing, certification of eligibility for benefits, allocation of cards, receipt of reinsertion allowances and preparation for full demobilization. The registration was very critical to know the number of ex-militants rehabilitated, their career aspirations, the costs and other logistic issues necessary for successful rehabilitation and reintegration (Akinwale, 2005).

2.5.3 Reintegration

According to the UN Report, reintegration is a critical process of the amnesty by which ex-militants acquire full civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income (UN: 2005). It plays a critical role in the transformation of ex-militants from combatants to peace, to the extent that it has repeatedly proved to be vital to stability in conflict situations and in turn contribute to sustainable peace and the prevention of conflict resurgence (UN Report, 2005).

Of all the three concepts in the implementation of the amnesty programme, reintegration is the most complicated process and may stagnate the general Amnesty programme if not handled with caution and addressed properly. The inability to properly reintegrate ex-militant had direct linkage with return to violence (Oluwaniyi, 2001). His study on the phenomena of child soldiers in Liberia and Sierra-Leone revealed that the failure of the Liberian Government to properly demobilized and reintegrated ex-combatants, while focusing interest in speedily organizing presidential elections that ushered in Charles Taylor as the President of Liberia, brought about a resurgence of war

in 2001; the near perfect implementation of the Sierra Leone's Amnesty Process in 2001 engendered relative peace in the Country. In comparison to Sierra Leone's case, improperly demobilized and reintegrated combatants/militants are likely to return to crime, banditry and violence (Collier 1994; Kingma 2002).

Reintegration of ex-militants began with their absorption into the society, training and community empowerment. The leaders of the ex-militants groups were the first to be reintegrated into the society immediately after the disarmament phase. They were given reinsertion allowances, and awarded sumptuous contracts in the Niger Delta region and Abuja in order to keep them financially buoyant till the end of the reintegration process. But for their members they had to pass through all the phases/processes of the Amnesty Programme (DDR).

Immediately after the two weeks' demobilization at the Obubra camp, names were submitted to the Amnesty Office in Abuja where preparations were made to start off with their reintegration into the society. Based on the skills selected by the rehabilitated ex-militants, interested training centres pick trainees for the reintegration.

Three major groups handled the individual reintegration of ex-militants and they include the FG (carried out by the Amnesty Office, Post-Amnesty Oil and Gas Foundation and the NDDC) (Orubebe: 2012).

As part of government's efforts in facilitating ex-militants' reintegration in terms of training and empowerment, it had discussions with other partners to participate meaningfully in a programme that would have a life span of three years. Different

Organizations work under these groups to train ex-militants in fish production, poultry farming, weilding, marine, baking and hairdressing, etcetera (Orubebe: 2012).

2.6 Juxtapositions: Argument for and Against the Amnesty programe: Protagonists'and Antagonists' Views of the Amnesty Programme

2.6.1 Protagonists'Views of the Amnesty Programme

Some Protagonists for instance; (Abbe, 2012; Clark, 2012) had argued that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Militants in the Niger-Delta was to usher in a long lasting peace in the restive region. Others in this school of thought (Dafinone, 2011; Okonta, 2013) believed that the Amnesty programme was to "settle" the Niger-Delta in regard to the devastations caused by the exploitation and expropriation of oil and gas resources from the region. Douglas (2013) supported this view when he posited that "the Amnesty Programme is for all the Niger-Delta as it was in lieu of the Resource Control Agitations". Other proponents of the Amnesty programme (Agari, 2013; Abbe, 2009; Yar' Adua, 2009) opined that it will facilitate capacity building and reduce youth unemployment in the region. In a similar vein, Ibrahim Thaiv (2012) underscored the importance of the amnesty programme and said,

> *It was compatible with the United Nation's Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (DDR) in conflict zones; and that it should be applauded (lauded) as a viable initiative for conflict management and resolution* (Thaiv: 2012).

Supporting the above view on the Amnesty programme, Clark asserted that "the Programme is a rational and justifiable policy for the management and resolution of the quagmire in the Niger-Delta" (Clark, 2012).

Another International support for the Amnesty programme proclaimed for the Militants in the Niger-Delta came from Lawless, of the Embassy of the United States of America in Nigeria, when he said, the United States weighed on the side of pardon, thus we think it (Amnesty Programme) is a positive development. We will work with Nigerian government as it develops and implement its own policy approach as to counter violent militant extremism" (Lawless, 2013).

Those at the Vanguard for the campaign for the Amnesty programme argued that it holds the ace for the resolution of the seemingly intractable militancy in the Niger-Delta Region. Aliade (2012) posited that it was obvious that

> *The path to Amnesty was a possible path to peace because the whole essence was to achieve peace. When there is peace, then we can talk about justice. When we talk about justice we can now talk about equity* (Aliade: 2012).

The argument for the Amnesty programme for the Militants in the Niger-Delta was supported by Obi (2012) when he compared it with a similar approach adopted by the Algerian government. He said, Algeria through the "carrot and stick" approach and a dodgy Amnesty programme packaged in a charter on peace and national reconciliation approved in October 2005, a referendum that led to the proclamation of Amnesty. The Government granted pardon to the Islamists and Soldiers who took part in the civil war on both sides, thus setting the stage for relative peace (Obi, 2012).

As part of the Amnesty programme for the Niger-Delta militants, Henry Okah, a MEND Leader and Gun Merchant, who had been held in prison on treason and other charges for more than a year was released. Responding to the fulfillment of one of its key demands, MEND announced a 60 day ceasefire beginning from 15 July, 2009. Hence, proponents of the Amnesty programme have confirmed this as the most serious bid to put an end to militancy in the Niger-Delta and address some of the key drivers of the conflict (Abbe, 2012).

Fundamental to the successes of the Amnesty programme had been the government's willingness to make meaningful concessions on resource control. Central to this strategy is the granting of ten percent (10%) of all government's equity from the joint ventures with multi-national corporations to local communities where oil is produced for minimal developments. Thus, the saying that the Amnesty programme is a viable policy for conflict management got validation when it was suggested for the management of conflicts in other volatile regions as a sign of good-will and national cohesion (Abbe, 2012).

In this vein, it is argued that the amnesty mechanism offers a good approach to designing a peace and security framework. The programme played significant and important roles in the implementation of peace in the Niger-Delta region. Some of the essential priorities of the programme includes defusing tensions and ensuring peaceful management of disputes by means of negotiation, mediation conciliation and arbitration; ensuring respect for human rights and minority rights, reducing poverty together with socio-economic imbalance, protecting the natural environment in order to ensure sustainable developments.

Supporters of the amnesty programme have argued that it has impressive track record of achievements in peace building and security in countries with perennial conflicts that had regional, social, economic and political implications. These conflicts occurred in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Cote De Iviore, Liberia, Senegal, Mali, Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Burundi and South Africa to mentioned but a few (Thaiv, 2013).

Relating the peace in the Niger-Delta Region to the Amnesty programme of government, Clark (2011) stated that "many people did not believe the Presidential Amnesty programme was going to work; and now that it is working every one want to identify with it".

Clark (2011) moved to clarify the Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) for militants as a move aimed at restoring peace in the trouble oil producing region. In a similar view, the Media-coordinator of the Presidential Committee on Amnesty and Disarmament, Dr. Timiebi Koripamo Agary revealed that the Federal Government through the Amnesty Programme demonstrated good faith in refusing to criminalize the Niger-Delta Militants through derogatory terms. Accordingly, she stated that, "the offer of the Amnesty is unconditional; Mr. President has offered an olive branch which should be accepted to restore peace and development in the region which is of great concern to the militants and for which real steps are being taken by the Government" (Ikumah: 2011).

That the Amnesty offer affords them the freedom and opportunity to engage in dialogue, that the President has promoted". She continued that, "I think aside the Amnesty Proclamation by Mr. President, the fact that he personally received

militantsleaders that surrendered demonstrates how willing and sincere the President is in ending this crisis!" (Ikumah 2011).

Similarly, Katefebua (2011), Team Leader in Agriculture in the Niger-Delta Region stated that "Militants and the Niger-Delta Youths know what is good for them and their communities and I believe they will make the right decisions for the progress and development of the Niger-Delta and Nigeria". He said further that "Mr. President had offered an olive branch which should be accepted to restore peace and development in the region" (Ketefebua, 2011).

Some Protagonist of the Amnesty Programme, (Abbe, 2010; Oluwatoyin, 2012; Ibrahim, 2011) saw the programme as a laudable political strategy that accompanied some military actions justified to stop the crime and criminalities – oil theft, pipeline vandalization and kidnapping etc. perpetrated by militants in the region. They argued further, that genuine peace keeping will require not only legitimate political negotiation, but a convincing case for transforming the illicit war economy into one of peace". That a peaceful enabling environment will enable the government to undertake a serious and sustain initiative to address what the UNDP noted in the Niger-Delta Region as "Administrative neglect, crumbling social infrastructures and services, high unemployment, social deprivations, abject poverty, filth, squalor, and endemic conflicts' (UNDP Report, 2006).

Thus, the amnesty programme was seen as a clear manifestation of the determination of government to ensure and enshrine enduring peace and enormous contributions towards a better environment and basic rights of the indigenous communities in the Niger-Delta Region.

Consequently, Abbe declared, “we warn those who seek to reap Political and social capital from the turbulence in the polity to create ethic tension and would want to play politics with the Amnesty programme to desist from this unwholesome act” (Abbe, 2009).

He continued that, “the age of conquests, intimidation and killing is over; what we have now (the Amnesty Programme) is the age of consensus, national reconciliation and civilized conduct in Nigeria” (Abbe, 2009).

Chukwumerieje (2010), supported and/or corroborated this view when the stated that; “we have overtime recognized that peace and security are not won with guns, rather by concerted efforts of negotiations, to always see dialogue and round table negotiations as effective means of resolving crisis in the Niger-Delta. Hence, through the Presidential Amnesty Programme, Nigeria was able to resolve the problems and mitigate the conflicts in the Niger-Delta Region without external interference” (Chukwumerije, 2010).

Dafinone, one of the proponents of the Amnesty Programme was of the opinion that “there is no bad peace and good war”, pointing out that “the road to peace must be peaceful”. This he said the Amnesty Programme guaranteed (Dafinone, 2009).

This scenario raised once again the necessity to concentrate on purely peaceful options and a substantial economic development of the entire Delta-Region. In fact, Government Officials had consistently argued that without the total stoppage of militant activities, it would not be able to carry out the needed economic and infrastructural development in the region. Thus, it was argued that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the militants is a good idea, since it will provide the peaceful enabling environment for Government to actualize the Niger-Delta Development Plan (Sango, 2009).

The apparent success of the Amnesty Programme prompted President Yar'Adua to declare that:

> *the general Amnesty extended to all militants in the Niger-Delta has led to the laying-down of arms and a return of peace. Our role in ensuring stabilities of the energy and oil market has led to a win-win situation for all participants in the market.* (Yar'adua, 2009 in Konye, 2009).

Yar'Adua said this while speaking to the OPEC's Secretary General, Abdulla Salem el Badri (Konye, 2009).

Proponents of the Amnesty Programme have argued that in the period leading to and after the Amnesty, the real goal of the Nigerian State should be durable peace; thus, genuine efforts and commitments that geared towards justice and fairness and which prevents or dissuade the occurrence of hostility and low intensity conflicts should be propagated. The root causes of the conflict have to be genuinely addressed through institutional rebuilding as well as through economic rearrangements and political transformation and the stability of the Political space and landscape. The conscious efforts of Government in infrastructural development of the Niger-Delta Region should be pursued to their logical conclusions.

Agary, 2009; Abbe, 2012; and Clark, 2010, supported the view that there are various "power houses" in the region who prefer the status quo to continue, feeding off revenue from oils, maintaining a stronghold on power, feeding off myriad crises and feeding on the people's suffering and misfortune. That the Amnesty programme of Government had stopped this gluttony and insanity.

Adding, Gaia (2010) said,

> *what is needed at this stage is far greater local transparency, so that communities, youths and the rest of the Nation can see evidence of a judicious set of plans and sound use of funds. Without this, efforts to support the amnesty programme will be undermined by opportunities for both mismanagement and corruption* (Gaia, 2010).

He continued that there is a serious risk that the international community who had lend support to stabilization of the Niger-Delta region could be drawn back to backing a programme with very uncertain credibility (Gaia, 2010).

Yongye (2009) explained that the Niger-Delta job creation, your rehabilitation, skill acquisition and conflict mitigation initiation through the Amnesty programme proclaimed for the militants was conceived in recognition of the fact that reintegration of the Ex-Militants and vulnerable youths into the community is a critical factor (Yongye, 2009).

The supporters of the Amnesty Programme had argued that there was a dangerous diplomatic implication to the conflicts in the oil rich region of the Nigerian State (the United Press International, 2008), prior to the proclamation of the amnesty for the Niger-Delta Militants. That in the light of the security situation in the region, Marsh (2008) issued security risk alert to its clients who may be considering sending employees to the region or have employees in the region (Marsh, 2008).

Marsh recommended that Organizations review their security procedures and risk assessments. It proclaimed that

> *Hostage taking for ransom is rife in the region, oil facilities, including off-shore rigs, have been occupied by local gangs in attempts to extort money from oil companies. Threats have been made against oil facilities and expatriates. Many foreign oil workers had been kidnapped and killed. Many oil pipelines had been destroyed (Marsh 2008).*

Marsh (2008) as one of the proponents of the Amnesty programme said, the Pre-Amnesty Security situations in the Niger-Delta had been compared to Colombia and Chechnya (www.Marsh.co.uk, www.fco.gov.uk, US Officials). That many of the militia groups threaten to attack more oil installations and kidnap additional foreign workers in the region in support of the local communities and maintained, the oil belongs to the Delta People (Marsh: 2008).

Thus, the UK FCO (2008) advised against all travels to the reverine areas of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States. (The UK FCO includes contact details for Deputy British High Commission, Lagos and British High Commission, Liaison Office, Port Harcourt). It stated thus,

> *strongly consider deferring non essential travel to the region as attacks and kidnappings are likely to continue. If in the area, exercise extreme caution at and near oil installations* (UK FCO, 2008).

It noted that the alert related specifically to the Nigerian situation, and that companies should undertake risk assessments for all employees sent abroad to potentially hostile regions like the Niger-Delta.

The United States' Officials were also prompted on January 20, 2008 to re-issue a travel warning that citizens defer travel to the Niger-Delta region, in Nigeria. However, it was correctly observed by Foreign Policy in focus (2008) that because of the heavy and/or huge economic interests of the International community in the region and the certainty for "fear premium, " – higher oil prices which often followed the Niger-Delta conflicts, the International Community will support prior to the Amnesty Programme. Thus, the point here is that the International Community particularly the United States of

America (USA) & United Kingdom (UK) will continue to support whatever, political arrangements is most likely to bring peace to the oil rich region of the Niger-Delta. This view was supported by the International Crisis Group, when it reported that the Nigerian government's new strategy (the proposed Amnesty Programme) had been to dialogue with the Militants groups in the Niger-Delta Region. That on 28th June, 2007, the then Vice President (Goodluck Jonathan) had to travel to the Delta region to meet with key militants leaders at Okerenkoko, towards the management and the resolution of the conflicts" (ICG – Report, 2008).

Commenting on the International Dimension of the Niger-Delta conflicts and the New Government's approach to the conflicts (Amnesty Programme), Kolawole (2009) observed that:

> *as a result of the prevailing insecurity in the Niger-Delta, the Nigerian Government and the International Community are greatly disturbed by the insalubrious development.* (Kolawole, 2009).

He observed further that:

> *kidnapping expatriates and toddlers may just be a child's play. Something more barbaric may be in the offing if we do not find a solution as soon as possible". Hence, he continued, "the Amnesty Programme of Government is a welcomed development end must be thoroughly implemented to address the root causes of the conflicts* (Kolawole, 2009).

Brisbe (2009) and the ICG (2009) supported the Amnesty Programme of Government in the resolution of the conflicts in the Niger-Delta Region; when they posited that,

> *the crisis in the oil rich Delta region had gotten Local and International attention. The reason is because of its strategic importance to global supply of oil and energy.*

> *Anytime friction occurs in the region, the World Catches cold, as oil prices always shoots up (Brisbe, 2009; ICG 2009).*

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) once gave reasons for raise in oil prices of $76.08 a barrel in the International oil market. It said, "the supply concerns was due to the militant attacks and outages in Nigeria, with its resultant effect, which bolstered oil prices" (ICG: 2006:8). Hence, the new initiative of Government (the Amnesty Programme) towards the resolution of the conflict had local and international support (Crisis Group Africa Reports: 2006 – 2009).

Komolafe (2007) applauded the a non-violent and diplomatic approach in the resolution of the conflicts in the Niger-Delta Region when he corroborated the International dimension of the conflict thus;

> *in view of the strategic importance of the Niger-Delta Region to the World's supply of crude oil and Energy, and coupled with the fact that, the crisis if not checked diplomatically, could have serious debilitating effects on Nigeria and the stability of the West African sub-Region; there is the need for its swift resolution.* (Komolafe, 2007).

What the situation need now according to Komolafe,

> *is a fundamental approach to solving problems. The time is ripe to think of efficacious solutions like – the United Nations DDR Progammes (Amnesty Programme) instead of merely playing politics with the people's misery* (Komolafe, 2007).

2.6.2 Antagonists' Approach to the Amnesty Programme:

Scholars and critics like Soyinka (2009); West (2010); Utomi (2009); Iyonem (2010) and Chukwumerije (2010) had argued that the Amnesty programme proclaimed

for the Militants in the Niger-Delta in its entirety is a 'hoax and conduit pipe' for siphoning money by Government Officials (Soyinka, 2013; West, 2013; Chukwumerije, 2013) Soyinka went further to say, "the Programme was not Amnesty but Amnesia for corruption". This view was corroborated by Douglas, when he referred to the Amnesty programme and called it "Amnesty or Bribe for Peace?" (Douglas, 2012). Mitee (2011), a Niger-Delta activist, described the Amnesty programme "as a diversionary tactics by Government for the continuous exploitation of oil and gas resources in the region" (Mitee, 2011).

Buttressing his views against the Amnesty programme, Chukwumerije (2013) warned that, "…. in fact entering into dialogue with a terrorist group, let alone granting them amnesty would spawn other more violent groups armed with little grudges, all pressuring the Government for favours or concessions" (Chukwumerije, 2013).

Supporting this view, West insisted that the Militants are criminals gangs and argued that the Military option (heavy hand) rather than the 'velvet glove of Amnesty is what the militia groups in the Niger-Delta merits' (West, 2012). Another handliner against the Amnesty programme for the Niger-Delta Militants threatened that, "violence will erupt across the Nation if the amnesty was granted the militants. He argued that the amnesty is potentially dangerous because it is an invitation to more terrorism and cautioned that the Niger-Delta militants does not have the monopoly of violence" (Ciroma, 2009).

Expatiating his point against the amnesty programme for the Niger-Delta Militants; Ciroma stated that.

> "In case the Federal Government is contemplating granting amnesty to willful kidnappers and criminals masquerading

> as political thugs and ethnic militias, who do not respect the basic tenets of humanity and the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN), the Federal Government should be prepared to face perhaps more deadly and sophisticated response" (Ciroma, 2009).

Commenting on the Amnesty programme as a total failure, Okechukwu (2012) posited thus:

> *to express my total disappointment over the poor management of funds meant for the amnesty programme by Kingsley Kuku, the Presidential Adviser to President Goodluck on the Niger-Delta Affairs and Chairman of the Amnesty Office* (Okechukwu, 2012 :16).

He opined that

> *at the moment no one can tell clearly how many of the ex-militants were fully trained either locally or in Abroad. That this has raised suspicion on the transparency in the running of the programmet. Thus, he said," I do not think we have to continue to pump billions of Nigeria's tax-payers money into the project. In the 2012 Budget almost N100 Billion was allocated to the amnesty office for that fiscal year. All of these monies have been spent already without any proper record to justify how it was expended. This year (2013) the amnesty office could not provide relevant documents to support its spending in 2012 during the 2013 budget defence at the House of Representatives. The National Assembly must work hard to check the activities of the agency and disapprove its 2013 budget proposal since it could not give clear picture of how the funds appropriated in 2012 was spent* (Okechukwu, 2012: 16).

Nwankwo and Odunna (2012) were amongst the antagonists of the amnesty programme who saw it as a jamboree and waste of National funds. They kicked against the plan expansion of the beneficiaries of the N63,281 billion approved by the National Assembly for the demobilization and training of 3,642 ex-militants granted amnesty to

include victims of oil pollution in the Niger-Delta 2nd and 3rd phases of the amnesty programme is generating tension within ex-militants camps in the region. Some former militants, led by Friday Burutu were miffed that their names were conspicuously missing from the list of the 3,642 for whom the sum of N63,281 billion was approved for their demobilization and training, they accused the Special Adviser to the President on Niger-Delta and Chairman of the Amnesty Committee, Mr. Kingsley Kuku, of claiming that slots in the affected phases of the amnesty programme were, inter-alia, compensation to the oil pollution victims whilst those who physically submitted arms and ammunitions and signed renunciation of violence forms where left out. The aggrieved ex-militants specifically contended that the amnesty proclamation of the Federal Government made pursuant to section 175 of 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on June 25, 2009 was exclusively made for militants and not for oil pollution victims, friends and siblings of highly placed Government Officials (Nwankwo and Odunna 2012).

Another argument against the amnesty programme was that the programme was proclaimed without moderation; that instead of a "selected few", it was a "blanket and unrestricted", that it was unjustifiable and counterproductive". Thus, they argued that the amnesty programme must bring about justice and should be selective, and not just a blanket approach" (Tinubu 2013, Fashola, 2013).

Soyinka (2013) critically condemned the Amnesty programme when he wrote, "forget amnesty, try amnesia". According to him, what was needed was amnesia not amnesty. That amnesia will completely blot out all past crimes, no matter how willful or heinous and prepares the state of even more heinous future crimes. He argued further that future amnesia would wipe out future crimes. That amnesia helps to forget, with bliss, the

impunity of the militants and Joint Tax Force (JTF). Not some amnesty powered by amnesia (Soyinka, 2013).

Other antagonists to the Amnesty programme expose the whole idea of amnesty as an afterthought and posited that it should be holistic rather than just be about forgetting and wiping out the crimes, but also compensating the victims and preventing the circumstances that led to the militancy in the first place (Tinubu, 2012).

As one sided as unpalatable as the Amnesty deal was, we saw that the Government was; playing one Niger-Delta Governor against the other; pitting one Militant leader against another; using one justice seeking group another; encouraging politicians to engage in private and public spending, throwing million of dollars on the table, knowing very well that "Political Prostitutes" will sell their birth rights for dollars and cents; (UN Report: 2006:25) and threatening those who refuse to obey or collaborate with Government on the Amnesty Programme awe – inspiring threats" (UN Report, 2009). All these in the name of Peace.

Other antagonists saw the Amnesty Programme as a "mere Jamboree that is doomed to fail, because according to them, an effective solution to a protracted problem is about tackling the problems with evidence-based models, such as provisions of social amenities, infrastructural developments and alleviation of poverty through reduction of unemployment in the region and not about making it easier to live with" (EU Report, 2011).

The Major Group of Militants in the Niger-Delta, called MEND, said through their spokesperson, "Jomo Bomo", that they prefer "Armistice to the Amnesty" offered by Government. This according to "Jomo Bomo", will facilitate truce in the war situation

that will allow parties to discuss terms and conditions to end the conflict" (Jomo Bomo, 2011).

The reason forthe Government's Amnesty, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) argued derive not out of sympathy for the people in the Niger-Delta but possibly because of the ferociousness with which the youths in the Region advanced their struggle. It is noteworthy that the leading militia group in the Niger-Delta, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) initially rejected the Amnesty initiative, thus, leading one to suspect that the government took a quick decision without adequate consultation of all stakeholders concerned (Douglas, 2011).

Alaibe (2007); Aghalino (2008) revealed that evidence available suggests that the Nigerian State does not favour dialoque on the resolution of the Niger-Delta crisis; although government agents feign preference for dialogue and peaceful resolution of the impasse. They observed further that it is worth reiterating that the "stick approach" of Government towards the resolution of the crisis had merely escalated the crisis. Government more often sends in troop to "pacify" the youths, a strategy that had never worked. Apart from the fact that this was a continuation of 'Pax Britannica' in the Area, it was meant to harass and intimidate the people to submission by wiping out communities as epitomized by the Odi and Gbarramatu Massacres" (Arnold, 2000, Oronto et al 2004). However, I tend to disagree with these assertions, because it was the failure of the "carrot approach" that made the military option inevitable. This view was

supported by Obasanjo when he asserted that, "in Conflict Management, when the carrot approach did not work, the stick option becomes inevitable" (Obasanjo, 2009).

Aghalino (2008) supported the ingenuity of the Amnesty Programme of Government when he posited that, "it was due to the intense pressure mounted on Government by the United Nations Human Rights Council to refrain from the military offensive in the Niger-Delta region because of the loss of innocent lives that made the Amnesty Programme a desirous change in direction, in the Government's approach to the quagmire" (Aghalino, 2008).

At a point, Mr. Ledum Mitee, the Chairman of the defunct Niger-Delta Technical committee (NDTC), said the Amnesty Programme was not going to work. He opined that the programme was chosen because the Militants matched the Joint Tax Force (JTF) on the Niger-Delta fire-for-fire. That the Government proclaimed the Amnesty because it was good to grant it to militants to enable Government and the Oil Companies (MNCs) to continue with the oil exploitation in the region" (Mitee, 2010).

Rationalizing the Amnesty Programme, Mitee (2010) observed that the Amnesty Programme was isolated for implementation, thus, it was a shame. He revealed that some stakeholders were dumb founded that the International Community was clapping for the Nigerian State for announcing an ill-planned amnesty programme. He said it was clear that the Government was not serious about the Amnesty until it found out that its Military apparatus could not finish off the boys (militants) who practically crippled the Nation's economy by blowing up oil facilities and kidnapping expatriates for ransom (Mitee, 2010).

Corroborating the views of Mitee, Sango (2009) was of the view that, "peace in the Niger-Delta became the most sought after commodity, almost placed at par with oil. That the popular slogan in the Region now is "No more war"; and that the refrain now is, "We Need Peace first and foremost to be able to carry out the required development of the Niger-Delta area" (Sango, 2009).

To say the least, the Militants activities since 2006 have had serious negative effect on Nigeria's economy. The Nigerian State relies up to 80% of all its incomes on the exportation of crude oil and natural Gas from the Niger-Delta Region (World Bank Report, 2010). Against the backdrop of the Global Economic Crisis which in 2008 reduced oil incomes by almost 30% of 2008 earnings, the activities of the Militants is said to have caused about 20% fall in oil output. (CBN Report: 2009). Nigeria is said to have the capacity to produce 3.2million barrels of oil per day. It was in fact producing 2.9 million barrel per day at certain period in 2008 (CBN Report 2009). However, owing to the surge or increase in militant acts of sabotage, oil bunkering, hostage taking, pipeline vandalisms etc. oil production actually fell to between 1.2 and 1.3 million barrel per day. (CBN Report, 2009).

That the number of persons reportedly kidnapped or held hostage increase from 353 in 2008 to 759 in 2009 and this had been in increase until the proclamation of the Presidential Amnesty Programme (NNDC Report: 2009). In addition, the continued disruption caused by the Militant activities had also been cited as major threats to the operations of the electricity projects and local refineries in the region (NDDC Report: 2009). Therefore, one of the antagonists of the Amnesty Programme, Sango said, the point ought to be clearly underlined that it is the combination of these economic factors

that has forced the Nigerian State to come out with its Amnesty package in the hope that it will pacify the militants and enable the multi-national oil companies to resume full exploration and exportations of crude oil and Gas (Sango, 2009).

In this respect, those against the Amnesty Programme had held strong to the view that the Amnesty Programme/package was not a product of any change of hearts or signs of remorse, sympathy and empathy for all the past and present economic and political atrocities perpetrated in the Niger-Delta (Sango, 2009). Other antagonists of the Amnesty Programme queried that the programme was thoroughly saturated with the spirit of "Ghana Must Go" mentality. Blindfolded by the Niger-Delta oil wealth, the Nigerian State have overtime developed the attitude and habit of using money packaged in "Ghana Must Go", bags to bribe over their opponents and allies. This supported an earlier view which described the Amnesty Programme of Government as "a Bribe for Peace" (Sango: 2009). Therefore, it was argued that the Nigerian State apparently believed that the lure of money stashed in "Ghana Must Go" bags will be strong enough to make significant number of militants, especially key leaders, to come forward, surrender their arms, renounce militancy and go to the pay centres (Sango, 2009).

In consequence, the antagonists argued that the strategy was doomed to fail because the militia organizations through their own nefarious independent activities were in positions to guarantee more money for their members than the paltry and uncertain/precarious amounts promised by the Nigerian State through the Amnesty Progamme, this could at worst, only have a temporary effect on the scope and activities of armed militia. Sooner than later, a new and more daring generations of militants will evolve to carry on with the campaigns, especially against the background where little or

nothing had been done to address the fundamental issues of mass poverty, unemployment, economic and environmental decay which persisted in the region (Douglas, 2011; Mitee, 2010; Sango, 2009). Thus, Sango (2009) argued that "it is not a matter of if, but when Government's Amnesty programme will be seen by all and sundry, as a total failure" (Sango, 2009).

Supporting the above expression, Kemtefa, a strong antagonist of the amnesty programme observed that, it was evident that the Nigerian State will not succeed that much with the "Amnesty-carrot", and without addressing many of the pressing issues that gave rise to militancy, it is a matter of time before the peace which now exists in the region courtesy of the Amnesty, will be shattered" (Kemtefa, 2012). He expatiated further, that, "Government so easily finds funds for peripheral matters on the Niger-Delta and not core issues", thus, this kind of sentiment completely betrays a deep misunderstanding and insincerity of the Nigerian state and the political elites of the Niger-Delta Region (Kemtefa, 2012).

Sango (2009) supported this assertion when he argued that, despite the noises that have been made to accelerate the development of the Niger-Delta region through special Commissions and Agencies of Government like the OMPADEC, NDDC, only a paltry sum of money was usually released compared to what was budgeted for the development of projects in the region (Sango: 2009). That between 2004 – 2007 for instance, a total sum of N436.54 billion had been appropriated for the NDDC but only N110.31 billion was actually released (Editorial of Vanguard Newspapers of July 30, 2009).

The Niger-Delta Political Elites had equally shown that they were not any better than their counter-parts, nationally, especially when it comes to sacrificing peoples basic

needs on the platter and/or alter of personal greed and aggrandizements. Most of the funds allocated to the States in the region and the special additional intervention funds received by the Niger-Delta Agencies and States, Courtesy of the 13% derivation and 10% equity oil funds share for oil communities provided by Acts of Parliaments and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, were routinely looted by its leaders (Sango, 2009).

Thus, it is suffice to say that the creation of the Niger-Delta Ministry, the Office of the Special Adviser to Mr. President on the Niger-Delta Affairs and the Amnesty Office will only exacerbate the orgy of corruption and competition in the Region amongst its political elites.

The central point here was that, it was not the lack of Agencies, Programmes and Resources that had been preventing sufficient development of the Niger-Delta, as a whole but the inherent culture of corruption and bad governance. In the given situation, it is almost certain that far from diminishing, the armed militia acts of sabotage, bunkering and commercial kidnappings will become more pronounced in the future. Already it had been revealed that militants possesses limited capacity to refine petroleum products including kerosene, which was sold at cheaper prices to consumers in the Creeks. This and the necessity to survive will most likely make militancy a very attractive preoccupation for the Niger-Delta youths who otherwise would not have any future under the Nigerian State (Sango, 2010).

Some critics of the Amnesty Programme in the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) said they were embittered with the programme because the programme means that everyone should go on creating problems and

fomenting trouble (socio-unrests), especially the unemployed graduates before government would listen to them (MASSOB, 2012).

Similarly, other antagonists of the amnesty programme had observed that as the amnesty programme was been implemented, government hardliners were preparing the Nigerian Navy to play a more central role in the military crackdown to dislodge the militants from their bases and expands security dragnet on the Niger-Delta and Nigeria's offshore oil zones. They said the Navy procured 35 new machine-gun equipped fast patrol boats. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) on the instruction of the Presidency was directed to pay for the boats (Spicy, 2011).

According to Spicy, two 38 meter manta-class Patrol boats were also purchased when the amnesty programme was been implemented. These were purchased from Nautica Nova ship Building Yard, in Malaysia, by NNPC. Four other 17 meter Manta-Class patrol boats were also purchased from Singapore Technologies Maritime (Spicy: 2011). These made MEND and other antagonists of the amnesty programme to be suspicious and hesitant about the genuineness of Government's Offer of the Amnesty, saying it was a Hoax aimed at dividing the struggle/movements. They held that, "the latest effort at re-armament by the navy only goes to vindicate hardline elements within the movements who have vowed not to renounce their militancy" (Spicy, 2011).

Supporting this view, Abidde (2009), stressed that the militants at a point lost confidence in Governments peace moves (Amnesty Programme); saying the programme won't bring real or lasting peace to the region, because despite Government's haste to hurry through a deal, it hasn't set-out its plans for what Amnesty will mean in practice for local communities. Abidde posited that "the amnesty is a 'band aid' solution for a '

festering wound' which if left untreated has the potential to 'undo' Nigeria" (Abidde, 2009).

Samson (2010) expressed an antagonistic view on the amnesty programme proclaimed for the militants in the Niger-Delta Region when he said, "as one sided and unpalatable as the amnesty deal is, we know that peace cannot be dictated, there can be no peace and security when people felt cheated, used and abused. Military might or not, international condemnation or not, there can be no durable peace when there is no political and economic emancipation" (Samson, 2010).

As to what comes next after the much hyped amnesty? Some antagonists alluded that there will be a bad and useless peace a day after the amnesty is concluded. Essentially, there will be no lasting peace, no authentic security, and there certainly will be no sense of freedom and satisfaction" (Abidde, 2009).

To sum up the review on the Antagonists and the Protagonists' views on the Amnesty Programme, we noted that over the several years of the implementation of the UN's DDR (Amnesty Programme) in conflict areas/countries like DRC, Senegal, Sierra-Leone, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Mali, Sri-Lanka, Egypt, Algeria, Iraq etc. there was no consensus by scholars on the successes of the programme. However, several scholars have agreed to the success of the DDR (Amnesty Programme) implemented for the ex-militants in the Niger-Delta Region by the Nigerian State (Soyinka, 2013; Thaiv, 2013; Obama, 2014; West, 2013; Clark, 2012; Gambari, 2013).

A thorough perusal of the literature revealed that most definitions agreed that the Amnesty Programme was implemented to provide "artificial peace" for the Government to continue to exploit oil resources I n the Niger-Delta; but as it unfolded, the Amnesty

Programme produced a distinct set of products; one of these was the resolution of the conflicts in the Niger-Delta region which in a form of an tacit agreement. The outcome was integrative, with both sides benefitting. Most of the view expressed in support of the Amnesty programme tagged the "protagonists" filled this gap in the literature reviewed. As Eskotoyo noted, the Amnesty is not only to usher peace in the Niger-Delta region to allow people walk freely or exploit oil and gas resources; but also to provide a conducive atmosphere for the implementation of projects that will lead to the development of the entire region (Eskotoyo, 2012). This postulations definitely filled some gaps in literature.

Various writers have proposed that the Amnesty Programme had positive effects by resolving a long term log jam that had defied ample pacific and combative solutions. The theoretical framework for analysis adopted for this research supported this assertion.

This process has received inadequate theoretical, attention. Thus, it is empirical and practical that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the ex-militants mitigated the conflict in the region. The Government's de-escalation strategy gained the opponents' compliance, thus, it was worthwhile for all peace loving Nigerians to foster it.

Most importantly, we noted that the goal of de-escalation of the conflicts ushered by the Amnesty Programme is conflict reduction or elimination. Many literature over the years contain numerous disjointed explanations/descriptions of the Amnesty Programme of Government, Soyinka (2009); West (2010); Douglas, 2012) thus, this work bridged the gaps between such literature and the overwhelming emphases that the Government Amnesty Programme was a technique inherent in the five conflict management styles and the cardinal conflict resolution methods.

We noted that one of the fundamental essence of a state is to protect its territory – territorial integrity and to maintain law and order (1999 Constitution of the FRN). Hence, the Amnesty Programme was used by Government as a public policy to resolve the conflicts in the Niger Delta because as responsible government it must maintain law and order within its territory at all cost. Many literatures did not perceive the Amnesty proclamation by Government to militant in this direction. This is another gap bridged in the literature review by this research work.

Vast amount of literature tend to concentrate on the exploitative, repressive and oppressive roles of government in managing the Niger-Delta conflicts using the instrumentalities of the Amnesty Programme. (Mitee, 2011; Chukwumerije, 2013).However, other literature review for this work opined that the Amnesty Programme was a process of peace, which had mitigated the conflicts in the Niger-Delta region, re-oriented, re-integrated the ex-militants in the society. Blake, Shapiro and Mouton (1964) supported this orientation in their "inventory of problem-solving methods". Similarly, Karambayya & Brett (1989), and Karambayya, Brett & Lyttle, (1992) also buttressed this view. They asserted that the "leader-directed participatory amnesty", helped to resolve conflict because it concomitantly solved problems and strengthened inter-group relationships. Through the Amnesty Programme communication was improved between the Nigerian State and the ex-militants. This communication curtailed the use of negative strategies, encouraged joint responsibility for the management of the conflict and maintained momentum for changes and an eventual solution. It is our believe that these will bridge the gaps noticed in the literature

review on the Amnesty Programme of the Nigerian-State for militants in the Niger-Delta Region.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this section is to explore the themes and schools of thought of the Conflict Resolution Theory. This is done in order to define the scope and variety of the theory in relations to the role of the Nigerian State in the Management of the Niger-Delta conflicts through the instrumentality of the Amnesty programme proclaimed for the militants by the government.

2.7.1. Conflict Resolution Theory

Several theories have sought to explain the Amnesty Programme as a conflict resolution mechanism but the most suitable theory adapted as theoretical framework for this study is the conflict resolution theory. The theory focuses on the management of deep-rooted conflicts. Conflict management initiatives are often characterized by long time horizons and intervention strategies at multiple levels aimed at changing perceptions and improving communication skills at addressing the roots of the conflict including inequality and social injustice (Search for Common Grounds, 2007).

The Berghoft Centre of Conflict Studies (2009) views it as a comprehensive term referring to actions and processes seeking to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of conflicts by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long term. It aims to manage and transform negative destructive conflicts into positive constructive conflicts and deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflicts.

The term refers to both the process and the completion of the process, as such it incorporates the activities of processes such as conflict prevention, conflict resolution and conflict management. This framework provides a marker to view conflict management as a mechanism which introduces healing, truth telling, trust, restorative justice and reparation as sources of relationship building. The basis for this approach is anchored first on relationships, which form the basis for the conflict as well as the solutions (Laderach, 1998:34-35).

In another dimension, conflict management theory suggests approaches to changing conflict to peace through the implementation of activities and programmes that have structural implication for peace and security in violent region and addresses the causes of the conflict. Such approaches include changing the social structure, economic viability and infrastructural development within which disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes are extremely inevitable/unavoidable. It is within this theoretical framework and/or platform that the Amnesty Programme will be evaluated and its rationale investigated and/or examined.

Burton's Conflict Resolution Theory provides the holistic explanation for conflict management through four (4) processes of Negotiation, Mediation, Arbitration and Conciliation (NMAC), better still called Conflict Management methods.

The main thrust of the theory includes the following: It was a strategy and tactic for conflict prevention, settlement, termination, resolution, transformation and peace building through Negotiation, Mediation, Arbitration and Conciliation). These are called conflict management methods (Borton, 1993) are very critical. These are combined with

the conflict management styles in resolving disputes. These styles are Collaborating, Accommodating, Dominating, Obliging and Compromising (CADOC) (Azar, 1986:27). Azar (1986) synthesized and referred to these as "Assertiveness and Accommodation", which means "Low and high concerns for self and low and high concerns for others" (Azar, 1986:29).

That through the conflict management methods and styles, actors involved in conflict reduced the level of hostility and generate some order in their relations that led to complete resolutions of issues at stake, change in behaviour and attitudes, acceptable settlement, ceasefire or partial agreement. Thus, the theory provides a mechanism whereby steps are taken to transform, de-escalate or terminate a conflict in a mutually acceptable way through the conflict management methods and styles.

Nevertheless, the full range of methods and instruments that constitute conflict management is quite wide (Fogg 1985). It varies from coercive measures through legal processes to third party intervention and multi-lateral conferences. For analytical reasons, these methods can be divided into unilateral methods (one party threats) bilateral methods (bargaining and negotiation, deterrence), multi-lateral methods (third party intervention).

