CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF SOUTHERN KADUNA CONFLICT (2010-2017)

BY

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16PAK 01465

BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, COLLEGE OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, COVENANT UNIVERSITY, OTA, OGUN STATE. IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE (M.Sc.) DEGREE IN POLICY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation titled 'Civil-Military Relations and Conflict Management in Nigeria: A Study of Southern Kaduna Conflict (2010-2017)' was undertaken by me, Dungse, Yildom Katmwan. The dissertation is based on my original study under the supervision of Dr. Chidozie, Felix C., in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership Studies, Covenant University, Ota. The views of other researchers have been acknowledged. It is further affirmed that this work has not been submitted for the award of degree in this or any other institution.

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study titled 'Civil-Military Relations and Conflict Management in Nigeria: A Study of Southern Kaduna Conflict (2010-2017)' was carried out by Dungse, Yildom Katmwan under our supervision and that the dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any degree in this or any other University.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated foremost to the Almighty God, the military personnel that have lost their lives as a result of any form of conflict in Nigeria and the lives lost during the Southern Kaduna Conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Praise be to God, the creator of the heavens and the earth, for his unlimited mercies and favour throughout my academic pursuit at covenant university. It is only God that knows the end from the beginning and the beginning from the end.

I appreciate the Chancellor of Covenant University, Dr David Oyedepo for his vision which has created the platform upon which sound academic excellence can be built. I also want to appreciate the Vice-chancellor, Prof. A. A. A. Atayero, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor Shalom Chinedu, the Registrar, Dr. Muyiwa Oludayo, the Chaplain, Pastor Promise Omidiora, the Dean of Postgraduate School, Professor Samuel Wara, the Dean of the College of Leadership Development Studies, Professor Amos Alao, the Head of Department Political Science and International Relations, Dr Oluyemi Fayomi and the entire management team of this great institution.

I am full of appreciation for my dissertation supervisor, Dr Felix Chidoize, who diligently and meticulously perused each chapter of my work, even at very short notice and returned them immediately with elaborate comments. I have never seen a dissertation supervisor so committed to the progress of a students' work! His critical and timely observations, as well as his incisive editorial inputs, have no doubt enhanced the quality of this thesis. I also wish to thank him for the life coaching sessions and discussions. To this kind-hearted and hardworking intellectual, I remain forever indebted. May God continue to grant him excellent health and reward him abundantly and grant him all his heartily desires.

My profound gratitude goes to Professor Daniel Gberevbie, Professor Sheriff Folarin, Dr Jide Ibietan, Dr Moses Duruji, Dr Patrick Assibong, Dr Segun Joshua, Dr Samuel Oni, Dr Joshua Alabi, Dr (Mrs) Fadekemi Owolabi, who taught me humility in the course of my coursework and this research work I say a big thank you for your comments, observations, encouragements, support and motivation. My profound gratitude to the rest of faculty members in no particular order, Dr. Robert Olorunyomi, Mr. Ilemobola Olanrewaju, Mr. Kunle Olanrewaju, Mr. Muyiwa Ajayi, Mrs. Deborah Udoh, Mrs Lady Ajayi, Mrs Excellence Oluye, Mrs. Faith Olanrewaju, Miss Rosemary Popoola, Mr. Ejiro Loromeke, Miss Adeola Oyeyemi, Mr Ugochuku Abaslim . I must thank Professor Habu Galadima of the University of Jos and current Director of Research of the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru (NIPSS) for igniting my interest in this subject area and his mentorship role.

My special thanks to Professor Shadrack Best of the University of Jos, Mr Adejo Haruna, Principal Researcher, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Mr Yohanna Dadua, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, His Royal Highness Mallam Tanko Tete , the Tum Nikyob (Kaninkon), to the Department of Civil-Military Cooperation at the Defence Headquarters, Army resource centre at Asokoro.

My appreciation also goes to my beloved parents Arch. and Mrs. Katmwan Daful Dungse who have supported me throughout my academic journey; God will preserve you both to harvest your labour. I am profoundly grateful for the sleepless nights you spent on your knees praying for my success. The Lord shall regard your faith in me. In the same manner, I appreciate my siblings Chinnan and Balkwak for your understanding even at hours I was meant to be there for you people and I was not. Special thanks to the family of Mr and Mrs Polycarp Amtu for their support during my study. The good lord shall reward you abundantly.

I remain indebted to my friends and colleagues, especially Aje Oluwatobi, Ese Ujara, Chelsea Bentek, Wabuji Helen, Courage Offiong, Deborah Ogabi, Makplang Daspan, Karina Berepubu, Tunmise Daramola, Tony Kalu, Debbyrose Adika, Ufuomaoghene, Omolola Asagba, Ibukuntomiwa Gideon, Abigail Kusimu, Chukwueloke Emmanuel, Idongest Ekong, John Kolapo not forgetting Osuma Godswill, Osuma Rose, Doyah Teina, Mankinde Opeyemi, Mato Samuel, George Ametefe thanks you for being my family at Covenant University as well as motivating me to complete this research work. Also to the Dileng, people I say thank you for your patience.

