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## Understanding Postamnesty Youth Violence in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria

Joel Dimiyen Bisina  
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# Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Joel Dimiyen Bisina

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2021

Abstract

Understanding Postamnesty Youth Violence in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria

by

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MPA, Walden University, 2013

BS, Yaba College of Technology, 1998

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

May 2021

## Abstract

The experience of youth with violence in the Niger Delta (ND) of Nigeria and the negative consequences to the nation are well-documented in the literature. Youth violence poses a significant threat to national security, economic survival, and Nigeria's unity and regional peace stabilization. Literature on youths' experiences with postamnesty violence in the ND is scant. Postamnesty represents the period immediately after the disarmament and demobilization of combatant youth following the proclamation of the presidential amnesty program in Nigeria's ND. The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to bring an understanding to postamnesty youth violence (PAYV) through the lived experiences of 20 beneficiaries of the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP). Gurr's relative deprivation and Ostrom's rational choice theories undergird this study with an epoche phenomenological research design. The central research question was on what motivates PAYV among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program in the ND. Data were collected using in-depth, semistructured, face-to-face interviews with participants selected through criterion purposive sampling. Data were manually coded and analyzed through clustering, categorization, and theming. Common textural and structural themes (motivation for PAYV, neglect and deprivation, limited opportunities for beneficiaries, gender-based discrimination) were identified and categorized for ease of analysis. The results contribute to positive social change by providing additional resources to scholarship, new information for joint problem-solving, a road map for future interventions to governments, and social policy makers seeking a better Nigeria through sustainable peace in the ND.

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## Dedication

To God almighty of the endless mercies and grace that inspired me to continue despite all odds; to my late mother, Mrs. Sofun Sikira Bisina, who held a burning desire for education despite not being educated herself; to my late dad, Mr. Bisina Worwei, who was always proud of my achievements even though he did not live long enough to see me complete this journey; to my wife, Mrs. Rita Bisina, who is a pillar of moral support, sacrificing a lot to see me through; to my great children who always inspire me, even though they are not sure what I want to do with education at my age; to the staff of LITE-Africa, Dr Timiebi Karepamo Agary, OON, KSM, my professional guardian who helped me to discover myself in the social sector; to my late uncle Beke Okiy who gave me a professional start in my work life; to Mary Ella Keblusek, who provide great technical support; and to many more too numerous to mention.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Youth violence persists in Nigeria's Niger Delta (ND) region despite the education and economic opportunities to beneficiaries of the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) that began in 2009 (Aghedo, 2013; Ajayi & Adesote, 2013; Omede, 2011). PAP provides scholarships, vocational skills development, and startup capital for small businesses. Youth violence poses a significant threat to national security, economic survival, the unity of Nigeria, and regional peace stabilization in the West Africa subregion (Nnadi & Isung, 2016; Ojakorotu, 2008; Tobor, 2016a; Van de Graaf, 2016).

Youth is a population defined by various parameters according to society or the context and social classification, such as age, behavioral patterns, or attributes. Youth is an age bracket or a transitional growth stage between childhood and adulthood (Harlan, 2016). Youth is a social construct explained by sex, race/ethnicity, and grade in school (Oduwole, 2015). Youth is not just an age in-between, but rather a personhood that needs empirical bases for proper understanding (Tyska & Cote, 2015). Youth typology characterizes them as denied agents, framed, unwilling and sometimes brutal and coercive tools of violence, that can rebel against marginalization that is either political or economic (Abdullahi & Issah, 2006; Iwilade, 2017). The description of youth as an age group in transition from childhood to adulthood presupposes the need for an age bracket or range bracket to enable society to determine the point of entry and exit from youthhood. United Nations defines the age in transition as between 15 and 24 years, the African Youth Charter (n.d.) Nigeria Bureau of Statics defines youth as persons between

the ages of 15 and 35 years, Nigeria national youth policy definition is between 18 and 35 years (NBS, 2015). This is the youth age bracket that was adopted for this study.

Since 2010, youth violence has been heightened by the activities of John Togo, leader of the ND Volunteer Front, the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), and other militant groups made up of ex-militants and active militants (Emuedo, 2012; Moruku, 2012; Nnadi, & Isung, 2016; Okuyade, 2011) in the ND. Renewed youth violence has claimed many lives, heightened insecurity, and increased vulnerability among the local population, especially women and children. The violence resulted in a decrease in oil production from two million to 1.2 million barrels per day (Ikein, 2016; Imhonopi et al., 2016; Nwagboso, 2016; Thompson et al., 2016), which has thrown the country into an economic recession with dire consequences (Bawuro et al., 2016; Eke, 2016; Odukwe, 2016; Offiong et al., 2016). As a result, Nigeria can no longer meet its domestic and international debt repayment obligations.

While the current economic recession in the country is attributed to renewed hostilities in the ND (Lundy & Adebayo, 2016; Okoyeuzu et al., 2016) and to falling oil prices in the international market (Offiong et al., 2016), there has been no scholarly consensus about the motivation for postamnesty youth violence (PAYV) in the ND. The focus of this study was on bringing an understanding to the lived experiences of what motivates PAYV in the ND, a knowledge gap that exists in scholarship. Improving Nigerians' understanding of PAYV may play a vital role toward the formulation of effective, proactive policies to address youth violence, conflict resolution, and

peacebuilding and prevention of full-blown insurgency in the ND; such interventions can help further prevent Nigeria from becoming a failed state (Kaplan, 2014).

The background, purpose, nature, and significance of this study are discussed in Chapter 1. The review of existing literature and theoretical frameworks that undergird the study will be discussed in Chapter 2. In Chapter 1, I provide definitions of key concepts and constructs, study assumptions, delimitations and limitations, a summary, and a transition statement to lay the foundation for Chapter 2.