In this regard, two dimensional frameworks are used to define conflict management styles (Borton, 1986:30).

* Dual Concern Concept: "Concern for self" and "concern for others". This is a degree to which a person satisfies his or her own concerns, andsatisfies the concerns of others in the conflict. These had been explained under the five conflict management styles above.

Fisher et al (2000) stated that there is a universally accepted "typology for the methods used in addressing conflict. These are consistent terms seen as steps in the process. Each step taken includes the previous one". They classify these steps as conflict prevention, conflict settlement, conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

In all these processes there were simple powerful concept of change which improved and evaluated the relationships of individuals or parties in conflicts. The expected change follows particular set of various actions and the result will lead to conflict mitigation, management and peace building (USAID, 2009). The point here is that bringing representatives of belligerent groups together in a safe space to interact, negotiate and mediate is a good strategy for conflict resolutions (USAID, 2009).

The expectation is that the interactions will put a human face on the "other", foster trust and eventually lead to the reduction of tensions. If key actors from belligerent groups are given opportunity to interact then they will better understand and appreciate one another, be better able to work with one another, and prefer to resolve conflicts peacefully (Shapiro, 2002, 2005 & 2006; Laderach, 2007). These are the basic tenets of the Conflict Resolution/Management Theory.

Some of the renowned theorists of conflict management and resolution include: John Burton (1993), Ted Gur (1993), Edward Azar (1986), Fogg (1985), Kreshberg (1993), Shapiro (2002, 2005 & 2006), Laderach (2007), Fisher & Brown (1998), Edwin Carr, William Zartman (1997), Thomas & Kilmann (1994), Bercovitch Jacob (1985),

Blake & Mouton (1964), David Graham, Derik Driver (2013), Ann Hall (2013), William Cunningham, to mention but a few.

In order to examine and understand the rationale for the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger Delta Militants, the Conflict Resolution theory was fully explored. Developments in this field correct negative assertions and provided better understandings of the programme.

Burton (1991:81) distinguishes between Conflict Resolution, Management and Settlement. Management is by alternative dispute resolution skills and can confine or limit conflict; settlement is by authoritative and legal processes" and can be imposed by elites. Burton suggests by contrast:

> *... conflict resolution means terminating conflict by methods that are analytical and that get to the root of the problem. Conflict resolution, as opposed to mere management or 'settlement', points to an outcome that, in the view of the parties involved, is a permanent solution to a problem* (Burton, 1991;81).

The wisdom towards solution is for the conflicting groups to work out their problems in an analytical way, supported by third parties who act as facilitators and not authorities. The purpose of this process is to enable the participants to come to the understanding that all participants have legitimate needs and identity that must be satisfied and recognized in order to resolve the conflict. Burton further opines that:

> *Conflict resolution is, in the long term, a process of change in political, social and economic systems. It is an analytical and problem solving process that takes into account such individual and group needs as identity and recognition, as well as institutional changes are required to satisfy the needs* (Burton, 1991:91).

Traditional approaches to conflict management or regulation have largely been based on negotiation, mediation, arbitration and conciliation. These approaches will only work when the conflicting parties are amenable to negotiation and have something tangible they are able to bargain.

Using the Conflict Resolution Theory to explain the role of government in the de-escalation of the Niger Delta conflict is as important as understanding the nature and parameters of the Amnesty Programme of Government proclaimed for the militants the Niger-Delta Region. The objective is to controvert or support the view that the conflict in the Niger-Delta Region was resolved through the instrumentality of the Amnesty programme.

The Conflict Resolution Theory is a four stage process, which enables group representatives to work towards resolving inter-group conflicts in a non-threatening, non-coercive and non-confrontational environment. It often paves the way for official negotiations by initiating attitudinal changes in public opinion and decision makers.

By applying the assumptions of Burton's Conflict Resolution Theory to the conflicts in the Niger-Delta Region and the Amnesty Programme, we mapped a way forward for the resolution of the crisis. The practical method and processes involved were what Joseph Montville defined as "an unofficial, informal intention between members of adversary groups that aim to develop strategies, influence public opinion, and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict." (Montville, 1991:86).

One of the key phenomenon of this method of Conflict Resolution strategies is to deal with protracted social conflict, a type of conflict based particularly on identity related needs of ethno-national or communal groups like those of the Niger-Delta Region. Azar discusses this conflict thus:

> *These identity groups, whether formed around shared ethnic, racial, cultural, or other characteristics, will act to achieve and insure their distinctive identity within a society. When they are denied physical and economic security, political participation, and recognition from other groups, their distinctive identity is lost, and they will do whatever is in their power to regain it. In short, this is the origin of Protracted Social Conflicts*(Azar, 1998:95).

The application of this type of Conflict Resolution mechanism, involves critical stages/processes that enable group representative to work towards resolving conflicts in a non-threatening, non-coercive and non-confrontational environment. This process paves the way for official negotiations by initiating attitude changes in public opinion and decision makers.

Other stages or processes of this theory presents some important conceptualizations, which help to create a sophisticated explanatory model of the situation in the Niger-Delta Region. Thus, this underscores a key assumption of this study that the use of the concepts of this theory (Conflict Resolution Theory) offers a comprehensive and balanced theoretical explanation of the Niger Delta conflicts and the Amnesty Programme proclaimed by government towards the resolution of the quagmire.

These processes include

Series of problem solving workshops, seminars or commissions:

i. These are designed to bring influential people from the respective factions (communities and government) in the conflict together to explore alternative means of defining their conflict. The goal is to transform their perception about the conflict from zero-sum to win-win (Cunningham, 1984:10).

These can be achieved through the process of facilitated meetings as part of the workshops. These workshops are facilitated by a panel of experts in negotiation, mediation, arbitration and conciliation. The facilitators do not seek to impose or even offer solutions to the conflict, their pre-occupation/purpose is to facilitate communications and gently guide to the participants towards changing their attitudes, perceptions themselves. The atmosphere is very conducive to bridge building and understanding.

Kelman (1991;146) believes that these focuses are essential in the process of attitude and perceptual change: for example

> *If both parties insist on possession of the same territory, they are boxed into a zero-sum definition of the conflict, whereby they look behind these positions, however, they may discover that one party wants the territory to satisfy its identity needs and the other to satisfy its national security and economic needs. Having redefined the conflict in these terms, they can begin to search for a solution that would allow the one to express its communal identity without jeopardizing the other's National Security and Economic interests* (Kelman, 1991:157).

These actions came to fore in the processes towards the resolutions of the Niger Delta Conflict.

ii. The second process is to influence public opinion and to change the attitudes and perceptions of the protagonist communities. These changes will be based on the alterations that were made by the disputants in the problem solving workshops. This according to Kelman is by no means a simple or automatic process, but one that takes time, and a great deal of perseverance and patience. Before the communities can be targeted, the workshop participants must first convince the decision makers in their communities of the veracity of their newfound perceptions. After this has been achieved, the wider communities can undergo a process of transformation. Mass communication, academic journals and conferences and special events can be very important in this process, since they help with perceptional changes.

iii. The third process is Cooperative Economic Development (CED) it is engaged as a means to enhance problem solving oriented conflict resolution. It is a cooperative venture whose good is to alleviate the worst material suffering of the contentious communities. It is usually directed toward the groups that had been perceived to have been historically neglected, victimized and underdeveloped like the Niger-Delta Region. In the Nigeria's Niger-Delta Region, Government's Amnesty programme was targeted to the teeming unemployed youths. It is this sub-group

that are the most involved in the conflict, crime and criminality in the region. They provide the richest armies to exploit and recruit for militancy.

Azar noted that:

> *Furthermore, the satisfaction of basic needs of the victimized (restive youths) either along communal lines or as part of a national strategy, should be the ultimate priority of government developmental policies* (Azar, 1990:101).

In the Niger-Delta Region, the Government's Amnesty Programmes provided the necessary succour for the teeming restive youths, by providing jobs to keep them busy and money in their pockets. The Government Policies of Derivation and 10% equity share of oil revenues to oil communities were intend to facilitate developments in the oil communities. It is very amazing how agreeable people can become once their needs have been satisfied. Tim Pat (2010) a reknown writer on conflicts, has noted the importance of job creation for success of peace process. He noted however that these material gains will not eliminate the conflict, but will help to alleviate it in the worst sections of the communities and it will provide people with tangible proof that can change and can work." (Tim Pat in Cunningham, 2010).

However, in most cases of Protracted Social Conflicts, the elites seek to bargain and manipulate in order that their constituencies can get the best deal possible. Although this is normal in international relations where permanent interest persists (Izah:1991) this will not be successful in solving the seemingly intractable cases of protracted social conflict. A precondition for successful negotiations between elites is the change in

perceptions. Kilman describes the results of workshops that he has participated in as a facilitator, thus:

> *I have been greatly encouraged by the extent to which the representatives of the two parties with whom we have been working have been able to discover common ground to conclude that there are potential negotiating partners on the other side and negotiable issues to consider, to recognize the occurrence of change and the possibility of further change, and to develop the sense guarded optimism that is required for movement towards conflict resolution* (Kelman, 1991:153).

These changes are essential in order to create a more positive environment in which substantial negotiations can take place. There is enough evidence of this happening in the Niger-Delta Region. The several conferences, committees, commissions and workshops organized by the Nigerian State that culminated to the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the Niger Delta Militants towards the management and/or resolution of the conflicts aptly fitted into these processes expatiated above by Kilman.

The changes have enabled the peace process to move forward. If the perceptions have changed significantly and strategically then this will aid the success of the current peace process. If these changes are superficial, then the process will undoubtedly fail. However, some antagonists of the amnesty programme hold this view.

Nevertheless, the Kilman's assertion underscores the relevance of the Conflict Resolution Theory as conceptual framework for analyses in this study and the rationalization of the Amnesty Programme of government as a panacea for peaceful resolution of the Niger Delta crisis. The Burton's Conflict Resolution Theory provides a

holistic approach to conflict resolution and offers the most comprehensive and objective explanation of Conflict Resolution. It recognizes negotiation and mediation as critical processes for the analytical accommodation of conflicting views in a non-coercive manner. As a relatively new and pioneering theoretical development, the theory remains outside the mainstream of the literature. It challenges the assumptions of western political thought that power is based and exercise through elites (Elites Theory) who established the norms of behaviour (Cunninghman, 1998: 101).

2.7.2 Conflict Management Strategies

Brett (1984), Brown (1992) and Lewicki et al (1992) focused on studying conflict resolution and conflict resolution strategies. Conflict management strategies have primarily been defined based on "assertiveness and cooperation". In the definition of conflict management strategies, assertiveness means a "concern for self" and cooperation means a "concern for others" (Thomas, 1976).

There are five conflict management strategies for dealing with these two concerns (Thomas, 1976, Derik 2012, Ann 2012), and they are presented in the following diagram.

Table 2.2: Conflict Management Strategies

High Concern for self	Dominating		Celebrating
		Compromising	
Low Concern for self	Avoiding		Obliging
	Low concern for others		High concern for others

Source: Thomas (1976), Derik (2012) & Ann (2012)

As shown in the diagram, an integrating management strategy involves a "high concern for self" and "high concern for others". A compromising management strategy involves a medium concern for self and medium concern for others. A dominating management strategy involves a high concern for self but low concern for others. An obliging management strategy involves a high concern for others and a low concern for self. An avoiding management strategy/style involves a low concern for self and low for others.

These five management styles have different characteristics and applications. Concern for self is assessed according to the degree of assertiveness motivated by interest in one's personal values, opinions and perceptions, whereas concern for others is explained as a degree of cooperativeness and consideration for other's interests, values, opinions and perceptions (Thomas 1976).Hence, conflict management methods will include the application of the various management strategies involving negotiation, mediation, arbitration, etc.

Blake and Meuton (1964) were pioneers in the study of interpersonal conflict and placed an emphasis on concern for self and concern for others. Concern for self is explained as the degree of assertiveness and individual shows in acting in their own interests, values, opinions and perceptions whereas concern for others is explained as the magnitude of cooperativeness involved in acting to protect the interests, values, opinions and perceptions of the other party. The two dimensions are further developed into five styles as noted earlier.

Noting that the five styles have their distinct characteristics and applications (Wall, 1995), each style is elaborated into detail below:

I. The Collaborating Style of Managing Conflict:

The collaborating style is characterized by a high concern for self and a high concern for others. It is a win-win approach to resolving conflicts. Since collaboration is needed to satisfy and accommodate the interests, values, opinions and perceptions of both parties; high problem solving skills are required to identify common needs. The satisfaction of the needs of both sides can improve the intergroup relationships and foster the development of mutual trust. The collaborating style can resolve the immediate conflict and significantly reduce frustrations and incidences that could further conflict. The real needs of both parties must be clearly identified and satisfied without major side effects. In order to achieve this the application of strategies must be undertaken in a systematic and appropriate way (Leung, 2010).

The collaborating style can be time-consuming and needs to be applied flexibly in different situations. There is no straightforward method to come up with collaboration in complex conflict situations. The proposers must analyse the available information and be fully in touch with the dynamics of the conflict. An understanding of the range of possible outcomes and their related effects on both parties is highly required. Hence, using this style is a complicated and sophisticated process.

Ann Hall (2012) affirmed that the results of using the collaborating style are positive as the strategy can achieve a balance of the interests of both sides and significantly improve the situation. In the context of our study, the members of the Presidential Committee of the Amnesty Programme for the Niger Delta Militants were the proposers of this style while the Militants were the opposing side. The Re-integrating strategy of Government for the Ex-Militants really worked towards the resolution of the conflict. So amongst the five Conflict Management strategies of Thomas (1985) the collaborating style is the most successful one. The parties need to be flexible and adjust or eliminate the unresolved issues, and develop an accurate and detailed analysis of the critical factors during the conflict resolution so as to protect the interests of both parties.

II. The Avoiding Style:

The avoiding style is characterized by a low concern for self and a low concern for others. Derik (2012) described it as a lose-lose approach. Low concern for self means that the individual takes no action to protect his/her own interests, values, opinions and perceptions. The avoiding style involves escaping after the occurrence of conflict but not the prevention of conflict. Escape, here is regarded as not resulting in any

improvement to the situation and does nothing to improve the situation causing the conflict.

The Avoiding Management Style contributes to the prevention of further conflict but does not help resolve the existing one. The existing conflict still happens and has a negative effect to the concerning parties, especially if it is a dysfunctional conflict. Avoiding just delays the consequences of the conflict in the short term. The avoiding style may not resolve or prevent future conflict because both parties just avoid the real cause of the present conflict and so the causes persist. The avoiding style delays the issue and provides time for those involved to consider a better management style to resolve the conflict. So, if the delay is good and constructive, it is appropriate for the situation. Until the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger Delta Region, the several pacific methods introduced by Government for the resolution of the conflict can be considered as an avoiding style of conflict management as it prevented the instant deterioration of the conflict.

In the Avoiding Style, the low concern for others means low consideration of others' welfare and hence a low chance for the satisfaction of the contending issues involved in the conflict. Since the other party will usually have certain level of expectation for satisfaction, a low concern for others will probably mean that the other party will be disappointed. A low concern for others would mean a poor understanding of the other party's Needs, and then poor relationships. Poor relationships will result in effective communication between the concerning parties.

As a result, the avoiding style can be regarded as a delaying tactic rather than a means of conflict resolution. The advantage of delaying the issue is to prevent a deterioration of the situation as no other appropriate conflict style can be applied correctly for the time being (Ann, 2012). The other advantage of the delay is that it enables the party who is avoiding to listen well and thereby identify the needs of the Other Party and this can help in planning the subsequent conflict management strategy. The disadvantage is loss of the opportunity for connection and effective communication and the continuance of the negative effects of the conflict (Ann, 2012). Therefore, it is not recommended that the avoiding style should be applied without thorough consideration. Its lose-lose aspect will imply no resolution and a loss of chance to improve the situation for both parties involved in the conflict.

III. The Dominating Style:

The dominating style is characterized by a high concern for self but a low concern for others. Self interest dominates this Conflict Management Strategy and there is little concern for cooperation with others. The self-interested, dominating style of conflict management can enable the parties to protect their interests, values, opinions and perceptions in the short run. However, the lack of consideration for others will result in an imbalance of interests in the long run.

In the context of the Niger Delta crisis, a low concern for "National Interest" demonstrated by the militants resulted in Government's dissatisfaction and further conflicts. Hence, the dominating conflict style cannot resolve conflict either in the sort term or long term (Leung, 2010: 44).

Since conflict management styles must balance the interests of both parties, the dominating style can only be used in the case of a high power situation. We saw this in action in the Niger Delta conflict; because the Government Security forces were more powerful than the militants, the powerful side applied the dominating style to balance its interests with those of the militants. Others have argued that this was manifested in the implementation of the Amnesty Programme (Soyinka, 2006). Here the militants were forced to conform with government's policy of Amnesty, hence the application of the Dominating Conflict Management Strategy by the Nigerian state. The disadvantages of low concern for others were not preoccupation, the Government's interests are recognized as being equivalent in importance to the needs or interests of others. The misinterpretation of the interests of others will induce faulty decisions among those who use this conflict management style (Hall, 2012).

Moreover, the uncooperative behaviour which characterizes the dominating Conflict Management Style implies a win-lose approach. The non-cooperation induces confrontation and easily becomes drivers of conflict. Hence, the high concern for self and the low concern for others will result in high payoff for others and low payoff for self. As this Conflict Management Style does not encourage substantial dialogue, it will definitely result in biased judgements conflict management in conflict situations. Consequently, when applying the dominating style during conflict resolution, the parties increase their powers as an imposing superior who holds more power due their positions or resources at their disposals. This was clearly evident in the proclamation and implementation of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger Delta Region.

IV. The Obliging Style of Conflict Management:

This style is characterized by a high concern for others and a low concern for self. The style involves compromise and cooperation with others and a lack of assertiveness about the individual party's own interests. It is described as a "lose-win approach" to conflict management. It involves capitulation and trade-offs to accommodate the needs and it is juxtaposed to the dominating style of conflict management or interests of others. Certainly, when the opposing party has great power, it is unwise to fight against it. This style involves one party sacrificing their interests, values, opinions and perceptions in the short run in order to relieve the tense atmosphere of conflict situations and probably results in long-term gains and /or dividends (better improved interpersonal relationships).

Therefore when the interests, values, opinions and perceptions of one party are not important or relevant in conflict situations, the obliging style can resolve the conflict. In relations to the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger-Delta Militants; it was a very important diplomatic policy by Government towards the resolution of the conflict. The interests of the Militants were considered despite its colossal costs. The obliging style requires the ability to understand and recognize the interests, values, opinions and perceptions of the opposing party.

However, it is worth-noting that as the opposing party's expectations increases, the obliging style may trigger increasing and even unreasonable demands in quality and quantity. These happened in the Niger Delta crisis, when the militants demanded for the unconditional release of Henry Okah from a South African prison and the withdrawal of Security Agencies in the Niger Delta before they would cease their hostilities and crime and criminalities in the region. Because this approach involves a low concern for self, the concerning party experiences a sense of low self-recognition. This Derik (2012) noted brings about a state of imbalance of interests between the two parties.

In consequence, the obliging style can serve the opposing party well but this also induces an imbalance of interests and the obliging party cannot bring an appropriate opinion and perspective to conflict management activities (Leung, 2010).

V. The Compromising Style of Conflict Management

This Style of Conflict Management means medium concern for self and medium concern for others. This style involves equal opportunities for self and others, and it is regarded by protagonists as "a win-win approach" (Leung 2010). However, this method

only results in the partial satisfaction of both parties. It balances the interests, values, opinions and perceptions of the two parties. The compromising aims at bringing about a compromise between the concerning party and the opposing party, hence negotiation skills are important during conflict management activities (Derik, 2012).

The compromising style by all standards is a reasonable strategy which balances the interests of the two sides both in short run and in long run. Either party would prefer to have their interests satisfied at the expense of other party. This style can relieve the harmful effects on either party. Since the costs and benefits resulting from conflicts shall be evaluated from time to time, the balancing or expected outcomes and opportunity costs resulting from decision-making during conflict management can be assessed.

In the material world, every one strives to satisfy their own interests by whatever means available, especially through competition. The compromising style is a skill which involves distributing resources in a mutually acceptable way. Compromise not only resolves conflict but it also identifies the critical needs of both parties. It is a very good way to balance self-interest with the consideration of other's needs. The Amnesty programme with its attendant Disarmament, Reorientation and Reintegration of the Niger Delta Ex-Militants is a compromising style of Conflict Management. This facilitated the enabling environment for the production and exploration of oil which greatly increases Government's revenue. The compromising style is a heuristic and fast way to resolve conflict and eliminates the harmful effects both in the short and long run.

2.7.3 Conflict Management Methods

The application of any of the five conflict management styles, or strategies as described above involves certain methods. There are five (5) methods and actions of negotiation, mediation, arbitration, consultation and communication. These will be considered in detail below.

2.7.4 Negotiation:

Negotiation is a skill in the process of conflict settlement (Negotiation Journal, 2003). Negotiation is the process of achieving understanding and mutual agreement in situations where differences arise between two or more parties (Dhanesh, 1988). Negotiation provides the opportunity to identify the need and clarify the resources of the parties. Hence the realistic goals of the parties would emerge. This helps in solving the conflict by specifying and expanding the resources. It is a way of settling conflict through the re-distribution of resources by the adjustment of the type and magnitude of resources. The purpose of negotiation is to handle the conflict in multiple perspectives in order to converge the differences through the development of common goals involving a better recognition of the situations of both parties (Negotiation Journal, 2003).

In particular, conflict can be arisen through oversimplification of the negotiation processes (Twemlow and Sacco, 2003, Derik and Ann, 2012). Such misjudgement is due to mistaken perceptions of the other's personality and intentions. The process of negotiation therefore needs an equivalence or what Zuckerman (2001) referred to as "quality of power", for the negotiation to be effective. The fundamental reason for negotiation is to bridge the gaps caused by misunderstanding and clarify differences.

Both parties can then resolve or settle the conflict in the light of mutual awareness. Hence, negotiation provides the opportunity to mutual agreement in settling conflict.

The Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger Delta region is a good public policy strategy for the enthronement of peace in the Niger Delta. This again shows that the rationale for the Amnesty Programme is to facilitate peaceful settlement of the Niger Delta conflicts. However, others have argued to the contrary.

Negotiation is the starting point of the mutual commitment to resolve the conflict, during negotiation, as is in the processes that led to the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme, the involved parties, that is, the Government Officials and the Militants, cultivate the sense of working together and bear the responsibility of resolving the conflict. Negotiation minimizes gaps of service expectations (demands) and service provision from both parties. In the compromising style of conflict management, negotiation is the common technique and skill used to balance the interest of both parties (Leung, 2010).

2.7.5 Mediation as a Conflict Management Method:

Mediation is used only when the cost and benefits of its application are justified, because it is expensive and time-consuming (Ann, 2012). However, it is very effective in resolution of major territorial (land) disputes.

Mediation can be applied in conflict resolution for reaching sustainable agreement (Susan, 2003). In the process of mediation, a mediator reaches a mutual and sustainable agreement through the assumptions of specified tasks and the procedure of

communication between the concerning parties in the conflict. This is critical in the Amnesty processes, hence justifying its rationale as instrumental to the management of the Niger Delta conflict.

However, it is noteworthy that the introduction of a mediator as a third part implies additional resources. When the other conflict management strategies of avoiding, dominating, obliging, compromising and integrating contribute little or nothing towards resolving conflict, the introduction of a third party (mediator) may be considered. Otherwise, the introduction of mediation right from the beginning of the conflict is a waste of resources.

The assumption of a neutral role of a mediator as a third party may be hard to apply in some cases because their neutrality may not convince the parties involved in the conflict. No wonder at a point the militants in the Niger Delta region were not convinced of the neutrality of the members of the presidential Amnesty Committee; hence they recommended the trio of Wole Soyinka, Henry Okah and Matthew Kukah to negotiate and mediate with Government on their behalf. It should be noted also that, if the frequency of conflict is high, the frequent use of mediation would be very expensive.

Do these tactics and strategies work? The answer is a qualified yes (Kressel and Pruitt (1989). They judge the median settlement rate to about 60% with a range between 20% and 80% (Bercovitch, 1989; Kressel, 1985; Kressel & Pruitt, 1985; Wagner, 1990). While this average is lower than one would like, we should bear in mind Schwebel's (1985) observation that mediation frequently attacks conflict causes; consequently, it is as much a preventive measure as it is one of resolution. Mediation frequently improves the

interaction between disputants. Specifically, it improves their communication (Kelly & Cugy, 1989; Shaw, 1985, 1986), reduces stress (Zarski, Knight & Zarski, 1985) and an occasion, which provides the disputants with problem-solving skills that they can rely upon in the future.

Looking at another indicator of success, we find the disputants' satisfaction with the mediation process to be quite high. Kressel and Pruitt (1989) report it is typically about 75% even for disputants who fail to reach agreement (Kelly & Gugy, 1989; Pearson & Thoennes, 1989; Roehl and Cook, 1989). Disputants tend to be satisfied with mediation because they retain control of the situation; mediation is inexpensive; usually it takes into consideration all aspects of the dispute; it allows for catharsis, with confidentiality; and in general, it is viewed as fair. These processes and tactics played a great role in the management of the Niger Delta conflict through the tactics of the Amnesty programme. Normally, because of Mediators' efforts and disputants' satisfaction with the processes, compliance with mediated agreements is typically very high, about 77% (Roehl & Cook, 1989; McEwen & Maiman, 1984, 1989).

2.7.6 Arbitration

The discussion on mediation underpins a concise report on arbitration. An arbitrator can employ any of the strategies or techniques used by a mediator. Hence arbitration also involved a neutral third party to arbitrate the conflict. The most powerful third party role is that of an Arbitrator (Agyris, 1990). He listens to the presentations of both sides, examines written materials and other evidences relating to a case, and then makes a determination of who is right and who is wrong or how a conflict should be

settled (Nathan, 1999). Usually, the arbitrator's decision is binding and cannot be appealed (Burton, 1997). Thus, he is the most powerful type of intermediary and/or third party. This approach works well when the parties simply want a settlement, and do not worry about loosing control of the process or the outcome (win-win). For parties that want to maintain control, however, the other forms of intervention (mediation, negotiation) are often preferred (Burton, 1997).

The disadvantages of extra resources, the requirement of mutually agreed authorization of the arbitrator together make arbitration a rare occurrence. Its complicated procedures and the need for a qualified arbitrator will make the application of arbitration not practical in conflict management. In addition, the cost of hiring an arbitrator may even be higher than paying a mediator. It is impossible to consider arbitration as a common method in any conflict management strategy.

2.7.7 Conciliation

Rather than mediating or arbitrating, the third party can provide conciliation (James, 1987, Webb, 1986). For the distinctions between negotiation, mediation, arbitration and conciliation there appeared to be more similarities than differences. Conciliation is less formal than negotiation, mediation and arbitration and is more voluntary. Conciliation gives less control to the third party and more to the disputants. In conciliation, the third party provides an informal communication link between the disputants and has a primary goal of improved relations, rather than settlement of the issue.

It involves a process in which the third party tries to bring the parties in conflict to agreement through improving communication between them, helping them interpret the issues that divide them, and exploring avenues towards a peaceful settlement. In this way the parties in conflict discover some mutuality of interest, which could be capitalized on for the resolution of the conflict.

James (1987) observed that conciliators not only let the disputants define and settle the issue; they also refrain from seeking information or judgment prior to the conciliation. There's evidence that conciliation (Blain & Goodman, 1987) do help to manage conflict. Yet because of its nonassertive nature, it seems less effective than mediation.

In summary, these processes and tactics as mentioned earlier played a great role in the management of the Niger Delta conflict through the instrumentalities of the Amnesty programme.

2.8 Critique of the Conflict Resolution Theory

As laudable as the major thrust of the conflict resolutiontheory are, it has some draw-backs viz.

a. The first critique to the Conflict Resolution theory was deduced from the "Realist Theory." It holds that parties in conflict cannot emphasize on "Jaw-Jaw" and "Low-Politics" in the actualization of aspirations and resolution of Conflicts. Instead, it upheld the believed in "War-War" and place emphasis on "high politics" over "low politics" in the resolution of Conflicts.

* Another critique of the Conflict Resolution theory came from the "Elites theory.,"It debunked the view that disputants can on their own agree to meet and interact in an conducive atmosphere devoid of threats and coersion to amicably resolve and/or settle the lssues at stake. Rather, it believed that only the elites can determine what to be done, where it should be done, when it should be done, how it should be done, who should do it and why it must be done.

c It was also noted that the Nomenclature (Conflict Resolution Theory)was ambitious and exaggerative (Borton, 1997) This is because of the reality that not all Conflicts can be successfully resolved.

d. That conflict management as a concept is limited to certain level of handling conflict (containment and suspension). It assumes that conflict cannot be resolved. There are cases when new conflicts erupts. Hence, the term management should be adopted.

e. That Conflict Resolution are directed at the problem rather than the parties in the conflict and their actions and practical steps.

f. That the meaning of "management" is narrower in conflict as compared to its other meanings. "All of what managers do or should do to achieve goals". This does not allow for adequate study of the content and dynamics of the conflict.

However, despite these drawbacks, the tenets of the Conflict Resolution Theory are robust enough and had served as theoretical framework for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods used in generating the primary and secondary data for this study. The Quantitative and Qualitative methods were adopted. These involved two sources of data collections (the primary and secondary sources of data). The primary sources involved the use of questionnaires, interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with respondents, while the secondary data were generated from library sources and current news items from magazines, newspapers, T.V., radio and the internet.

3.2 Questionnaire and Interviews

Instrumentation

The questionnaire was composite of five sections and it was comprised of mostly close-ended questions designed to obtain/elicit responses from respondents. The first section of the questionnaire, i.e. Section A deals with the demographies of respondents in terms of gender, marital status, gerontocracy, occupation, level of educational attainment, etc. Section B deals with the importance of oil resources to the national and regional prosperity, and the issue of bad governance. Section C of the questionnaire contained questions on the volatility of the Niger Delta Region due to the criminal activities of the militant groups and the militarization of the region by the Nigerian State.

Section D of the questionnaire bordered on the proclamation of the amnesty programme for militants in the region, the reasons for the change in approach, what the Amnesty Programme was, its basic tenets, conditions and how it was implemented, its constraints and achievements. Lastly, Section E comprised of questions exclusively for the Niger Delta Ex-Militants, such as the reason they joined militia groups, would they want to return to the creeks, their opinions on the huge resources allotted/given to the region through the derivation formula, etc.

Explicit from the questions in Sections B – D of this questionnaire were meant to examine the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme of Government for the Niger-Delta Militants vis-à-vis its significance to the relative peace and stability in the region. The interview questions were majorly five standard open ended questions robustly patterned as a follow up to the questionnaire to further investigate the respondents' responses, views, and attitudes. The researcher interviewed traditional rulers in Ogoni and Gbaramatu Kingdoms, Chairman, Presidential Amnesty Office and Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta Affairs, Ex Militant Leader, Ateke Tom and some youths/ex militants in Warri and Obubra. The researcher also interviewed Col. Musa Shehu (2IC) to Major General Sarki Muktar, Commander Joint Task Force – Operation Restore Hope in the Niger Delta; Mr. Levi Ajuonoma, Head, Public Affairs of the NNPC, Chief Adewale Sodeinde, Operations' Manager NNPC Warri Refinery and Mr. Timi Alaide who represented the Minister of Niger Delta, Mr. Godsday Orubebe. Focus Group Discussions were also conducted with some members of the House of Representatives in Rivers and Bayelsa.Major General Godwin Abbe and Alh. Asari Dokubo could not grant me interviews despite repeated checks at their Port Harcourt and

Abuja residences. The interviews and Focus Group Discussions had been transcribed and attached as appendices.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Sample refers to a portion of element taken from larger population; a sub-set of the population (Agresti and Finlay, 2008). The process of drawing these elements from the larger population is called sampling; while sampling plan specifies how many elements were drawn from the larger population and how the elements were drawn. In other words, the sampling plan constituted the processes that led to both the sample and the sampling plan itself (Odoh, 2005).

Sample Techniques were not mutually exclusive; often researchers combined them to help ensure a representative sample of the population (Iyoke et al., 2006). This type of sampling is called a Multi-Stage Sampling. It is a complex form of Cluster Sampling. It began first with the construction of one or more clusters, larger clusters were further sub-divided into smaller clusters; next, the researcher identifies which elements to sample within the clusters, and so on until they were ready to survey (Smith, 1983).

The Cluster Sampling technique and/or the Multi-Stage Sampling was adopted for this study. Thus, several levels of Clusters were constructed and larger clusters were sub-divided into smaller clusters before the final sample elements were drawn and/or reached. For example, a total population in a geographic region was determined; then the population was sub-divided into three States, then sub-divided into Senatorial Districts,

Local Governments, Wards, Villages and Streets. Thereon, the Systematic Random Sampling was used to survey the targeted population.

3.4 Determination of Sample Size

Survey research makes it possible to study large populations by examining samples drawn from larger populations. This study covered the Niger-Delta Region. Historically and cartographically the region consists of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States (Willink Commission Report 1957) but it now has nine States (Niger-Delta Regional Development Master Plan (NDRDMP), 2008, Asuni, 2009) with an area of 112,110 square-kilometres. It represented about 12% of Nigeria's total land surface area (W.B. Report 2005, Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan (NDRDMP) 2008). The 2006 National Census puts the population of the Niger Delta Region at 31,224,577.

There are several approaches to determining a sample size. These include using a census for small populations, imitating a sample size of similar studies, using published tables, and applying formulas to calculate a sample size (Yamane, 1967; Israel, 1992; Cochran, 1963; Smith, 1983). However, in this study we relied on "Published Table" and applying Yemane's formula (equation) to determine our sample size.

Table 3.1: Yemane's Published Table for determining Sample Sizes for ± 3%, ±5%, ±7%, and ± 10% precision levels where confidence level is 95% and p = 5.

Size of Population	Sample Size (n) for Precision (e) of:			
	±3%	±5%	±7%	±10%
500	A	222	145	83
600	A	240	152	86
700	A	255	158	88
800	A	267	163	89
900	A	277	166	90
1,000	A	286	169	91
2,000	714	333	185	95
3,000	811	353	191	97
4,000	870	364	194	98
5,000	909	370	196	98
6,000	938	375	197	98
7,000	959	378	198	99
8,000	976	381	199	99
9,000	989	383	200	99
10,000	1,000	385	200	99
15,000	1,034	390	201	99
20,000	1,053	392	204	100
25,000	1,064	394	204	100
50,000	1,087	397	204	100
100,000	1,099	398	204	100
>100,000	1,111	400	204	100

a = Assumption of normal population is poor (Yamane, 1967). The entire population should be sampled.

Source: Taro Yamane (1967:886).

The Yemen's published Table for calculation of sample size, provided for the sample sizes for a given combinations of precisions, Confidence levels and variability. Researchers were obliged to choose the Sample sizes in proportions to the populations of their areas of studies. To illustrate my case, the total population of the Niger-Delta States in accordance with the 2006 National Census was 31,224,577. Thus, I had to choose from the Table, a population greater than 100,000 (>100,000) at ±3% precision level where Confidence level is 95% and P=5. Hence, a sample size of 1,111 was chosen at ±3% precision level.

To confirm if the data provided by the Table above agreed with the results of the equation provided by Yamen to calculate sample size; I employed the formula for the equation thus:

Equation 1:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

$$= \frac{31,224,577}{1+31,224,577\times(0.03)^2=0.03\times0.03=0.0009}$$

$$= \frac{31.224,577}{1+28,103.1193} = \frac{31,224,577}{28,103.1193}$$

= 1,111,07157417

= 1,111

Going by this formula for calculation of sample size with 3% error (97% Confidence level) the sample size of 1,111 was determined from the total population of 31,224,577. This agreed with the table earlier presented. Thus, the sample size for this study was 1,111.

3.5 Recruitment and Orientation/Training of Research Assistants

It was practically impossible for one person to conduct a regional survey of such magnitude within the framework of limited time and resources. Similarly, noting that the geographical terrain of the Niger Delta (Creeks, Swamps and Rivers) makes logistics and/or movements risky, difficult and expensive; some assistance were sine-qua-non.

On arrival in Port Harcourt on Wednesday 14th Nov. 2012; the researcher checked into a hotel and made the necessary arrangements for the recruitment and training of research assistants. The next day, 15th Nov. 2012, the researcher proceeded to the University of Port Harcourt where he recruited and trained nine (9) research assistants. The research assistants were students in the Department of Political Science and Administration, University of Port Harcourt. The Research Assistants were from Ijaw, Itsekiri, Isoko, Ibo and Efik. These natves were chosen because they were the dominant ethnic groups in the region (Tamuno, 2012, Willinks Commission Report, 1957, NDRDMP, 2008). The Research Assistants were very fast in understanding the training on the acts of survey research. We commenced the training at 8.00am and closed at 5.00pm on Friday, 16th November, 2012. The next day, Saturday, 17th November, 2012, we did some series of demonstrations. After the exercise, the researcher was convinced that we were ready for the field work. The actual field work started on Monday,

19th November 2012 in the fifty designated streets. Two research assistants were assigned to a Street. They covered three (3) Streets in a day. Thus, in a day, twelve Streets were covered and 360 questionnaires distributed. It took us 4 days to administer 1,440 questionnaires and the remaining sixty (60) copies were administered the next day. On the 18th and 21st Nov. 2012,the researcher and one of the research assistant went to Warri and Obubra Camp of the Ex-militants for interviews and FGD.

Table 3.2: Population Figures of the Niger-Delta States by 2006 Census

State	**Land Area (Square kilometer)**	**Total**	**Capital City**
Abia	4,877	2,833,999	Umuahia
Akwa-Ibom	6,806	3,920,208	Uyo
Bayelsa	11,007	1,703,358	Yenagoa
Cross River	21,930	2,888,966	Calabar
Delta	17,163	4,098,391	Asaba
Edo	19,698	3,218,332	Benin
Imo	5,165	3,934,899	Owerri
Ondo	15,086	3,441,024	Akure
Rivers	10,378	5,185,400	Port Harcourt
Total	**112,110**	**31,224,577**	

Source: 2006 Nigeria Census Data Compiled by Nigerian Muse.com (www.nigerianmuse.com) and the Niger Delta Region Development Master Plan (NDRDMP), 2006

Using the Multi-stage sampling adopted for this study, these nine Niger Delta States were further sub-divided into smaller clusters of three States as shown in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Three Niger Delta States' Clusters

States	**Capitals**
Bayelsa	Yenagoa
Delta	Asaba
Rivers	Port Harcourt

Employing the tenets of the Multi-Stage Sampling, these three States were sub-divided into Senatorial Districts Clusters as presented in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Nine Senatorial Districts' Clusters

Bayelsa	Central Senatorial Districts
Bayelsa	East Senatorial Districts
Bayelsa	West Senatorial Districts
Delta	Central Senatorial Districts
Delta	North Senatorial Districts
Delta	South Senatorial Districts
Rivers	East Senatorial Districts
Rivers	South East Senatorial Districts
Rivers	West Senatorial Districts

Using the Multi-Stage Sampling Model, these Senatorial Districts' clusters were further sub-divided into smaller clusters of Local Governments "Local Governments' Clusters". This was presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Local Government Clusters

States	Local Government Areas
Bayelsa	Brass, Ekeremor, Kolokuma/Opokuma, Nembe, Ogbia, Sagbama, Southern Ijaw, Yenagoa.
Delta	Aniocha North, Aniocha South, Ika North East, Ika South, Ndokwa East, Ndokwa West, Oshimili North, Oshimili South, Ukwuani, Okpe, Ethiope East, Ethiope West, Sapele, Ughelli North, Ughelli South, Uvwie, Udu, Bomadi, Burutu, Isoko North, Isoko South, Warri North, Warri South, Warri South East, Patani.
Rivers	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, Ahoada West, Ahoada East, Abua/Odual, Degema, Akuku-Toru, Asari-Toru, Bonny, Port Harcourt, Ikwere, Okirika, Ogu/Bolo, Obi/Akpor, Etche, Omuma, Emohua, Opobo/Nkoro, Andoni, Oyigbo, Tai, Eleme, Khana, Gokana.