Dungse, Yildom Katmwan

DECLA	ARATION	ii
CERTI	FICATION	iii
DEDIC	CATION	iv
ACKN	OWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE	E OF CONTENTS	vii
ABBRI	EVIATIONS	X
ABSTF	RACT	xii
CHAP'	TER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Background to the Study	
1.2	Statement of the Problem	
1.3	Research Questions	5
1.4	Objectives of the Study	6
1.5	Research Proposition	6
1.6	Significance of the Study	6
1.7	Scope of the Study	7
1.8	Limitations of the Study	7
1.9	Organisation of the Study	
Referer	nces	9
CHAP'	TER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEW	/ ORK 11
2.1 II	ntroduction	
2.2 0	Conceptual Discourse	
2.2	2.1 Civil Society	
2.2	2.2 Military as an Institution	
2.2	2.3 Civil-Military Relations	
2.2	2.4 Conflict	19
2.2	2.5 Conflict Management	22
2.3 T	Theoretical Framework	
2.3	3.1 Agency Theory	
2.3	3.2 Just War Theory	
2.4 A	Applicability of Theories to Study	
2.5 N	Ailitary and Conflict Management	30
2.5	5.1 Military and Conflict Management: Nigerian Experience	
Referer	nces	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPT	FER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	44
3.1 In	ntroduction	44
3.2 R	esearch Design	44
3.3 S	ampling Technique	44
3.4 S	ources of Data	45
3.5 M	Iethod of Data Collection and Analysis	45
3.6 H	istorical Evolution of Civil-Military Relations	46
3.6	0.1 Colonial Evolution of the Nigerian Military	46
3.6	5.2 The First Republic: The New Dawn (1960-1966)	47
3.6	5.3 Cycle of Coups, Civil War and Post Civil War: 1966-1975	49
3.6	.4 Coup, Failed Coup and the Return to Civilian Regime: 1975-1979	54
3.6	5.5 The Second Republic: 1979-1983	56
3.6	6.6 Post Second Republic, Coups and the Failed Transition: 1983-1993	57
3.6	5.7 The Dictator: 1993-1999	60
3.6	5.8 Fourth Republic and the New Millennium: 1999-2017	63
3.7 H	istorical Trajectories of the Major Conflicts in Southern Kaduna	65
3.7	.1 The Kafanchan Conflict	65
3.7	.2 The Zongo Kataf Conflict	66
3.7	.3 The Gwantu-Sanga Conflict	67
Referen	ces	68
CHAPT	FER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	72
4.1	Introduction	72
4.2	Military Assistance to Civil Authority in Southern Kaduna Conflict	72
4.2	The Nature and Context of Military Assistance in Southern Kaduna	73
4.2	Military as Conflict Managers: Policy versus Practice in Southern Kaduna	78
4.3	Nigeria Armed Forces, Humanitarian Law and Human Rights in Southern Kaduna	
Conf	lict	81
4.3	.1 Derogations and Non-Derogations of Human Rights in the Southern Kaduna Conflic	ct 82
4.3	2.2 The Reality of Humanitarian Law and Human Rights in Southern Kaduna Conflict.	84
4.4	Towards Enhancing Military Conflict Management Operations	86
Referen	ces	89
CHAPT	FER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	91
5.1	Summary	91
5.2	Conclusion	92
5.3	Recommendations	93

5.4	Contribution to Knowledge	95
5.5	Areas of Further Research	95
Referenc	ves	97
BIBLIO	GRAPHY	98
APPENI	DIX	110

ABBREVIATIONS

Armed Forces Consultative Assembly (AFCA) Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) Chief of Army Staff (COAS) Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) Civil-Military Relations (CMRs) Common Wealth (CW) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) General Officer Commanding (GOC) Interim National Government (ING) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Military Assistance to Civil Authority (MACA) Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) National Intelligence Agency (NIA) National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) National Party of Nigeria (NPN) Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) Nigerian Air Force (NAF) Nigerian Army (NA) Nigerian Navy (NN) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)

Northern People's Congress (NPC) Operation Harbin Kunnama (OHK) Operation Safe Haven (OPSH) Organisation of African Unity(OAU) Peace Support Operations (PSO) Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) Services Consultative Committee (SCC) Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) State Security Servicen(SSS) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) Supreme Military Council (SMC) Technical Aid Corp (TAC) United States of America (USA) Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) West African Frontier Force (WAFF)

ABSTRACT

The study examines the use of the military in conflict management in Southern Kaduna conflict. Over time, the military has been deployed to mitigate violence in intrastate conflicts in Nigeria; the Southern Kaduna conflict is not an exception. The study examines the strategic and legal relations of military deployment in Southern Kaduna conflict as a result of the changing dynamics of the conflict which have led to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Qualitatively, the work examines the historical trajectories of the conflict, while adopting the Agency and the Just War Theory as a theoretical guide in explaining the realities of deploying the military. Data for the work were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Structured interviews were conducted with selected experts in the field of strategic studies, peace and conflict resolution studies, top military officers at the Department of Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC), Defence Headquarters (DHQ) and the Army Resource Centre in Abuja; and secondary data were sourced from Newspapers, journal, books and internet. The data gathered were analysed using the textual method. Findings revealed that military conflict management role is clearly expressed and established in the Nigerian 1999 Constitution as amended and supported by provisions of law in the Armed Forces Act. Also, the military conflict management operation is guided by two doctrines; containment in situ and de-escalate ante. It also observed that human rights could be derogated in matters of national security. There are, however, non-derogated rights which include right to life and the prohibition of torture amongst others; nonetheless, there are specific collateral damages in military conflict management operations. Consequently, the study recommends that as a matter of policy training of military personnel on the rule of engagement in conflict management roles. Besides, procedure, doctrine, and vision should not be limited to conflict management operations. Tact, doctrine, procedure and strategy should focus on issues of human security too as essential components of the operations.