### **Background of the Study**

Violence orchestrated by militant youth dominates the conflict narrative of the ND (Acey, 2016; Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). Youth violence in the ND is closely linked to the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in Oloibiri, in present-day Bayelsa state (Watts, 2004). When oil became the mainstay of revenue to Nigeria, the revenue sharing formula at the national level was skewed against ethnic minorities in the ND (Abdullahi, 2014; Agbaeze et al., 2015). In the late 1960s up to the mid-2000s, the ethnic minorities peacefully protested regarding their dissatisfaction with how oil revenues were being distributed (Nzeadibe et al., 2015). The peaceful protests were resisted by cohesive state power by the Nigeria national government and the military, which culminated into the first major arms struggle by some youth led by Major Isaac Adaka Boro (Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016).

In 1993, the national government killed Ken Saro Wiwa, the erstwhile leader of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People and nine other Ogonis through a dictatorial judicial process manipulated by the ruling military government. The



government carried on with the repressive state strategy on youth protests in the 1970s through the mid-1990s using the military. This resulted in the destruction of lives and property in Ogoni, Odi, Opia/Ikinyan, and other communities in the ND (Oromareghake, 2013). Youth-led armed struggle emerged under the command and control of nonstate actors. The government's response drove youth militant activities underground, resulting in youth militia camps that emerged across the region. From 1991 through 2009, youth-led ethnic and tribal conflicts and proliferation of fully armed militant camps emerged (Ebiede, 2017).

Prior to the proclamation of the PAP by the federal government, approximately 35 militant youth camps with well over 12,000 fighters in various locations across the ND existed (Ebiede, 2017; Ojo, 2011; Oyewo, 2016). These camps recruited unemployed, idle youths who sabotaged oil installations and critical national assets with increased criminal activities. Security and safety in the region were compromised with increased cases of kidnapping for ransom and hostage taking (Oyewo, 2016). The situation forced oil production from 2.5 million barrels per day to about 700,000 barrels per day (Obi, 2014b; Osaghae, 2015). Under the leadership of Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua, former president of Nigeria, the federal government proclaimed the amnesty program as a measure to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate combatant youth into normal civil life (Agbibo, 2015b; Aghedo, 2015; Eke, 2016). The militant youth camps and their respective commanders disbanded and accepted the offer of amnesty and embraced peace (Agbibo, 2013; Obi, 2014a). However, a few years into the implementation of the amnesty program, violence orchestrated by youths again erupted in the ND (Ojabor, 2014).

2016; Tobor, 2016b), reversing the social, political, and economic gains of the amnesty program (Oluwafemi et al., 2013). Some of the gains of the amnesty program included dismantling of organized militant camps, relative peace in the ND, and an increase in oil production from 700,000 barrels per day to about 2.1 million barrels per day.

The postamnesty peace ended abruptly with the Independence Day bombing in Abuja on October 1, 2011, by renegade leaders of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta ( Eke, 2016; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012; Osumah, 2013). Another bombing at a peace rally in Warri, Delta State, further degraded the peace program (Alumona, 2016). These repeated bombings in different locations signaled the return of violence to the region (Omede, 2011; Oluwafemi et al., 2013). The military operations proliferated the emergence of new militant youth groups and emboldened groups like the NDA to orchestrate violence and criminal activities in the ND (Nnadi & Isung, 2016; Tobor, 2016a; Victor, 2006). The consequences of orchestrated PAYV were the loss of lives and properties, heightened insecurity, vulnerability among the local population (especially women and children), and a 25% drop in daily oil production (Ikein, 2017; Imhonopi et al., 2016; Nwagboso, 2016). Nigeria suffered losses due to a reduction in electricity distribution from insufficient fuel and gas sources to generate power (Ascher & Mirovitskaya, 2016; Bello & Olukolajo, 2016; Eke, 2016). After 2016, more than 14 new militant groups emerged. Table 1 shows some of these groups, their reason for emergence, and activities that launched their emergence.

**Table 1***New Militant Groups in the ND, January 2016 to September 2016*

Group	State	Spokesperson	Major events	Date
Niger Delta Avengers (NDA)	Delta	Brig Gen Mudock Agbinibo	Bombed Shell's Forcados export line	March 2016
Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate (NDGJM)	Delta	Gen Aldo Agbalaja	Bombed Afiesere-Iwhrenene major delivery line to UPS/UQCC, belonging to NPDC/Shoreline Petroleum	September 2016
Utorogun Liberation Movement	Delta	Gen K. Omoudu	Bombed Utorogun gas plant pipeline	June 2016
Asawana Deadly Force of Niger Delta	Delta	Commander Olomubini Kakakokoro aka No Mercy	Claimed to have taken over from Avengers and threatened to bomb Bonga Field, Onitsha-Asaba bridge, Third Mainland Bridge, and the other main bridges across the southern part of the country.	June 2016
Ultimate Warriors of Niger Delta	Delta	Gen' Sibiri Taiowoh	They threatened to wreak more havoc to oil installations within the region if the Nigerian Government fails to award 60% of oil blocs to the people of the area.	June 2016
Isoko Liberation Movement State: Delta	Delta	Com Paul Iziakpono	Threatened war unless certain demands are met, including disintegration of Nigeria.	May 2016
Red Egbesu Water Lions	Bayelsa	Gen Torunanawei Latei	Attacked Sagbama-Tuomo gas line belonging to Agip at Egbembiri, Southern Ijaw	May 2016
Reformed Egbesu Fraternities	Bayelsa	Gen Tony Alagbakeriwei and Commander Ebi Abakoromor,	Threats and advocacy	June 2016
Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force	Bayelsa	Commander, General Duties, JNDLF, General Akotebe Darikoro		June 2016
Adaka Boro Avengers	Bayelsa	Gen Edmos Ayayeibo	Threats to bomb strategic facilities and declare the Niger Delta Republic	July 2016
Niger Delta Revolutionary Crusaders	Bayelsa	WOI Izon-Ebi	Alleged that FG will Islamize Nigeria, in solidarity with the Niger Delta Avengers whose sole aim is the emancipation of the Ijaws, resource control, and the total control of their God-given Black Gold.	July 2016
Bakassi Strike Force	Cross River	Benjamin aka G1 and Gen Simple aka Humble Lion	Killed scores of soldiers during confrontation with Cameroonians Gendarmes over Bakassi Peninsula	June 2016
Niger Delta Squad	Imo	Gen Don Wannie	Agip pipeline at Umuonei in Awara Council Area.	September 2016
Egbesu Boys of the Niger Delta	Bayelsa		An offshoot of reformed Egbesu fraternities.	