The three clusters were sub-divided into Local Governments, which produced fifty six (56) clusters; thereafter the Local Governments were further sub-divided into smaller clusters to form ward-clusters. This gave us a total of 1,120 wards. These "Ward-Clusters" were further sub-divided into Villages. Thereafter the villages were subdivided into smaller clusters to form the Streets' clusters. At that stage, the Systematic Random Sampling was used to randomly select every "5^{th} Street" in the areas chosen. E.g after the 5^{th} Street was randomly selected; the next Streets were identified thus: 10^{th}, 15^{th}, 20^{th}, 25^{th}, 30^{th}, 35^{th} etc. This approach was adopted in the total area sampled and a total of fifty (50) Streets were chosen.

However, it was realized that some houses in some of the Creeks and Villages surveyed were not perfectly organized into Streets ; hence, with the assistance of some Community leaders some number of Compounds and/or houses, thirty (30) in such instance, were designated and grouped to constitute a Street. This concurred with provisions of the Department of Rural and Urban Development of the Local Governments on the matter.

Table 3.6: Names of Street Clusters

S/N	Streets
1	Okaka
2	Kpasia
3	Yenagoa
4	Edepie
5	Yenizue Epie
6	Amarata
7	Ebis
8	Etegwu
9	Bendel Estate
10	Asheshe Street
11	Japka
12	Ekpan
13	Edjeba
14	Warriani
15	P.T.I. Road
16	Uti
17	Effunun
18	COE
19	Niger
20	Nwagu
21	Harmony
22	Rumuonumiri
23	Kolokuma
24	Borokipei
25	Diobu
26	Rumoudunanya
27	Agip
28	Etepiye
29	Kpanshan
30	Egbogene
31	Azikoro
32	D.S.P. Alaniesiya
33	Olokomo
34	Warri

35	Jasper
36	Ateke
37	Rumuomasi Eke
38	Rumuomasi Opia
39	Olokori
40	Mika
41	Oknea
42	Otei
43	Osei
44	Omini
45	Komari
46	Shedemi
47	Okpobo
48	Akakabo
49	Ologidi
50	Rivers

In each of the streets there were average number of thirty (30) compounds; hence we administered thirty (30) questionnaires, one to each adult (male or female) in a compound on a street. Mathematically, that brought to a total of one thousand, five hundred (1,500) questionnaires administered to respondents. Out of these, one thousand three hundred and twenty five (1,325) questionnaires were returned, while 175 questionnaires were not returned. This represented 88.3% of the return rate and 11.7% of non return rate. This validated the processes and made our sample representative and generalizable.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

The analysis of data for the study involved the use of a combination of descriptive as well as statistical techniques which are presented in form of tables, percentages and

frequencies. This method is believed to help organize, describe and represent data in logical ways.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA ON THE EXAMINATION OF THE AMNESTY PROGRAMME FOR MILITANTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA

4.1 Introduction

The violence and mayhem, perpetrated by the militants in the Niger-Delta presented great security concern for the region, the Nigerian State and its collaborators (Oil Multi-National Companies) and the entire West Africa sub-region. Consequently, the Nigeria State under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in 2009 adopted the Amnesty Programme for the resolution of the protracted conflicts which had defied all measures implemented by successive administrations in Nigeria since de-colonization in 1960.

Thus in this section of the study, the data generated and/or gathered from survey research on the Problematique will be presented and analysed.

To ensure efficient academic presentation and analysis, it was imperative to decompose or dichotomize this chapter into sections. This organization willassist in reflecting the respondents' views or opinions as recorded in the questionnaires and the focus group discussions.

Section one was the introduction while section two was the administration of questionnaires, presentation and analysis. Sections three, four and five showed analysis of data vis-à-vis the research questions, objectives and propositions adopted for the study. Lastly, the chapter was concluded with the presentation of major findings of the research.

4.2 Questionnaires Administration Analysis

In this section, the questionnaires administered were analysed in consonance with rates of return, and non-return. Other issues relating to demographics like sex, marital status, age, occupation, grade levels (where applicable), level of educational attainment of respondents were also critically analysed.

4.2.1 Rates of Return and Non-Return or Respondents' Profile

As detailed in chapter one of this work, the area studied was the Niger-Delta Region. It has a total population of 31,224,577 (NDRDMP, 2009). The sample size determined for this research work was 1,111 respondents using the Yamane (1964) published Table and equation. A total of 1,500 questionnaires were distributed based on the multi-stage sampling technique and the systematic sampling model as explained in the methodology of this study in chapter three.

Out of the 1,500 questionnaires that were distributed to respondents, a total of 1,325 were returned, representing 88.3% return rate, while 175 questionnaires were not returned, representing 11.7% of non return rate. The intended respondents must have been constrained by certain factors or felt that they were not adequately aware of the substance of the questionnaire or they were simply reluctant to respond. Inspite of this the return rate was adequate enough and acceptable for comprehensive analysis and empirical generalization. The rates of return and non-return by respondents were presented in Table 4.1 below, which contained areas sampled (total population) in square kilometers, number of questionnaires administered, number returned, number of non-returned and the percentages of return and non return rates.

Table 4.1: Determination of Sample Size and Rates of Returns/Responses of Questionnaires Distributed

Area Studied	Total Population	Square Kilometre	Questionnaires Administered	No. Returned	No. Not Returned	% of Return	% of Non-Return
Niger-Delta Region scoped to three Niger-Delta States of Bayelsa, Rivers and Delta	31,244,577	110,112	1,500	1,325	175	88.3	11.7

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November, 2012

The table aboveexposed the high return rate of respondents which validated and gave credence to the research findings.,

4.2.2.DemograhicVariablesofRespondents.

These are personal statistics that includes such information as Sex Distribution, Marital Status, Age Disribution, Occupations, Grade levels and Level of Educational Attainment etc of Respondents. Demographic Variables are important indices on Respondents' Profiles. The Demograhic Variables for this Study hadbeen presented, analysed and attached as Appendix .

4.2.8 Nigeria's Main Source of Foreign Exchange

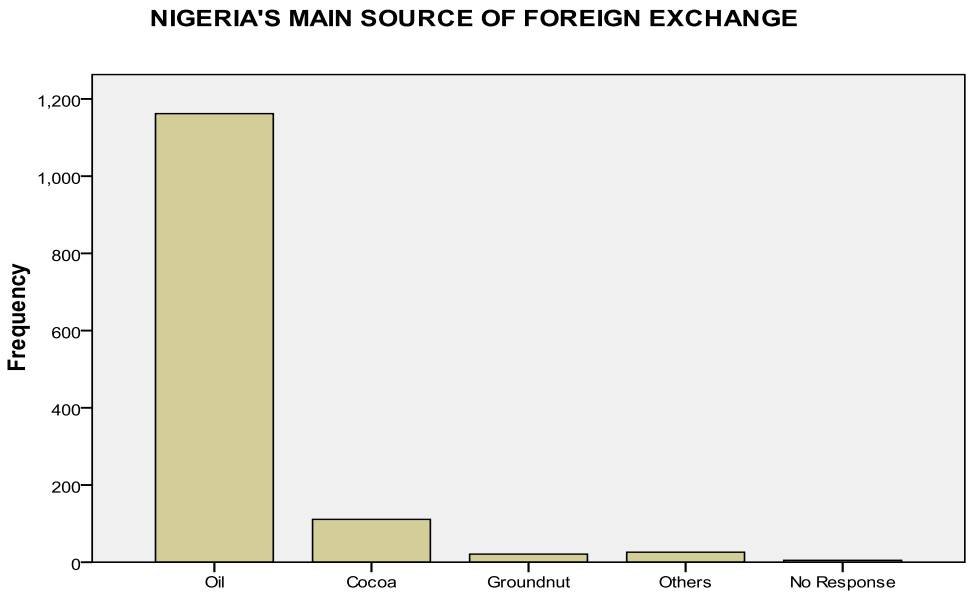
Nigeria has several mineral resources; however, the Nigerian Government seems to depend largely on investment in oil resources. An enquiry was made through the questionnaires administered on what constituted the main source of foreign exchange earnings for the country. Indicators in table 4.8 explained this view.

Table 4.8: Nigeria's Main Source of Foreign Exchange

	Frequency	**Percent**
Oil	1162	87.7
Cocoa	111	8.4
Groundnut	21	1.6
Others	26	2.0
No Response	5	.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.8



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

It was very clear from the table and frequency distribution above that there was overwhelming response on oil as Nigeria's main source of foreign exchange earnings. One thousand, one hundred and sixty seven (1,167) respondents, representing 88.1% attested to this, while the cumulative respondents, totaling one hundred and fifty eight (158) representing 12.0 answered otherwise. This dominant view is valid,oil resourcesrepresented 95% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earning. This had earlier been supported by the annual reports of the CBN and the NNPC, respectively.

Hence, any disruption of oil production and destruction of oil facilitirs the Niger Delta will ultimilately affects the Nation'sRevenue Profile. Similarly, any cut and/or reduction of oil prices at the ibternationl market will affects Nigeria's Foreign Exchange Earnings.This agrees with some views of respondents expreesed in the qualitative data,

Mittee Mittee (2012); Ajouonoma (2013); and Kuku (2013}, that oil is the main source of Nigeria's Foreign Exchange Earnings.

4.2.9: Main Complaints of the Niger Delta Communities

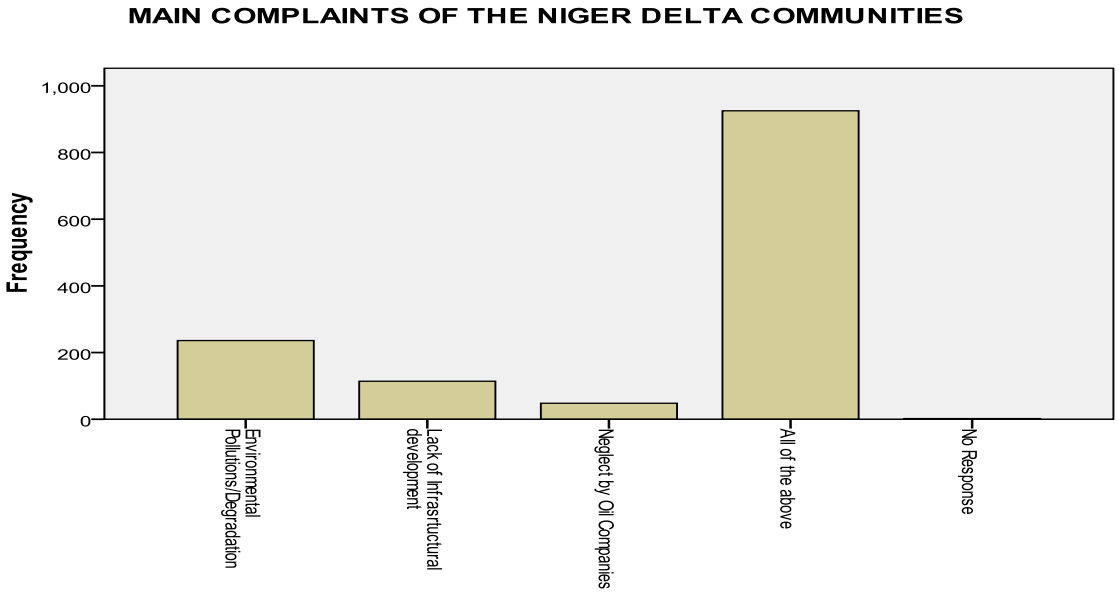
Several commentators and analysts on the plights of the oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta Region have attributed the main complains of the Niger-Delta communities to plural factors; an enquiry was made through the questionnaire on this matter. The opinions of respondents were displayed in table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Main Complaints of the Niger Delta Communities

	Frequency	**Percent**
Environmental Pollutions/Degradation	236	17.8
Lack of Infrastructural development	114	8.6
Neglect by Oil Companies	48	3.6
All of the above	925	69.8
No Response	2	.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.9:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The statistics on the table depicted that environmental pollutions and/or degradation, lack of infrastructural development, neglect by oil companies were the main complains of people in the Niger-Delta communities. The majority of respondents, nine hundred and twenty-five (925) representing 69.8% confirmed this view. Similar postulations in chapters one of this study had supported the prevalence of these phenomena in the Niger-Delta communities. Similarly, the views expreesed by some Stakeholders,Wiwa (2005); ;Alaide (2012); Kuku (2013) and Moro (2008) supported this assertion.

4.2.10 The demand for resource control was borne out of the neglect of oil companies, Local, State and Federal Governments

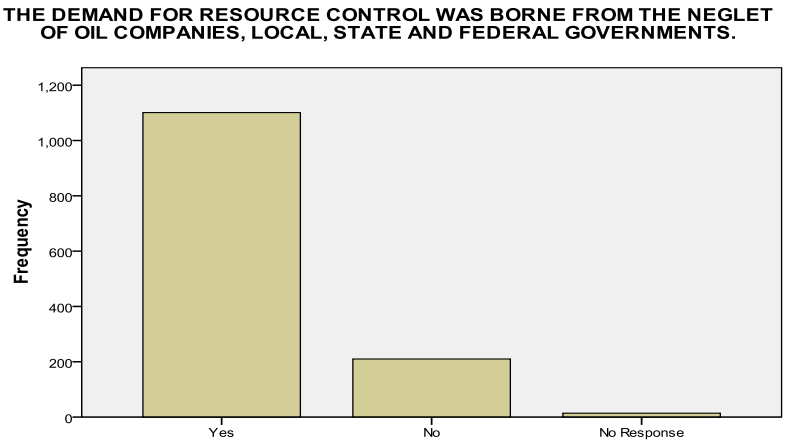
Competition for resources and other factors were some of the reasons that made the debate on "Resource Control" by the political leaders in the Niger-Delta Region topical in Nigeria. Table below presents the analysis of respondents.

Table 4.10: The demand for resource control was borne out of the neglect of oil companies, local, state and federal governments

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1101	83.1
No	210	15.8
No Response	14	1.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.10:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Despite the constitutional arrangements on this matter some critics of government in the oil producing states were of the view that they are entitled to a larger share of the oil resources because the oil money is produced in their backyards and the multi-national oil companies dong business in the region and the respective Local and State Governments in the region had collaborated with the Federal Government to neglect the region in terms of environmental cleanliness, poverty alleviation, provision of basic representing 83.1% gave affirmative response, while 210 respondents, representing 15.8% answered to the negative and fourteen (14) respondents, representing 1.1% did not answer. The basic argument advanced by Dafinone (2008) on the issue of Resource Control gave credence to this view.

4.2.11 Have the Government of the Niger-Delta States judiciously used the funds allocated for the benefit of the Niger-Delta people?

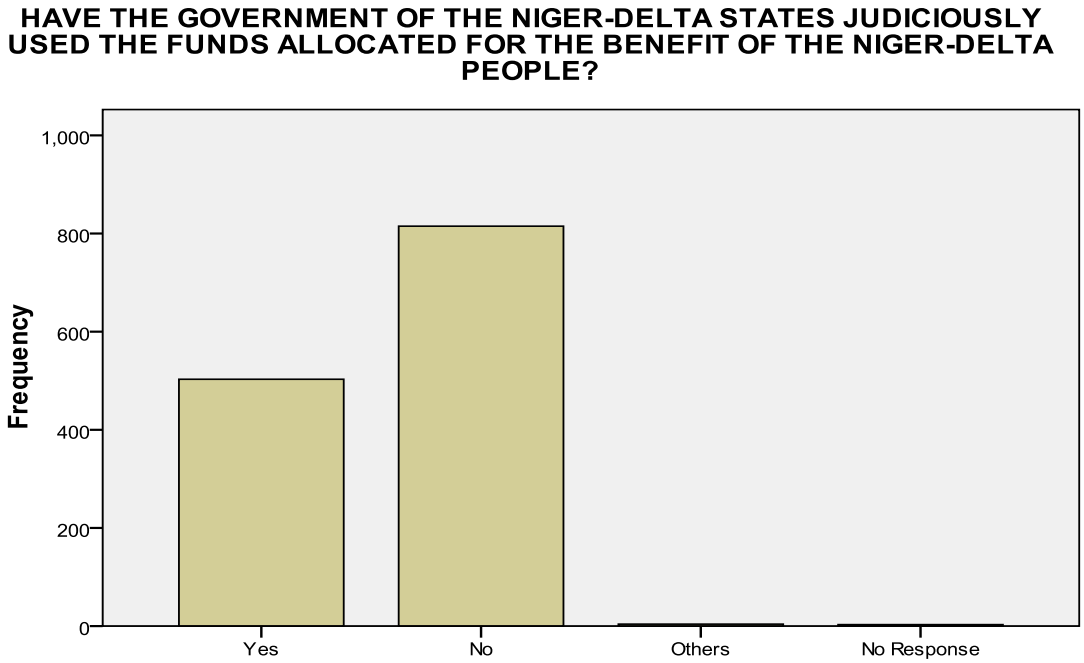
The nine oil producing states in the country were paid 13% derivation fund and 10% equity shares from oil companies for the development of their states and the oil producing communities who bore the direct brunt of the activities of the oil companies in the region. Respondents were requested to specifically state their opinions. Table 4.11 below provided the respondents on the judicious use of funds allocated for the benefits of the Niger-Delta people.

Table 4.11: Have the government of the Niger-Delta States judiciously used the funds allocated for the benefit of the Niger-Delta people?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	503	38.0
No	819	61.8
No Response	3	.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.11:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The above table projected that 819 respondents out of the 1,325 investigated, said the governments of the Niger-Delta States have not judiciously used the funds allocated to the states for the benefits of the Niger-Deltans. The popular opinion expressed here is that public funds were largely mismanaged and fraudulently embezzled by some political leaders of the Niger-Delta States. The "ALAMS" saga was a case in point or reference; this category of respondents represented 61.8%. However, 503 respondents representing 38.0% were in agreement that funds allocated to the Niger-Delta State were judiciously used for the benefit of the Niger-Delta people. This view though cogent, but it cannot hold because it is a minority view. Three respondents, representing .2% did not react to the question.

4.2.12 Failure of governance had made the Niger-Delta to become the proverbial "Goose that lays the Golden Egg" but was left to malnourished and impoverished.

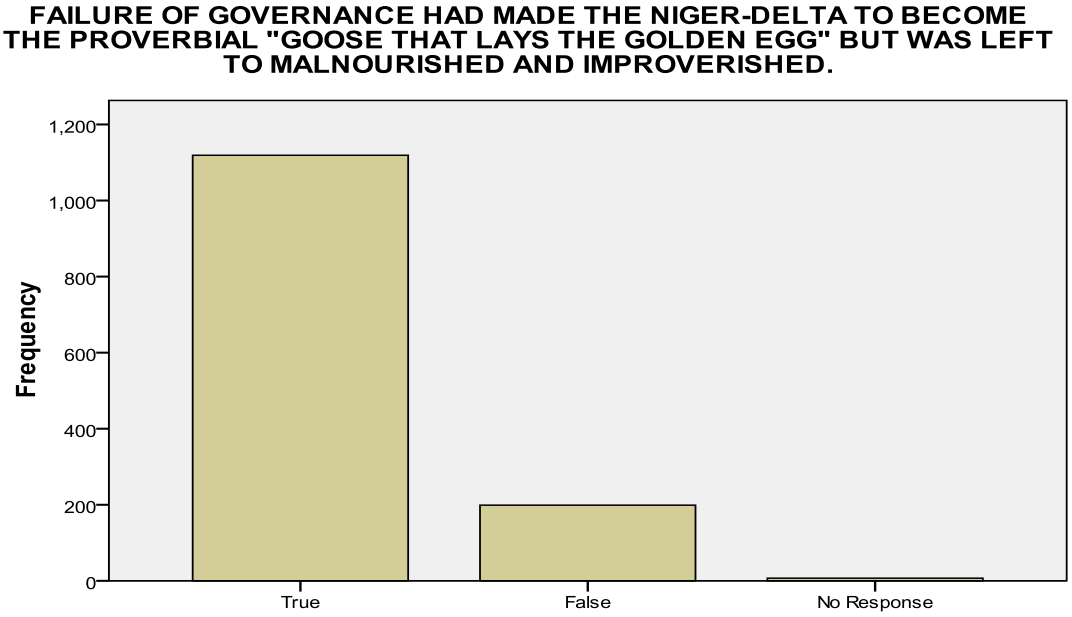
Respondents were asked on the failure of Governance in the Niger-Delta and whether it was one of the reasons for the poverty and underdevelopment of the region despite the huge oil wealth in the region. The outcome was presented in table 4.12 below.

Table 4.12: Failure of governance had made the Niger-Delta to become the proverbial "Goose that Lays the Golden Egg" but was left to malnourished and impoverished.

	Frequency	**Percent**
True	1119	84.5
False	199	15.0
No Response	7	.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.12:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

It was evident from the above table that most of the respondents, 1,119 of them, representing 84.5% said it was true, while 199 respondents, representing 15% said it was false and seven respondents, representing .5% did not answer the question. Opinions of respondents deduced from some of the qualitative data further buttressed this point.

4.2.13 That the Violent Agitations by the Niger-Delta Youths and the Formation of Militant Groups and Their Attendant Activities led to the Militarization of the Region by the Nigeria State

Under this section, respondents' opinions were sought on the reasons for the militarization of the Niger-Delta region by the Nigerian State and on the "phrases" that

best described the situations in the Niger-Delta region before the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme. Table 4.13 carried the responses.

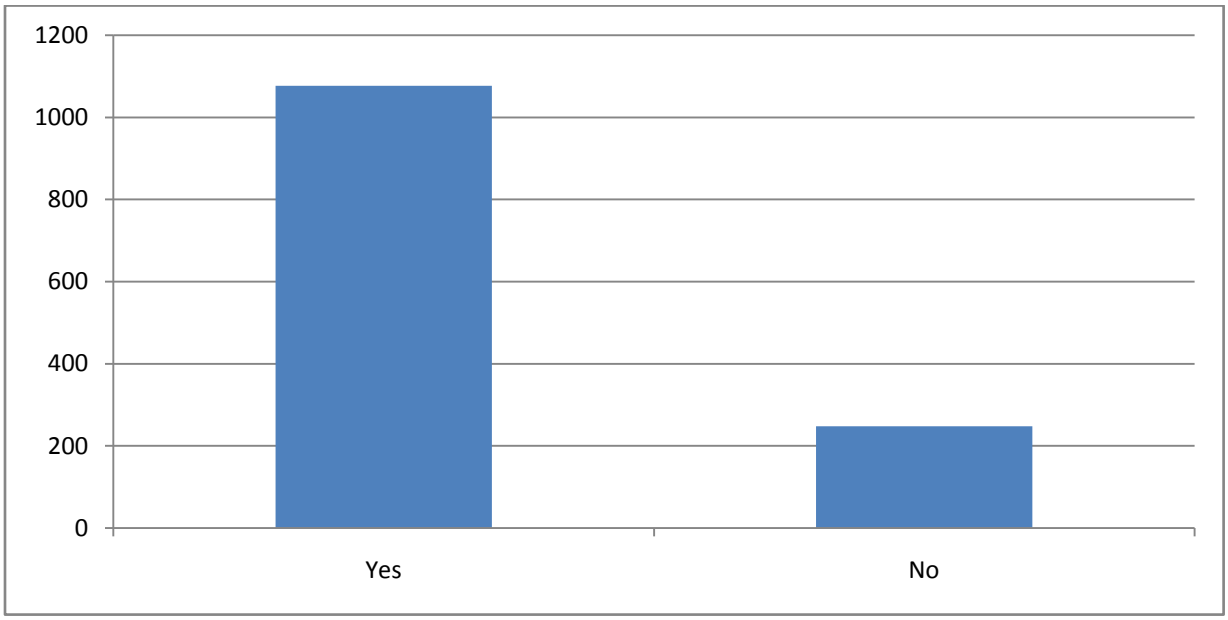
Table 4.13: That the Violent Agitations by the Niger-Delta Youths and the Formation of Militant Groups and Their Attendant Activities led to the Militarization of the Region by the Nigeria State

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1077	81.3
No	248	18.7
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.13:

That the Violent Agitations by the Niger-Delta Youths and the Formation of



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

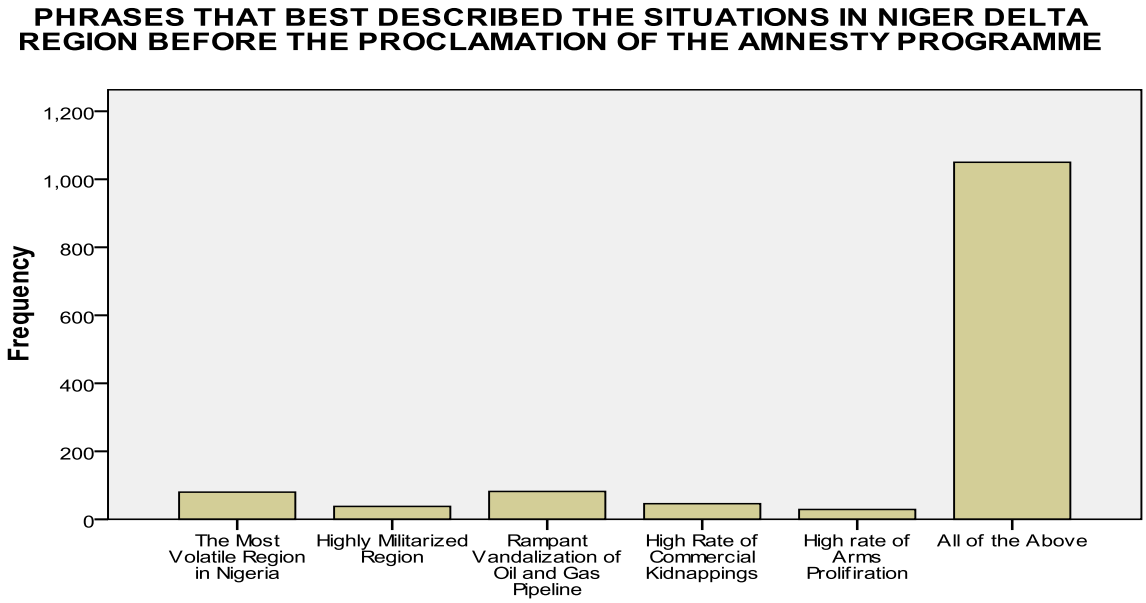
The table above exposed that the majority of respondents, totaling 1077, representing 81.3% said "Yes", while 248 respondents representing 18.7% said "No".Practically, it was obvious that with the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme, violence reduced drastically in the Niger Delta and the Military's Joimt Tax Force, Operation Restore Hope in the Niger Delta were gradually withdrawn from some Communities

Table 4.14 Phrases that best described the situations in Niger Delta Region before the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme

	Frequency	**Percent**
The Most Volatile Region in Nigeria	80	6.0
Highly Militarized Region	38	2.9
Rampant Vandalization of Oil and Gas Pipeline	82	6.2
High rate of Arms Proliferation	29	2.2
All of the Above	1050	79.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.14:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

From the above table, 80 respondents, representing 6.0% said the "Niger-Delta was the most volatile region in Nigeria", before the Amnesty Programme was proclaimed, while 38 respondents, representing 2.9% said the situation was "highly militarized", yet still, 82 respondents, representing 6.2% said the situation entailed rampant vandalization of oil and gas pipelines; 46 respondents, representing 3.5% said thesituation involved "high rate of commercial kidnappings". However, 29 respondents, representing 2.2% said there was "high rate of arms proliferation in the Niger Delta", and a majority of 1,050 respondents representing 79.2% said the situations given in all the options" existed in the Niger-Delta region before the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme.

4.2.14 Opinions of respondents on whether Niger Delta Militants were"environmental activists", "criminals and saboteurs" or “self acclaimed agitators”

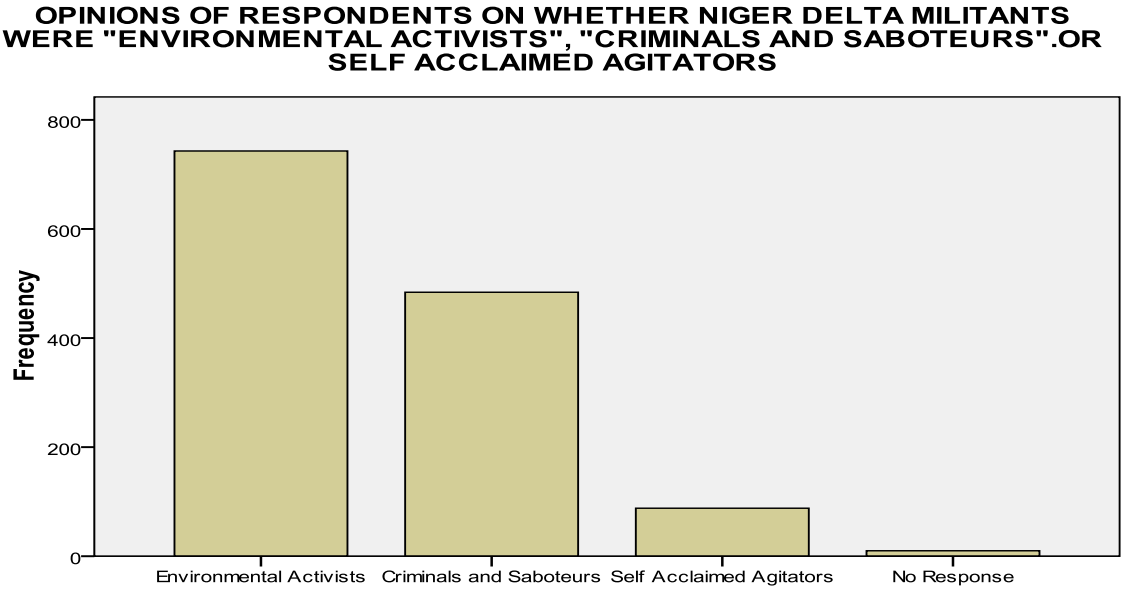
To enable the researcher know the opinions of respondents on whether the Niger-Delta militants were “Environmental Activists”, “Criminals and Saboteurs” or “Self Acclaimed Agitators”, the respondents were asked to give their candid opinions on the matter. Table 4.15 below gave a vivid picture.

Table 4.15: Opinions of respondents on whether Niger Delta Militants were "Environmental Activists", "Criminals and Saboteurs" or “Self Acclaimed Agitators”

	Frequency	**Percent**
Environmental Activists	743	56.1
Criminals and Saboteurs	484	36.5
Self Acclaimed Agitators	88	6.6
No Response	10	.8
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher’s Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.15:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

In the above table, the majority respondents of 743, representing 56.1% were affirmative that the militants in the region were "Environmental Activists", 484 respondents, representing 36.5% said they were "Criminals and Saboteurs", while, 88 respondents representing 6.6% said they were "Self Acclaimed Agitators", and 10 respondents representing .8% did not respond.

4.2.15 What do you think the activities of the militants created and/or caused in the Niger Delta Region?

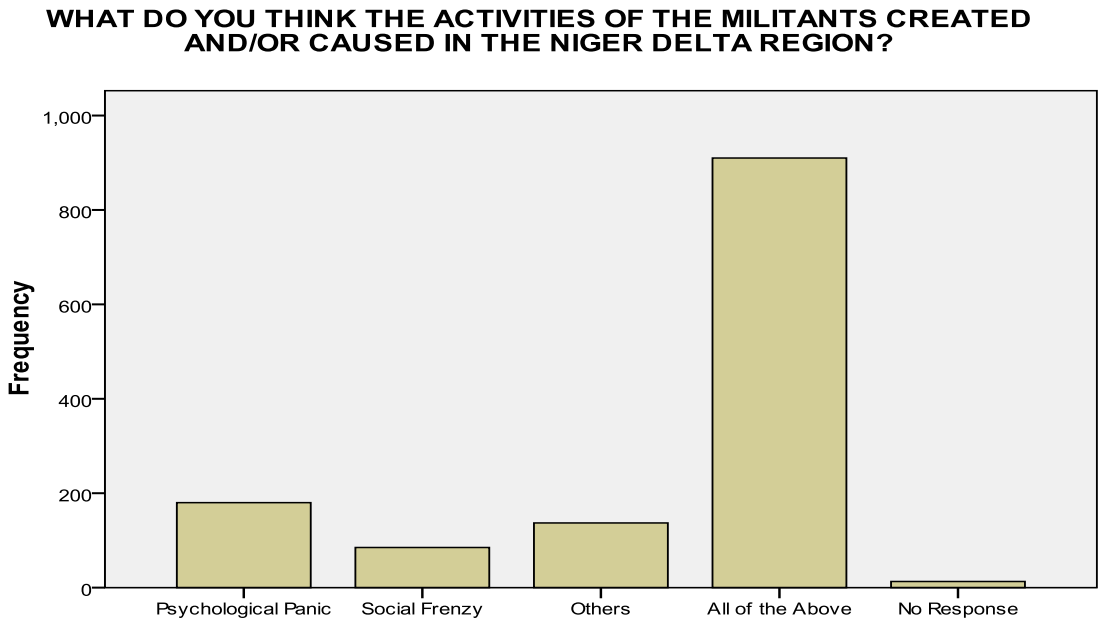
The activities of the militants in the Niger-Delta became serious concern to all peace lovers; the respondents were asked to give their views on the matter. The table below explained the situation.

Table 4.16: What do you think the activities of the militants created and/or caused in the Niger Delta Region?

	Frequency	Percent
Psychological Panic	180	13.6
Social Frenzy	85	6.4
Others	137	10.3
All of the Above	910	68.7
No Response	13	1.0
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.16:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The above table indicated that 180 respondents, representing 13.8% believed that the activities of the militants caused "psychological panic" in the region; 85 respondents representing 6.4% said the activities of the militants caused "social frenzy", while 137 respondents, representing 6.4% said the activities of the militants caused other security issues and 910 respondents which were the majority, representing 68.7% said all the options given can be linked to the activities of the militants in the Niger-Delta region. However, 13 respondents, representing 1.0% did not record any response. This agrees with the views of Professor, Don Baridam (2012), the former Vice Chancellor of the University of Port-Harcourt,who said the Militants acted like criminals, perpetrating naferious activities to enrich themselves; their crimes and criminalities caused Social

panic, Psychological trauma with attendant constanations in some parts of the Niger Delta .

4.2.16 Respondents' opinions on the most prominent militia group in the Niger Delta

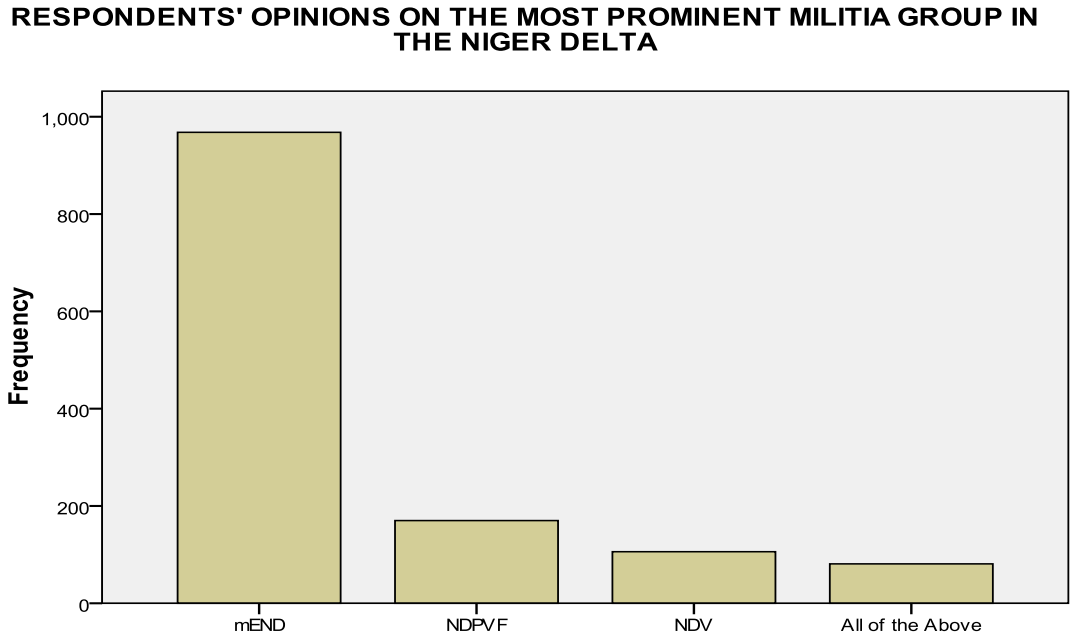
Noting the pedigree of some of the leaders of the militia groups in the Niger-Delta, the researcher requested to know which was the most prominent militia group in the Niger Delta. The respondents' views were analyzed in table 4.16 below.

Table 4.17: Respondents' opinions on the most prominent militia group in the Niger Delta

	Frequency	**Percent**
MEND	968	73.1
NDPVF	170	12.8
NDV	106	8.0
All of the Above	81	6.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.17:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The data presented and analysed on the above table revealed that "MEND" was the most prominent militia group in the Niger-Delta, 968 respondents attested to this, representing 73.1%, while 170 respondents, representing 12.8% said the "NDPVF" was the most prominent. Furthermore, 106 respondents, representing 8.0% were of the view that the "NDV" was the most prominent militia group. But it was intriguing to note that 81 respondents, representing 6.1% agreed that the "MEND, NDPVF and NDV", were all very prominent militia groups in the Niger-Delta.

4.2.17 Respondents' opinions on the four most influential militant leaders in the Niger Delta recognized by Federal Government

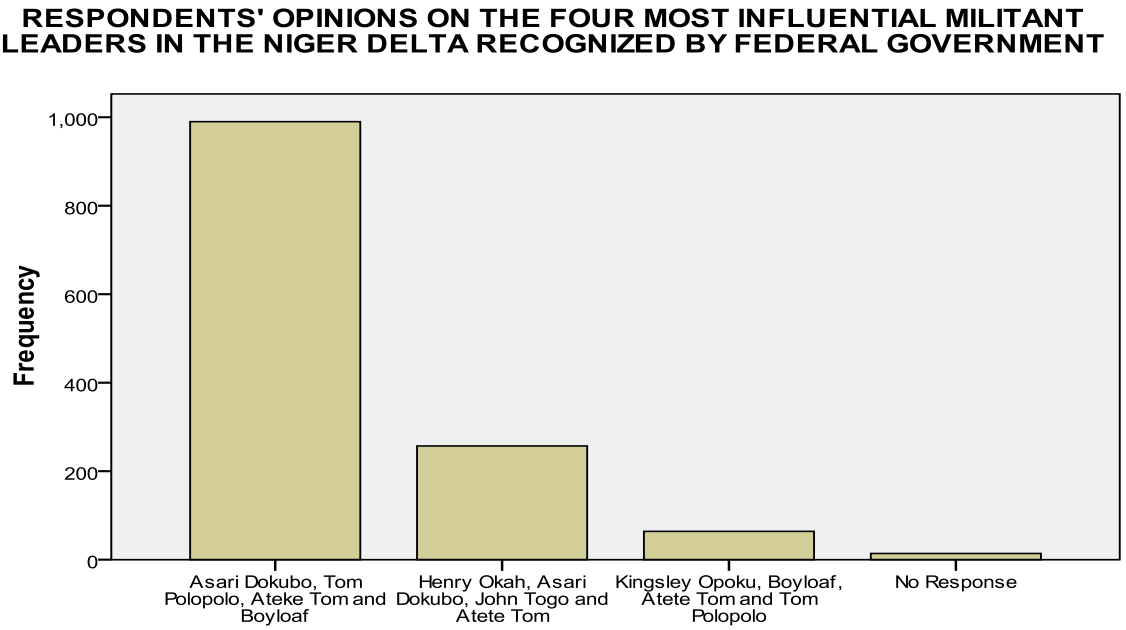
Respondents were requested to give their opinions on who were the four (4) most influential militant leaders in the Niger-Delta region. This was summarized in the table below.

Table 4.18: Respondents' opinions on the four most influential militant leaders in the Niger Delta recognized by Federal Government

	Frequency	**Percent**
Asari Dokubo, Tom Polopolo, Ateke Tom and Boyloaf	990	74.7
Henry Okah, Asari Dokubo, John Togo and Atete Tom	257	19.4
Kingsley Kuku, Boyloaf, Atete Tom and Tom Polopolo	64	4.8
No Response	14	1.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.18:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

It was very lucid from the data presented and analysed for the above table that "Alhaji Mujahid Asari Dokubo, Tom Polopolo, Ateke Tom and Boyloaf, were the four most influential militant leaders in the Niger-Delta region. 990 respondents said so, representing 74.7%. Other respondents totaling 257, representing 19.4% said, "Henry Okah, Asari Dokubo, John Togo and Ateke Tome", were the most influential militant leaders, and 64 respondents, representing 4.8% were emphatic that Kingsley Kuku, Boyloaf, Ateke Tom and Tom Polopolo were the four most influential militant leaders. It was instructive to note that 14 respondents, representing 1.1% did not score.