*Source:* Harris Okon, Lite-Africa, 2016, Reprinted with permission.

Various researchers have looked at the ND conflict but little attention has been paid to the motivation for postamnesty violence among the youth of the ND. Anugwom (2014) argued that before the PAP, militant youth and their organizations proliferated and clashed with security forces over control of oil mineral resources. Youth violence thrives in a socioeconomic environment that provides scarce opportunity for growth and self-fulfillment (Ukeje & Iwilade, 2012). Anthony and Pratt (2015) argued that policies that neglect children and adolescent issues in a postconflict environment produce militants and violent youths based on their experiences of deprivation as they were growing up.

McDonald et al. (2012) argued that a lack of understanding of the social, political, and cultural environments causes conflicts among human groups that are pervasive, endemic, and enduring. The tendency of a group member to favor their group at the expense of another is simply a byproduct of generic cognitive adaptation, which is a process of classifying the physical world based on perception (McDonald et al., 2012). This perception could find expression in tribalism or other parochial considerations. McDonald et al. (2012) stated that tribalism is rooted in human evolutionary history, which provides survival and reproductive benefits to individuals within a group. Participation in violence from the individual perspective is a constantly changing process that makes it difficult to understand motivations or incentives for collective violence (Guichaoua, 2011).

In another perspective, Adora's (2010) studies on constraints to the development of tourism in Nigeria identified violent fundamentalism and extremism in the name of religion as a major issue. Adora (2010) concluded that violent religious extremism is

provoking terrorism in Nigeria. Amaraegbu's (2011) study on violence, terrorism, and security threat in the ND revealed that youth militancy is terrorism camouflaged as freedom fighting. The tactics used in the bombing of various locations instill fear and panic in the people and draw the attention of the political authority to their political demands (Amaraegbu, 2011). Omale (2013) described the manifestation of violent extremism and criminality as rewarding elites involved in criminal, religious, and political entrepreneurialism. Other researchers have argued that youth violence in the ND is a form of political, ingroup/outgroup riots and protests (Badmus, 2010; Guichaoua, 2011). Peaceful postamnesty ND is critical to sustained economic growth, development, and energy security in Nigeria (Aghedo, 2015; Iwilade, 2014; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012; Ugor, 2013). A peaceful Nigeria is also critical for peace stabilization in West Africa, given Nigeria's leadership role in the subregion (Annan, 2014). Ubhenin's (2013) study on the PAP revealed a lack of understanding of the motivation for violence among youths in the ND.

The central focus of this study was to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of ND youth and their motivation for PAYV. The many years of oil exploration and exploitation activities have altered the ecosystem, degraded and polluted the environment, and eroded indigenous livelihood opportunities, which has led to PAYV (Okonkwo et al., 2015). The traditional occupations of fishing and farming are no longer viable due to pollution of water bodies and arable farmlands. Farmlands and water bodies have also been lost to oil exploration and exploitation activities, which is further complicated by pipelines crisscrossing, canalization, channelization, and dredging by oil

companies without adequate compensation and sustainable alternative livelihoods to local populations. This has been ongoing since 1956 when oil was discovered in commercial quantity. These factors, singularly or collectively, breed frustration, anger, and rage among young people in the ND (Abdullahi & Issah, 2016; Bassey, 2012). As a result, youth-led violent conflict pervades the ND (Acey, 2016; Courson, 2016).

The endemic conflict in the ND region is a serious concern to policy makers and the academic community. The government introduced various policies and programs starting from the composition of the 1958 Willinks Commission to the 2009 PAP. These measures were aimed at disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating excombatants into a productive lifestyle so they could contribute positively to development in their communities. However, the government's various programs and policies did not address the fundamental issues affecting this population: the environment and the loss of traditional livelihoods. The government also did not seek input from local populations; rather, these policies were handed down as palliatives. The amnesty program also targeted rewarding combatants at the expense of those who were open to peaceful dialogue to address developmental issues. The program enrolled 30,000 beneficiaries, who currently enjoy various forms of benefits ranging from scholarships and informal education to vocational skills development and business set-up opportunities (Nwokolo & Aghedo, 2018). The government's amnesty program was intended to assuage the feeling of deprivation among youths in the ND but that does not seem to have been the case. Further insight into the ND context is important for a better understanding of the social setting that provided the background for PAYV.

The ND symbolizes different things to different people, including the academic community (Akpan, 2014; Akpoghiran & Otite, 2013). Many individuals inside and outside of Nigeria speak of the region, yet few understand the region, including policy makers (Obi, 2009; Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). The ND occupies the southern coastline of Nigeria, a marshy, swampy wetland characterized by delicate ecological domains of dense mangrove forests, seaweed, and low land with some areas below sea level. The region records high tropical rainfall for most of the year, making it susceptible to seasonal flooding (Amadi & Ogonor, 2015; Mmom & Aifesehi, 2013). Fresh and saltwater bodies dominate the ND in the form of rivers, creeks, rivulets, and canals. The region represents the delicate deltaic ecosystem of the Nigerian coastline (Akani et al., 2015; Kadafa, 2012).

Different species of marine, aquatic, and wildlife dominate the ecosystem and bionomics of the region (Anwa-Udondiah et al., 2014; Omuvwie & Atobatele, 2013). Based on 2004 national data, the population of the ND is approximately 40 million (Iwilade, 2014; United Nations Development Report, 2006). There are 35 ethnic nationalities, together with their distinctive cultures and traditions, and over 250 ethnic languages (Osaghae, 2015). The political and geographical configuration of the ND is a major source of controversy in Nigeria. Some have argued that the three states of Bayelsa, Delta, and Rivers make up the ND. Others have argued for the nine oil producing states of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta, Cross Rivers, Edo, Imo, Rivers, and Ondo (Ite et al., 2013; Kuenzer et al., 2014; Ojaide, 2015). Therefore, the arguments are between geographical location and political and economic interests.

Those who argued for geography stated that the ND is defined by the deltaic terrain (Akujuru & Ruddock, 2016; Ojaide, 2015). Geographically, ND is comparable to the Amazon Delta in Brazil and the Nile in Egypt (Wesselink et al., 2015). Those who have argued on political and economic consideration indicate the ND is synonymous with oil production (Akujuru & Ruddock, 2016; Ebegbulem et al., 2013; Okolo, 2014); therefore, any state that produces oil should be part of the ND. Policy makers at the national level seem to have resolved the issue on the side of politics, economics, and oil with the enactment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) Act of 1999, No. C 48-49, which reserves and allocates 13% of oil revenue exclusively for the development of the region due to its development challenges (Ebiede, 2017). The NDDC Act acknowledges and adopts the nine-state structure for the ND.

The ND is home to vast hydrocarbon and gas deposits and is a host to many multinational oil companies. The importance of the area as a significant strategic economic and security interest of the federal government and people of Nigeria cannot be overstated (Ajibola, 2015; Nte & Charles, 2013). Conflicts in the ND affect not only Nigeria, but also the rest of the world (Eregha & Irughe, 2009; Hagher, 2011). In 2004, militant leader Asari Dokubo declared a threat to go to war with the Nigerian state that sent the price of oil above \$50 per barrel for the first time (Babatunde, 2014; Murphy, 2013; Naanen & Nyiayaana, 2013). The region produces and accounts for more than 80% of foreign earnings in oil and gas revenues (Anugwon, 2014; Badmus, 2010; Iwilade, 2014; Oriola et al., 2013; Osaghae, 2015). Paradoxically, the region accounts for some of the poorest of the population, despite its abundance in oil and gas deposits (Obi, 2014a;



Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). The region illustrates poverty and lack in the midst of plenty, which is exemplary of the *resource curse* (Carbonnier et al., 2011; Chindo, Naibbi, & Abdullahi, 2014; Ross, 2012).

The vast oil resources of the ND have not delivered the desired development and prosperity to the people. Instead, it fuels and finances corruption and rebellion (Ojatorotu & Idowu, 2016). The situation provides cover for illegal bunkering (Joab-Peterside et al., 2012), ethnic militia, and transnational crimes (Adams & Ogbonnaya, 2014; Gilbert, 2014). Understanding the motivations of beneficiaries of the PAP toward violence beyond the incentive offered by PAP is critical for future peace-building efforts in the country and stabilizing peace in the region. Researchers have looked at youth violence in the region from various perspectives. The findings from this study will inform policy and provide new insight for sustainable peace and development in the ND region of Nigeria.

### **Problem Statement**

Youth violent activities persist in the ND of Nigeria, despite the PAP implemented by the federal government, which provides opportunities for vocational training, educational scholarships, and other rewards to youths who are beneficiaries of the program (Aghedo, 2013; Ajayi & Adesote, 2013; Gruenbaum, 2010; Omede, 2011). Postamnesty violence also may be partially due to escalation in the demands from the beneficiaries, which might amount to blackmailing the government. The resurgence of youth violence claims many lives, heightens insecurity, destabilizes the economy, and increases criminal activities in Nigeria and transnational crime along the West African coast (Nnadi & Isung, 2016; Ojatorotu & Idowu, 2016; Ojione, 2010; Tobor, 2016a).

The literature provides excellent documentation of youth violence and conflict in the ND (Aghedo, 2015; Annan, 2014; Iwilade, 2015); however, there is little research that provides an understanding of the lived experiences of youth and the motivations for postamnesty violence by the beneficiaries of the PAP (Guichaoua, 2011). This lack of understanding represents a gap in the literature. Understanding the motivation by contextualizing individual experiences in the proper social setting will offer additional contributions to the scholarly community and facilitate government and social policy makers seeking a better Nigeria. This knowledge will help policy makers concerned with focused intervention, like the amnesty program, to develop interventions that will redirect the energies of the approximately 30,000 persons enrolled in the program.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the motivations for PAYV among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND. Through criterion purposive sampling, I identified and interviewed 20 beneficiaries of the ND's PAP using open-ended questions to elucidate what motivates PAYV in the ND. Resurgence of postamnesty violence claimed many lives, heightened insecurity, and increased criminal activities in Nigeria (Eke, 2014) and transnational crime along the West Africa coast (Annan, 2014). The PAP delivers benefits such as a monthly stipend, in-training allowance, scholarships, job placement, and business entrepreneurship to beneficiaries, yet violence perpetrated by program beneficiaries has increased (Schultze-Kraft, 2017). A better understanding of the social, political, and economic context of the PAYV in Nigeria will inform the formulation of effective proactive policy options.

Previous attempts at finding lasting solutions to the violence in the ND have adopted a reactive approach characterized by symptomatic solutions (i.e., solutions that address the symptoms rather than the main problems) and palliative solutions (e.g., cash payouts instead of genuine development, repressive military operations rather than dialogue).

An analysis of the amnesty program showed the seeming success that benefits only the government without addressing root causes of the conflict (Ogbu, 2017). The gains to the government are restoration of oil production to the preamnesty era and deescalation of organized insurgency (Ogbu, 2017). The issues of loss of traditional livelihood, destruction of the environment, and loss of social cohesion remain unattended. The results of this study could assist Nigerian policy makers with new and relevant information toward prevention of a full-blown insurgency in the ND and further prevent a failed Nigeria state (Kaplan, 2014). This study helps close the current gap in the literature regarding youth violence in the ND.

### **Research Questions**

The following central research question and three sub-question guided this research study:

RQ: What motivates PAYV among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND?

SQ1: What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among youth in the ND?

SQ2: How do youth perceive sustainable peace in the ND?

SQ3: How do youth make meaning of what sustains postamnesty violence in ND?