4.2.18 What is the Rationale for the Proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta Region?

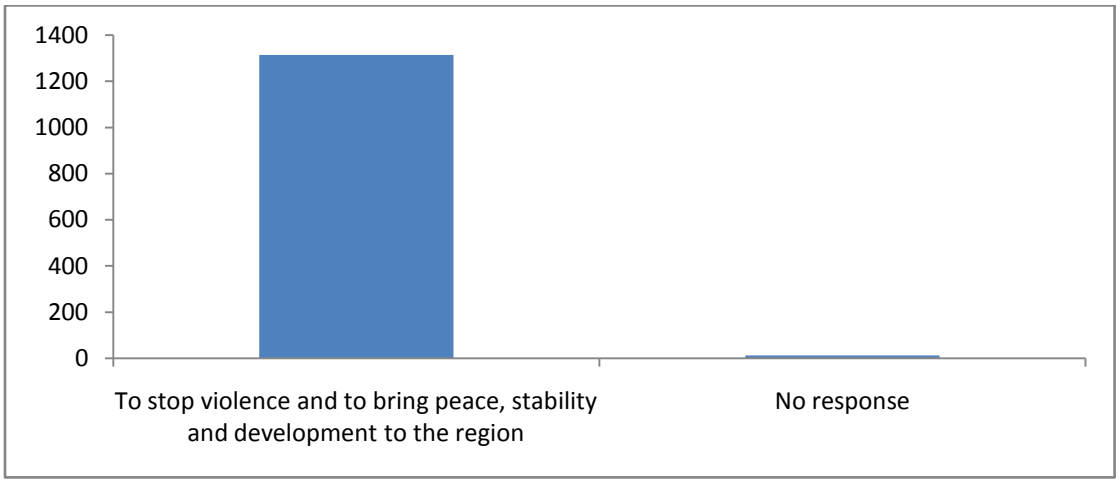
Table 4.19: What is the Rationale for the Proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta Region?

	Frequency	**Percent**
To stop violence and to bring peace, stability and development to the region.	1314	99.9
No response	13	.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.19:

What is the Rationale for the Proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for Militants in the Niger-Delta Region?



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The Table above revealed that majority of the respondents totaling 1,314 representing 99.9% said the rationale for the proclamation of Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta was to stop the violence and destructions, and to bring peace, stability and development to the region. While 13 respondents, representing .1% did not answer. The point made and noted here was that majority of the respondents averred that the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme by President Yar'Adua's administration was to stop the carnage that ushered crimes and criminalities in the region, instill peace and stability and facilitate developmental projects in the entire Niger-Delta for the betterment of the Niger-Deltans. This is a robost point corroborated by Honorable Members of the Bayelsa and Rivers States' Houses of Assembly, Col. Shehu Musa of the Joint Tax Force (JTF) and by some Ex-Militants in Delta State in the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

4.2.19 Do you think that Government's Amnesty Programme has brought peace and stability in the Niger-Delta Region?

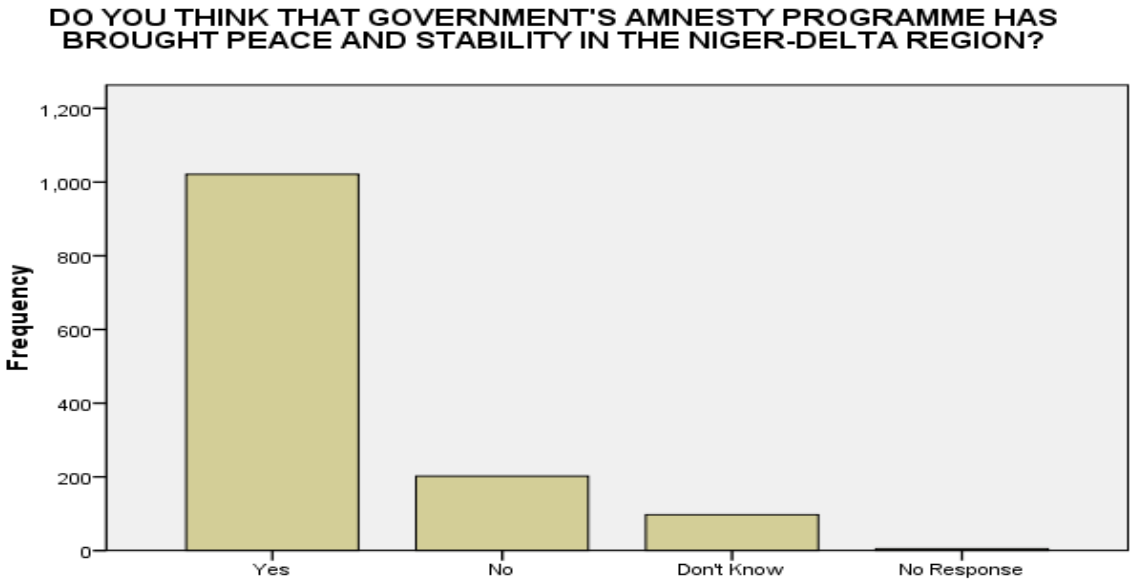
In this section, respondents' views were obtained on whether the Government's Amnesty programme brought peace and stability to the Niger-Delta region. The table below presented the responses.

Table 4.20: Do you think that Government's Amnesty Programme has brought peace and stability in the Niger-Delta Region?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1021	77.1
No	202	15.2
Don't Know	97	7.3
No Response	5	.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.20:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

This table showed that 1,021 respondents, representing 77.1% answered to the positive while 202 respondents, representing 15.2% answered to the negative. Furthermore, 97 respondents, representing 7.3% said they did not know if the Amnesty Programme had brought peace and stability in the region. Only five respondents, representing .4% did not answer the question. In sum, the analysis showed that the majority of respondents believed that the Amnesty Programme of the Nigerian-State brought peace and stability in the Niger-Delta region. This agreed with related views by many respondents in the Oral Interviews and Focus Group Discussions conducted for this research that the Amnesty programme brought durable durable peace to the region. Thus, this provided readily answer to one of the Research Questions and also confirmed one of the Research Propositions adopted for the Study.

4.2.20 Respondents' Preferred Options in the Resolution of the Niger-Delta Conflicts

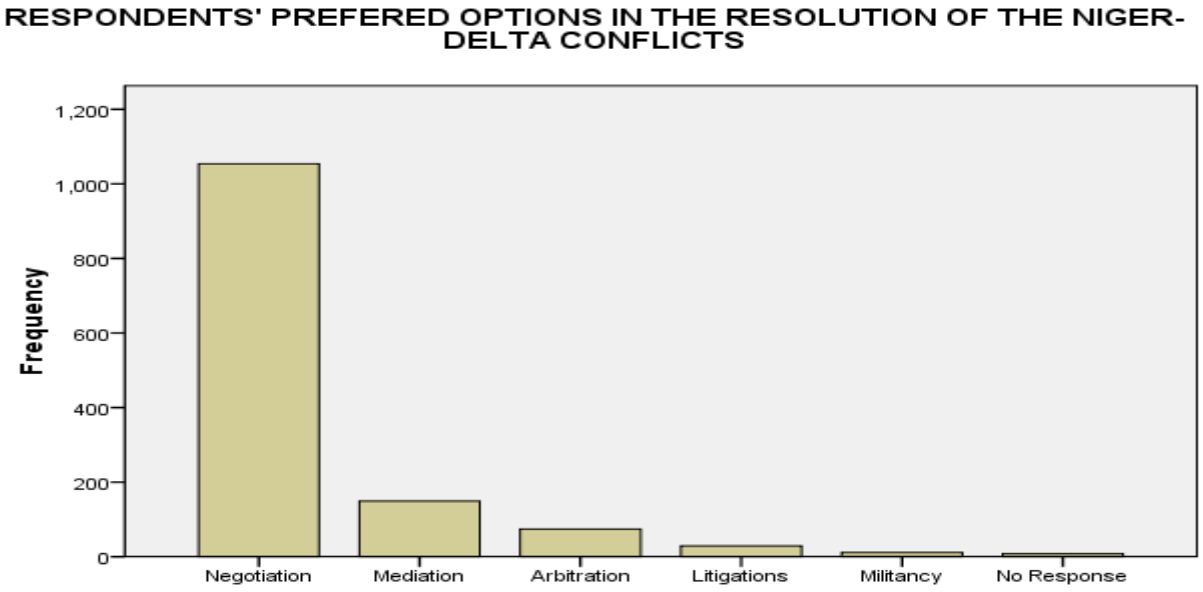
The researcher sought respondents' preferred options in the resolution of the Niger-Delta conflicts. The table below contained the data.

Table 4.21: Respondents' preferred options in the resolution of the Niger-Delta Conflicts

	Frequency	**Percent**
Negotiation	1054	79.5
Mediation	149	11.2
Arbitration	74	5.6
Conciliation	29	2.2
Militancy	11	.8
No Response	8	.6
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.21:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The table above showed the results of respondents as follows: 1,054 respondents, representing 79.5% said their preferred option to the resolution of the Niger-Delta conflict was through "Negotiation", 149 respondents, representing 11.2% said "Mediation", while 74 respondents, representing 5.6% believed in "Arbitration", 29 respondents, representing 2.2% chose "conciliation" and only 1 respondents, representing .8% preferred "militancy". 8 respondents representing .6% did not score. The point here was that majority of the respondents chose negotiation, mediation, arbitration and conciliation as against militancy. This validated the relevance of the theoretical framework (Conflict Resolution Theory) adopted for the study despite the critique of it majorly by the Realists and Elites Theories.

4.2.21 Respondents' Assessment of the Amnesty Programme of Government for the Militants in the Niger-Delta Region

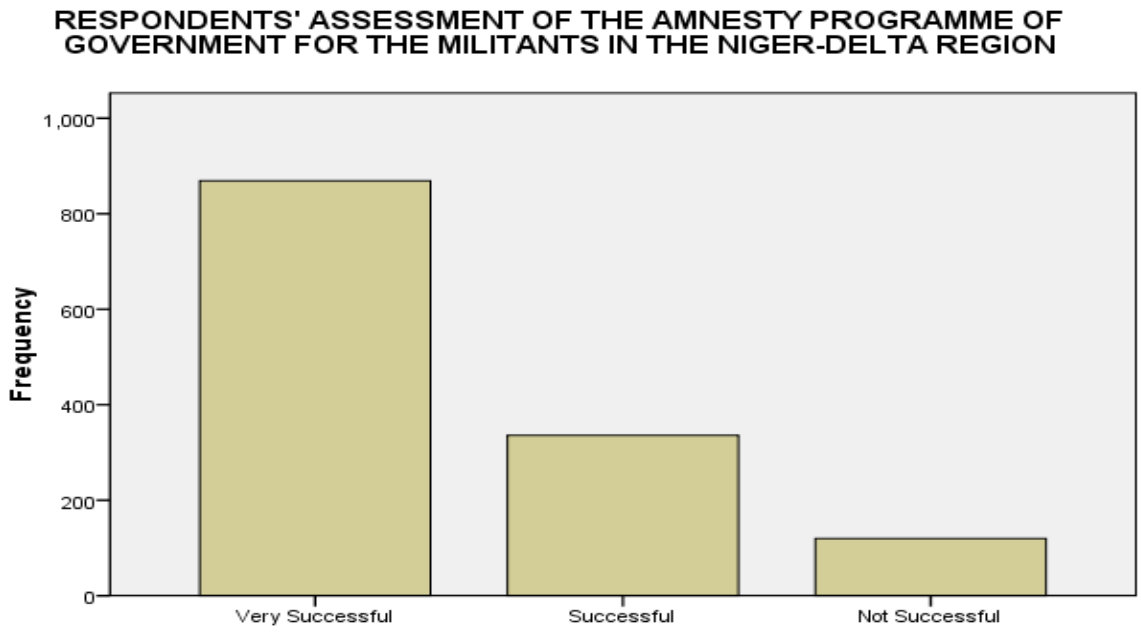
The researcher examined the respondents' assessment of the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger-Delta region. The responses were explicit in the table below.

Table 4.22: Respondents' Assessment of the Amnesty Programme of Government for the Militants in the Niger-Delta Region

	Frequency	**Percent**
Very Successful	869	65.6
Successful	336	25.4
Not Successful	120	9.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.22:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

This table showed that majority of the respondents, 869 of them, representing 65.6% said the Amnesty programme of Government was very successful, 336 respondents, representing 25.4% confirmed that the Amnesty Programme was successfully implemented for the Niger-Delta Militants. However, 120 of the respondents, representing 9.1% agreed that the Amnesty Programme of Government was not successful probably because the root causes of the conflict had not been addressed. The point established in this analyses was that the Amnesty Programme of Government for the Niger-Delta militants was successfully implemented which tremendously led to the mitigation of violence and the resolution of the conflicts. Ofoeze (2009); Ikejiani-Clark (2009)'and Kuku (2013) all supported this assertion.

4.2.22 Would you recommend that the Amnesty Programme should be extended to the Boko-Haram Sects?

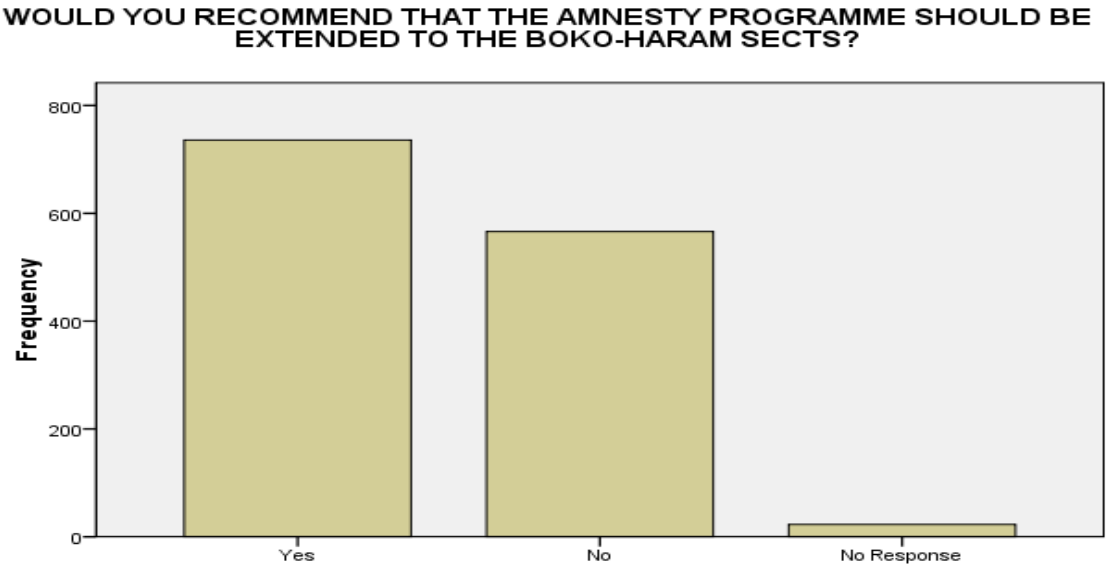
Underlying the significance of the Amnesty Programme hence respondents were requested to submit their views on whether they would recommend the Amnesty Programme for the Boko Haram Sects. Responses gotten were presented on the table below.

Table 4.23: Would you recommend that the amnesty programme should be extended to the Boko-Haram Sects?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	736	55.5
No	566	42.7
No Response	23	1.7
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.23:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Further to the above table, it was clear that the majority of the respondents, 736 of them, representing 55.5% said they would recommend the extension of the Amnesty Programme to the Boko Haram Sects for the sake of peace. On the other hand, 566 respondents, representing 42.7% said they would not recommend such programme to be extended to the Boko-Haram sects. Meanwhile, 23 respondents, representing 1.7% did not respond.

4.4.23 The Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger-Delta Militants was designed to create favourable conditions for the continual exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the Niger Delta Region?

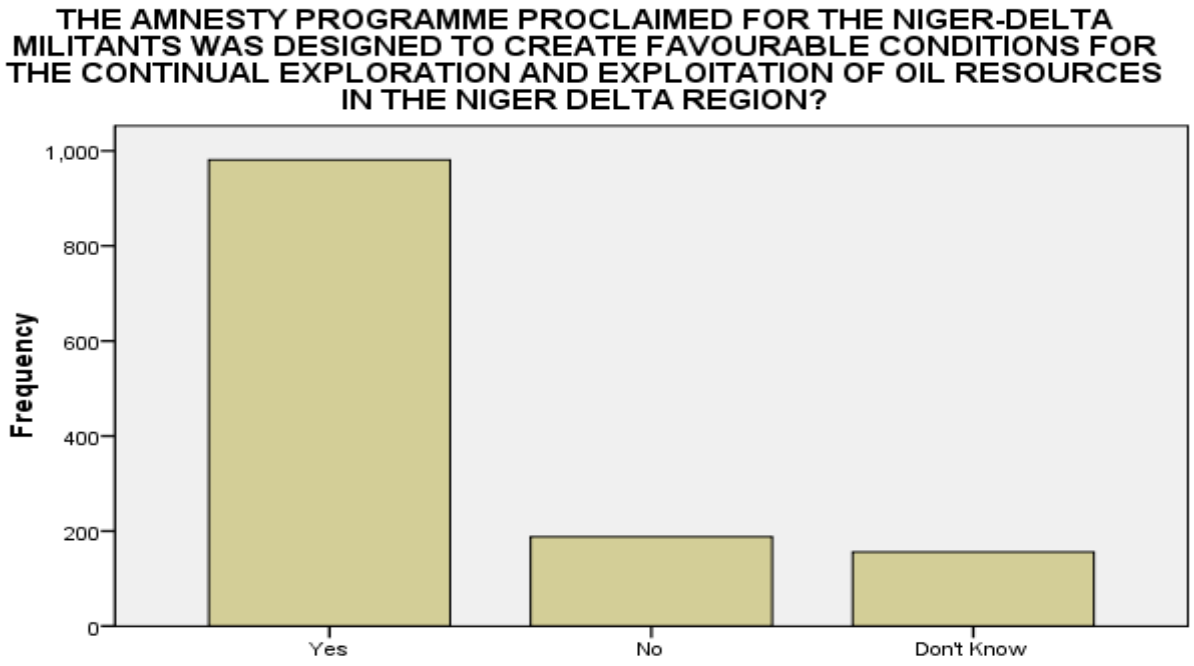
The respondents were objectively requested to say if the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger-Delta militants was designed to create favourable conditions for the continual exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the Niger Delta region. The table below presented the results.

Table 4.24: The Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger-Delta Militants was designed to create favourable conditions for the continual exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the Niger Delta Region?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	981	74.0
No	188	14.2
Don't Know	156	11.8
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.24:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The above table explained that 981 respondents, representing 74% responded to the positive, while 188 respondents, representing 14.2% said "No". Some one hundred and fifty six respondents, representing 11.8% said they "don't know".

4.2.24 Amnesty Programme would not completely succeed if the root causes of militancy are not addressed by the Nigerian State

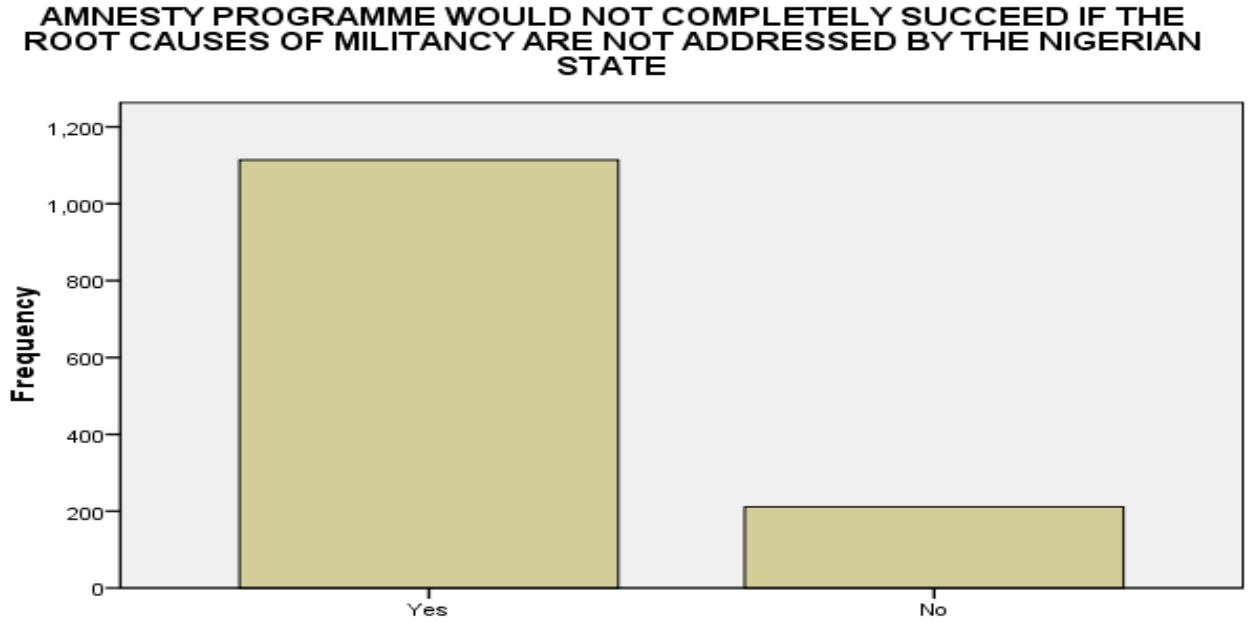
The researcher sought to know from respondents if they will controvert or support the view that the Amnesty Programme would not completely succeed if the root causes of militancy were not addressed by the Nigerian State. The table below explains the situation.

Table 4.25: Amnesty Programme would not completely succeed if the root causes of militancy are not addressed by the Nigerian State

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1114	84.1
No	211	15.9
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.25:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Table 4.25 above indicated that 1,114 respondents representing 84.1% agreed that the Amnesty Programme would not completely succeed if the root causes of the militancy are not addressed by the Nigerian State. Two hundred and eleven (211) respondents, representing 15.9% answered to the negative. The opinions of Kemedi (2008); Mittee (2009) and Yar'Adua (2009) to a large extent upheld this view.

4.2.25 Amnesty Programme was President Yar'Adua's strategy to overcome/conquer a very complex problem that had defied all previous solution?

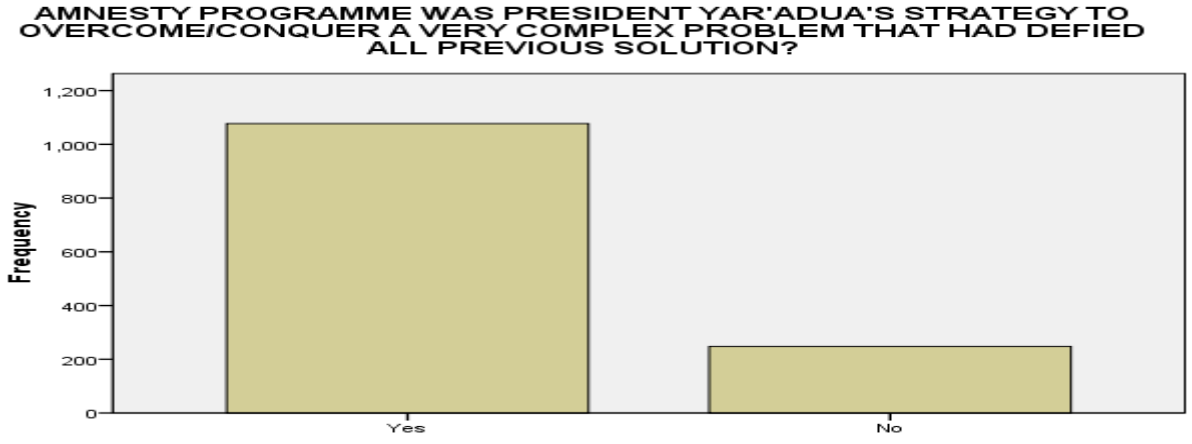
On the enquiry that the "Amnesty Programme was President Yar'Adua's strategy to overcome very complex problem that had defied all previous solutions", respondents' contributions are in table 4.26 below.

Table 4.26: Amnesty Programme was President Yar'Adua's strategy to overcome/conquer a very complex problem that had defied all previous solution?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1077	81.3
No	248	18.7
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.26:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Table 4.26 above revealed that the majority of the respondents, 1,077 of them, representing 81.3% said 'yes', while 248 respondents, representing 18.7% disagreed with a "No" response. The views and/or expressions drawn from all the qualitative data further buttressed this point.

4.2.26 Yar'Adua's Approach of Constructive Dialogue and Engagement had Yielded Positive Results in the Niger Delta Region

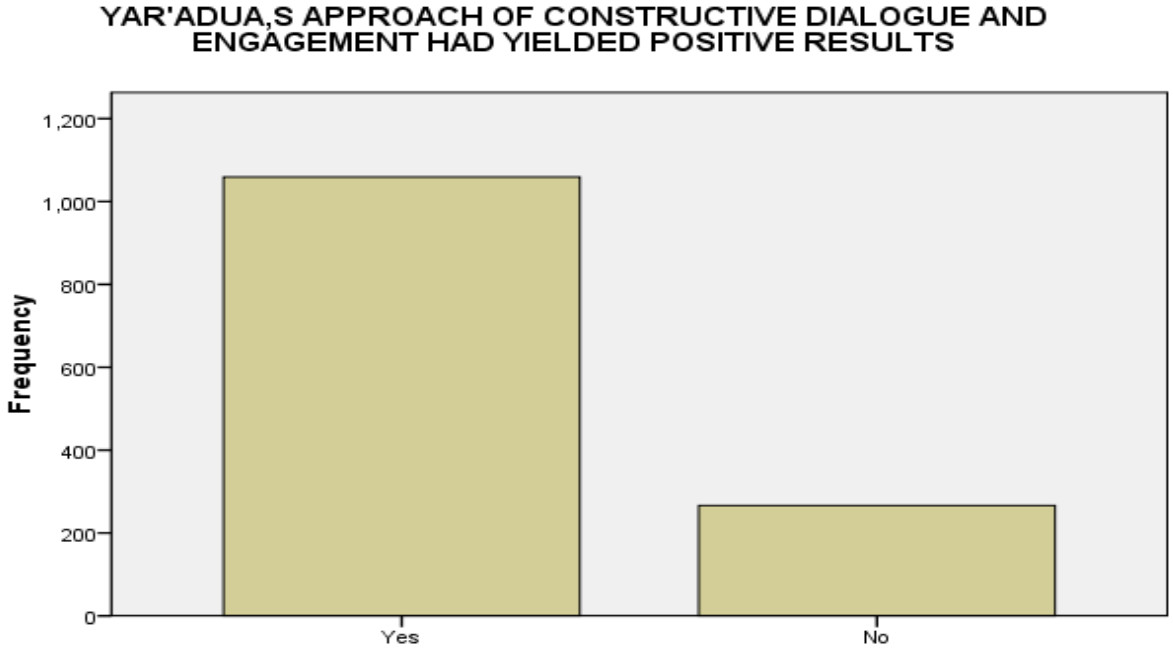
In the quest to understand if President's approach of constructive dialogue and engagement (the Amnesty Programme) had yielded positive results in the Niger-Delta conflicts. A related question was asked. The table below explained the responses.

Table 4.27: Yar'Adua's approach of constructive dialogue and engagement had yielded positive results in the Niger-Delta Region.

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1059	79.9
No	266	20.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.27:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The above table has it that 1,059 respondents, representing 79.9% answered "Yes", while 266 respondents, representing 20.1% said "No". So, the unanimous view was that President's Yar'Adua's approach to the resolution of the Niger-Delta conflicts tremendously yielded positive results. Results obtained from most of the Oral interviews and Focus Group Discussions supported the view that Yar'Adua's approach of Constructive Dialogue through the Amnesty programme facilitated durable peace to the region despite some challenges.

4.2.27 Is Amnesty Programme unanimously endorsed by the Niger-Delta Militants?

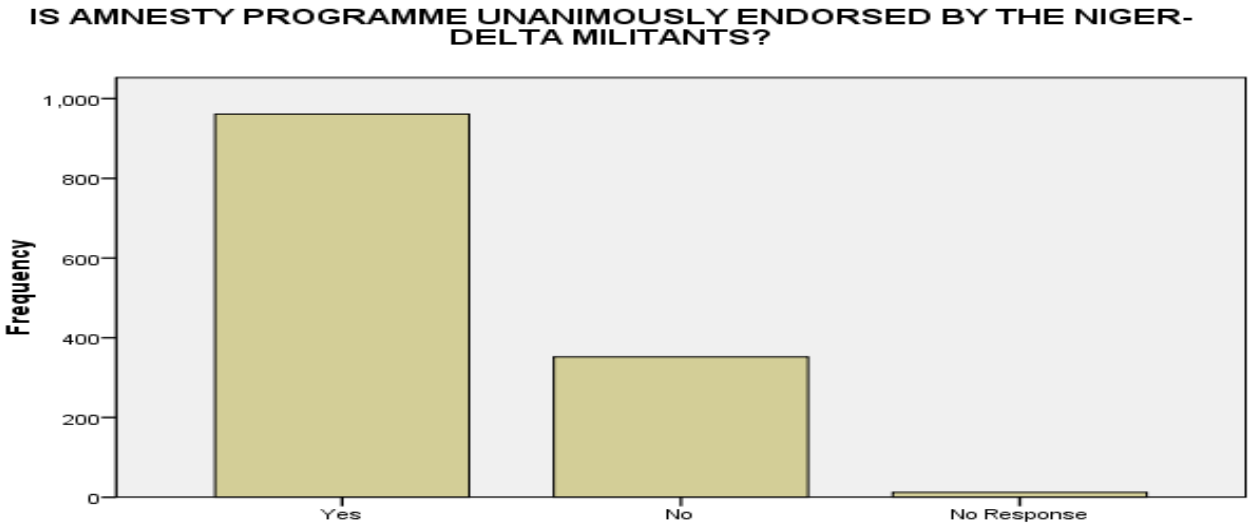
On this enquiry above, table 4.28 below displayed the plural opinions of respondents.

Table 4.28: Is Amnesty Programme unanimously endorsed by the Niger-Delta Militants?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	961	72.5
No	352	26.6
No Response	12	.9
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, 2012.

Figure 4.28:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The table above displayed that the "YES" had 961 score, representing 72.5% while a minority, comprised of 352 respondents, representing 26.6% answered to the Negative. This meant that inspite of some challenges to the Amnesty Programme, it was

unanimously endorsed by the majority of the Niger-Delta militants. Chief Ateke-Tom, the leader of the Niger Delta Vigelante (NDV), Mujahid Asari-Dokubo, Leader of the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) and Tompolopolo one of the Commanders of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) all accepted the Amnesty Programme (Ateke-Tom, 2012).

4.2.28 Do the majority of the Niger-Deltans want the return of Youth Restiveness (Militancy) in the Region?

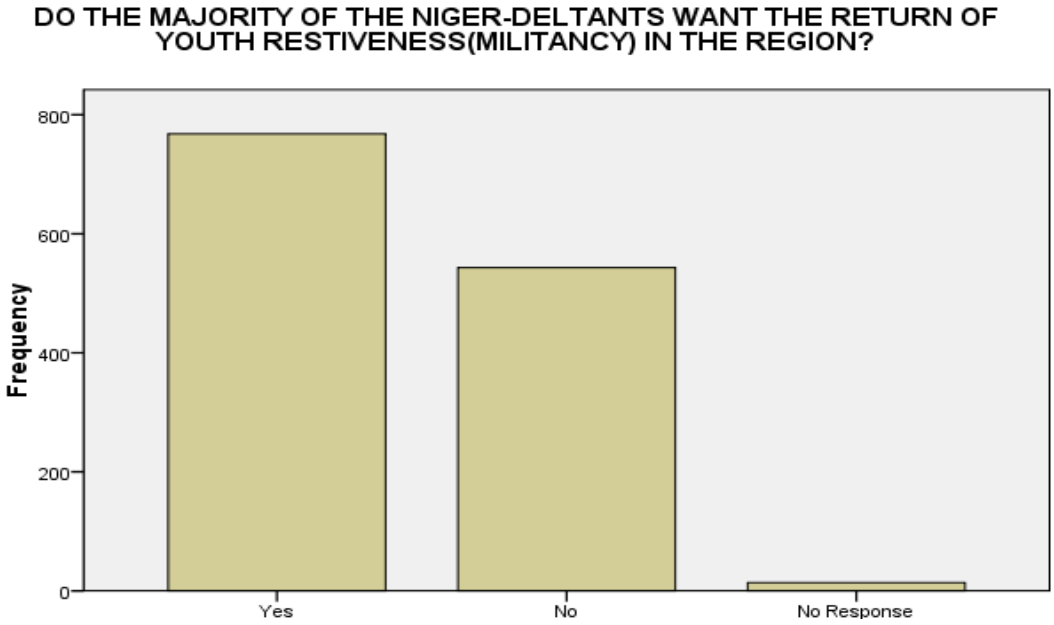
The views of the respondents were sought on whether the majority of the Niger-Deltans want the return of youth restiveness (militancy) in the region. The respondents' views were displayed on table 4.28.

Table 4.29: Do the majority of the Niger-Deltants want the return of youth restiveness (militancy) in the region?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	14	.1
No	1,311	99.9
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.29:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The above table explained that most of the respondents were of the view that the majority of the Niger-Deltans do not want the return of youth restiveness (militancy) in the region. This category represented 99.9%, while only 14 respondents, an insignificant minority, representing .1% responded to the positive.

4.2.29 Is the Nigerian State's "Carrot Approach" to the Niger-Delta conflicts was the best option and/or response towards the resolution of the conflicts?

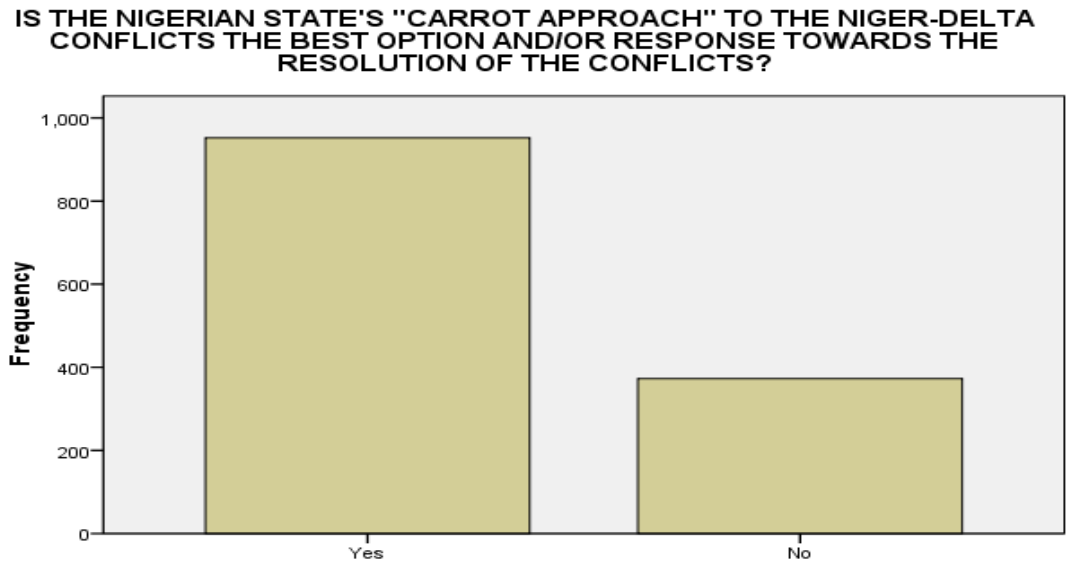
The respondents were requested to ascertain if the Nigerian-State's "Carrot Approach" to the Niger-Delta conflicts was the best response toward the resolution of the quagmire. Table 4.30 explains further.

Table 4.30: Is the Nigerian State's "Carrot Approach" to the Niger-Delta conflicts was the best option and/or response towards the resolution of the conflicts?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1,312	99.9
No	13	.1
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.30:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

In this section, the table showed that 1,312 respondents said "yes", while 13 respondents, representing .1% said "No". Some senior officials of the NNPC's Warri Refinery, Yakubu Kadala and Sodiende confirmed this view in an interview.

4.2.30 The offer of amnesty to the Niger Delta Militants was seen by some as a route to peace, others called it "amnesia" and said the strategy was doomed to fail. Do you agree?

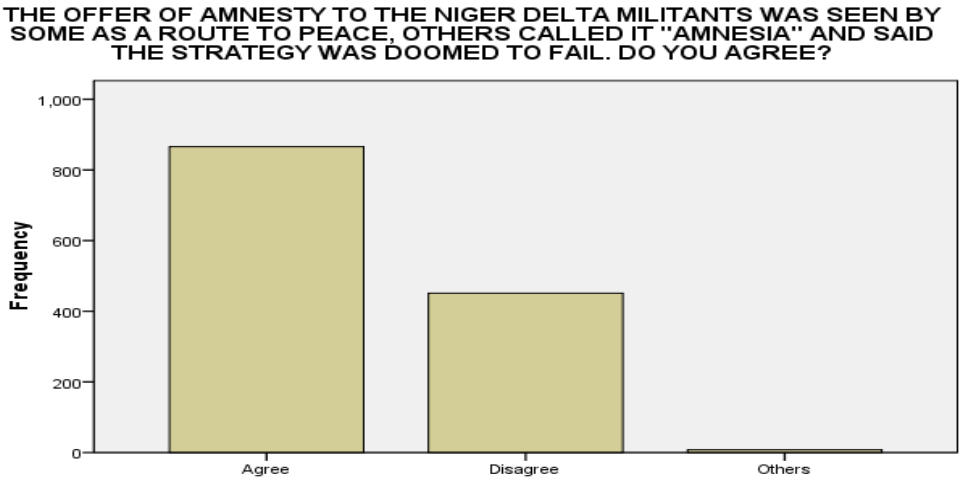
Responses gotten on this issue are presented in table 4.31 below.

Table 4.31: The offer of amnesty to the Niger Delta Militants was seen by some as a route to peace, others called it "amnesia" and said the strategy was doomed to fail. Do you agree?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Agree	451	34.0
Disagree	866	65.4
Others	8	.6
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.31:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Table 4.31 above shows that majority of respondents believed that the offer of Amnesty Programme for the Niger-Delta was a route to peace and disagreed that the strategy was doomed to fail. They represented 65.4 of the total respondents. However, 451 of the respondents agreed that the Amnesty Programme was an "Amnesia" and that the strategy was doomed to fail. While 8 respondents, representing .6% belonged to the category who responded otherwise. By and large, the Amnesty programme had shown that it was a route to peace. This perfectly agreed with one of the research questions and propositions that were adopted for this study.

4.2.31 Is the threat by some militants to return to the creeks to resume hostilities reasonable at this stage?

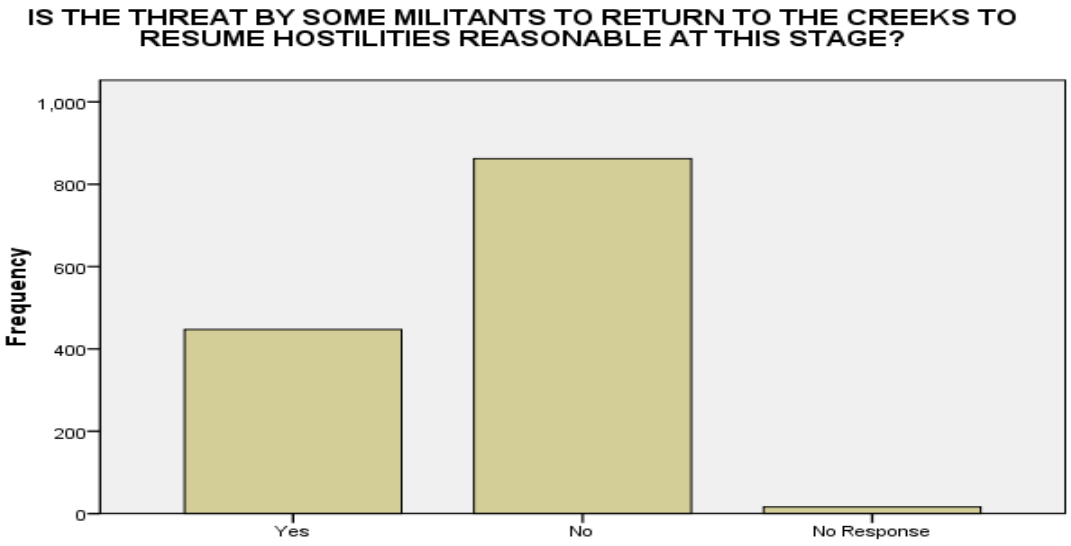
The respondents were asked to confirm or negate the idealness or genuineness of some of the militants' threats to return to the creeks to resume hostilities or militancy. Table 4.32 below buttressed further.