### **Theoretical Foundation**

Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theory guided this study by framing the study of human motivation for violence. The details of how these theories complement one another to provide an explanation for the research questions is the major focus of Chapter 2. The theories explain the individual motivations and decision-making processes.

The relative deprivation theory explains how deprivation breeds frustration and aggression, which ultimately leads to anger and violence. Gurr (1970) asserted that people resort to violence when they feel deprived of benefits, they should have but cannot have when others in a similar situation do. In trying to understand the growth of political violence, Gurr (1970) asserted further that frustration is a product of relative deprivation. This frustration or the feeling of deprivation is the gap between what life is and what life should be. Ubhenin (2013) explained that relative deprivation is premised on people's expectations and reality. The outbreak of violence in society is the accumulation of relative deprivation experienced by many (Ubhenin, 2013). This represents the gap between expectations and actual access to wealth, power, and the benefits offered by society in their immediate environment. An individual's capacity for violence is a product of the degree of relative deprivation they suffer (Gurr, 1970). Ebiede (2017) argued that motivation and mobilization for violence by actors in the ND is a product of grievances occasioned by deprivation.

Aduloju and Okwechime (2016) explained that global oil prices and volume of production affect the response of oil-bearing communities in the ND to their deprivation.

Ubhenin (2013) posited that protracted conflict (like the case in the ND) is an outcome of alienation and isolation, creating perpetual anxiety, feelings of inferiority, humiliation, and powerlessness. Ubhenin (2013) asserted that this situation creates an ongoing battleground between two unequal groups reinforced by a complex mix of poverty, grievances, envy, greed, and globalization that encourages continuation of wars, rather than resolutions.

Complementing Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory is Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theory. Ostrom explained that rational human beings weigh the consequences of their actions before making a final decision among various alternatives. Closely related to games theory, Ostrom posited that rational humans carry out a cost benefit analysis to determine what will deliver the optimal benefit. Ostrom (1998) stated further that rational choice theory frames our understanding of humans as "self-interested short-term maximizers" (p. 2). Neugart and Ohlsson (2013) remarked that one key economic principle is that people respond to incentives. Iwilade (2014) argued that access to clientelist networks serves as a motivation for youth to make a choice to engage in violent behaviors in the ND. Therefore, the political economy of oil incentivizes violence, mediates power relations, and legitimizes rational choices of resistance and violence (Iwilade, 2015; Yahaya, 2015). Ingwe (2015) believed that every human behavior is grounded on the notion of rationality.

Rustad (2016) conducted studies that showed that inequalities increase risks of violence. In the ND, the sociopolitical environment that exacerbates inequalities is not well understood. Differences among individual and group inequalities could result in

violence; however, the interplay of individual perception of inequalities in producing violent behavior is scant in the literature regarding the ND conflict (Rustad, 2016).

Ubhenin (2013) suggested that violence could be a response to leadership failure in the ND but motivation for an individual to make a decision to become involved in violent behavior was not addressed. The next section will look at the nature of this study.

### **Nature of the Study**

In this study, through a qualitative phenomenological design, I sought to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of the motivation for PAYV in the ND of Nigeria. This knowledge will inform policy development and is critical to the continued existence of Nigeria as a single entity. The knowledge will also help close a gap in the literature on postamnesty violence in the ND among beneficiaries of the PAP. The incentive for postamnesty violence can be understood through a personal narrative of those with firsthand experience of it. The phenomenological design is best suited to understanding issues that are highly unstructured, topical, and that are rare in research. The phenomenological design in the qualitative approach provided a good basis for understanding the experiences of those who live with postamnesty violence.

Moustakas (1994) described the phenomenological design as an approach that involves an attempt to obtain a comprehensive description of an experience reflectively through structural analysis that portrays the essence of the meaning of the experience.

Wagstaff and Williams (2014) explained that an interpretive phenomenological study provides an opportunity for a researcher to carry out a detailed case-by-case analysis of individual research participant transcripts for better understanding and perception of a

group rather than making a general claim. Phenomenology is about the different and unique individual experiences and meanings of a phenomenon of study. Therefore, these different perspectives can best be understood through one-on-one deeper insight (Bakanay & Çakır, 2016). The strength of phenomenology as a research design is its ability to uncover and describe the structure of experiences of research participants that help a researcher arrive at a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of experiences of phenomena (Cilesiz, 2011). This makes phenomenology unique in the study of human experience of a phenomenon particularly in this study.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) explained that a researcher uses a qualitative approach as a situated undertaking to locate the observer in the world. That is, it is a context specific undertaking where a researcher locates issues of interest through shared experiences of participants. The qualitative researcher studies things in their natural settings, trying to make sense of or interpret them through the meanings and understanding that participants in a research study bring (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001). Through substantive interpretive practices, a researcher makes the world visible, relying on field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001). Qualitative research focuses on the wholeness of experience, rather than part of it, acknowledging multiple realities of any given situation. The qualitative approach enables an understanding of human emotions, sentiments, opinions, and perspectives that trigger and shape human behavior. This rigorous iterative process leads to inductive findings and conclusions about a phenomenon of study (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). This is achieved through in-depth interviews and observations, respecting

participants' views and opinions with minimum disruption to the natural environment. Findings are reported in narrative descriptions and rich in respondents' commentaries (Vaismoradi et al., 2013 ).

A qualitative approach was appropriate for this study as it provided an opportunity to explore a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Any other type of methodology would have taken away from the participants' experience of PAYV violence in the ND, which was the central phenomenon of this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) stated that qualitative researchers see "the world in action and embed their findings in it" (p. 9). This process helps a researcher to focus attention on understanding a case rather than empirical generalization, which is concerned with quantitative research. A phenomenological design with the qualitative approach provides a better design and methodology for understanding the phenomenon of incentive for PAYV among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND.

### **Operational Definition of Terms**

*Amnesty:* An international law and an act of effacing and forgetting past offenses granted by the government to persons who have been guilty of crime and rebellion against the state (Weisman, 1972).

*Amnesty Period:* The 60-day period declared June 25 to October 4, 2009 (Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012).

*Credibility:* The practice of structuring and asking questions that generate valid and truthful accounts of a phenomenon (Del Vecchio, 2016).

*Militancy:* The active championing of a cause or belief (Del Vecchio, 2016).



*No war, no peace*: Reflects situations prevailing in societies attempting to emerge from protracted civil conflict (MacGinty et al., 2007).

*Petro-insurgency*: Oil-related protest and violence (Courson, 2016).

*Postamnesty*: The period after disarmament; the demobilization and reintegration phase of the ND PAP (Ering et al., 2013).

*Postamnesty peace*: The peace prevalent immediately following amnesty characterized by a reduction in organized militancy, an increase in oil production, and improved security (Ukeje & Iwilade, 2012).

*Preamnesty*: The period before the proclamation of amnesty (Ering et al., 2013).

*Resource wars*: Natural resource-related wars and conflicts (Caselli et al., 2013).

*Value capability*: Conditions that determine peoples' perceived chances of getting or keeping the values they legitimately expect to attain (Gurr, 2015).

*Value expectation*: The goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are justifiably entitled (Gurr, 2015).

*Youth*: an age group in transition; people between the ages of 18 and 35. The National Bureau of Statistics and Federal Ministry of Youth Development 2012 National Baseline Youth Survey defined the age of Nigeria's young people as being between 18 and 35 (NBS, 2015, p. 10). The age bracket for this study is in line with the national policy.

### **Assumptions and Limitations**

Assumptions in a study are conditions outside the researcher's control deemed to be true (Ellis & Levy, 2010). Assumptions form the foundational premise on which a

study is predicated (Ellis & Levy, 2010). This study was predicated on the following assumptions concerning the participants. First, the study was to be conducted in in the ND, states with highest level of PAYV incidence and militant camps. Delta and Bayelsa states have the highest concentration of militant camps. It was assumed the large concentration of militants would make recruitment easy. I also assumed that research participants would be willing to share their lived experiences of PAYV and would provide honest and frank responses during interviews. Last, I assumed that participants would not expect to be paid to participate in the study, but rather would see this as an avenue to tell their stories. Some participants were paid logistics to cover incidentals, but none of the participants requested to be paid before participation.

With respect to the limitations of this study, a nonprobability sample was adopted considering the nature and scope of the study. Twenty participants constituted the criterion purposive sample. All participated voluntarily in the study. Interviews were conducted using open-ended questions related to the research question. One major limitation of purposive sampling is that research participants may not be representative, impeding room for empirical generalization. Nonetheless, the purpose of this study was not to make empirical generalizations, but to gain a deeper understanding of participants' lived experiences of PAYV, which was the central phenomenon under study.

### **Scope and Delimitations**

I limited this study to postamnesty violence perpetrated by beneficiaries of the PAP. The study area was the ND and, therefore, cannot lay claim to postamnesty violence in other regions. I interviewed 20 people among 30,000 beneficiaries, which

represents 0.067% of the total possible study population (Ikelegbe & Umukoro, 2016).

The age of participants was between 18 and 35 years. This age group is consistent with Nigeria National Youth Policy's age bracket. The selected sample was in conformity with the phenomenological approach, which relies on deep insight into participants' personal experiences with the phenomenon, research seeking quality rather than quantity. Views vary regarding appropriate sample size in a phenomenological qualitative research.

Giorgi (2008) argued for at least three participants; Morse (1994) recommended a minimum of six; Creswell (2013) gave a range of between five and Twenty-five<sup>25</sup>; and Alase (2017) argued in favor of between two and 25, with emphasis on a homogenous population with experience of the phenomenon of study. The study participants were recruited from amnesty beneficiaries residing in Delta and Bayelsa states.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study fills a gap in the literature regarding the understanding of the lived experiences of PAYV in the ND. My study was significant because no other study has focused on how youth make meaning of their experience with postamnesty violence. An understanding of the motivation for PAYV may be reached by contextualizing participants' experiences in the proper social setting, which offers additional contributions to the scholarly community and may facilitate government and social policy makers seeking a better Nigeria. Policy options that consider the perceptions of youths and how they make meaning of their lived experiences will be important to peacebuilding efforts in Nigeria, which was the premise of this study. A peaceful postamnesty ND is

important to dealing with the myriad of social economic challenges facing Nigeria (Aghedo, 2015; Iwilade, 2014; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012; Ugor, 2013).

### **Significance to Practice**

This research study helps to close the gap in understanding the reward beyond the incentives offered by the PAP that induces violence among beneficiaries and to provide an insight into youth behaviors vital for government and community actions toward joint problem solving and policymaking. An evidence-based intervention that considers persons involved in postamnesty violence will guide government action toward sustainable peace. Sustainable peace is imperative given the significance of the ND to the economic survival of Nigeria. Nigeria is a one-product economy. The country depends on oil for the bulk of its revenue. The national budget is benchmarked against the price of oil in international markets. The country's recession was due to a drop in the price of oil in the international market and a daily production reduction by more than 30% due to PAYV.

### **Significance to Theory**

Current literature on youth violence in the ND has addressed other forms of violence, including resource-based conflicts (Babatunde, 2020), communal or ethnic violence, or conflict over land ownership (Ajodo-Adebanjoko, 2019). In contemporary scholarship, researchers have also discussed livelihood and environment-related conflicts (Babatunde, 2020). Postamnesty scholarship has been concentrated on implementation, training, and reintegration. Some researchers have looked at the social and economic implications of postamnesty violence; however, no research has been conducted to

describe PAYV through the lenses of those who lived with the phenomena. Preamnesty ND youth violence has had severe social and economic implications on the country (Ugor, 2013). According to Ugor (2013), far-reaching implications have manifested in the decline of oil supply and reduction in profits, exacerbated by the crisis in the Middle East; at the national level, the violence has led to reduced economic rents from transnational oil companies to the Nigeria government.