Table 4.32: Is the threat by some ex-militants to return to the creeks to resume hostilities reasonable at this stage?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	447	33.7
No	862	65.1
No Response	16	1.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.32:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

After the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger Delta region, there was relative peace; however because of some challenges in the

implementation of the programme some militants threatened to return to the creeks to resume militant activities. The table above showed that most of the respondents (862), representing 65.1% said it was not ideal and reasonable, while 447 respondents representing 33.7% said it was ideal and reasonable. But 16 respondents, representing .2% did not answer. The popular view here is that it is not reasonable for the ex-militants to return to the creeks to resume hostilities.

4.2.32 Is the time line (plan) for the Amnesty Programme detailed enough?

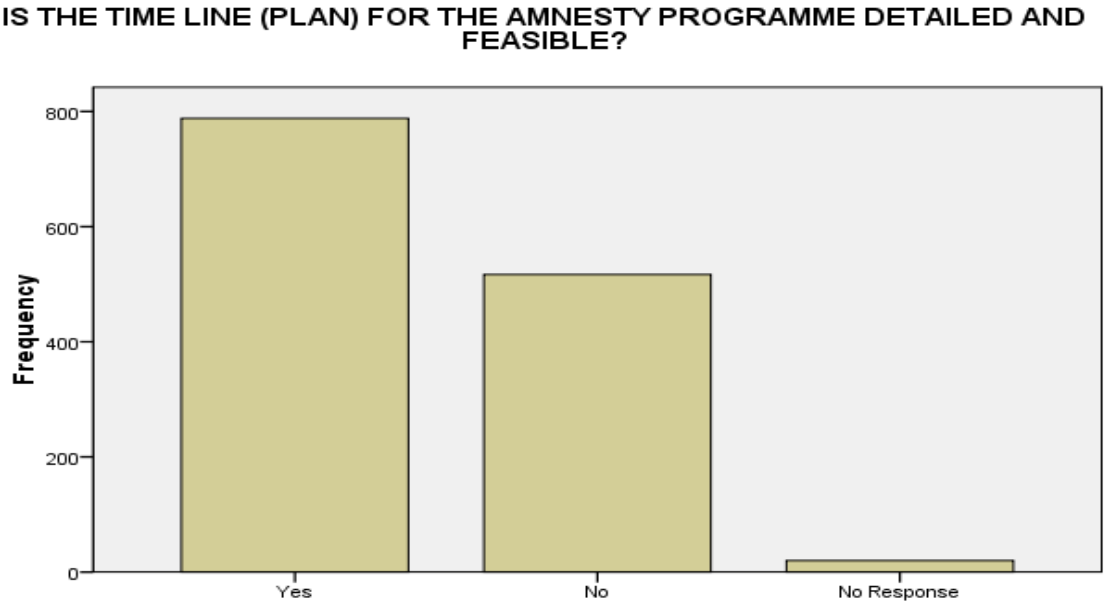
The respondents were requested to posit their opinions whether the timeline for the Amnesty Programme was detailed enough. Table 4.33 lists the responses.

Table 4.33: Is the time line (plan) for the Amnesty Programme detailed and feasible?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	788	59.5
No	517	39.0
No Response	20	1.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.33:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

From the foregoing analysis on the table above, it was evident that most respondents, 788 of them, representing 59.5% said "yes", while 517 of them, representing 39% said "No". It was noted that 20 respondents, representing a negligible percentage of 1.5 said they had no idea, as they did not respond.

4.2.33 Has the amnesty programme improved capacity building/human capital development in your community?

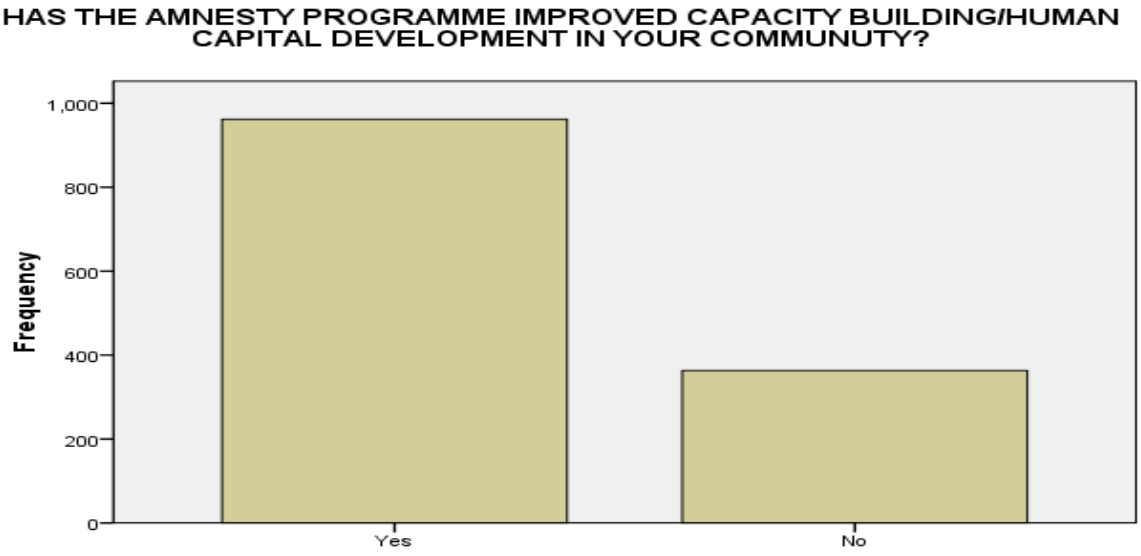
Respondents were asked to agree or disagree on the view that the Amnesty Programme of the Nigerian State has improved capacity building (human capital development) in the Niger-Delta communities. The results of the responses are expressed in the table below.

Table 4.34: Has the amnesty programme improved capacity building/human capital development in your community?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	962	72.6
No	363	27.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.34:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The table above indicated that 962 respondents, representing 72.6% answered "Yes", while 363 respondents, representing 27.4% responded to the negative. The popular view here was that the Amnesty Programme had improved capacity building in most of the Niger-Delta communities. This was in relation to the impact of the reintegration programme of the Amnesty Programme through which the ex-militants had acquired some skills. The youths and Ex-Militants in Obubra re-emphasized this critical point in a Focus Group Discussion.

4.3.34 What are the potential consequences of going against the established order of the Amnesty Programme?

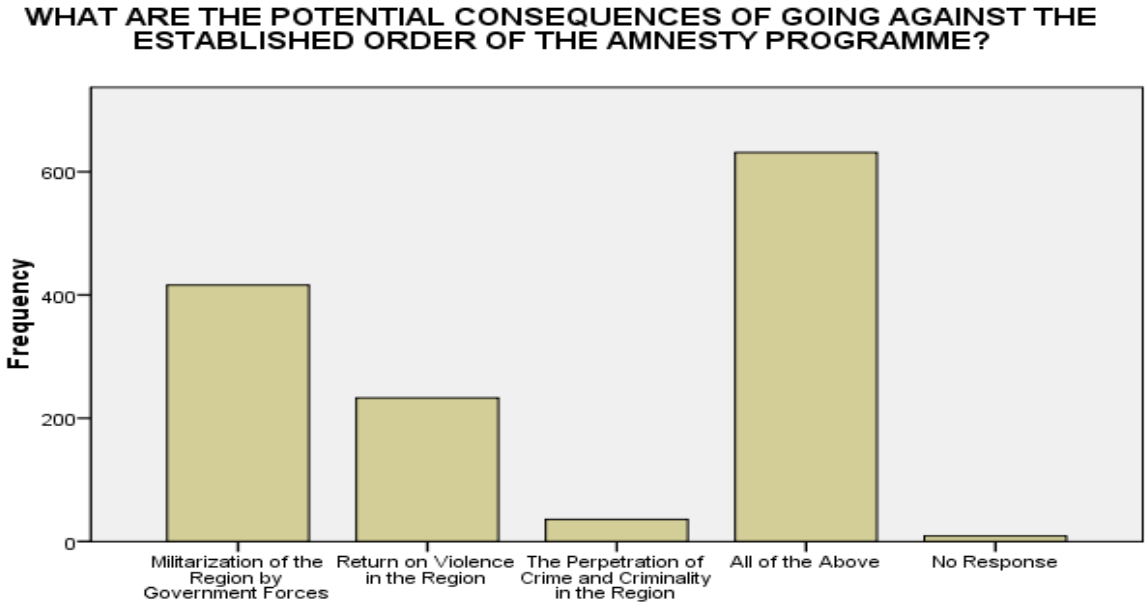
A related question was asked on what are the potential consequences of going against the order of the Amnesty Programme of Government. The table below gives details.

Table 4.35: What are the potential consequences of going against the established order of the amnesty programme?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Militarization of the Region by Government Forces	416	31.4
Return on Violence in the Region	233	17.6
The Perpetration of Crime and Criminality in the Region	36	2.7
All of the Above	631	47.6
No Response	9	.7
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.35:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The analysis on the above table showed the results. 416 respondents, representing 31.4% said one of the potential consequences was the "Militarization of the region by Government forces", 233 respondents, representing 17.6% were of the view that "There will be return on violence in the region". However, 36 respondents, representing 2.7% said "there will be the perpetration of crime and criminality in the region". Nevertheless, the majority of 631 respondents, representing 47.6% said all the options mentioned "All of the above" will happen if the established order of the Amnesty was contravened. Despite this, 9 respondents, representing .7% gave no response.

4.2.35 "The right person in the right place at the right time, doing the right thing is the key to getting it right", has this approach worked with the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme?

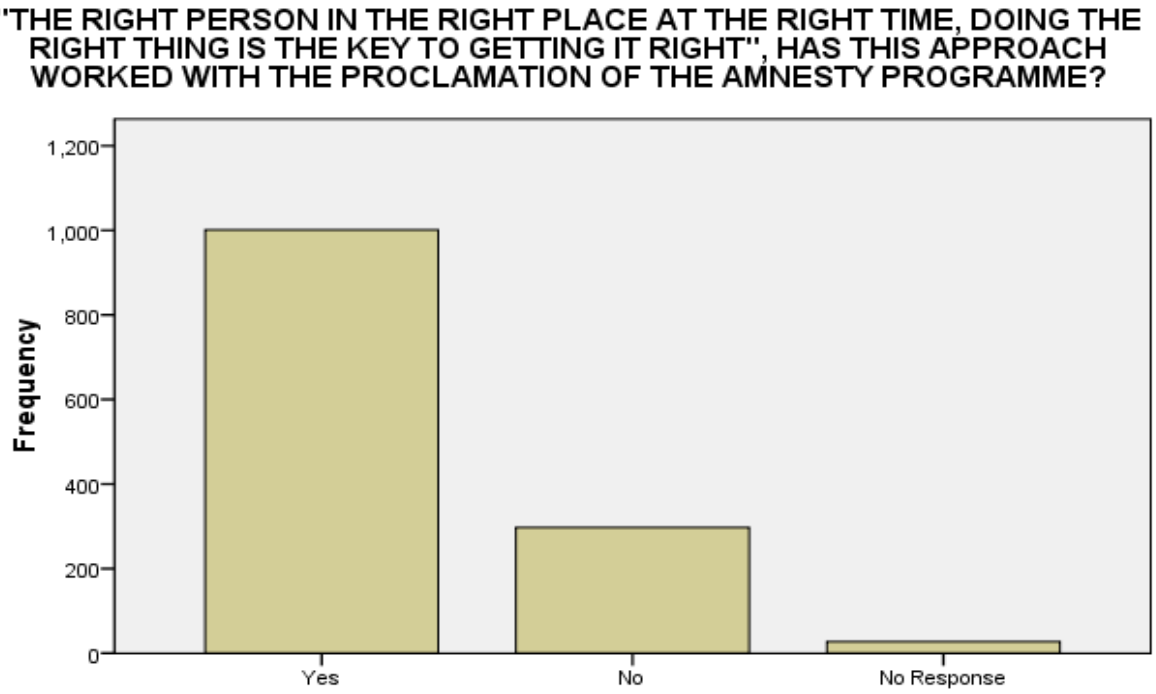
When this question was put to respondents, the responses were captured in the table below.

Table 4.36: "The right person in the right place at the right time, doing the right thing is the key to getting it right", has this approach worked with the proclamation of the amnesty programme?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	1001	75.5
No	297	22.4
No Response	27	2.0
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Figure 4.36:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

The table 4.36 above vividly outlined the various perceptions of respondents. The "Yes" had 75.5%, the "No" had 22.4% while 2.0% of respondents did not respond.

4.2.36 Government needs to execute the right transformation strategy to unlock the talents of the workforce. Has the amnesty programme achieved this through its skill acquisition processes?

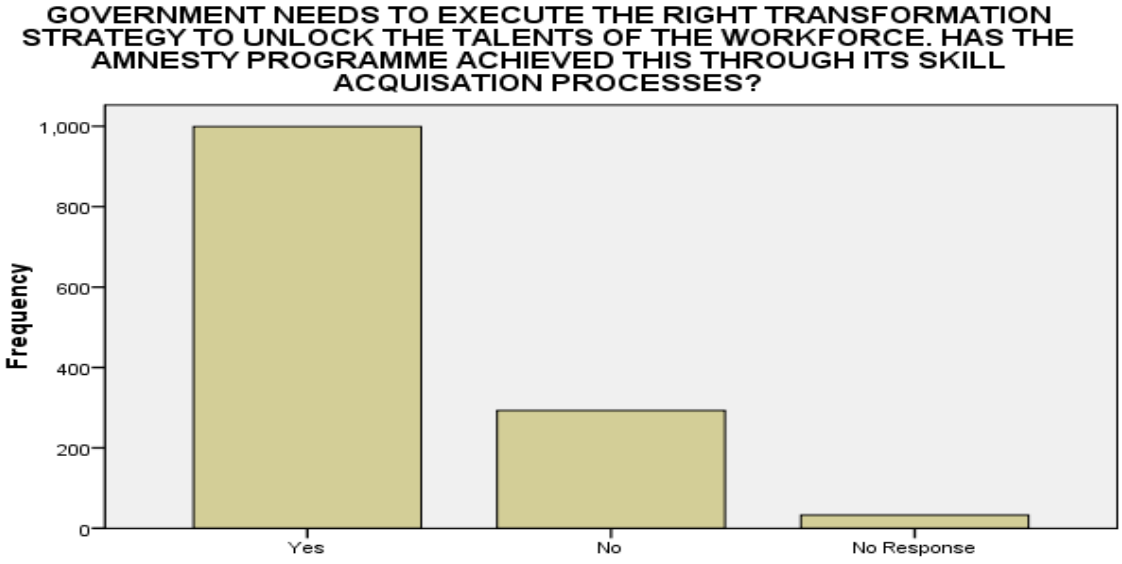
Under this section, the table below presents and analyses the various responses.

Table 4.37: Government needs to execute the right transformation strategy to unlock the talents of the workforce. Has the amnesty programme achieved this through its skill acquisition processes?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	999	75.4
No	293	22.1
No Response	33	2.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.37:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

Further to the above table, 999 respondents, representing 75.4% answered to the "positive" while 293 people, representing 22.1% answered to the "negative", and 33 people, representing 2.5% remained quiet, without response.

4.2.37 What lured you into Militancy?

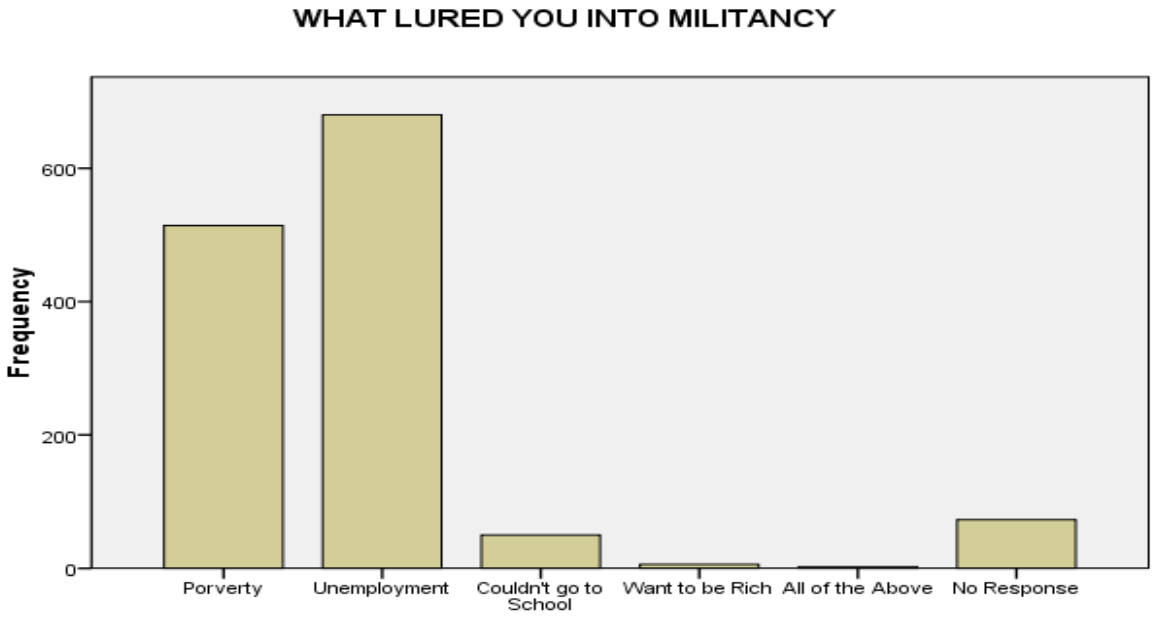
This question was put to some militants in Obubra Camp. The table below explains the results.

Table 4.38: WHAT LURED YOU INTO MILITANCY

	Frequency	**Percent**
Poverty	514	38.8
Unemployment	680	51.3
Couldn't go to School	50	3.8
Want to be Rich	6	.5
All of the Above	2	.2
No Response	73	5.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.38:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

On Table 4.38, 514 militants, representing 38.8% said "poverty" led them into militancy. 680 respondents were of the view that "unemployment" led them into militancy. They represented 51.3%; while 50 of them, representing 3.8% believed that they joined militancy because they couldn't go to school. 6 others said "they wanted to be rich" that was why they joined militancy; as 6 people, representing 5% said "All the above" options lured them into militancy. 73 militants, representing 5.5% remained mute.

4.2.38 Now that you have been demobilized, would you ever want to return to the creeks for militancy?

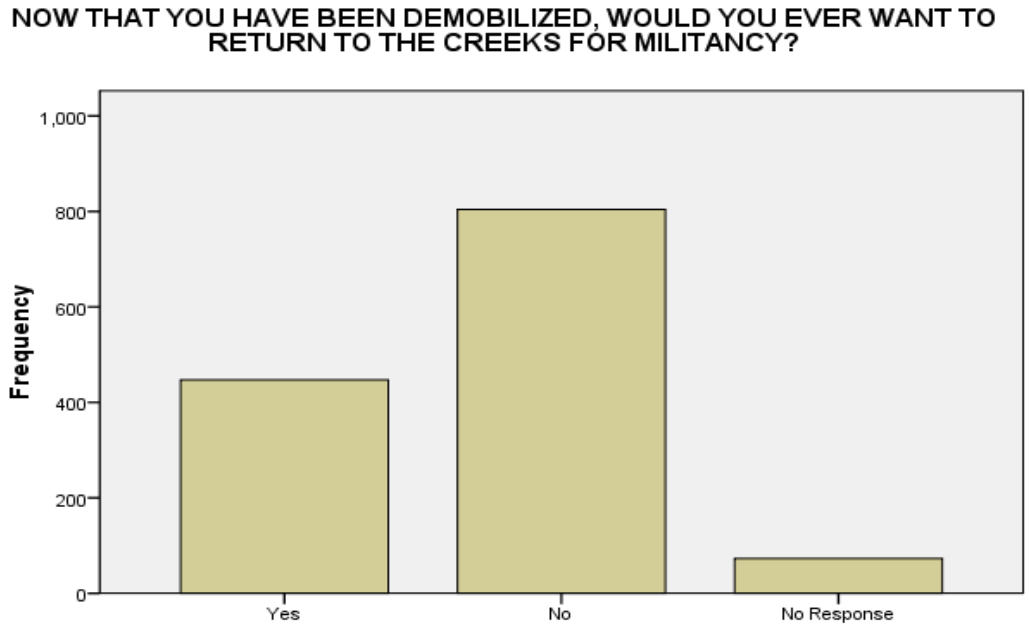
We tried to enquire from the militants whether they will ever w ant to return to the creeks for militancy since they have now been successfully demobilized. Table 4.39 below explained the scenarios.

Table 4.39: Now that you have been demobilized, would you ever want to return to the creeks for militancy?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	447	33.8
No	804	60.7
No Response	74	5.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.39:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The analysis from the above table indicated that the majority of the militants, 804 of them, representing 60.7% said they won't return to the creeks again for militancy, while 447 militants said they will, if the Government did not implement the Amnesty Programme to its logical conclusions. 74 of the militants, representing 5.5% did not comment. This group may also harbor the view to return to the creeks for militancy if the Government's Amnesty Programme failed.

4.2.39 Which is the most popular militia group in the Niger-Delta?

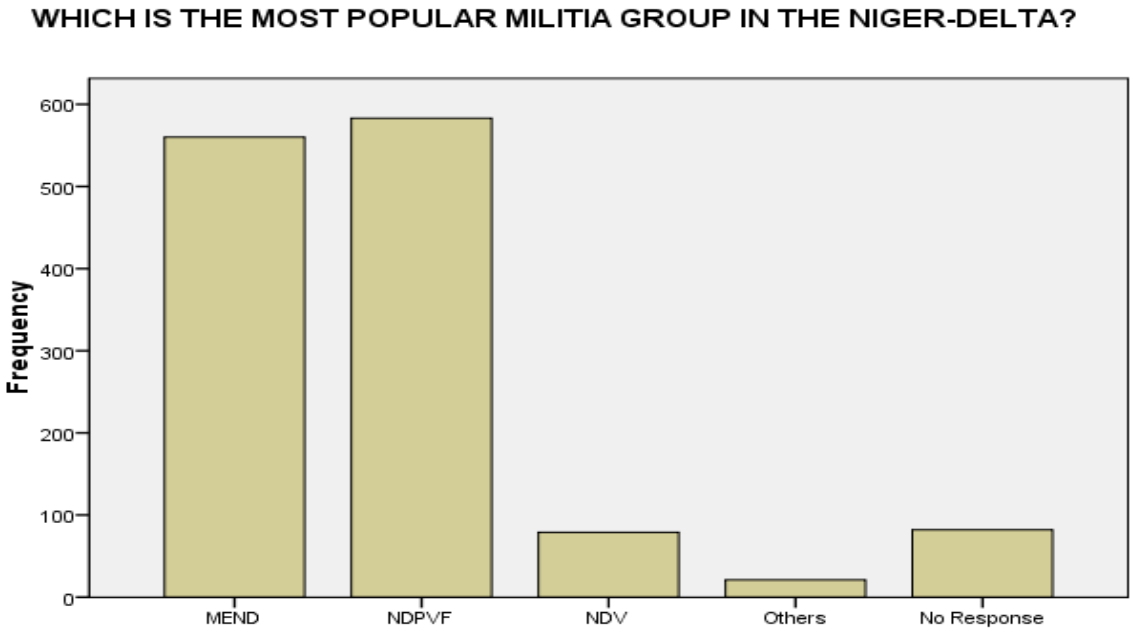
Noting that the militants were the "direct foot soldiers" of the various militia groups in the Niger-Delta, the researcher probe to know from them which was the most popular militia group in the Niger-Delta. Table 4.40 below reflects their responses.

Table 4.40: Which is the most popular militia group in the Niger-Delta?

	Frequency	**Percent**
MEND	560	42.3
NDPVF	583	44.0
NDV	79	6.0
Others	21	1.6
No Response	82	6.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.40:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

This table 4.40 shows that the most popular militia group in the Niger-Delta was MEND. 583 militants attested to this. The result represented 44.0%. However, 42.3% of respondents said it was the NDPVF, while 6.0% said it was NDV and 1.6% of the respondents mentioned others. We note again in this section that 6.2% of the respondents did not score.

4.2.40 Who are the most popular militant leaders in the Niger-Delta?

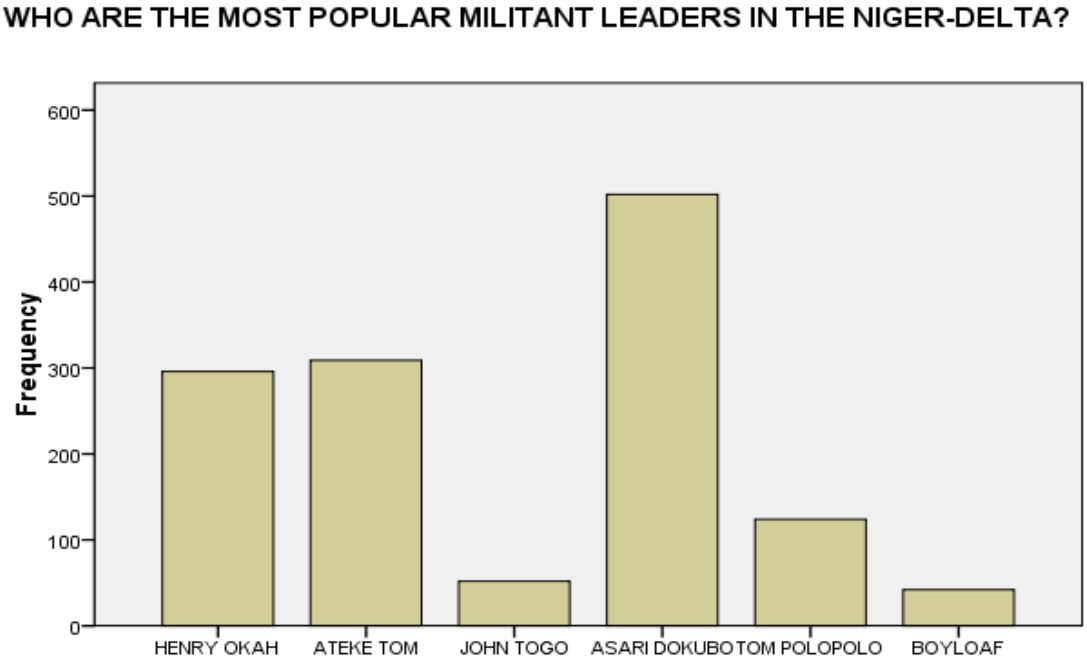
We sought the militants' views on who were the most popular militia leaders in the Niger-Delta. A cursory look at table 4.41 below explains the details.

Table 4.41: Who are the most popular militant leaders in the Niger-Delta?

	Frequency	**Percent**
HENRY OKAH	296	22.3
ATEKE TOM	309	23.3
JOHN TOGO	52	3.9
ASARI DOKUBO	502	37.9
TOM POLOPOLO	124	9.4
BOYLOAF	42	3.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.41:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

It is clear from the table above that Alh. Mujahid Asari-Dokubo was the most popular militia leader in the Niger Delta. A total of 502 militants agreed to this. They represent 37.9%, in the order of ranking resulting from the scores. Ateke Tom was scored 309, representing 23.3%, Tom Polopolo got 124, representing 9.4%, John Togo got 52, representing 3.9% while Boyloaf got 42, representing 3.2%

4.2.41 Which of the militia groups do you belong?

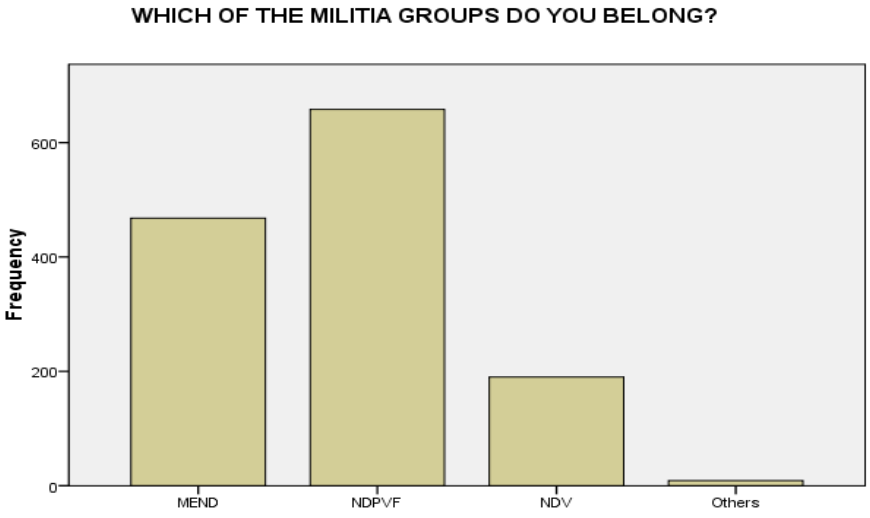
The opinions of the militants are shown here in table 4.40 on the militia groups they belonged while in "active service" in the creeks. The analysesand results are below.

Table 4.42: Which of the militia groups do you belong?

	Frequency	**Percent**
MEND	468	35.3
NDPVF	658	49.7
NDV	190	14.3
Others	9	.7
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.42:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

From the above table, 658 militants said they belonged to the NDPVF. This category represented 49.7%, while 468 and 190 militants, representing 35.3% and 14.3% respectively said they belonged to the MEND and the NDV. Other militants, 9 of them, representing .7% gave different responses. It became clear from the above analysis that majority of the militants belonged to the Asari-Dokubo's N.D.P.V.F. This buttressed why he was the most popular militia leader in the Niger-Delta.

4.2.42 If oil is found in the Niger Basin or Chad Basin, would the militancy in the Niger-Delta be of any serious threat to Government?

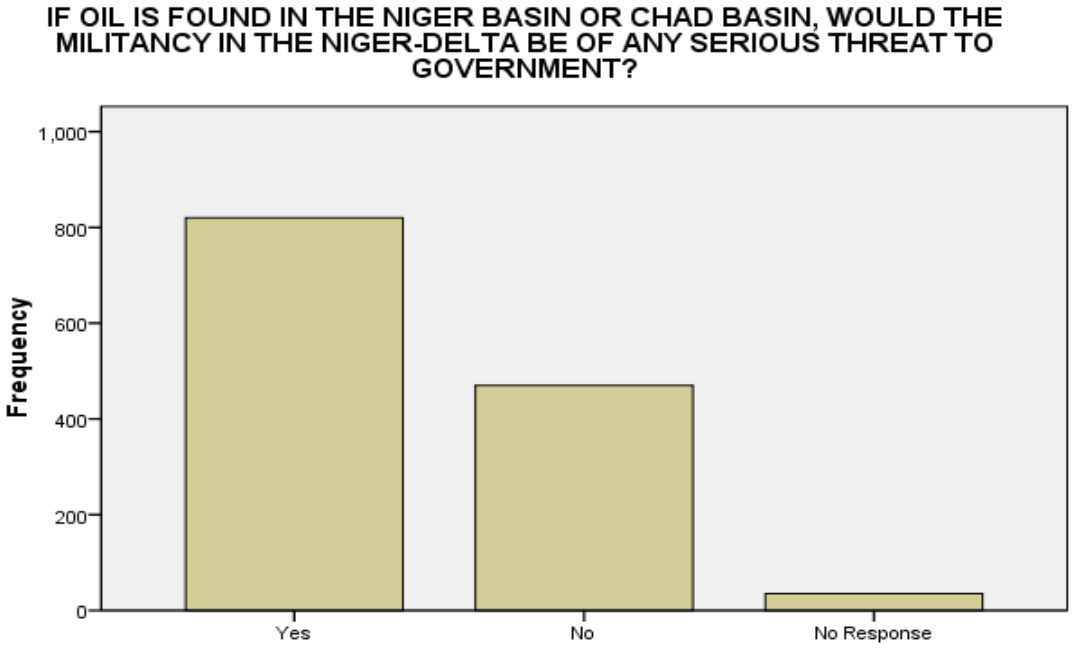
The issue of oil resources is very critical to the understanding of Niger-Delta conflicts. In this section, the militants were asked if oil is found in the Niger-Basin and Lake Chad, whether the militancy in the region would be of any serious threat to Government. Their responses were analysed in the table below.

Table 4.43: If oil is found in the Niger Basin or Chad Basin, would the militancy in the Niger-Delta be of any serious threat to government?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	820	61.9
No	470	35.5
No Response	35	2.6
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.43:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The table above indicated that the majority of the militants were of the opinion that even if oil is found in other parts of Nigeria, oil violence in the Niger-Delta will continue to be of serious threat to the Nigerian State; 820 of them, representing 61.9% buttressed this view. However, 470 of the militants disagreed. They represented 35.5% and 35 of them, representing 2.5% did not respond.

4.2.43 Respondents' opinions on the huge revenue received by the oil producing states based on the derivation principles?

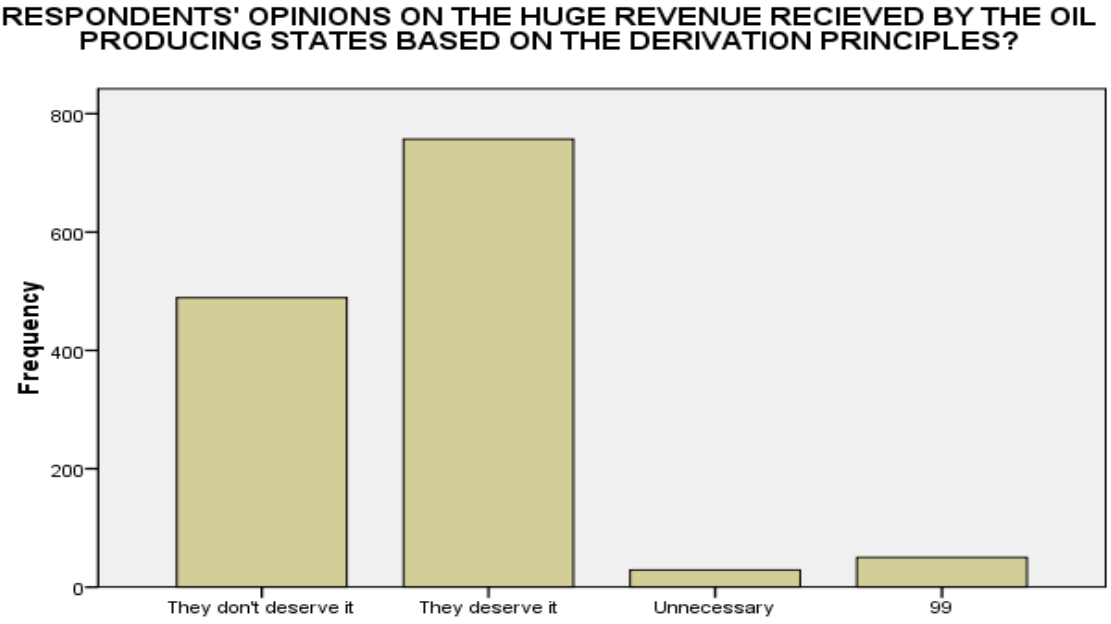
The derivation principle provided additional oil money for the oil producing States; we tried to seek respondents' opinion on the matter. The table below explains further.

Table 4.44: Respondents' opinions on the huge revenue received by the oil producing states based on the derivation principles?

	Frequency	**Percent**
They don't deserve it	489	36.9
They deserve it	757	57.1
Unnecessary	29	2.2
No response	50	3.8
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.44:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The table above projected that the majority of respondents, 757, representing 57.1% said the oil producing States deserved the additional money from the derivation principle. Other respondents, 489 and 29 said the oil producing states do not deserve it and that it was unnecessary. These groups represent 36.9% and 2.2% respectively. 50 respondents, representing 3.8% abstained.

4.2.44 Have the government of these states judiciously expended their allocations on States' projects?

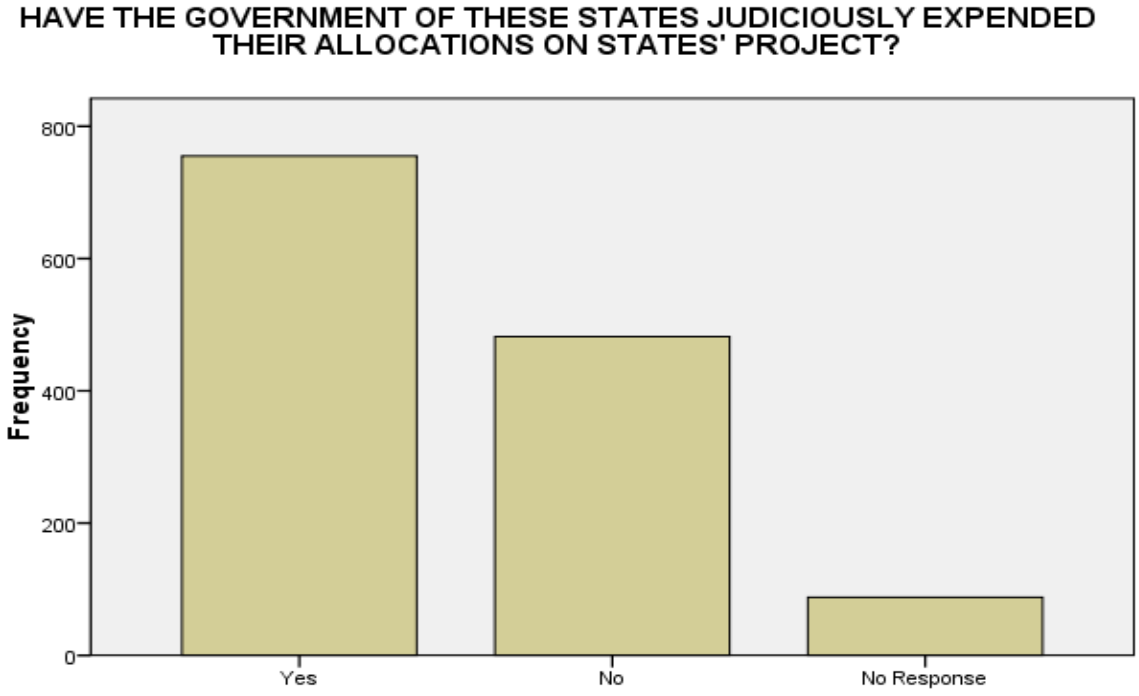
The respondents were asked if the Government of the Niger-Delta States had judiciously used the monies received from the Federal Government on developmental projects in their States. Table 4.45 below categorized the responses.

Table 4.45: Have the government of these states judiciously expended their allocations on states' project?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Yes	755	57.0
No	482	36.4
No Response	88	6.6
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.45:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

It is evident from the above table that most of the respondents, 755 of them, representing 57.0% said "Yes" while 482 respondents, representing 36.2% answered to the negative. Meanwhile, 88 respondents, representing 6.6% were undecided.

4.2.45 What else can the government do to satisfy the yearnings of the oil producing states?

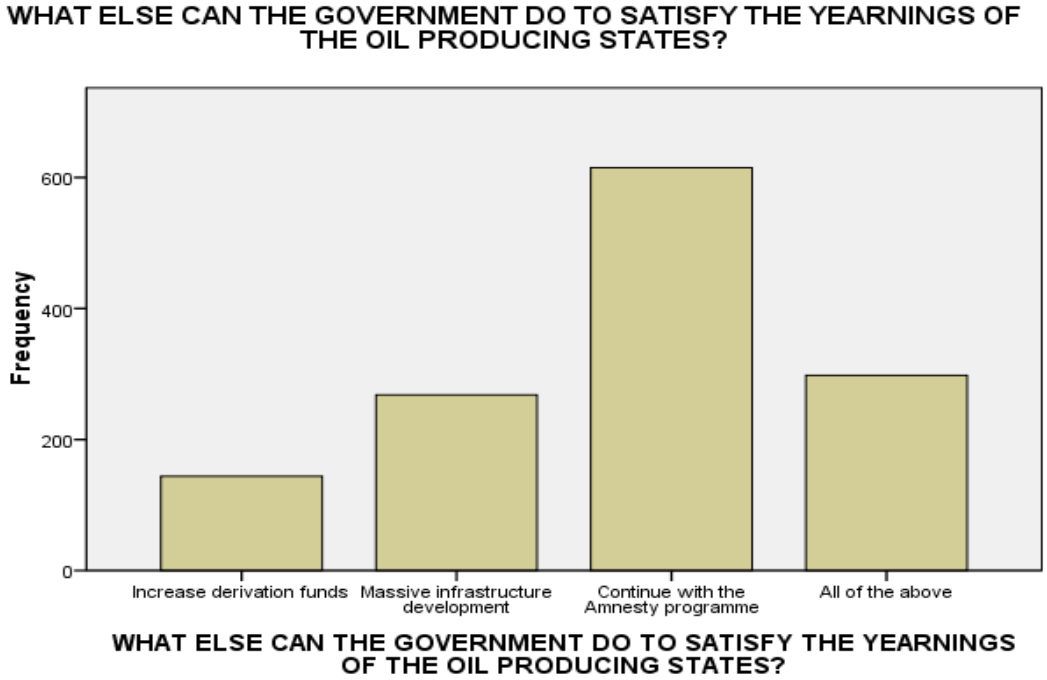
Under this section, respondents were requested to give their opinion on what else the Government can do to satisfy the yearnings of the oil producing States. Table 4.46 below gives their vivid expressions.