The results of this study help to elaborate on the phenomenon through the lived experiences of ex-militants who have been beneficiaries of the PAP. This understanding will be valuable research for future policy framework in Nigeria, especially with the federal government's determination to extend amnesty to Boko Haram elements in the northern part of the country (Anyaeze, 2020). The results of the study may provide insight for future intervention strategies. Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theories formed the bedrock to gaining an understanding of motivation for violence in a resource-rich setting. These theories complement each other in providing answers to the important central question of this study, further reinforcing the place of theory in expanding, extending, and bringing new knowledge in scholarship.

### **Significance to Social Change**

This study has potential implications for social change by providing Nigerian policy makers with new and relevant information that may help to prevent a full-blown insurgency in the ND and further prevent Nigeria from becoming a failed state (Kaplan, 2014). A peaceful postamnesty ND is critical to economic growth, development, and energy security in Nigeria. Peaceful postamnesty ND is also significant to the West

African coast, as this may guarantee a peaceful coastline devoid of sea piracy, kidnapping, and other transnational crime along the waterways. Nigeria can play an effective leadership role within the economic community of African states and the African Union (Oni & Taiwo, 2016). According to Oni and Taiwo (2016), Nigeria's financial and human capital, geography, and population place the country in a leadership role within the West African subregion.

### **Summary and Transition**

In Chapter 1, I explored the repetitive nature of violence in the ND and the role of the PAP, which was aimed at providing enduring peace in the area. Such peace has not been the case, as witnessed in the conflagration of PAYV among purported beneficiaries of the PAP. The resurgence of violence has resulted in the loss of lives. The violence has engendered palpable fear and anxiety, fueled kidnapping, created a slump in oil production due to the bombing of oil installations, and increased insecurity and national and transnational crimes. In Chapter 1, I also examined the problem of understanding what motivates and incentivizes PAYV among beneficiaries of the ND PAP.

In this qualitative phenomenological study, I sought to identify the incentives for violence to answer the question of what motivates PAYV violence in the ND among beneficiaries of the PAP of Nigeria. This chapter also lays out the problem statement; purpose and significance of the study; scope, assumptions, and limitations of the study; and implications for social change. I adopted an in-depth interview protocol to find meaning in the lived experiences of 20 amnesty beneficiaries from Delta and Bayelsa states, regarding the phenomenon of motivations for PAYV in the ND. Findings from this

research contribute to positive social change by closing the gap in the literature and providing relevant information for policy makers in Nigeria that will be useful for proactive policy options to prevent Nigeria from becoming a failed state.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the relevant literature on the phenomenon and identify the gaps in the discipline that form the basis for this study. Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theory will be examined in Chapter 2. The literature review will cover current published scholarly works that document PAYV and related studies. This review establishes scholarly consensus and divergent views on themes and concepts and locates the studies within threads that need further investigation into youth violence in the ND.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

Violence by militant youths is a dominant narrative of the ND conflict literature (Courson, 2016; Iwilade, 2015; Watts, 2016). The violence negatively impacts government revenue at all levels, as well as oil multinationals (Ikein, 2016). Studies have been conducted that focus on violent extremism, political violence, ingroup/outgroup violence, riots, protests, and other forms of violent youth actions in the ND (Aghedo, 2015; Annan, 2014; Guichaoua, 2011). However, there has been a lack of research on the motivation for PAYV violence in the ND region. A peaceful postamnesty ND is needed for development and democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fragile democracy (Aghedo, 2015; Iwilade, 2014; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012; Ugor, 2013).

Oluduro and Oluduro (2012) argued that there has been no road map for development in the ND; the government sees the presence of arms and the proliferation of armed militias as the greatest threat to the petroleum business, and once taken out through the amnesty program, peace would return. Oluduro and Oluduro identified the absence of genuine effort at addressing unemployment, poverty, youth and women issues, marginalization, and exploitation as likely to reignite postamnesty violence. Persistent neglect, deprivation, and marginalization coupled with environment degradation and uneven distribution of natural resources revenue has been responsible for the resurgence of violence in the ND (Omokhoa, 2015; Osumah, 2013). The way young people navigate the landscape of exclusion and inclusion, crises, and opportunities for growth and self-actualization offer an important perspective for understanding youth behavior (Iwilade, 2013). Eke (2016) posited that the cycle of violence in the ND and the postamnesty



violence are induced by monetary rewards paid to warlords and violent youth by politicians and elites.

Eke (2016) argued that youth violence in the ND is not about environment remediation or development, but about self-enrichment. State failure, proliferation of arms, and elite manipulation for power and spoils are responsible for the resurgence of violence (Eke, 2014). The amnesty program only mopped up a fraction of the arms in circulation (Eke, 2014). Eke argued further that criminal hijacking of the fragile and volatile situation exacerbates the conflict in the region. The youths' situation in the conflict and postconflict context requires an understanding of what is at stake for them (Dwyer, 2015). Representing youth as either passive, apolitical, vulnerable, suffering victims, or brainwashed perpetrators whose natural energies risk exploding without firm grip of governance takes away their power as critical stakeholders in the transformation as active participants in a conflict situation (Dwyer, 2015).

Manu (2015) argued that youths are often manipulated by the political elite to perpetrate violence, and youths are victims of violence being killed during violence in Nigeria and, by extension, the ND. A postamnesty, sustainable, peaceful ND cannot be secured without owner–control or owner–participation in natural resource management (Acey, 2016). Iwilade (2014; 2015) submitted that networks of payoffs and rewards are responsible for youth violence in the ND. Wilson (2013) posited that violence is a reaction to inequitable distribution of oil-related resources. Wilson's (2013) study on the politics of youth violence revealed bad governance, power struggles, reprisal attacks by aggrieved factions, the proliferation of arms and armed groups, poverty, the involvement

of oil multinationals in local politics, payouts, and struggle over land ownership as causes of youth violence in the community of Rumuekpe in the ND. Ewetan and Ese (2014) believed that unemployment among the large youth population is the major reason youths are involved in violence. Ewetan and Ese found that 80% of the Nigerian population is made up of youth between ages 18 and 35.