Table 4.46: What else can the government do to satisfy the yearnings of the oil producing states?

	Frequency	**Percent**
Increase derivation funds	144	10.9
Massive infrastructure development	268	20.2
Continue with the Amnesty programme	615	46.4
All of the above	298	22.5
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.46:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The analysis in the table above revealed that 144 respondents, representing 10.9% wanted the "Derivation funds to be increased", 268 respondents, representing 20.2% said they want "massive infrastructural development", the majority of them (615), representing 46.4% said they want the "Amnesty Programme to continue", while 298 respondents, representing 22.5% wanted the Government to carry out "all the options" given and/or mentioned. It is very expedient to note that the majority of the respondents wanted the "continuation of the Amnesty Programme". This recognitionwas in view of the immense positive contributions the programme had brought to the region, hence, making the programme a critical phenomenon worth of examination.

4.3 Research Findings

It is very instructive to emphasize that from the outcome of our enquiries it was established overwhelmingly that the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger Delta was to stop the violence in the region and to restore peace, stability and development in the region. This concurred with the first Proposition of this Study which averred that the Presidential Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Militants in the Niger Delta Region was a "political solution" to a protracted problem that defied other successive regimes'pacific and palliative measures.

It is also lucid and noteworthy that from the result of our investigation, majority of the respondents reasoned that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger-Delta region was the best practical option ever taken by the Federal Government since Nigeria's Independence towards the resolution of the Niger Delta Conflcts. This confirmed the second Proposition adopted for this Study, "that the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Niger Delta Militants was a viable model or strategy for Conflict resolution.

The results of our enquiry further revealedthat the distinct phases of the Amnesty Programme, Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration were successfully implemented for the Militants in the Niger Delta Region; the various skills acquired had transformed and integrated them into the society as responsible Citizens.It was noted in the Study that out of the series of Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration programmes supported by the United Nation in Africa, only Nigeria and Burundi had been able to successfully implement the DDR programmes to the later, with a tremendous

positive transformation and integration of the former militants into the society. This consolidated the views in the third Proposition of this Study.

The enquiry results also revealed that inspite of the successes and/or achievements of the Amnesty Programme, there are divergent public opinions on the Programme in terms of its problems and/or challenges.

The study exposed that some crucial issues like unemployment, mass poverty, environmental degradation and general underdevelopment in the Niger Delta region weresome of the causes of the crisis; findings revealed affirmatively that the Federal, Niger Delta States and Local Governments must address adequately the issues of unemployment, mass poverty, environmental degradation and the general underdevelopment in the Niger Delta for the sustenance of durable peace in the region.

The study sought to reveal if the oil produced in the Niger-Delta region is the mainstay of Nigeria's economy. Sequel to investigation, the research confirmed that the oil produced in the Niger-Delta Region is the mainstay of Nigeria's economy; it represented 95% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. Thus, it was common placed that if the production of oil is disrupted by the militants, it will cut down Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings and local supplies and distributions across the country with disastrous economic implications.

Another critical finding of this research revealed that despite the huge resources (allocations of funds) to the Niger Delta States, this had not translated to regional prosperity and development due to bad governance. The finding in this work is given credence by U.N. Report (2005) which opined that to a large extent that despite the huge

deposit of oil and gas resources in the Niger Delta; the region is one of the underdeveloped regions in the world.

Another significant finding of this research was that, the violence and criminal activities of the militia groups in the Niger Delta led to the militarization of the region by the Nigerian State. This unequivocally agreed withpopular opinions that the violent crimes and criminalities perpetrated by the militants in the Niger Delta region led to the deployment of security personnel (military and paramilitary) in the region by the Nigerian State to maintain law and order.

That the Amnesty programme has worked in the Niger-Delta region. It is believed that it is that workability of the Amnesty Programme in the part of the country that might had goaded people to start the clamour for Amnesty for Boko-Haram sects.

Several other findings from the research which were outside the parameters of the propositions of this work but which are critical to the comprehension of the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta were posited thus:

That the Amnesty Programme had no doubt, helped to put the Niger-Delta troubled region back to the trajectory of sanity, tranquility and social cohesion.

That the conflict management efforts of the Nigerian State through the Amnesty Programme has become the hallmark and model attempts to mitigate, manage and resolve conflicts. It has become a major rationale for the international call in favour of regionalization of solutions to intractable conflicts.

It is a common knowledge that militants received millions of Naira as pay off in exchange for hostages in their custody. Related to this is the payment of militants to keep

them “out of action”. For instance, Asari Dokubo, (2012) revealed that the Rivers State Government at a point in time paid militants N100,000:00 (million) Naira to steer them away from disrupting oil production (National Standard, 2007:20). This was a common practice in the Niger-Delta, and it partly explains the high and low tides in militancy. Militants’ attacks are usually low when such payments are sustained, but any breach of such compensatory payments leads to a surge in militant attacks.

It was also found out that government officials who are charged with the responsibility of negotiating with militants see it as a medium of making money. Monies paid to militants as ransom are usually inflated. Thus, given that hostage taking benefits some Government functionaries, it is proper to argue that they cannot deal with it effectively, hence they want the status quo to continue.

It was very instructive to note that despite the prevailing war-like situation which existed in the Niger Delta region, excavation, exploration and exportation of crude oil have never stopped for a day and that no government official has proposed the stoppage of oil export just for a day in order to sort out the malady. This brought to naught the sensibility of the call by the protagonists of the Amnesty programme that unless the militants stop their nefarious activities, government will not be able to carry out necessary development programmes in the region.

It was found out that despite the militants’ campaigns of bombings of oil installations, oil bunkering and hostage takings etc, exclusively and not connected or accountable to the ordinary masses, their organizations will most likely never be able to defeat the Nigerian State together with their MNCs allies and/or collaborators. Thus, faced with the prospect of an endless warfare, there is the tendency for the militants to

regroup and become more desperate to try and extend their activities even beyond the Delta Creeks to major Nigerian cities like Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Abuja, etc.

However, incidents like the 2010 Independence Anniversary Bombing in Abuja and the attack on Atlas Cove Jetty depot, the main oil facility serving Lagos, the industrial heartland of Nigeria by MEND, the most influential militia group in the Niger-Delta, were likely to create a big political firmament from which sectional political elites benefited from. The point here is that if such attacks became more pronounced, there is the danger that it would give the opportunity to political elites across the country to exploit any local anger at attacks to mobilize and divert ordinary people's anger along ethno-religious divide against a genuine struggle. This is because the ordinary innocent Nigerians that would have their relations killed and/or have their sources/means of livelihood destroyed or disrupted as a result of attacks by militants are more likely to be susceptible to government propaganda or chauvinist ethnic leaders' propaganda of waging the proverbial war on terrorism rather than strengthening the struggle in the Niger-Delta.

That the attacks cost the country $1 billion US Dollars per month in lost revenues, according to the CBN, and that this helped to push-up global energy prices (CBN Report, 2013).

* That the crisis did not start today, it was more than 5 decades of struggle. However, the method and dimension it had taken was of serious concern to peace lovers.

* That the security situation in the Niger Delta Region had serious consequences for the oil industry and Nigeria as a country. Thus, the region, is of strategic importance to the socio-economic development of the nation.
* That prior to the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme, the militants realized that they did not have to capture grounds or major battles to accomplish their goals. They also realized that the Nigerian military and other security Agencies in the Joint Task Force (JTF) Operation Restore Hope in the Niger Delta, were not sufficiently trained and were ill-equipped to handle a full-fledged insurgency in the Delta's difficult terrain of swamps and creeks.
* They recognized that because of Nigeria's mono-economy (dependence on oil resources) the shutting down of the nation's oil production would seriously hurt the government more than any other party and create an environment for insurgency to flourish.
* That militia groups in the region were heavily involved in oil bunkering from where they source resources for the procurement of arms and providing for the needs of members of the gangs. Asari Dokubo and Ateke Tom were the influential militia leaders and renowned oil bunkerers.
* That the crisis in the Niger Delta Region had to do with internal factors as a result of lack of economic growth, bad governance, poor attitudinal responses to the concerns of the people of the region by the Federal, States and Local Governments and the Multi-National Oil Companies.

* That the jinx that is being associated with Black Gold (oil) as Devil's excrement which brings trouble, waste and corruption in developing economies is common placed in Nigeria.

* That the resultant increase in oil prices due to the activities of militants in the Niger Delta have reminded the world that the quagmire is not a problem for Nigeria alone. Perhaps, that is why the U.S.A. and Britain had supported the Amnesty programme.

* That due to the fact that 13% derivation and 10% equity share of the National Oil Revenue are paid back to oil producing States for the development of oil communities, corruption is perceived as being more of problem in the Niger-Delta than in other parts of Nigeria.

* That the Niger-Delta spawned a confusing array of armed groups, many of which mixed ideological aims with criminal enterprises such as drug dealing, oil bunkering, arms proliferation, commercial kidnapping etc.

* That highly placed people inside and outside government are patrons of the militants; they sponsor violence in the region for economic and political gains.

* That the militants often enjoy the protection from their patrons who armed and paid them to mete out violence on their opponents and delivered the desired results. Once the militants are given weapons, it is virtually impossible to demobilize them, even after their patrons no longer require their services. Therefore, the disarmament and demobilization programmes of government through the Amnesty Programme were very commendable.

* That the corruption of the Niger-Delta struggle had led to the confusion over the genuineness of the objectives and strategies of the militants. As we saw, the borderline between genuine agitation and barefaced criminality in the struggle can hardly be identified from a distance. All over the Niger-Delta States, armed gangs (militants) who had nothing to do with the peaceful agitation for resource control, terrorized innocent citizens and kidnapped expatriates engaged in legitimate business.

* That due to high level of illiteracy most ex-militants sent abroad for training found it very difficult to cope, hence they have to exhibit odd behaviours for them to be repatriated.

* That the Amnesty Programme had so far been engaged in the training of youths in Ghana, South Africa, the Philippines, Russia, Ukraine, India, Canada, UK, US, UAE, Austria among other countries. Also more than 5,000 youths have been enrolled in formal schools and various vocational training centres within and outside the country. Available data shows that no fewer than 5,067 of the total beneficiaries had already graduated in skill acquisition fields such as welding and fabrication – 1,847, entrepreneurship 1,609, pipe fitting 150, carpentry and plumbing 206, oil drilling 32, electrical installations 232, ICT 125, Marine related courses, 564 and others 302. It should be noted that over 30,000 Ex-militants had been sent abroad for training since 2010 when the programme began.

* That the Federal Government had spent over N158 billion on the Niger Delta Amnesty Programme from 2009 to 2013.

* It was found out that some ethnic groups such as the Itshekiri, Ilaje, Uhobo, Esokos etc. were sidelined in the Amnesty Programme.
* It was discovered that a lot of weapons were retrieved during the disarmament, though the one man, one weapon strategy shows that the probability that ex-militants did not surrender all their weapons was very high. This shows that substantial arms of ammunition are still logged in the region. It becomes easier in the event of a failed Amnesty for the militants to re-arm and fight again.
* That about 170 billion naira had been lost through pipe line vandalism from 2009-2013, while 1,283 arrests had been made.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS OF MAJOR RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents explanations for the results obtained on the examination ofthe Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta within the context of the State and conflict management in Nigeria. In the course of the discussions, comparisons were made with existing information and earlier works on the area of the study.

5.2 Discussions of Major Research Findings

It was established beyond reasonable doubt that the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta was implemented to stop the carnage and to usher in peace, stability and conducive atmosphere to implement developmental projects in the region.

The Amnesty Programme represented a bold policy attempt to seek an alternative route to peace and is anchored on the triad of anti-violence, pro-dialogue and welfarism. The proclamation of the amnesty for the militants ushered in a new dimension to the politics of sustaining oil exploration and exploitation in the region. Kuku (2013) corroborated this in an interview when he posited that

> *The Amnesty Programme had brought peace to the Niger Delta Region and provided the conducive atmosphere for Government to do business and generate more revenue for the development of the Niger Delta Region in particular and Nigeria in general*. (Kuku, 2013).

The researcher concurred with Kuku's assertion because other respondents and interviewers (Musa, 2012; Ateke, 2012; Agari, 2013; Abbe, 2013; Dokubo, 2013; Ajuonoma, 2013 etc.) also attested to this.

As opined earlier by Timi (2013), Wiwa (1994), Dokubo (2013), Mitee (2013) and Kimiebi (2010:82), despite the suppression and repression tactics of the Federal Government of Nigeria which culminated in the militarization of the Niger Delta, the destruction of Odi town and the bombaredment of the Gbaramatu kingdom; militant activities continued geometrically. The interpretation according to Dokubo (2013) was that,

> *Military onslaught in the region was only increasing the strength and capability of the militants. Thus, it became imperative that something drastic ought to be done to salvage the situation, hence the "birth of the Amnesty Programme; (Dokubo, 2013)*

Accordingly, Kimiebi (2010) and Kuku (2013), are of the view that it should be stated categorically that, it was the multi-dimensional impact of militancy in the Niger-Delta which prompted the Yar'Adua regime to come up with the Amnesty "Magic", which not only pacified the militants, but re-oriented and re-integrated them into the society as responsible citizens.This elucidates that Democratc regime allows for divergent opinions and/or attitudinal change towards meeting Biological and Ontological needs of man (security, recognition, participation, ldentity and autonomy) it is the denial of these needs that causes conflicts.This assertion confirmed the popular views of respondents that the Amnesty Programme was the best option towards the resolution of the quagmire in the Niger-Delta region.

However, Kimiebi (2010) asserted that the "Amnesty Magic" was initiated to get a breather for the Nigerian economy from imminent collapse because of the "zero-sum-crude oil export" due largely to the destructive activities of the militants. The Chronology

of Abductions, Releases and Timeline of Unrests in the Niger Delta lucidly explained the Activities of the Militants. It is attached as an Appendix.

Corroborating this view, Soyinka (2013)referred to the Amnesty Programme as "Amnesia or Bribe for Peace". In his view the programme was proclaimed to bribe the militants and to provide "artificial peace" for the continuous exploitation and exportation of oil and gas resources in the Niger-Delta Region. This may however be a truism, but we observed that the missing link in this assertion was that the Amnesty Programme brought peace and stability to the Niger Delta Region providing conducive atmosphere for the developmental projects in the entire Niger-Delta Region to be implemented in tandem with the agenda of the Post- Amnesty Programmes for the benefit of the Niger-Deltans and for the betterment of a peaceful united Nigeria in the Comity of Nations.

It was common knowledge that the leaders of the militants, particularly Asari-Dokubo initially rejected the Amnesty offer outright, claiming that it was simply one of the insincere and deceptive policies of the Federal Government to perpetuate the unbridled exploitation of the Niger-Delta. However, because of the successes of the Amnesty Programme, Asari-Dokubo later accepted the amnesty and appealed to Government to key-in some of his 'foot soldiers' (militants) who did not initially accept the Amnesty Programme (Oluwatoyin, 2013). He was rewarded with a lucrative contract for "off-shore oil pipe-lines-protection", with a staggering salary of fifteen (15) million Naira a month (Oluwatoyin, 2013). This view was supported by Ajuonoma (2012) in an interview when he said "President Yar'Adua through the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants, has infact brought to fore, the old saying that, "he who

makes peaceful change impossible, makes violent changes inevitable". He said this in support of the peaceful Amnesty Programme that resolved the crisis in the Delta.

Another vital reason for the proclamation of the Amnesty and the jettisoning of the war-war approach (military option) in the Niger-Delta was to give peace a chance and to demonstrate to the international Community that the democratic regime of President Yar'Adua had immense respect for human rights and constitutional governance. This to some extent explained the perceived global popular acclamation to President Yar'Adua for the strategic change in proclamation of the Amnesty Programme towards the solution of the Niger-Delta crises (Aondoakan, 2009; Abbe, 2009; Kuku, 2013).

Prior to the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme, militants have a high propensity to be killed by military forces, especially the Joint Task Force (JTF) saddled with the responsibility of keeping the peace in the region. The movements of militants publicly were therefore highly restricted simply because they were seen as enemies of the State, social deviants and criminal elements in the society. This explained why they lived in secret camp locations in the creeks and with secretive lifestyles. It was therefore understandable that some of the ex-militants/respondents in the Focused Group Discussions in Warri, Delta State and Obubra Camp in Cross-Rivers State said emphatically that they would never want to return to the creeks to resume militant activities. These expressions are manifest in the Focused Group Discussions conducted.

While some are skeptical that the wide disparity between the caches of weapons surrendered through the disarmament phase of the Amnesty Programme and the enormous fire power of the militants bespoke of insincerity and a distinct possibility of reneging on the amnesty accord (Kimiebi, 2010, Asari, 2010), others are optimistic that

by accepting the amnesty offer, the key militant leaders have effectively been co-opted into Government and will now work for the success of the Amnesty Programme (Abbe, 2009, Agary, 2011). This view was principally anchored on the target of the Amnesty plan to rehabilitate and pay allowances to the ex-militants, a monthly stipend of between US $300 and US $450 for upkeep (Asuni, 2010; Awolusi, 2009 and Oluwatoyin, 2013).

However, we observed that the top tier of ex-militants did not share the spoils of the amnesty with the mid-ranking leaders and the rank-and-file. Hence, the latter took up arms and also prey on the offshore industry to the extent that they can. This explained the "pockets of militancy" that ensued during the amnesty and post amnesty programmes. Mid-ranking ex-militants commanders were also unhappy with the Amnesty Programme because its "profits" were less than that of oil theft and commercial kidnappings. This is another reason attributed to the pockets of militant activities during and after the amnesty period. This explained the 9.1% of respondents that attested that the Amnesty Programme was not unanimously accepted by all the Niger-Delta militants. Results on table 4.27 supported this assertion.

Although the stipendiary aspect of the Amnesty Programme was a powerful motivator, it was not strong on its own to ensure the permanence of renunciation by the ex-militants. However, it is worthy of note that a similar strategy of a monthly stipend had worked in Iraq under the auspices of the United States of America, to enlist and co-opt the Awakening (Sahwah) movement in Anbar Province against al-Qaeda (Strouse, 2004). But the Nigerian situation was different because as we found out, the Ex-Militants have combined militancy with criminality (oil bunkering, commercial kidnappings) to harvest millions of Naira and dollars. They were used to the unfettered access to money

through these means. Interview reports, Focused Group Discussions recorded and the respondents' opinions expressed on tables 4.14, 4.15, 4.16 on the criminal activities of the militants gave a prop to this observation.

The study has shown that there is a sharp division amongst analysts about the utilitarian value and motive of the Amnesty Programme and its potential for enthroning a long lasting peace in the Niger Delta Region. We observed that at the core of this division is the argument about "whose end did the Amnesty Programme serve".Some pessimistic analysts (antagonists) wrote off the programme as an elite strategy to hamstring the struggle to ensure an unhindered flow of oil. They argued that the Amnesty Programme was another conduit means to elite enrichment and is therefore a sham fated to fail (Nwazor, 2010; Soyinka, 2013; West 2003). This vindicated and further agreed with our observations under the Antagonists' approach of the Amnesty Programme in chapter two of this study.

On the other side, pacifist analysts, classified in this study as protagonists of the Amnesty Programme, contended that the Amnesty Programme was a welcome development as it favoured both militants and Government; that through the instrumentality of the Amnesty Programme the Ex-militants were successfully disarmed, demobilized and re-oriented. Thus, the ex-militants can now afford to live a normal life as they have been integrated into society to be optimally useful. This agreed with one of our major findings in this research that the processes of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration were successfully implemented in the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for militants in the Niger-Delta.On the side of the Government, the Amnesty Programme inter-alia, created a gateway for vital repairs of destroyed oil installations, as well as an

opportunity to boost oil production for the betterment of the Niger Delta Region in particular, and the country in general (Kuku, 2013, Sanusi, 2013).

The implementation of the 13% derivation principle in 2000, led to a significant increase in funds allocated to the Niger-Delta States. Available data revealed that huge funds had been given to the region since 2000; this agreed with the results of table 4.11 of this research. It is expected that these monies will be invested in the development of the region. However, this is not the case, as poverty, unemployment and absence of basic social amenities are conspicuous. Paradoxically, political elites (leaders) of the region live in affluence, as they divert public funds to the promotion of their parochial and selfish interests. The implication of corruption is the exacerbation of the material deprivations that have thrown up the conflicts and violence and the resultant militancy before the Amnesty Programme was proclaimed. This conformed with the assertions stressed on Table 4.11 and the views of Sango (2009) and West (2013) on the material accumulations of the Niger-Delta Elites.

Some leaders of the Niger Delta (Timi, 2009; Mitee, Wiwa, 2005; Boro, 1968; Kuku, 2013) had alluded to the fact that poverty and deprivation were some of the reasons behind agitations and militancy in the region. Again Tables 4.9 and 4.10 lucidly portrayed this assertion. Corroborating this view, Sarowiwa said during his trial at the military tribunal

> *My lord, we all stand before history. I am a man of peace, of ideas. Appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people who live on a richly endowed land, distressed by their political marginalization and economic strangulation, angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to preserve their right to life and to a decent living deserved to be heard by all means* (Wiwa, 2005).

In supporting, Wiwa, Mudiaga (2008) advised thus:

> *Mr. President offer them (militants) reassurance, hope, employment and empowerment programmes, which will better their lives. The reason for the militancy in the region is deprivation and poverty amidst its plenty oil and gas resources* (Mudiaga, 2008).

All these statements corroborated the World Bank's view that poverty is one of the major/key causes of conflict in oil producing countries. In one of the studies it conducted on the Niger-Delta, the Bank asserted that

> *the (key) root cause of conflict is the failure of economic development such that many of the world's poorest countries are locked in a tragic vicious cycle where poverty causes conflict and conflict causes poverty* (World Bank Report, 2006)

Similarly, in 2006, the UNDP Report on the Niger-Delta described it as

> " a region suffering from administrative neglect, crumbling social infrastructure and services, high unemployment, social deprivation, abject poverty, filth, squalor and endemic conflict" (UNDP, 2006).

Without doubt, we accepted this assertions and they are in consonance with results presented on Tables 4.9 and 4.10 in this study.

The social and environmental costs of oil production have been very extensive in the Niger-Delta. They include destruction of wildlife and biodiversity, loss of fertile land/soil, pollution of air and drinking water, degradation of farmland and damage to aquatic ecosystems, all of which have caused poverty and serious health problems to the inhabitants. We found out in this study the irony that environmental regulations and corporate social responsibilities which are common practice in developed nations are disregarded and jettisoned with impunity by the oil companies in the region. As a result

of the impact of oil explorations and spillages in the region, the United Nations warned in a report that "the degree and rate of degradation are pushing the Delta towards ecological disaster" (UNDP, 2006). This assertion agreed with the exposition of Wiwa (2000), Timi (2010),Okonta (2013) on the roles oil MNCs played in environmental destruction of the Niger-Delta. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 of this study also supported this view.

The Amnesty Programme led to a reduction in the number of oil theft, kidnappings and criminal behaviours, as ex-militants were funded directly through the monthly stipends or Transitional Allowance. This confirmed the insights disclosed by respondents in a focus group discussion in Obubra, Cross River State on 21st Nov. 2012. The observations of Thomas & Dirk (2011) on the payment of allowance to Ex-militants also confirmed this issue.

It was established in this study that oil bunkering used to be largely a subsistence business in the Niger-Delta Region. With the influx of trained and experienced militants, tactics and results changed rapidly. Thus, despite the successes of the Amnesty Programme in the resolutions of the Niger Delta conflicts, the business still strives, although the scale and/or magnitude of the business had reduced drastically (Kimiebi, 2010). This also concurred with the disclosures of Ajuonuma, the Head, Public Affairs of the NNPC in an interview on the reduction of oil theft in the region.

Relating his view on the Amnesty Programme, Dokubo (2009) revealed that governments' recourse to the Amnesty package (option) was an admission of the failure of its age-long "force option". Majority of the respondents said they preferred the "amnesty option" which encapsulated Negotiation, Mediation, Arbitration and Conciliation as against the military option. Results of Table 4.19 and 4.20 explained this

tenacity of purpose.This also agreed with the views of Sango (2009); Abdullateef(2011); Victor (2013); Agbo (2012); Douglas (2010) on the choice of the Amnesty Programme towards the resolution of the conflicts in the Niger-Delta. However, some analysts argued to the contrary. They reported thus, "Some of us are embittered for the Amnesty Programme, because this means that everyone should go on creating social unrests before the Government would listen to them" (Chukwumeriejie, 2013; Ciroma, 2013). Some antagonists of the programme attested to this in some of the literature reviewed (Soyinka, 2013; West, 2012; MASSOB, 2013) etc. In as much as a point was made here, I wish to however, state that it was not enough to discredit the Amnesty Programme in its entirety.

Some antagonists of the Amnesty Programme (Adebayo, 2009; Ciroma, 2012; Chukwumeriejie, 2013; Dokubo, 2012) opined that the Amnesty Programme was a failure, failure in the sense that they could not comprehend how to find a solution to a problem without defining the problem? This argument does not have popular support, since the Amnesty Programme had been rated locally and internationally as a huge success becausemost of its objectives were met. Fundamentally, it brought peace and stability to the Niger Delta. Interview responses transcribed, Focus Group Discussions recorded and the opinions expressed by Statesmen like (Shagari, 2013; Shonekan, 2013; Gambari, 2013; Tinubu, 2013 and Gowon, 2013, etc.) all attested to the success story of the Amnesty Programme.

Lamenting on the criminalization of the Niger Delta struggle, Don Baridam (2011) (a Professor and Vice Chancellor, Uniport) and Ofuokwu noted that the Amnesty Programme had really brought peace and respite to the beleaguered region due to the activities of the militants, which evolved into an organized business. I concurred with

Baridam and Ofuokwu (2007) on this postulation. Interview results and Tables 4.24 and 4.25 in this study also supported this assertion.

Others have argued (Kimiebi, 2006; Kuku, 2013; Alaide, 2013; Timi, 2013; Agary, 2013; Abbe, 2013 and Okonta, 2013 etc.) that militancy in the Niger Delta Region in the form of hostage taking (kidnapping), pipeline vandalism, etc. was as a result of frustration due to lack of basic social ammenities, abject poverty and unemployment of the armies of youths in the region.Expressions in Table 4.12 alluded to this. However, others have contended that some militants never fought for the socio-economic and political emancipation of the region, but simply to enrich themselves (Ibeanu, 2006; Konye, 2007; Baridam, 2011). This assertion agreed with the results of Table 4.15 of this study which explained respondents' opinions on the status of the militants as criminals, saboteurs and self acclaimed agitators. However, this is a departure from other assertions which described the militants as champions of their communities. This view was lucid in table 4.15.

We found out that, 'Ex-militants' infuriated by some of the challenges of the Amnesty Programme and the perceived betrayal by their commanders (top-tier militants) increasingly pursued violent and destructive tactics. A former Farah Dagogo's Deputy (Tamunotonye Kuna) was involved in attacks and kidnappings for ransom in Rivers State. He was arrested in late November 2010. John Togo the Deputy of Tompoloreneged his Amnesty vows/acceptance in mid-November 2010, he and his boys engaged the military Joint Task Force (J.T.F.) off-shore in Delta State, he did not survive the attack. Thereafter the J.T.F. carried out raids on communities suspected of harboring John Togo's boys. On 1st Dec. 2010, the community of Ayakoromor in Delta State was

razed by the JTF (Thomas & Steffen, 2011). It was not surprising therefore that some of the Community leaders and majority of respondents interviewed said they did not want the ex-militants to return to the creeks to resume hostilities for fear of retaliatory attacks by the J.T.F. on their communities. Results on Table 4.28 corroborated this view as 99.9% of respondents said they did not want the return of youth restiveness (militancy) in the region.

We are not also unaware of the positions expressed against the Amnesty Programme at its very beginning, in terms of its challenges as explained below.

a. The challenge of elite-accumulation: The Niger Delta crisis has been good business to several elites and its resolution will be bad business for them:

   (i) The weapons that the Ex-Militants used were provided by individuals or by a consortium. This explained the high level of arms smuggling and proliferation in the region as envisaged on the results of table 4.14 of the study. It is a common knowledge that Henry Okah, one of the militants' leaders was a Gin-merchant.

   (ii) The illegally obtained oil from bunkering is also marketed by someone. This agreed with Nwozor, 2010 and Kimiebi, 2010 candid expressions on oil bunkering and sources of revenue for the various militia groups in the Niger-Delta region.

   (iii) There were also elites that gain political opportunities and relevance by acting as "Negotiators and "Mediators" between the Government and the militants (Kimiebi, 2010). Thus, the study has shown that these categories of persons will never want

militancy to stop in the Niger-Delta. This also agrees with the views of Oluwatoyin (2013) on the issue.

b. The second challenge is that of sustainability: How the government is able to sustain the tempo of peace and maintain its drivers, especially by adhering to and discharging its own core tasks (the implementation of the post-Amnesty Agenda, as enshrined in the Niger-Delta Regional Development Master-Plan) will determine the course, nature and content of the 'peace project' in the Niger Delta. This also conforms with one of the findings of this study that Government must consolidate the gains of the Amnesty Programme for a durable peace in the Region.

c. The third was the challenge of "Exclusiveness" and "Inclusiveness": As has already been noted in this study, there are motley groups in the Niger-Delta. Thus, some militants from particular ethnic groups (Ishekiri, Ilaje, Urobo and Isoko, etc.) argued that they were majorly excluded from the Amnesty Programme to the benefits of the Ijaw ethnic militias (Oluwatoyin, 2013; Nwazor, 2010; Tinubu, 2013; Fashola, 2013). Government must ensure that all the ethnic groups are carried along in the Post-Amnesty projects for widespread and enduring peace.

d. The fourth challenge is that of infrastructural development in the Niger-Delta. While part of the underlying rationalization of the upsurge of militancy is the neglect of the region in terms of the provision of basic infrastructure, the government must fulfill its infrastructural obligation to consolidate peace in the post-Amnesty Niger-Delta.

Despite these challenges, the study is of the opinion that the Amnesty Programme was a master stroke in the history of political engineering in Nigeria. This is against the background of the failure of the many institutional and constitutional measures of successive administrations in resolving the conflicts in the Niger Delta. This is to extent that the Amnesty Programme went a long way to instill peace and stability to the region in particular and Nigeria in general. Thus, the almost whole scale embrace of it by the ex-militants has been a great relief for Nigerians and the international community. It is on this premise that we conclude this discussion and underscored the fact that the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta stopped the violence in the region, re-oriented the ex-militants into productive force and facilitated a peaceful atmosphere for the generation of more revenue for the government and all stakeholders towards the implementation of the developmental projects in the region and for the betterment of the Nigerian State.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This research is titled "the State and Conflict Management in Nigeria: An examination of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta.This section attempts to provide the summary of findings, drawconclusion and proffer some recommendations.

6.2 Summary

The summary presents highlights of the major findings of the study.

The study revealed that although there were some challenges to the implementation of Amnesty Programme, it was a huge success.

From the use of available data, the study found out that the Amnesty programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta stopped the carnage as well as the insecurity that characterized existence in the Niger-Delta, which liken the Region to the Hobbesian-State-of-Nature, "where life is cruel, barbaric, brutish and short" (Kimiebi, 2010 : 34).

The study exposed that all the terms, conditions and processes of the Amnesty Programme were met and the Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration phases of the programme were successfully implemented. As a veritable panacea for achieving peace, the Amnesty proclaimed for militants in the Niger Delta was a good and laudable option or strategy.

It was also established that, the Federal Government must demonstrate more political will to muster resources for the development of the region. The reason being that, Government so easily finds funds for peripheral matters in the Niger Delta, and not for the core issues which are the drivers of the conflicts (root causes of the conflicts).

The study observed that the sustainability of the peace facilitated by the Amnesty Programme would depend largely on the conferment of sanctity on, and strict adherence to the conditions stipulated in the Post Amnesty Agenda, as enunciated in the Report of the Technical Committee on the Niger Delta, chaired by Ledum Mitee (President of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People) (MOSOP) by all stakeholders alike.

That, despite some challenges of the Amnesty Programme, the fact established by this study was that the Amnesty Programme demonstrated the successes of government to latch on to a window of opportunity to effectively restore peace, stability and progress in the Niger Delta. Thus, the strong argument in essence is that, the present existential conditions in the Niger-Delta occasioned by the proclamation of the Amnesty programme for the militants and the implementation of the Post- Amnesty Programmes authenticated and corroborated our strong held view that, the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger Delta region was not only to maintain durable peace, restore stability and progress in the volatile region, but to generally safeguard lives and properties and generate revenues from oil and gas production to redress the developmental needs of the region which were the root causes of the conflicts.

6.3 Conclusion

This section of the study gives an inference drawn from the major findings. Challenges encountered during the study were also highlighted and indicated. Conclusion was then drawn on the basis of the data presented and analysed.

The study has shown that the Nigerian State is endowed with abundant natural resources and principally among them is crude oil and gas, which are largely deposited in the Niger-Delta. Juxtaposing the wealth produced in the region and the level of development, some Niger-Deltans, activists and militants (Boro, 1968; Wiwa, 1990, 1993, 1994; Mitee, 2013; Okonta, 2013; Asari, 2013; Ateke, 2013; Tompolo, 2013; Okah, 2013, etc) felt the region was short-changed by the Nigerian State, that the State has not done much to develop the region (Kimiebi, 2010). They noted that the interventionist agenda of successive administrations in Nigeria through the establishments of Commissions and Agencies have failed to create the much needed development in the region due largely to greed, corruption, mismanagement, and lack of political will (Wiwa, 1990, 1993 and Mitee, 2013). Hence, some people in the region, acting under different auspices made demands on the Nigerian-State to positively address the plight of the region (Boro, 1968 and Wiwa, 1990).

The recent of such demands was the militant agitations which metamorphosed from peaceful demonstrations to violence and destructive activities. The activities of the militants negatively affected the Nigerian economy with the destruction of oil and gas installations and facilities, creating uncertainty and shrinking of the nation's source of revenue.

The study observed that there was a linkage between the oil wealth produced in the Niger-Delta region, the conflicts in the region and the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the region by the President Umaru Yar'Adua's administration. It became apparent that the conflicts inherent in the Niger-Delta Region of Nigeria and the ways of resolving them have elicited a lot of reactions from Antagonists and Protagonists alike.

The study also revealed that, the unconditional amnesty granted to the militants in the Niger Delta Region, was an unprecedented strategy that resolved the conflicts. This was a far departure from the cosmetic, pacific and palliative measures of successive regimes in Nigeria towards the resolution of the conflicts. Thus, it concludes that the Amnesty Programme was very successful and it was a step in the right direction, as it demonstrated government's avid political will to address the root causes of the conflicts. No doubt, it enjoyed widespread acceptance in the length and breath of the Niger-Delta in particular, and in Nigeria in general.

Veritably, the study found out that the Amnesty Programme provided a platform for Government to take the conversation further on how to build more credible institutions for a social protection programme, an expansion of healthcare and a long overdue overhaul of the education and infrastructural systems in the Niger-Delta.

That the Amnesty Programme fully achieved the objective of instilling peace in the region and a commitment to the growth and development of the entire Niger-Delta through creation of community of interest, community of purpose and community of exchange for the overall development of the Niger Delta.

The study also found out that the Amnesty Programme went beyond money; it brought political opportunities for the Niger-Deltans and opportunities for the Niger-Delta States to unlock the improvements in the region. It has also proved that there were a strong commitment between the private sector and the public sector to collaborate regionally and globally in the fight against poverty, social exclusion and militancy (terror) in Nigeria, West Africa, Africa and the World at large.

In the words of Roster (2013).

> *The implementation of the Amnesty Programme in Nigeria was very successful. The country has a great role in pioneering policies for Africa and in building a better more equitable Africa. Nigeria is a country that not only embodies the hopes and challenges of the whole continent, but could actually determine them. The country should be praisedas this singular action (Amnesty Programme) served as a role model for other African countries*. (Roster, 2013).

The study suffered some limitations like accessibility to some principal actors as well as some of their unwillingness to provide relevant and valid information. Another constraint was logistics, due to the difficult terrain of the region, the cost of transportation was very high. The cost of living is also very high in the Niger Delta, especially in Port-Harcourt and Warri; and movements or transportation to and fro the various Creeks and towns (villages) were dangerous especially for persons with zero skill in swimming in the event the speed boats capsized. However, all these constraints were overcomed to make this dissertation a fruition

The study thus concludes that, there's no doubting the fact that the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta guaranteed and safeguard life and property, restored durable peace and createdconducive environment for the region to

become an "Investment Destination". This had led to tremendous gain in national revenue for the implementation of the Post-Amnesty Projects in the Niger-Delta and the development of Nigeria in general. This has also restored Nigeria's international image, particularly in the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS), the African Union (A.U.), the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the United Nations and other regional bodies (organizations). Thus, Nigeria has taken its rightful place in the Comity of Nations. This view was clearly buttressed by all Statesmen and women (Yahyah-Jammeh of Gambia, Joyce Banda of Malawi, Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Ernest Koroma of Sierra-Leone, William Ruto of Kenya, John Mahama of Ghana, Thomas Shannon of the USA, Gordon Brown of Britain, Valerie Amos of the United Nations and the Premier of the Peoples Republic of Korea, Li Kegiang etc.)who attended the World Economic Summit, held in Abuja, Nigeria from $7^{th} – 9^{th}$ May, 2014.

6.4 Recommendations

Recommendations are based on the major findings of the study and are stated in precise terms.Possible ways of resolving problems identified were listed and areas for further research/study were also highlighted.

As a Social Science enquiry, this study is not an "end in itself", but a "means to an end". Thus it had empirically examined the Amnesty Programme for militants in the Niger-Delta within the context of the State and conflict management in Nigeria. The analysis of data collected for this research work brought to fore the rationale of the Amnesty Programme designed for the militants with its attendant terms, conditions and processes. The sentiments in regards to the Protagonists' and Antagonists' views of the

Amnesty Programme had been highlighted. Thus in pursuit of the research objectives, and major findings, the following recommendations are proffered.

1. The Federal Government should ensure that necessary steps are taken to consolidate on the gains of the Amnesty Programme. We therefore appeal to all stakeholders to be patient as there can be no meaningful development in the theatre of war (atmosphere of violence).
2. The Post Amnesty Programmes must be implemented to their logical conclusions. There are fears in certain quarters that in the event the Government reneged, the relative peace in the region will crumble. Hence, sustaining the peace remained a source of serious concern to all peace lovers.
3. The root causes of the crisis in the Niger-Delta Region which had been the drivers of the conflict must be addressed by the Federal, State and Local Governments and the multinational oil companies doing business in the region.
4. Offering rehabilitation and skill development to ex-militants is commendable but may I state without fear of any contradiction that without fundamentally addressing the underlying social, political and economic problems faced by the region, the peace that the Amnesty Programme facilitated will be short-lived.
5. Hence, the Nigerian State must sustain the measures introduced to address youth unemployment, to reduce poverty, improve environment, provide social amenities and relevant infrastructure in the region.
6. It is common placed to affirm without the fear of any contradiction, that if the ongoing developmental reforms are sustained in the Niger-Delta; the Amnesty Programme will be a panacea for a long lasting peace in the region, thus, a viable

model for conflict management, settlement and resolution. It can then be confidently said, that the local and international acclamations for the Amnesty programme will make it adaptable for implementation in other troubled regions in Nigeria, West Africa, Africa and the world at large.

7. The use of force, pacific and palliative measures to repress the people and exploit oil and gas resources should never be used again by Government. In the stead, the political, economic and environmental factors should be solved constitutionally. The Nigerian-State stands to suffer if the relative peace in the region collapsed because insurgency will re-erupt in full force and gets bigger and bigger with serious economic and socio-political catastrophes.

8. The Nigerian State should be able to tame the Multi-National Oil Companies (MNOCs) and make them to operate the policy of best business practices as it is obtainable globally. The MNOCs should constantly exhibit corporate social responsibility in their areas of operations bearing in mind that the inhabitants of the area are morally justified to call them to order in the event of any breach.

9. Checkmating arms running in the region; youth restiveness cannot be perpetrated or even sustained for long without a dependable source of arms and ammunitions. The militants need a stable supply of ammunitions and constant replenishing of their armoury to successfully engage the para-military and armed forces. They also need arms to kidnap their victims and explosives to bomb installations. So government at the Federal, States and Local levels must close the routes through which these sophisticated ammunitions and devices are freighted to the

insurgents. The incidence of youth restiveness will drastically reduce and/or stop if these actions are instituted.

10. Creation of employment opportunities for the armies of youths: An idle mind, they say, is the devil's workshop. Government at all levels must see the task of providing jobs for its citizens as part of its corporate responsibilities as enshrined in the "social contract theory", the erroneous belief that Government has no business creating employment opportunities for its people are diversionary, evasive, defeatist and amounts to mere buck-passing of its justifiable obligation to the private sector. Though it is a known fact that some ex-militants who have tasted the alluring quick cash that came from commercial kidnappings may not want to quit the "lucrative business" no matter how much jobs are provided. Yet we must start from somewhere. It is an incontrovertible fact that those youths who were forced by poverty and other factors to join militancy will chose more decent jobs once such opportunity presents itself. Thus, oil companies (MNOCs) must also assist in this regard. Instead of exacerbating the tensed atmosphere by the constant retrenchment, casualization and contracting of labour while declaring huge profits at their annual general meetings. They can do more to stop youth restiveness by employing qualified people from the communities.

11. The Nigerian State must appreciate what the Niger Deltans want; the state will have to create ample space for fiscal federalism, resource control and civil rights to thrive. It is only after these that one will be comfortable that there would be durable peace in the region.

12. Stoppage of illegal oil bunkering: The involvement of Niger-Delta militant youths in the environmentally unfriendly act of oil theft popularly known as illegal oil bunkering is another major source of insecurity in the Niger-Delta. This criminal act involves the process whereby oil siphoned from Nigeria's petroleum infrastructure into barges and transported from the creeks to standby ships offshore for sale and refining in other countries of the world. Illegal bunkering also includes the stealing of other refined petroleum products like kerosene and diesel from vandalized pipelines. It was estimated that Nigeria lose between 70,000 and 300,000 barrels of crude oil per day to oil theft (ICG, 2006:8) Governments at all levels must deal with this menace decisively because the illegal bunkering is a veritable source of income for the purchase of sophisticated arms and ammunitions for insurgency.

13. The overwhelming reliance on oil and revenues derived from its exploitation has done more harm than good to Nigeria. Therefore, Government should endeavour to diversify the economy as the neglect of other economic sectors like agriculture and tourism has remained a bane to Nigeria's development over the years. Looking at the challenges posed by the Niger Delta crisis, Nigeria risk further crisis and tensions in the region as new brand of ethnic militias might rise to launch another insurgency in the region.

14. Following the successes of the Amnesty Programme in the resolution of the Niger-Delta conflicts, it has become a viable model for conflict resolution. Thus, it should be extended to the Boko Haram Terrorists.

15. Lastly, however little this research contributions might be, it is hoped that it will en rich the body of knowledge and launch a new platform for further research studies in the area studied.

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APPENDIX I

Chronology and Timelines of Militants' Abductions and Attacks in the Niger Delta Region.

ABDUCTIONS AND RELEASES:

May 10, 2006: An oil executive of Baker Hughes (an American Co.) employee was killed by unidentified gunmen in Port Harcourt. MEND denies responsibility.

May 11, 2006: 3 workers of Italian oil contractor Saipan are kidnapped.

June 2, 2006: 6 Britons, 1 Canadian and an American were abducted from Belford Dolphin oil rig owned by Norwegian oilfield services group Fred. Olsen Energy. Hostages were released two days later.

June 7, 2006: Militants attacks a Shell-operated natural gas facility in the Niger Delta, killing 6 soldiers and kidnapping 5 South Korean contractors.

June 20, 2006: 2 Filipinos with Beaufort International was kidnapped in Port Harcourt and freed 5 days later.

July 6, 2006: Gunmen kidnapped Michael Los, a Dutch oil worker in Bayelsa State. He is released 4 days later

July 25, 2006: Niger Delta mob seize Agip Ogbainbiri flow stations, taking 24 workers hostage. Hostages released and flow station abandoned July 31 after paid-off (settlement) by Nigerian Government.

August 3, 2006: German oil worker, Guido Schiffarth, a 62-year-old employee of Bilfinger and Berger was snatched from his car in Port Harcourt by armed men dressed as soldiers.

August 4, 2006: Gunmen abduct 3 Filipino oil workers from a bus near Port Harcourt. They are released 10 days later.

August 9, 2006: 2 Norwegian and 2 Ukrainian oil workers were kidnapped.

August 10, 2006: A Belgian and Moroccan contractors were kidnapped in Port Harcourt. Both released on August 14.

August 13, 2006: 5 Foreign oil workers (2 Britons, a Garman, an Irish and a Pole.) were Kidnapped from a nightclub in Port Harcourt. An American was also kidnapped earlier the same day.

August 15, 2006: 2 Norwegian and 2 Ukrainian oil workers kidnapped on August 9 were freed.

August 16, 2006: Lebanese man was kidnapped.

August 19, 2006: German oil worker, Guido Schiffarth is released. Nigerian army launch crackdown on militants. Soldiers fired in the air, sending men and women screaming through the streets of Port Harcourt with psychological trauma.

August 24, 2006: An Italian oil worker employed by Saipem is kidnapped by gunmen in Port Harcourt. He is freed after five days.

October 2, 2006: 25 Nigerian employees of a Royal Dutch Shell contractor were seized after an ambush of boats carrying supplies to Shell facilities in the Cawthorne Chennel. They were released two days later.

October 3, 2006: 7 Foreign oil workers (four Britons one Indonesian, one Malaysian and a Romanian) were kidnapped in a raid on a compound for expatriate contractors working for Exxon Mobil. The 3 British among them were released 7 Foreign oil workers arrived back in Scotland October 23, to tell of their hostage ordeal in the hands of Nigerian Delta Militants. One of the men, Graeme Buchan revealed how he was beaten and forced to call the Chief Executive of his employers to falsely say that his colleague Paul Smith was dead. Speaking

on behalf of his colleagues, Mr. Buchan described how they were beaten with sticks, slapped with machetes and feared they might never see their families again.

October 21, 2006: 7 Foreign oil workers kidnapped October 3, were released.

November 2, 2006: A British and an American employee of Petroleum Geo-Services (PGS) are kidnapped from a survey ship off the coast of Bayelsa.

November 7, 2006: British and American employees of Petroleum Geo-Services (PGS) kidnapped on November 2 freed.

November 22, 2006: A British oil worker was killed during an attempt by Nigerian soldiers to free 7 hostages abducted by militants earlier the same day.

December 7, 2006: Gunmen kidnapped three Italians and one Lebanese from a residential facility. Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) claims responsibility.

December 14, 2006: Gunmen invaded the Nun River logistics base in Bayelsa State operated by Royal Dutch Shell and held 5 people hostage.

December 18, 2006: 2 cars bomb explode in Port Harcourt, one near Agip compound and the other in Shell resident compound. There were no casualties

December 21, 2006: Militants storm the Obagi field facility in Rivers State, operated by Total, killing 3 people.

January 5, 2007: Gunmen kidnapped 5 Chinese Telecom workers. Militants plant a car bomb in the Shell residential compound in Port Harcourt. Shell evacuates some staff from compounds in Port Harcourt, Bonny Island and Warri.

January 10, 2007: Gunmen attacked a base operated by South Korea's Daewoo Engineering and Construction in the Bayelsa State kidnapping 9 South Korean and one Nigerian oil workers.

January 12, 2007: 9 South Korean workers and one Nigerian are freed after being kidnapped when gunmen attacked a base operated by South Korea's Daewoo Engineering and Construction in the Bayelsa State capital Yenagoa on January 10.

January 16, 2007: 3 people including a Dutch oil worker are killed when their boat, operated by South Korean firm Hyundai, was attacked by gunmen on its way to the Bonny Island Export Terminal.

January 18 2007: Gunmen free 5 Chinese Telecom workers, kidnapped January 5. An Italian is also released in Bayelsa State. 3 Foreign hostages remain in captivity.

January 20, 2007: Militants seize German shipping line Baco-Liner Cargo Ship on its way to Warri Port, taking all 24 Filipino crew members hostage.

January 23, 2007: Gunmen kidnapped 2 Engineers, an American and a Briton, in Port Harcourt, on their way to work.

January 25, 2007: 9 Employees of Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC) working in Bayelsa State under contract with Shell are kidnapped.

February 4, 2007: 9 Employees of Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC) kidnapped on January 25 released.

February 6, 2007: Gunmen kidnapped a Filipino oil worker on Port Harcourt-Owerri Road.

February 7, 2007: A Filipino woman is kidnapped by gunmen in Port Harcourt. This apparently is the first abduction of a woman in the region. The same day, a French oil worker (an employee of Total Oil Co.), identified as Gerard Laporal, married to a Nigerian woman is kidnapped by gunmen as he returned home around 9.00pm.

February 13, 2007: Militants released 24 Filipino kidnapped on January 20th

February 17, 2007: 4 young Nigerian men serving as missionaries for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints abducted from their apartment in Port Harcourt.

February 18, 2007: 3 Croatian oil workers of Hydro drive Nigerian were abducted in Port Harcourt.

March 4, 2007: Gunmen kidnapped a German construction worker and killed a soldier in the Niger Delta.

March 14, 2007: Militants released 2 Italian workers being held since December 7th

March 23, 2007: A Dutch Manager for German building contractor Bilfinger Berger was, kidnapped in Port Harcourt.

March 31, 2007: A British worker was abducted from the Bulford Dolphin oil rig.

April 2, 2007: 2 Lebanese employees of Setraco were abducted in Bayelsa.

April 4, 2007: Dutch manager kidnapped on March 23 is released. British worker abducted on March 31released and 2 Lebanese employed by Setraco abducted on April 2 also released.

April 7, 2007: Gunmen kidnap 2 Turkish engineers from their car in Port Harcourt.

April 27, 2007: Gunmen kill 2 policemen in a failed kidnap attempt in Port Harcourt as the officers were escorting a convoy of vehicles carrying expatriate staff to work.

May 1, 2007: An American, 4 Italians and a Croat are kidnapped from an offshore oil facility operated by Chevron in Bayelsa State.
May 3, 2007: Gunmen kidnap 20 foreign workers in three attacks, but eight are freed within hours. Saipem reduces output by about 50,000 barrels a day.

May 5, 2007: Gunmen abduct a British oil worker from Trident 8 rig operated by U.S.-based Transocean off the coast of Bayelsa. In a separate incident, gunmen abduct a Belarusian woman who works as a manager of Britain's Compass Group from outside her home in Port Harcourt.

May 8, 2007: 3 South Koreans and 8 Filipinos are freed after being held for five days. Rebels blow up three oil pipelines in the Niger Delta, forcing Italian oil giant Eni to halt production of 150,000 barrels per day feeding its Brass export terminal. MEND claims responsibility for the attack.

May 9, 2007: Gunmen kidnap 4 U.S. oil workers from a barge off the coast near Chevron's Escravos crude export terminal.

May 16, 2007: Belarusian woman abducted May 5, is freed.

May 19,2007: 2 Indian staff of Eleme Petrochemical Company are kidnapped by gunmen in Port Harcourt.

May 22, 2007: In Warri Gunmen abduct a Lebanese man, Financial Controller at oil service company Nigercat in the city.

May 24, 2007: Gunmen kidnap a Polish engineer near Warri.

May 25, 2007: Nine(3 Americans, 4 Britons, a South African, and a Filipino) oil workers are kidnapped from a ship in the Niger Delta.

May 28, 2007: Polish engineer kidnapped May 24 is released.

May 30, 2007: 4 U.S. oil workers, kidnapped May 9 are released.

June 1, 2007: Gunmen kidnap 3 senior managers of Indonesian chemical company Indorama from their residential estate in Port Harcourt. In a separate incident, gunmen kidnap 4 workers from Britain, France, Netherlands and Pakistan from their residential compound of oil services company Schlumberger in Port Harcourt. Yet another raid by gunmen took 10 Indian hostages.

June 2, 2007: An American, 4 Italians and a Croat kidnapped May 1, are released.
June 3,2007: Gunmen kidnap 6 staff of United Company RUSAL (Russian aluminum giant), in Ikot Abasi in the Niger Delta.

June 11, 2007: 5 Britons and 3 Americans are released in Bayelsa State. 2 Indians, a Filipino and a South African kidnapped May 25, all released.

June 15, 2007: Gunmen kidnap 2 Lebanese men, employees of ltalian firm Stabilini, in Ogara in Delta State. In a separate incident in Delta State also, gunmen kidnap 2 Indian construction workers.

June 16, 2007: Militants release 10 Indian hostages held since June 1.

June 21, 2007: Troops kill 12 militants and free some hostages in a dawn raid on an Italian-operated Ogbainbiri oil facility.

June 23, 2007: 4 foreign hostages employed by oil services giant Schlumberger kidnapped June I are released unharmed.

July 5, 2007: Margaret Hill, a 3-year-old British girl is abducted in Port Harcourt. She is released July 8.

July 7, 2007: Royal Dutch Shell reports one of its teams attacked in Rivers State, 2 Nigerian

workers taken hostage. The 2 Nigerians released July 11.

July 8, 2007: A Bulgarian and and a Briton, employees of British oil company Exprogroup kidnapped from a barge near Calabar in Cross River state. They were freed August 8,2007.

July 12, 2007: Francis Samuel Amadi, 3-year-old son of a traditional ruler of Iriebe IS kidnapped in Port Harcourt. He was released next day.

July 31,2007: A Pakistani construction manager with Gitto, an Italian firm is kidnapped near Bodo in the Ogoni area of Rivers State.

August 10, 2007: Gunmen abducts David Ward, a British manager from oil services firm Hydrodive in Port Harcourt.

August 28, 2007: Pakistani construction manager kidnapped on July 31 is released.

September 23, 2007: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) announces will restart attacks on oil installations and abduction of expatriates following the arrest of its leader, Henry Okah on arms trafficking on September 3.

September 27, 2007: Gunmen raid oil services company Saipem and abduct a Colombian and a Filipino workers of the company, killing another Colombian staff.

October 5, 2007: David Ward, abducted by gunmen August 10, is freed by Nigerian troops.

October 10, 2007: The two Colombian and Filipino workers of oil services company Saipem abducted September 27, are both released.

October 20, 2007: Seven workers, 4 Nigerians and 3 contractors of Royal Dutch Shell(a Russian, a Briton, & a Croat) are seized at EA field off the coast of Bayelsa State by gunmen in speedboats. All are freed October 22.

October 26, 2007: Gunmen in speedboats attack the Mystras vessel at an offshore oil production facility operated by Saipem, seizing six Indian and Polish oil workers hostage. MEND had claims responsibility for the attack.

October 30,2007: Six Indian and Polish hostages seized October 26 are all freed.
March 4, 2008: A German employee of German-Nigerian construction group Julius Berger kidnapped in Port Harcourt.

May 23, 2008: 2 foreign workers(a Pakistani &a Maltese) are kidnapped at Omoku village of the Niger Delta.

June 3, 2008: Gunmen abduct 2 Lebanese employees of Setraco, a local engineering company in the town of Arnassoma of the Niger Delta.

June 19, 2008: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) attack Royal Dutch Shell's Bonga oilfield, taking Jack Stone, the U.S. captain of a nearby supply ship hostage. Stone was released later same day. "Capt. J. (Jack) Stone, who was captured by our fighters in the early hours of today (Thursday), was released unconditionally to his employers by 1645Hrs," a terse statement from MEND stated. The rebels warn of further attacks.

June 22, 2008: MEND declares ceasefire from attacks following appeal for peace by Niger Delta elders. The group in an electronic email, entitled, "Unilateral Ceasefire":, signed by Jomo Gbomo said, "Effective 12 midnight on Tuesday, June 24, 2008, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) will be observing a unilateral ceasefire in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria until further notice."

June 22 &23, 2008: Rival Militants In Gun Battle In Bayelsa - Fierce gun battle between militia groups loyal to the peace pact initiated in the state and those against the process. 2 killed in the fight. Fighting erupted when the later, the Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF) led by warlord Ateke Tom attempted to set up a camp in Opuama in the Southern Ijaw council area. The NDVF was formerly based in Okirika but got chased out recently through the combined efforts of the Rivers State Government and the Joint Military Task Force. It therefore decided to set up another camp in Opuama in Bayelsa. A militant commander in the area popularly known as Prince Igodo vehemently resisted the moves, arguing it would threaten the peace initiative in the area. Prince Igodo is a leading member of the peace pact between Bayelsa State Government and 14 commanders of militant camps in the state. Attempt by NDVF to go ahead with its plan led to fierce fighting involving the use of sophisticated weapons by both sides.

June 24, 2008: Death toll from fighting between NDVF militants and Prince Igodo's group put at 20.
June 25, 2008: Militants in the Niger Delta call off their unilateral ceasefire and order resumed hostilities. The Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC), comprising Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Reformed Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force and the Martyrs Brigade, announced the ceasefire call off in a press statement signed by its spokesperson, Cynthia Whyte.

June 27, 2008: Ateke Tom led NDVF militants capture rival militant warlord. Prince Igodo. His two hands are cut-off and he bleeds to death according to reports. In an unrelated incident, gunmen storm a burial function whisking away Mr. Ekpareba Apiri, a permanent secretary with Bayelsa State oil service, as he hosted guests after his relative's interment in their country home of Okodi in Ogbia local government area. Apiri's corpse was dumped at his doorstep the following morning.

July 11, 2008: 2 German employees of construction firm Julius Berger, Nigerian unit of Germany's Bilfinger Berger kidnapped at Emohua in Rivers state.

July 16, 2008: Thousands of Nigerians flee Niger Delta oil town of Bonny after militants

Tabal II. Timeline of Unrest in Niger Delta Region [178]

October 1, 2010:
Independece day bormbing by MEND. Several people were lilled.

*February **2010***
On 2 February Minister of Defence Maj Gen Godwin Abe calls on the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) group to respect the ceasefire members had declared on 25 October 2009 but ended three months later.

*January **2010***
On 30 January MEND calls off its declared ceasefire threatening an "all-out onslaught" on the oil
industry in the Niger Delta oil-producing region and warning of attacks in the weeks to come.
Three British workers and one Colombian are released on 18 January, six days after they were abducted by unknown gunmen near the main oil city of Port Harcourt in the Niger Delta.

*December **2009***
MEND delivers what it calls a "warning" strike by destroying a major crude pipeline in the Niger
Delta on 19 December.
The group expresses frustration over stalled peace talks due to the absence of ailing President Umaru Yar'Adua. "A situation where the future of the Niger Delta is tied to the health and well-being of one man is unacceptable," MEND says in a statement.

*November **2009***
On 15 November top Nigerian officials meet with MEND leaders in the capital, Abuja, to discuss plans for development of the oil-producing region as part of a drive to end the long-runninginsurgency.

*October **2009***
On 25 October MEND reinstates an indefinite ceasefire raising prospects for peace in the troubled oil-producing region after nearly three decades of hostilities.
President Umaru Yar'Adua meets for the first time with the leader of MEND, Hen Okah, in Abuja to diffuse tensions in the Niger Delta on 19 October. The government announces a US$1.3-billion development package to build roads, schools and hospitals in the Niger Delta.
A government amnesty for militants expires on 4 October. Between August and October between 8,000 and 15,000 gunmen have handed in thousands of weapons and renounced violence under the amnesty program, according to the authorities.

September 2009

On 29 September MEND names a team of negotiators that included Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka for talks with government.

On 15 September MEND extends a two-month ceasefire in the oil-producing region by 30 days, but dismisses as a sham the government's amnesty program.

August 2009

The government's 60-day amnesty program for the Niger Delta comes into effect. Under the initiative militants who surrender their weapons within the period are to receive training, employment assistance and a government pardon.

The government announces it will give 10 percent of Nigeria's joint oil ventures to Niger Delta residents.

July 2009

On 15 July MEND announces a unilateral 60-day ceasefire and releases six crew members it had seized from a foreign oil tanker 'Sichem Peace'.

On 12 July the federal government drops all charges against the leader of MEND, Henry Okah, and releases him from jail. He was on trial for treason and gun-running. On the same day MEND commits a rare raid on an oil offloading facility in Lagos, the group's first attack outside the Niger Delta in several months. Five people are killed in the attack.

June 2009

On 26 June President Umaru Yar'Adua formally announces details of an amnesty program for militants in the Niger Delta. MEND rejects the plans by the government and vows to continue attacks on the oil industry until the "injustice" to the oil-rich region is corrected. At least six high-profile attacks on oil well heads, offshore platforms, major pipelines and oil pumping stations are reported in the days following declaration. The group claims at least 20 soldiers were killed in one of the attacks on Shell's Forcados offshore platform in Delta state. Chevron evacuates hundreds of workers from the Niger Delta after the attacks.

Royal Dutch Shell reaches an out-of-court settlement on 8 June with the Ogoni community in eastern Niger Delta to pay compensation for complicity in the execution of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other leaders of the Ogoni tribe.

May 2009

On 25 May Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) says it has destroyed several oil pipelines which oil company Chevron confmns has cut its production by 100,000

barrels per day.
Clashes between government forces (the Joint Task Force) and militants break out on 12 May. Both sides deny initiating the attack. On 14 May militants take at least 15 hostages; the JTF launched a major offensive "Operation Restore Hope" destroyed several insurgent camps and eventually frees most of the hostages. Rebel leader Tom Polo's compound is destroyed but he is still said to be at large. Thousands of Niger Delta residents are displaced in the fighting.

March 2009
President Umaru Yar'Adua declares the government will consider a conditional amnesty for militants in the Niger Delta.

February 2009
Joint Task Force destroys prominent 'Daroama militants' camp in Bayelsa state.
President Yar'Adua announces the creation of a new government committee to study recommendations of previous Technical Committee set up in September 2008 to recommend solutions for reducing violence in region.
Militants attack a civilian helicopter for first time.

January 2009
Militants call off unilateral ceasefire announced in September 2008, declaring "Hurricane Obama" step-up in attacks, linked to a government offensive on camp of rebel member Ateke Tom.
Civil society group coalition criticizes President Yar'Adua's silence on Technical Committee recommendations for reducing violence.

December 2008
Government forces arrest militant leader Sabomabo Jackrich.
Government Technical Committee issues recommendations to reduce violence in Niger Delta including appointing a mediator to facilitate discussions between government and militants; granting amnesty to some militant leaders; launching a disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation campaign; and channeling 25 percent of the country's oil revenue to the Delta, up
from the current 13 percent.

November 2008
Military launches crackdown on oil thieves.

September 2008
Militants declare an "oil war" in which they step up attacks on oil facilities and security forces,
sparking the heaviest clashes in the region in two years. On 13 September, government security
forces allegedly raze three villages in Rivers state in search of MEND member Farah Dagogo. Dozens die in attacks, according to International Crisis Group.

Militants take 27 oil workers hostage, later releasing all but two.
On 10 September 2008, Nigerian cabinet appoints a new minister for the region, the Minister of
Niger Delta Affairs, Obong Ufot Ekaette. Government forms Technical Committee to recommend ways to reduce violence in the Delta.
At end of month militants declare unilateral ceasefire.

June 2008
President Yar'Adua orders a military crackdown in the Niger Delta following persistent rebel attacks.

February 2008
Prominent militant, Henry Okah, arrested in Angola and is extradited to Nigeria.

November 2007
Militants step up oil pipeline attacks.

August 2007
Government troops continue sweep of restive main oil city of Port Harcourt.

May 2007
President Yar'Adua assumes office. Four American oil workers held by militants for weeks released.

December 2006
Criminal gangs release more than 20 hostages seized some 20 days prior.

December 2006
Three Italian oil workers seized.

November 2006
Soldiers and militants clash in Bayelsa state and at least two militants die in the shootout.

October 2006 to ***June*** *2007*
Kidnapping of oil workers intensifies.

October 2006
Hundreds of villagers occupy four oil pumping stations in the Niger Delta saying oil company Shell reneged on a promise to give supply contracts to the host community.

October 2006
Army confirmed the killing of nine soldiers in a clash with militants.

September 2006 --
Soldiers invade Okochiri village, near the main oil city of Port Harcourt, said to be a hideout for suspected kidnappers of oil workers.

September 2006
Oil unions launch a three-day strike over deteriorating security situation in the Niger Delta.

May 2006
A Nigerian court orders oil company Shell Petroleum Development Corporation to pay $1.5 billion in damages to a host community in the Niger Delta for years of environmental pollution.Shell files an appeal and refuses to accept the judgment.

April 2006
President Olusegun Obasanjo inaugurates a forum of Delta activists, elders, officials and youth leaders in bid to end the crisis.

February 2006
The first high-profile seizure of oil workers occurs. Militants of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), a group representing numerous militant factions, abduct nine expatriate oil workers.

SOURCES

Table is compiled by the Researcher based on a combination of the following Sources:

1) *Ojakorotu Victor, (2009); "Militancy and Oil Violence in the Niger Delta ", Journal of Energy and Security, Thursday, 27 August. Accessed on 10th june, 2010, @* ***www.ensec.org****.*

2) *Nigeri/ Africa Master Web News Report, "Chronology of Nigerian Militants' Attacks". Accessed on 14th July, 2010., @* ***www.africamasterweb.com****.*

3) *178 United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: Integrated Regional Information Networks Abuja 4 February 20 10, (IRIN), Relief Web, accessed September 28, 2010, http://www.reliefweb.intlrw/rwb.nsf/db900. SIDIMUMA-82D2A Y? Open Document.*

4) *Integrated Regional Information Networks Report, 4th February, 2010. (IRIN), Relief Web. Accessed on 18th Oct, 2010 @ www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.*

APPENDIX II

LIST OF MILITIA LEADERS AND GROUPS IN THE NIGER-DELTA

* *Onengiya Erekosima, President of the Niger Delta Non-Violent Movement (NDNNVM)*
* *Asari Dokubo Mujahid, Leader and Founder of NDPVF*
* *Ateke Tom, Leader and Founder of the NDV*
* *Kingsley Kuku*
* *Henry Okah*
* *Government Ekpemupolo or Tompolopolo*
* *Ken Niwegha, Leader of Odi Boys*
* *John Togo – "The Commander"*
* *Soboma George*
* *Farah Dagogo,*
* *Boyloafs*
* *Bonny Cawei,*
* *Young Enaberia*
* *Francis Abboy – Muturu*
* *Ben Victor Ebikaderemo (aka Boyloaf)*
* *Mr. Ebi Lagos a former follower of Togo*
* *Mr. Ezekiel Akpasibewei, the leader of the Lagos junction camp militant group*
* *Robert Okobo – Niger Delta Freedom Fighters*
* *General Owel Africa,*

* *Commander Ogunbos;*
* *Commander Lagos,*
* *Commander Lamin;*
* *Osein Clever,*
* *Agulu Opuonu,*
* *Kille Selky alias Young Shall Grow,*
* *Commander Ozizi*
* *Bakasi Freedom Fighters (BFF) & Bakasi Salvation Front (BSF) General Franklin Duduku (BFF) whiel Brigadier Dan Don Atikpee heads the BSF.*
* *Niger Delta Freedom Fighters – General Nikko Martins Sente*
* *Niger Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS) Isaac Jasper Adako Boro*
* *Movement for the Survival of Izon Nationality in the Niger Delta (MOSIEND)*

In 1998, with democracy the regime in process, youths resorted to the formation of armed militant groups for advancing the cause of the Niger Delta e.g.

* *Niger Delta Freedom Fighters (NDFF)*
* *The Federated Niger Delta Izon Communities (FNDIC)*
* *The Membutu Boys, the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV)*
* *The NDPVF, The Niger Delta Militant Force Squard*
* *The Niger Delta Coastal Guerillas (NDCG)*
* *South-South Liberation Movement (SSLM)*
* *Movement for the Sovereign State of the Niger Delta (MSSND)*
* *The Niger Delta Strike Force (NDSF)*

* *The Movement, ELIMOTU,*
* *The Arogbo Freedom Fighters, Iduwini Volunteer Force (IVF),*
* *The Niger Delta People's Salvation Front (NDPSF)*
* *The Coalition for Militant Action (COMA), the Movement For MEND,*
* *The Martyrs Brigade. Some armed groups and cults include:*

  Akaso Marine, Asawana, Black Axe, Black Brazier, Buccaneers, Columbians, Cyprus Marine, D12, Deadly Underdogs, Dey Gbam, Deywell, Elegem Face, Germans, Greenlanders, Kelanders, Italians 2001, KKK, Mafia Lords, Okomera, Outlaws, Vikings, Vultures, Wayingi Marine etc
* *Dich George former member of NDPVF*
* *Ibim Ibiwari – member of MEND*

APPENDIX III

AMNESTY PROCLAMATION PURSUANT TO SECTION 175 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FRN

* *Whereas the Government of the FRN acknowledges that the challenges of the Niger Delta arose mainly from the inadequacies of previous attempts at meeting the yearning and aspirations of the people, and have set in motion machinery for the sustainable development of the Niger Delta States;*
* *Whereas certain elements of the Niger Delta populace have resorted to unlawful means of agitation for the development of the region including militancy thereby threatening peace, security, order and good governance and jeopardising the economy of the nation;*
* *Whereas the Government realizes that many of the militants are able-bodied youths whose energies could be harnessed for the development of the Niger-Delta and the Nation at large;*
* *Whereas the Government desires that all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in militancy in the Niger-Delta should return to respect constituted authority; and*
* *Whereas many persons who had so engaged in militancy now desire to apply for and obtain amnesty and pardon.*
* *Now therefore, I Umaru Musa Yar'Adua President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, after due consultation with the Council of State and in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the provisions of Section 175 of the constitution of the FRN, make the following proclamation:*

* *I have granted Amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger-Delta;*

* *The pardon shall take effect upon the surrender and handing over of all equipments, weapons, arms and ammunition and execution of the renunciation of militancy forms specified in the schedule hereto, by the affected persons at the nearest collection centres established for the purpose of Government in each of the Niger-Delta States;*

* *The unconditional pardon granted pursuant to this proclamation shall extend to all persons presently being prosecuted for offences associated with militant activities; and*

* *This proclamation shall cease to have effect from Sunday, 4th October 2009.*

APPENDIX IV

SYNOPSIS OF KEY MILITANTS THAT ACCEPTED THE AMNESTY IN 2009

S/N	Names	Date of Acceptance	Estimated Arms and Ammunition Surrendered
1	Solomon Ndigbara alias Osama bin Laden	26 June 2009	Gave up 11 arms and 1,000 ammunitions
2	Henry Okah	13th July 2009	Though the supposed leader of MEND, he did not surrender any weapon because he was arrested in Angola and extradited to Nigeria where he was detained.
3	Victor Ben Ebi Kabowei alias General Boyloaf and 31 other militants including Africa Owei, Joshua Macaiver and Ezizi Ogunboss	7th July 2009	Surrendered and assortment of arms totaling 520, ammunitions valued at 95,970 rounds and sixteen bun boats.
4	Soboma George of outlaws cult group	13th Aug. 2009	Surrendered 36 assorted weapons
5	Kile Selky Torughedi alias Young Shall Grow	5th Sept. 2009	Gave up an assortment of arms totaling 100 weapons, ammunitions worth 100,000 rounds and three gunboats
6	Ateke Tom of the NDV	1st Oct. 2009	Exact number is unknown but it included anti-aircraft launchers GPMG, AK-47 rifles, mark 4 rifles, pistols and loads of ammunition.
7	Mafimisebi Othello and the Gwama Boys at Ilaje	3rd Oct. 1009	Surrendered different weapons such as: sub-machine guns, AK-47 rifles, hundreds of live ammunitions and arrows.
8	Biibo Ajube, second in command to Tom Polo	3rd Oct. 2009	Surrendered several AK-47 rifles, heaps of ammunitions, hand grenades, rocket launchers and several explosives.

9	Fara Dagogo of the Niger Delta strike force (NDSF)	3rd Oct. 2009	Exact number is unknown but it also included: antiaircraft launchers, GPMG, AK-47 rifles, mark-4 rifles, pistols and loads of ammunitions.
10	Government Ekpemupola (aka Tompolo or GOC) a key militant leader of MEND.	3rd& 4th Oct. 2009	Surrendered over 117 assorted weapons, 20 bullet proof jackets, numerous boxes of ammunitions, 26 camouflage uniforms, loads of dynamites, teargases.
11	Alhaji Mujahid Asari-Dokubo	2012	

Source: Compiled by the Researcher in Nov. 2012.

APPENDIX V

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES OF RESPONDENTS.

4.2.2 Sex Distribution of Respondents

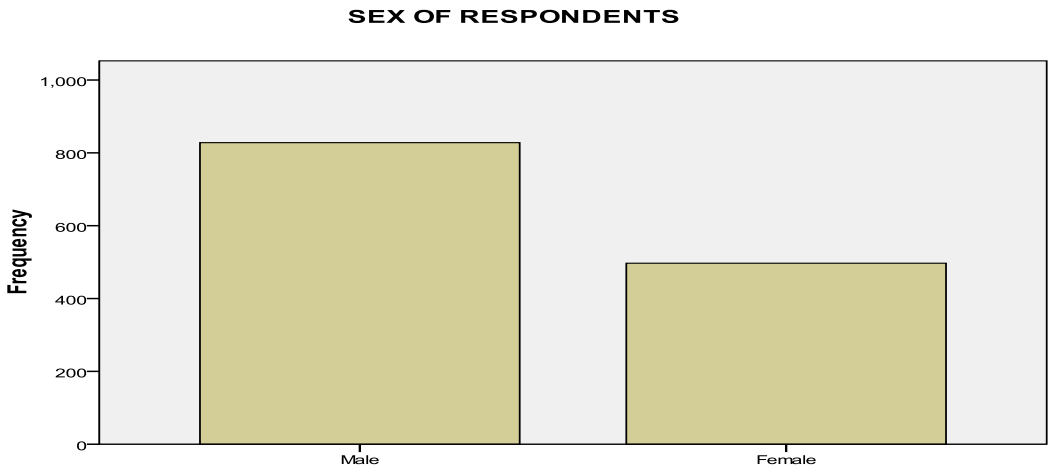
The questionnaire presentation and analysis revealed that majority of the respondents were male, representing 62.5%, while the female respondents represented 37.5%. The frequency distribution and percentage of classification respondents were clearly shown in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Sex Distribution of Respondents

Sex	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Male	828	62.5
Female	497	37.5
Total	**1,325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012

Figure 4.2:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012

4.2.3 Marital Status of Respondents

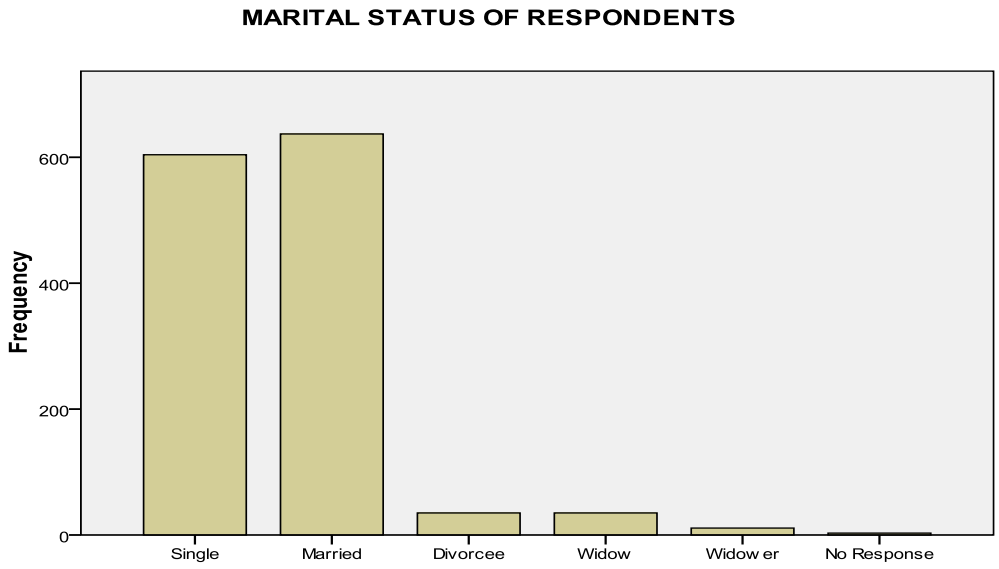
The marital status of respondents as portrayed in the questionnaires distributed and returned showed that those who were married were in majority; they represented 45.6%, while those that were single represented 45.6%; divorcees, widows, widowers and no response represented 2.6%, 2.6%, .8% and .2% respectively. The contents of Table 4.3 below were explicit on this.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of Respondents

	Frequency	**Percent**
Single	604	45.6
Married	637	48.1
Divorcee	35	2.6
Widow	35	2.6
Widower	11	.8
No Response	3	.2
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012

Figure 4.3:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012

The table above supported the analysis in item 4.2.3. One issue of critical notation in the table was the three respondents that represented .2% who did not indicate their gender. This might be attributed to an art of inadvertent omission. It might also be a deliberate refusal to disclose their sexes.

4.2.4 Age of Respondents

The age distribution of the respondents as portrayed in the questionnaires clearly revealed that the respondents from 18-30 years represented 35.2%, those from 31-40 years represented 40.3%.Those from ages 41-50, 51-60, 60 and above represented 16.6%,

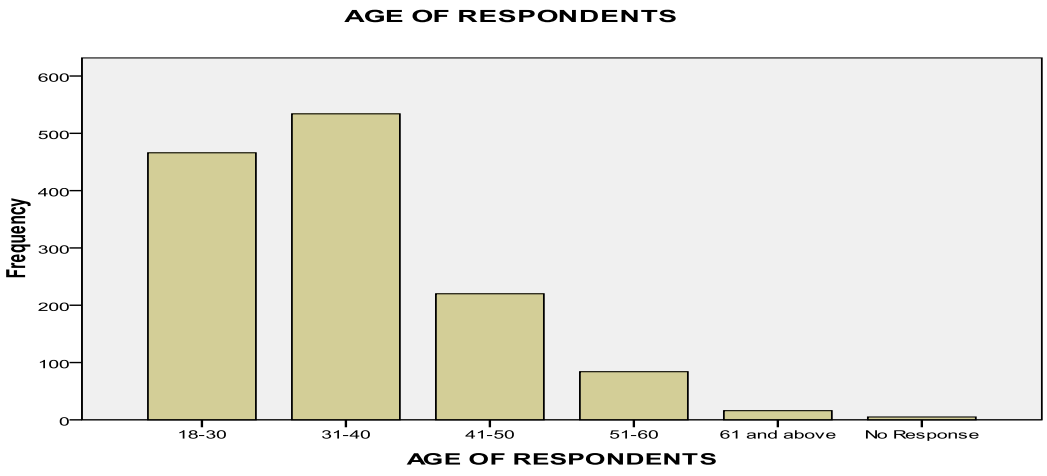
6.3%, and 1.2% respectively. While only five respondents did not indicate their ages, this represented .4% of "No response". This is evident in the table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: AGE OF RESPONDENTS

	Frequency	**Percent**
18-30	466	35.2
31-40	534	40.3
41-50	220	16.6
51-60	84	6.3
61 and above	16	1.2
No Response	5	.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012

Figure 4.4:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012

The above age distribution table and frequencies indexes showed the dominance of the Age Grades 18-30 and 31-40. These age grades are better still called the "productive force of the society" represented 75.5% of the total respondents. The reasons earlier suggested in tables 4.23 and 4.24 for the number of respondents that did not indicate their ages may be upheld in this scenario.

4.2.5 Occupation of Respondents

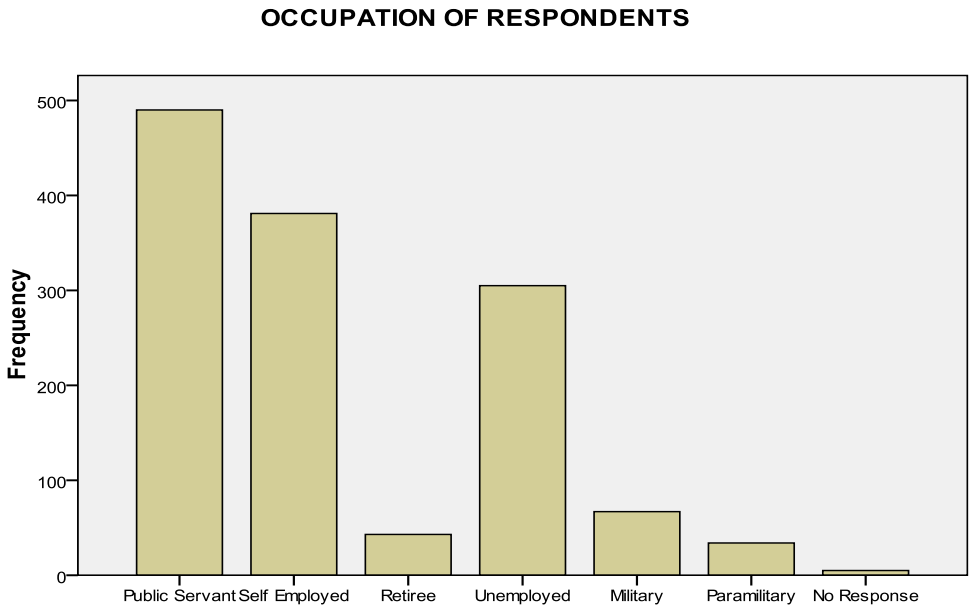
In regard to the occupations of the respondents, the returned questionnaires exposed that the majority were self employed. This group of respondents represented 37.0%. The table below is succinct on the matter.

Table 4.5: Occupation of respondents

	Frequency	**Percent**
Public Servant	381	28.8
Self Employed	490	37.0
Retiree	43	3.2
Unemployed	305	23.0
Military	67	5.1
Paramilitary	34	2.6
No Response	5	.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.5:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

According to the table above, five respondents representing .4% did not respond, while thirty four (34) members of the paramilitary, representing 2.6%; the Joint Task Force (JTF) which heavily represented the military, represented 5.1%. Other respondents like the unemployed, retirees and public servants represented 23%, 3.2%, 3.2% and 28.8% respectively. This showed that most of the stakeholders shared their opinions on the area of the study.

4.2.6 Grade Levels of Respondents who are Public Servants

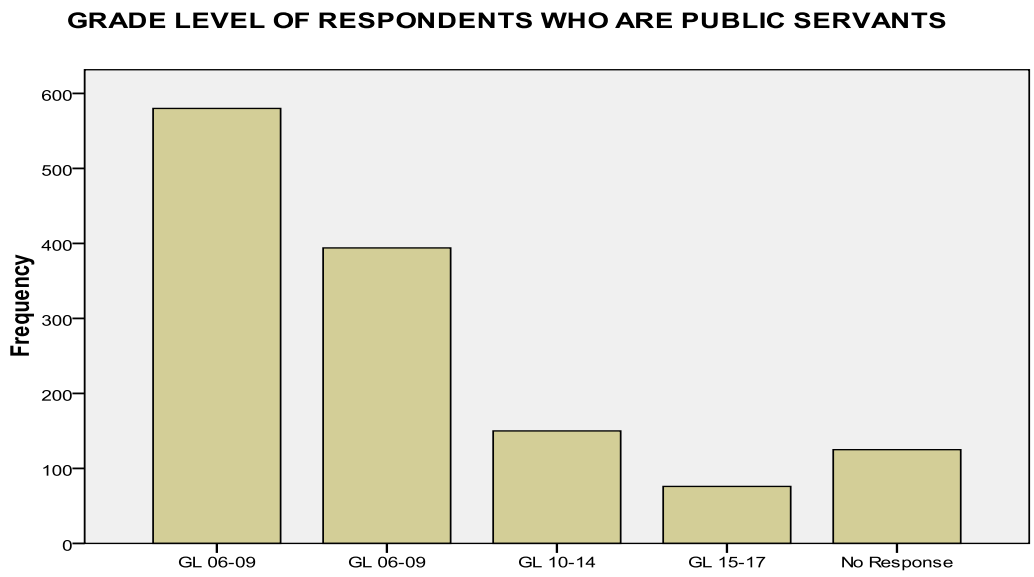
In the quest to ascertain the Grade Levels of respondents who were public servants, the result displaced below in table 4.6 provided distinct explanations.

Table 4.6: Grade Levels of Respondents who are Public Servants

	Frequency	**Percent**
GL 01-05	150	11.3
GL 06-09	394	29.7
GL 10-14	580	43.8
GL 15-17	76	5.7
No Response	125	9.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.6:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

The analysis from the above table indicated that five hundred and eighty (580) respondents representing 43.8% were on Grade Level 0-14, three hundred and ninety four (394) respondents, representing 29.7% were on Grade Level 06-09, one hundred and fifty (150) respondents, representing 11.3% were on Grade Level 01-05. The table also showed that seventy-six (76) respondents, representing 5.7% were on Grade Level 15-17 and one hundred and twenty-five (125) respondents, representing 9.4% did not indicate their grade levels. This could either be by omission or they are not willing to disclose such information.

4.2.7 Level of Educational Attainment of Respondents

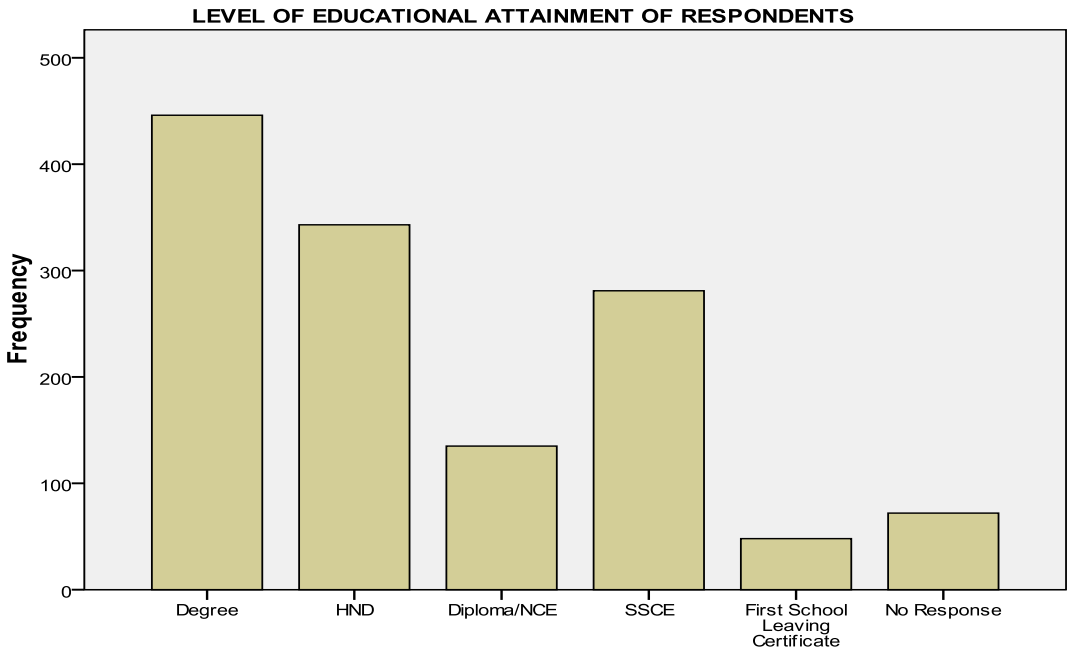
The importance of indepth knowledge and awareness about an issue can never be overemphasized. The more knowledgeable and informed people are on a subject matter, the more credible, constructive and instructive would be their comments and analyses on the subject. Hence, the table below outlined the levels of educational attainment of respondents.

Table 4.7: Levels of Educational Attainment of Respondents

	Frequency	**Percent**
Degree	446	33.7
HND	343	25.9
Diploma/NCE	135	10.2
SSCE	281	21.2
First School Leaving Certificate	48	3.6
No Response	72	5.4
Total	**1325**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher's Field Survey, November,2012.

Figure 4.7:



Source: Researcher's Field Survey,November, 2012.

In the above table, the levels of educational attainment of respondents were sought and obtained through the questionnaires administered and returned. The results were reflected in the table. Majority of the respondents possessed University degrees and Higher National Diploma (HND). They represented 59.6%, while those with National Certificate of Education and Ordinary National Diploma (NCE & OND) represented 10.2% and those with West African School Certificate, Senior School Certificate, GCE and NECO represented 21.2%. Forty eight (48) respondents representing 3.6% possessed primary school certificate and seventy-two respondents representing 5.4% did not respond. This showed that the respondents were very literate and this led credence to the quality of responses gotten from the questionnaires.

APPENDIX VI

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SOME YOUTHS AND EX-MILITANTS IN DELTA STATE ON 18TH NOV. 2012

I. *What lured you and the Ex-militants to militancy?*

P. *"I am the senior man here. The youths and the boys joined militancy because of poverty/hunger and lack of work".*

P. *"Some entered because of greed".*

P. *"The bad boys took to arms because they want to be rich".*

P. *"Just call me "S", to me the boys joined militant groups because they want to belong.*

I. *Why was Amnesty Programme proclaimed?*

P. *"Senior man, the Amnesty Programme was proclaimed to bring peace".*

P. *"It was introduced to enable the boys further their education".*

P. *"It was introduced to enable the boys come out from the creeks".*

I. *Was the Amnesty Programme successful?*

P. *"It was very successful. Thanks to Yar'Adua".*

P. *"We thank Government, the programme was successful. It has succeeded in bringing peace"*

P. *I must confess,it is successful.*

P. *Yes, go ask any body in this region they will tell you the Amnesty issuccessful.*

I. *Now that the boys had been trained through the Amnesty Programme, will they go back to the creeks for militancy?*

P. *"Not at all. they will not go back".*

P. *"Any body that return to war again is on his own".*

P. *"They will not disappoint the leaders".*

I. *Was the Amnesty programme the best option for the resolution of the problems/*

P. *Na the best thing be that.*

P. *Nothing pass the Amnesty programme, it is the best option.*

P. *It is the best option for all Niger Deltans*

P. *For peace to reign in the Niger Delta, it is the best option.*

P. *You see, we thank Yar'Adua, the Amnesty is the best option.*

I. *What are the Challengesmnesty to the Amnesty programme?*

P. *There are delay in the payment of allowance to militants.*

P. *Some female militantsgot pregnant in the Amnesty Camp.*

P. *The allowance they pay us small.*

P. *Govt should increase the period/duration in the camp,the period is too short.*

I. *Who are the most popular militant leaders?*

P. *"Ateke Tome, no Asari Dokubo, no the two of them".*

P. *"Tompolopolo is one of the leaders too".*

P. *"We respect Asari and Ateke. They are to us like Adaka Boro".*

I. *How did the militants behave before their re-orientation?*

P. *"They are criminals, they stole our goats, rape girls and smoke marijuana".*

P. *"Some of them harassed our people".*

End of Focus Group Discussion.

NB: I = Interviewer/Researcher

P = Participant(s)

APPENDIX VII

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH SOME YOUTHS AND EX-MILITANTS IN OBUBRA ON 21ST NOV. 2012

I. Not all trainees were ex-militants in the region. Several of the trainees in batch 15 at the time I visited the Obubra camp were non-militant. I found this out after engaging some of them in FGD. Some of them expressed tthat. hus:

P "I have good GCE result, the Amnesty will assist me further my school.Iam not a Militant, please note

P. "I want to study abroad in a top class university".

P. "For a person like me, the Amnesty Programme gives me the opportunity to further my education. I am a BSc holder in Banking and Finance but I joined amnesty because it will give me the opportunity to further my education. Amnesty Programme has provided for us the opportunities to express ourselves. You know opportunity comes but once.

P. "I have my HND presently but still want to get my M.Sc and since government had promised to assist those who want to continue with education it is a way out of generational poverty for me".

P. You may wish to note that camp commanders visited homes in the various communities appealing to young men and women to join the Amnesty Programme. The benefits could be viewed from two perspectives.

P. *It was expedient for commanders to add extra names to the original list of core militants and access more funds. Out of the N65,000; core militants got 45,000 while non militants got 25,000 – 30,000 depending on the commander.*

P. *Second perspective, non-militants also benefitted because it gave erstwhile unemployed youth and university graduates who could not continue their education or access good employment opportunities to engage in their preferred careers.*

I. *Why did you join the Militant Groups?*

P. *because am unemployed.*

P. *To get something to take care of my self.*

P. *To enjoy Oil Money.*

I. *What is the reason for this Amnesty Programme of Government?*

P. *To bring peace to the Niger Delta Region.*

P. *To bring development to our Communities.*

P. *To carry the Militants along.*

P. *To help the youths to get handwork and to go to school.*

I.. *Do you think the Amnesty Programme is the best option?*

P. *Yes ooh.*

P. *It is the best option for us if not the " Alluta will Continue".*

P. *All the Militants that accepted the Amnesty Programme like it.*

P. *It is the best option for peace in the Niger Delta.*

I. *Was the Amnesty Programme successfully implemented?*

P. *. The Government tried, so far it was very successful.*

P. They (Govt) tried, l must commend them on the Amnesty.

P. Yes.

P. Very successful.

P. The Amnesty was excellently done.

I Do you think the Amnesty programme will bring a long lasting peace to the Niger Delta Region?

P. We have all seen it, there will be no more trouble by the Militants.

P. The Amnesty Programme will bring long lasting peace to our Communities.

P. It will bring durable peace and stability to the Niger Delta.

P. It will make Govt to develop the Region since there will be peace.

P. In fact the peace has started.

P. With the Amnesty, there will be no more bombing of Oil installations.

P. The oil workers in the region can now move very freely and do their businesses without fear of the Militants.

I. What are the challenges/problems to the Amnesty programme?

P. There are small problems in the Camp of the Militants on the payment of their Allowance.

P. The food they serve in the camp is very small.

P. There is the problem of transportation in the camp.

P. The inclusion of non militants in the Amnesty Programme.

P. Some people complained of exclution.

P. Some militants use to jump over the camp fence and cause trouble outside.

End of Focus Group Discussion.

NB: I = Interviewer/Researcher.

P = Participants.

APPENDIX VIII

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THE BAYELSA STATE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ON 23RDNOV. 2012

Sir, my name is Mr. Maina Williams Apikins, a Ph.D student in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The purpose of this focus group discussion is to generate primary data for the writing of my Ph.D dissertation.

I. *What in your view is the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta region?*

P. *Like a dream, we began this journey more than a year and half ago after the proclamation of the Amnesty and the dawn of a new era. The journey has not been rosy, but here we are today celebrating another historic milestone; peace has returned to the Niger Delta through the Amnesty programme.*

P. *To address the root causes of the problems and to instill peace and stability in the region.*

P. *To stop the violence and the vandalization of oil installationsin the region.*

P. *Our dear President has made it possible for us to get to this stage. Consistently, he has put his good office behind the AP and he is absolutely committed to the success of the project. Peace has returned to the ND and the president's vision of peaceful ND, dotted with modern cities is gradually being realized".*

I. *Was the Amnesty Programme successful?*

P. *It was very successful, l can attest to that anywhere and at anytime.*

P *A critical success factor of the Amnesty Programme depends largely on the success of the reintegration phase which has kicked off already with the allocation of trainees to centres across Nigeria and overseas.*

P. *Remember there was a time when we were walking the streets of Port Harcourt, Warri and Yenagoa in fear. There were threats, there were killings and there were pipeline vandalization but because of the successes of the amnesty, the region is now at peace.*

P. *To me the Amnesty Programme was successfully implemented;it is to us what free education was to southwest under Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The Amnesty Programme is working and nothing must stop it form working. We must collectively ensure it succeed to the logical conclution. Our communities must appreciate that we are no longer violent people.*

P. *Amnesty is a form of official general pardon, especially for those who have committed political crimes. The FG regarded the role of the militants in the ND conflict as crime and criminality in order to apply the amnesty clause. Amnesty offers a prosecution-free period: a period during which crimes can be admitted or illegal weapons handed in without punishment.*

P. *For five year, the Nigerian State has tried to subdue the militants from Warri to PH to Uyo, Ondo, Yenagua etc. but the more the JTF tried to fight the war, the more oil is lost". Both military and political leaders in the region have said the situation needed political solution, meaning a form of dialogue. Every dialogue leads to some sort of agreements.*

I. *Has there been improvements in the production of crude oil since the Amnesty was proclaimed?*

P. *It was estimated that about 500,000 barrels of oil per day have been shut in since the JTF military onslaught in Delta State; causing serious and devastating consequences on the oil industry. The national oil company, NNPC has said it has run out of crude to be refined at the country's refineries at Warri, Kaduna and Port Harcourt. The NNPC's MD, Mohammed Barkindo said in the news that stocks left would only last for about 15 days. To answer your question, yesthere have been improvement in oil production.*

P. *Average daily loss was put at N7.5B Naira by end of 2008, but now it is far higher.*

P. *Nigeria is said to have grossed over N84 trillion Naira in 45 years from oil and made N8.71m in 2008 alone. The Amnesty programme has led to the significant increase in oil production and export.*

P. *The essence of this Amnesty is to stop the violence, to unite together with you into the future to solve other problems; so that issues of militancy and grievances will be put behind us as an issue. The Amnesty is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is a means to bring an end to all insurrection and misunderstanding between brothers. Amnesty is a means to bringing stable peace and security to the NDR. It is a means of making the two of us work together to ensure that our youths do not take up arms again.*

P. *The Amnesty will afford us the opportunity to table the problems and we will work out the solutions together, then we go ahead to implement and then you also participate in implementing the solutions to these problems*

I. *Sir, is the Amnesty Programme the best option?*

P. *Yes it is, even if you ask the Speaker, he will concur.*

P. *Capital yes.*

P. *Afirmative.*

P. *yes the Amnesty programme was the best option; go and ask anyone the House of Assembly.*

P. *Even the market Women will tell you thet the Amnesty was the best option.*

I. *What did you observed as Challenges to the Amnesty programme?*

P. *Insincerity om the part of some government officialsin charge of the programme; they included their Siblings who not Milin the Amnesty Programme..*

P. *There was delay in the supply of facilities to the Amnesty camp.*

P. *The over engagement and payments of Consultants for the Programme.*

P. *Some bits of Accountability and Transparency problems.*

P. *Some Government Officials in Charge of the Amnesty Programme were corrupt, they included ghost names as Militants and pocketed their allowances.*

End of Focus Group Discussion

NB: I. Researcher

P. Respondent

APPENDIX IX

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SOME MEMBERS OF THE RIVERS STATE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ON 24th NOV. 2012

Sir, my name is Mr. Maina Williams Apikins, a Ph.D student in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The purpose of this focus group discussion is to generate primary data for the writing of my Ph.D Dissertation.

I. What in your view is the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta region>

P Simple, it is to bring peace and tranquility to the Niger Delta Region.

P. To stop the carnage perpetrated by the Militants.

P. To peacefully transform the Militants and to develop the region in its entirety.

P. We have had enough of violence. This is time for peace. Every right thinking stakeholder in the Niger Delta welcomes this belated, but still courageous break from Abuja's hawkish and vain resolved to crush justifiable dissent in the region military. The whole world is watching to see how sincerely the Nigerian State goes about prosecuting this process.

P. The Amnesty deal was to ensure that peace reigned in the region in order to effect developmental projects. He stressed that with the unconditional amnesty, nobody could invoke their past lives against them in future, adding that the repentant militants were free citizens like any law-abiding Nigerians, who could contest elections without stigmatization on them.

I. Was the Amnesty Programme the best option?

P. *The Amnesty Programme is a mantra which every peace loving citizen of this country should be applauding.*

P. *The Amnesty phenomenon should in fact become a course of study in some selected Nigerian Universities, instead of the continued attempts to rubbish such an exemplary legacy. It is well known that the Amnesty dosed the whirl-wind of crimes and criminalities which engulfed the entire Niger-Delta region.*

P. *It is a contribution to the search for durable panaceas for checkmating insurgency in the Niger-Delta region. It is a project initiated for the advancement of the prospects of an enduring peace, security and stability in the region; and also a contribution to conflict studies in Africa.*

P. *To me it was the best option for the Niger Deltans in particular and for the Nigerian State in general.*

I. *There are threats that some Ex-militants would return to the creek to resume hostilities. What is your view on this?*

P. *Cognizant of the de-escalation of conflict and associated criminalities as a result of the amnesty granted by the Yar'Adua's administration to armed non-state actors involved in the Niger-Delta crisis, it is incumbent on the Nigerian State, the MNC's, the Niger Deltans and well meaning Nigerians to collaboratively device and embark on the implementation of pragmatic policies geared towards the sustainability of peace and security, so as to discourage the resumption of militancy in the region.*

P. ***If the government did not keep to its terms on the Amnesty Programme, this may likely happen and it will be catastrophic.***

P Thy will not because their grievances have been taken cared of through the Amnesty Programme.

P No Community leaderwill support and tolerate this, they have been advised to report any action to the Police.

I Was the Amnesty Programme successfully implemented?

P. Yes it was, the general feeling and/or thinking in the Niger Delta is that the Amnesty Programme was successfully jmplemented.

P. With out exergeration, the Programme was successfully implemented.

P. It is the most successful government policy towards the plight of the Niger Delta People.

P. Even those in other Political Parties (Opposition) can attest that the Amnesty Programme was successfully implemented.

P You can even ask the Militants themselves, they know the Amnesty was successfully implemented.

I. Sir, what do you perceive as Challenges to the Amnesty Programme

P. The manipulation of the Amnesty processes by some government officials.

P. Spending a lot of money on payment of Consultants.

P. Some people complained that the Amnesty Programme was exclusive; that the Ishekiris and the Ilajes were excluded from the programme

P The inclusion of non Militants in the Amnesty Programme at the detriment of real Militants.

P. Delay in the payment of allowance to militants.

End of Focus Group Discussion

NB: I. Researcher

P. Respondent

APPENDIX X

INTERVIEW OF KINGSLEY KUKU, THE CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENTIAL AMNESTY PROGRAMME AND SPECIAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT ON NIGER DELTA AFFAIRS WITH EMENU 2013

In a recent interview, Emewu (2013) the Chairman of the Presidential Amnesty Programme and special Adviser to the President on Niger-Delta, Mr. Kingsley Kuku reacted as follows:

Question 1: *"would you call the amnesty programme that reforms former Niger-Delta Militants under you watch a success?"*

Kuku said, "am very happy this question arose now, and I make bold to state with due sense of humility that the presidential amnesty plan has been the most successful step the Government ever took. In fact the success of the programme is noticeable in every turn we take. It does not take long to see the facts of the success following the completing of their non-violence training and career classification in camps in Obubra, Cross River and Akodo, Lagos. The Amnesty Office had successfully placed 7,395 former combatants in skills acquisition training centres as well as in formal education within the country and overseas. Of this number, 3,078 are being trained overseas, while 3,317 are undergoing either formal education of skill acquisition within the Country. Similarly, 12,067 transformed ex-combatants are about to be deployed to reintegration centres to pursue either formal education or vocational training" (Kuku: 2013).

He continued that the Amnesty beneficiaries are today in 33 local training centres in 12 states of the Federation while the 3,357 ex-agitators on oversea training in skill acquisition are in the United States of America (USA), Italy, Russia, South Africa,

Malaysia, Israel, Sri-Lanka, India, Benin Republic, Cyprus, Poland, Ghana, Belarus, United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Philippines as well as Trinidad and Tobago. More of the trainees are due to be deployed to skills acquisition facilities in Greece, Germany, Canada and England.

That, with the completion of the full demobilization of the 26,358 ex-combatants enrolled in the first and second phases of the Presidential Amnesty Programme, our great Nation entered history Book as one of the few countries in the world that achieved a successful closure to the disarmament and demobilization phases of the DDR programme. Virtually all the 24 United Nations piloted DDR interventions in Africa, since 1992 are still battling to achieve full demobilization, even with huge financial and technical assistance from the United Nations and several other international partners. Some of the Nations still battling to exit the demobilization phase of their DDR programmes include Liberia, Sierra Leone, Code d'Ivoire, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Given the successes of the DDR programmes in Nigeria and Burundi, there is currently a global push to transfer all such programmes from the United Nations and other International Agencies to National Governments just like is currently the case in Nigeria. All these I have stated are facts that are not in dispute. So I boldly say that the Administration of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has done the Nation and its posterity great service for the handling of the Amnesty Project through funding and other supports (Kuku: 2013).

Contributing further on the matter, Kuku said, "you all know that I am familiar with all levels of non-violent struggle in the Niger Delta from many student days and I say it bold without fear of any contradiction that although there are pockets of discontent

among the people, the Amnesty project has done great much even in financial gains to the Country".

Question 2: *"So what are the financial gains you mentioned?"*

Answering the questions, Kuku opined that, "I will forever, assert that the target of restoring peace, safety and security in the Niger-Delta, using the instrumentalities of the Amnesty programme, had been reasonably met, and as a result, the Nation's Economy has rebound from a production level of a paltry 700,000 barrels of crude oil per day as at the first week of January 2009, the relative peace that now prevails in the Niger-Delta had aided the remarkable growth of Nigeria's oil production to between 2.5 and 2.6 million barrels per day as at today".

Let us not forget that the proclamation of Amnesty for former agitators in the Niger-Delta as well as the successful management of the post amnesty programme saved the economy of Nigeria from looming collapse. Today from NNPC data, Nigeria is producing between 2.4 and 2.6 million barrels of crude oil per day, as against the abysmally low 700,000 barrels per day at the peak of the Niger-Delta crisis in January 2009. Nigeria is currently making production savings of 1.9 million barrels per day. If you compute this savings with the prevailing exchange rate of N160 to a dollar, daily production savings for our beloved country stands at N33.4billion per day. If you break this down further especially given that oil production in Nigeria hovered between 2.4 and 2.6 barrels per day for the whole of 2011 and 2012, you will find that savings for Nigeria for the year ending 2011 and 2012 is not less than N12 trillion

But for the Amnesty proclamation by Yar'Adua and the successful management of the post amnesty programme by President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, Nigeria would have lost by that same amount of even more with catastrophic human and material resources. Do I need to go further to assert that the amnesty office/programme has been of enormous economic gains to the Nation. And given that record, it is inconceivable that the same people who are now proud partners in the growth of the Nation would turn around to start another round of economic sabotage. It is just not possible.

Question 3: *"What is the role of rehabilitated militants in the new spate of Bombings in the Niger-Delta, MEND claim responsibility for it?"*

Answer: The renewed attacks in the Niger-Delta by a group that claims to be MEND especially on oil installations is condemnable and I have to say it boldly that my people – the ones rehabilitated under my supervision have no hands in the attacks. They have been gainfully employed by Agencies where they trained. They have gained a re-think on the approach to making their grievances known. I dare to say that these men are re-branded and different from the persons they used to be while in the creeks as militants. There's none of them that resort to violence any longer to settle scores. Remember that these men did not just gain or acquire skills, but also a different orientation about life generally. The Amnesty Office is already pursuing with profound vigor the reintegration of the already demobilized 26,358 Niger-Delta ex-agitators enrolled in the Amnesty Programme.

I am very happy you heard the House of Representatives had resolved to investigate the Presidential Amnesty Programme. As I learnt the resolution followed a motion on the

floor of the House by a Member from Ekiti State, like most discerning and well meaning Nigerians, I totally appreciate the concern and interest of the member and his highly esteemed colleagues in the House of Representatives in the consolidation of peace, safety and security in the Niger-Delta. But I am slightly worried that the House may have misconstrued the mandate of the Presidential Amnesty Programme as enshrined in the amnesty Proclamation.

I am aware of the unfortunate attack on Agip facilities in Bayelsa State and the threat by these persons who claimed to be operatives of MEND to attack again the facilities of MNCs operating in the Niger-Delta. My Office promptly condemned this needless attack on Agip facility and this was widely publicized in the media. We made it abundantly clear that we remained confident in the ability of the Nation's Security Agencies and Armed Forces to tackle security challenges in the Niger-Delta as well as other parts of the Country. The truth of the matter was that the Amnesty Office was not a Security Agency. The Amnesty Office does not have the powers, competence or where withal to stop any person who willfully, decides to commit crime in the Niger-Delta. We neither have guns nor ammunitions. We do not even have handcuffs.

In fact the Presidential Amnesty Programme does not have a security component at all. Our mandate was very clear: disarm, rehabilitate and reintegrate (DRR) the 26,358 former Niger-Delta agitators who accepted the offer of Amnesty in two phases before the elapse of the deadline given by the Federal Government (60days). Pursuant to thismandate the Amnesty Office, aided by gallant Officers and men of our Ar

APPENDIX XI

INTERVIEW WITH HIGH CHIEF OF OKRIKA LAND, CHIEF ATEKE TOM (LEADER OF THE NIGER DELTA VIGILANTE) ON FRIDAY, 23RD NOV. 2012

1 Your Highness; why was the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for you and your boys?

Answer. To bring peace to the region..

2. So, has the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme brought the reuired peace to the Niger Delta?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

3. Your Royal Highness, can you say if all the Militants in your Camp have accepted the Amnesty Programme?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

4.. Why did you and your boys took to Militancy?

Lack of employment [ ]

Poverty [ ]

Both [√]

5.. Was the Amnesty Programme successfully implemented?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

6.. Was the Amnesty Programme the best option?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

7. Will the Amnesty Programme bring lastimg peace to the region?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

8. What are some of the Challenges to the Amnesty Programme?

Answer. To many people, even non militants want to join the programme.

Allowances were not paid on time in the Amnesty camp..

APPENDIX XII

INTERVIEW WITH HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS OLO-OGONI II

6. *Your Highness will the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the Militants brought durable peace to the Niger Delta?*

Yes [√]

No [ ]

5 *Your Royal Highness, can you say if all the citizens in your Cmmunity have accepted the Amnesty Programme?*

Yes [√]

No [ ]

4. *Why did your youth took to Militancy?*

Lack of employment [ ]

Poverty [ ]

Both [√

3. *Was the Amnesty Programme successful?*

Yes [√]

No [ ]

1. *Why was Amnesty Programme proclaimed?*

To bring peace to the region [√]

To bribe the militants [ ]

2. *Was the Amnesty Programme the best option?*

Yes [√]

No [ ]

7. Can the Amnesty Programme be termed as the best option to the resolution of the Niger Delta problems?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

8. What are the Challenges to the Amnesty Programme?

Ans: They said there are delays in payment of allowance for the boys in camp and we also heard that some people complained of non admittance into the Amnesty Programme.

APPENDIX XIII

INTERVIEW WITH OPERATIONS MANAGER, NIGERIAN NATIONAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION (NNPC), WARRI REFINERY, MR. SODEINDE AND YAKUBU KADALA, ON SATURDAY 24TH NOV. 2012

6. Sir, will the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the Militants bring durable peace to the Niger Delta?

Yes my friend, it has brought tremendous peace to the region and it has boost our, sorry, NNPC oil production level per days.

5. Sir, will it be right to say that majority of the citizens in the Niger Delta region have accepted the Amnesty Programme?

Yes they do as it has brought good things for them.

4. Why did the youths of this oil rich region take to Militancy?

Lack of employment [ ]

Poverty [ ]

Both [√]

2.. Sir, in your view, was the Amnesty Programme successful?

Yes, it was successful.

1. Why was Amnesty Programme proclaimed?

To bring peace to the region [√]

To bribe the militants [ ]

3. Is the Amnesty programme the best option towards the resolution of the Niger Delta Conflicts?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

1. *Will the Amnesty programme facilitate durable peace in the Niger Delta Region?*

Yes [√]

No [ ]

8. What are the perceived Challenges to the Amnesty programme?

Answer: The facilities at the Amnesty Camp are overstretched: also, there were report of the inclusion of non Militants in the Amnesty Programme.

APPENDIX XIV

INTERVIEW WITH COLONEL MUSA SHEHU, OF THE JOINT TASK FORCE (JTF) OPERATION RESTORE HOPE IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION IN PORT HARCOURT, ON 27TH NOV. 2012

3. Sir, has the proclamation of the Amnesty for the Militants brought the required peace to the Niger Delta region?

Yes of course.

4. Sir, can you say if the citizens of this region have accepted the Amnesty Programme?

Yes they accepted and supported the programme.

5. Why did the youths of this region take to Militancy at the first place?

Lack of employment [ ]

Poverty [ ]

Both [√]

2. Was the Amnesty Programme successful?

Yes, I can say categorically that it was successful.

1.. Why was Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the Militants?

To bring peace and development to the region [√]

To bribe the militants [ ]

6 Was the Amnesty programme the best option towards the resolution of the Niger Delta Conflicts?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

7 Will the Amnesty Programme facilitate durable peace in the Niger Delta?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

8 What are the Challenges to the Amnesty Programme?

Ans: There are too many Consultants engaged for the programme. Most of them are Fronts of government Officials. Some youths that are non Ijaws were very fewin the programme. This led creadence to complain in some quarters that the programme was not incusive.

APPENDIX XV

INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF TIMI ALAIDE, FORMER CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENTIAL AMNESTY OFFICE ON 28TH NOV. 2012 IN THE MINISTRY OF NIGER DELTA AFFAIRS, ABUJA

4. Sir, will the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the Militants bring durable peace to the Niger Delta?

Yes, every peace loving citizen will at test to that.

6 Sir, did he majority of the Niger Deltans accepted and support the Amnesty Programme?

Yes, majority of us do.

5. Why did the Niger Delta youths took to Militancy at the first place?

Majorly because of unemployment and poverty.

2. Sir, was the Amnesty Programme successful?

Yes, you will notice and feel the success if you travel to the region.

1 Why was the Amnesty Programme proclaimed for the militantsin the Niger Delta?

To bring peace and development to the region [√]

To bribe the militants [ ]

3 Is the Amnesty Programme the best option for the resolution of the Niger Delta conflicts?

Yes [√]

No [ ]

7 What have you observed as the Challenges to the Amnesty Programme?

Answer : We read in the News papers that the facilitie at the Amnesty Camp are inadequate and the dubious inclusion of relationsof Camp Commanders.

8 What is the level of Oil production now that theAmnesty has been accepted by the Militants?

Answer: With the proclamation of the Amnesty programme the bombing of oil installations have ceased and there has been significant increase in oil production which has impacted positively on Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. You know we run a Mono-Economy on oil resources.

APPENDIX XVI

INTERVIEW WITH MR. LEVI AJUONOMA, HEAD, PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION (NNPC)

I. *Sir, my name is Mr. Maina Williams Apikins, a Ph.D student in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The purpose of this interview is to generate primary data for the writing of my Ph.D dissertation.*

Q1. ***What in your view is the rationale for the proclamation of the Amnesty Programme for the militants in the Niger-Delta region?***

A. *In fact many had doubted whether the government was truly going to fulfill its side of the deal, which has to do with the pledge to institute programmes to assist the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and provision of integration support after the militants must have declared their willingness to surrender their arms, unreservedly forsake militancy and sign an undertaking to that effect.*

Today, it may not be wrong to say that the amnesty programme ably and adeptly coordinated by Hon. Kingsley Kuku, has made significant impact in the restoration of peace in the Niger Delta, a region that was hitherto known to be the seat of violence and massive destruction. This irrefutably might be the reason why Yar'Adua despite his death has continued to receive accolades from most Nigerians for considering the option of Amnesty in the long search for peace in the NDR. Goodluck Jonathan, the then Vice President, has equally received commendation and applause for deeming it fit to ensure the sustenance of the Amnesty Programme. It is the believe of many scholars that the Amnesty

declaration remains the most genuine, valiant and profound effort made by any Federal Government since the country's independence to tackle the agitation for fairness, equity and development in the oil-rich Niger Delta.

It is seen to have been the most effective tool/mechanism employed by any Government in addressing critical national issue.

Q2. Was the Amnesty Programme the best option?

A. The programme was the much needed intervention. We don't need to look far to see why it was needed and why it was a necessary intervention. As at the time it was thought out, the country was in a basket case. Thank God the then President had the wisdom, foresight and understanding to recognize the need to make the amnesty offer to the ND militants at that time. If he had not at that material time, only God knows what it would have been today.

Q3. Was the Amnesty Programme successful?

A. That programme has not just been successful; it has saved us a lot.

Q4. There were claim in some quarters (by some critics of the programme) that the Amnesty Programme has been a total failure. Do you agree to this?

A. "I don't know the indices used in scoring the amnesty programme low. By the indices we have, before the Amnesty Programme the production output of the country was abysmal and was in the region of just about one million barrels a day. With the Amnesty Programme in place, the production level rose to 2.4

million barrels per day. Such indices will naturally tell you that the amnesty is the reason why things are looking stable and back to normal in the Niger-Delta Region.

Q5. The Amnesty Programme was capital intensive; the money devoted for it would have been used to improve other sectors of the economy, especially rural electrification. What have you to say to this?

A. "I do not think that any amount will be too much to run a programme that has paved way for the advancement of the country's economy due to increased level of oil production resulting from the introduction of the Amnesty Programme. At a press conference in Abuja to mark the third year anniversary of the Amnesty pact in June 2012, Kuku, the Presidential Adviser in charge of the Amnesty Office, had revealed that the program had saved the nation about N6 trillion in production gain since its inception. It is on this premise that I agree with Kuku that the 2012 Federal Government Budget for the office standing at 70 Billion Naira is comparatively small. Look at the overall national benefits accruing from the entrenchment of peace and stability, occasioned by the Amnesty arrangement embraced by the ex-militants".

Therefore, there is the need for more funds to be injected into the programme to ensure its smooth running, so that the amnesty office can meet up its financial obligations to the ex-militants and peace continues to reign supreme across the ND States.

Q6. There have been threats by some ex-militants to return to the creeks to resume hostilities. What is your opinion on this matter?

A. With the ceaseless onslaught of the Boko Haram sects in the country, the return of militancy in any form in the NDR will be diametrically catastrophic and ruinous for Nigeria as a Nation.

Q7. Please comment freely on the reintegration programme for the Ex-militants under the Amnesty Programme.

A. 30 Ex-militants were offered employment in Dubai, the UAE. The Ex-Militants successfully completed a training programme in Welding and Fabricating," were looking forward to a brand new life of gainful employment. Kuku told them "the world is watching to see how you will perform. Today marks the beginning of a new life you will be proud of. As you are going know that you are representing a spectrum of the country's development".

Chief Kile Selky was once a commander of the MEND South-South wing in 2002. He was ordained as the Chaplain General of the Bayelsa State Command on the mission for Africa Chaplain corps, a group of men and women who take gospel around Africa and beyond. He was among the Young Shall Grow in the Niger Delta creeks, said he wants to win people to Christ. He holds a HND in Public Administration.

That he accepted the peace option for the emancipation of his people under the Amnesty Programme. He was inspired to come to the aid of his people by building a nursery and primary school for his community and put youths who

desire to further their education under his sponsorship. This was amnesty at work.

I. Thank you very much sir for your time.

R. You are welcome.

End of Interview

APPENDIXXVII

VICE PRESIDENT INAUGURATES FIVE POST AMNESTY COMMITTEES

The Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan on Wednesday December 16, 2000 inaugurated five Presidential Committees and Sub-Committees on the Post Amnesty Programme in the Niger-Delta.

The Vice President expressed Federal Government's commitment to the development of the Niger-Delta region and the total transformation of the Nigerian economy. He said that the action of Government through the committees was to revive the Amnesty Programme and noted that Yar'Adua personally approved the appointments into the various committees based on the individual's and institutional capacities.

He congratulated Nigerians on the progress so far recorded in the restoration of peace in the Niger-Delta, and extolled the new co-operation and sense of nationhood exhibited by the ex-militants.

The Vice President urged members of the Committee to uphold the trust reposed on them and ensure the success of their assignments.

The Committees

a. *The Presidential Committee on the Modalities for the Involvement of Host Communities in the Ownership of Petroleum Assets in Nigeria. It has one month to submit its report. Its membership includes the Minister of State for Petroleum (Chairman), Minister of State for Finance, Special Adviser to Mr. President on Petroleum Matters, Special Adviser to Mr. President on Communications, Representative of the SGF, Solicitor General of the Federation/Permanent*

Secretary, Federal Ministry of Justice, Representative of NNPC, three representatives of the former Militant Leaders and two community leaders.

b. *The Disarmament Committee: It has the Minister of Defence as Chairman, other members include the Minister of the Niger-Delta Affairs, Special Adviser to the President on Niger-Delta, Representative of the S.G.F., Military Co-ordinator of the Amnesty Programme, Representative of the Niger-Delta Governors Forum, Representative of the Inspector General of Police, Senior Special Assistant to the President on MDGs, National Co-ordinator of NAPEP and the DG/CE of SMEDEAN. Others are the DG of NOA, DG of NDE, Executive Secretary PTDF, Managing Director NNDC, four leaders of the Local Communities (to be appointed by the President).*

c. *The Oil and Gas Asset Petroleum Sub-Committee: It has Minister of State for Petroleum as its Chairman, and other 14 members.*

d. *The Infrastructure Development Sub-Committee was chaired by the Minister of Niger-Delta Affairs and had twelve (12) other members.*

e. *The Sub-Committee on Environmental Clean-up was chaired by the Minister of Environment and had 14 other members.*