This pool of young people served as ready tools in the hands of elites and politicians as combatant in conflict situations (Ewetan & Ese, 2014). Nussio (2016) argued to the contrary that in a postconflict (postamnesty) situation, excombatants (exmilitants in the ND) constitute a small fraction of the population; therefore, their contribution to postconflict violence is often overestimated. Excombatants grow older in age and are less attracted to postconflict violence over time; and personnel turnover in the rank-and-file of violent organizations is high; therefore, the number of excombatants in those organizations fades (Nussio, 2016). Nussio (2016) found that postconflict efforts in war-torn countries focus on excombatants, leaving out marginalized and vulnerable populations that are recruited into combat operations because of the attention excombatants receive from interventions. Imhonopi (2015) recommended that conflict management and mitigation programs should empower the large youth population and translate their productive energy into positive outcomes for society. In contrast to the disempowered narrative of Africa youth, Ugor (2013) argued that the youths are social actors with great potential for engineering social change within given socioeconomic, political, and cultural circumstances.

In this chapter, I review the existing literature to offer insight into understanding the motivation for PAYV among youth in the ND. In reviewing the literature, I focused on peer-reviewed works published in the last 5 years. Some earlier publications were also reviewed given the lack of current works in this particular area. In this chapter, Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theory are explored, as well as their contribution to an understanding of the motivation for PAYV in the ND. In this chapter, I explore peer-reviewed articles, seminal works, and relevant professional reviews on youth violence and the amnesty program and youth violence and militancy. The chapter ends with a summary of the review and a transition statement into Chapter 3.

### **Literature Search Strategy**

The Walden University Library, as well as the official websites of the United Nations, the African Union, the ND Amnesty office, and the Nigeria National Office of Statistics were sources for data and information searches. In the Walden University Library, the following databases contributed to the search for relevant literature: ProQuest Central/Multidisciplinary, EBSCO/Political Science Complete, Business Source Complete Sage Premier, Science Direct, International Terrorism and Counter Terrorism Reference Center, Academic Search Complete and ABI/INFORM, and Walden Dissertations and Theses. Google and Google Scholar served as primary search engines for the literature. The following keywords were used to narrow the search: *youth, violence, conflict, postconflict, amnesty, peace, youth violence, amnesty program, disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, postamnesty violence, and Niger Delta.*

Other keywords were *Africa, ethnicity, militants, militancy, ethnic militia, tribal violence, communal conflict, sustainable peace, Nigeria, Niger Delta Avengers, relative deprivation, rational choice theories, and the resource curse*. Because of the paucity of specific materials on PAYV, I extended the search of the literature and information review to include youth violence and PAYV in the ND. A single-user RefWorks folder was created, which helped to organize the references. Most of the literature reviewed conformed to the protocol of peer-reviewed materials published within the last 5 years. I also used seminal works by major theorists and authoritative sources with earlier publication dates because these were necessary to understand and explore the phenomenon. There were also instances where scholarly journals with previous publications were referenced, especially those publications without recent updates. Ulrich Periodicals Directory in the Walden Library provided a basis for verifying the peer-reviewed status of each of the scholarly journals cited.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

Theory plays a major role in a research study, whether it is quantitative or qualitative. The research council of Norway stated that theory provides a basis for prediction and reorganizing experience; therefore, it helps us to identify complexity, describe and explain reality, and guide empirical study and intervention in practice (Stenseng et al., 2015). Two theories undergird this study: Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theory. Feather (2015) stated that relative deprivation is the resentment from the experience of a person not deserving to profit from a positive outcome at the expense of those presumed to deserve the benefit.

Feather (2015) asserted that “deservingness, justice-relatedness, and resentment” are imperatives of relative deprivation (p. 8). Rustad (2016) stated that perceived inequality affects attitudes differently from person to person toward violence in the ND. Agbiboa (2013) argued that complicity and easily exploitable natural resources increase the potential for conflict.

Barnes (2001) posited that rational choice theory (RCT) predominantly applies in the physical sciences and social sciences. RCT postulates that all human actions are founded on rationality. Barnes described rationality as the use of perfect knowledge of the situation. Ingwe (2015) stated that the propositions of RCT are that rational human beings are always seeking to achieve endless goals in the midst of limited means and resources, deciding on the best action that satisfies the most critical needs. Rational human beings seek to achieve these goals through (a) analyzing the available options; (b) identifying and evaluating potential consequences of applying each of the alternatives; and (c) selecting and applying the best alternative that meet the decision maker’s needs within the resource-constrained. Gurr (1970) relative deprivation and Ostrom (1998) rational choice theories complement one another to provide answers to the central research question of what motivates PAYV in the ND. Deprivation of nonstate actors could engender grievance, frustration, and anger, which serve as an incentive for a rational human being, based on lived experiences to make a rational choice to be violent.

Since the Colonial era, the people ND have protested the denial and deprivation of the benefit of oil found in their land (Acey, 2016; Watts, 2016). These protests are led by youth, leads to violent confrontations with state security forces in some instances before

the proclamation of amnesty (Ebiede, 2017; Eke, 2016). The PAP resulted in the surrendering of arms and ammunition by militant youth, which ushered in relative peace (Aghedo, 2013; Obi, 2014b). The postamnesty peace was derailed when the remnants of the MEND, the NDA launched renewed attacks on oil installations in the ND (Africa, 2016; Ebiede, 2017). These events took the region back to the preamnesty days with its high level of insecurity, violence, and sabotage of oil installations (Aghedo, 2015; Eke, 2016; Obi, 2014a). PAYV resulted in a drop in daily production of oil and an economic recession in Nigeria (Hassan et al, 2016; Yeeles & Akporiaye, 2016). Relative deprivation and the rational choice theories helped in the search for answers to the central research question of postamnesty youth motivation to violence in the ND among beneficiaries of the PAP.

### **Relative Deprivation**

Relative deprivation originates from Aristotle's writing on political revolution and de Tocqueville's writing on the French Revolution (Brush, 1996). Stouffer et al (1949) formally introduced the concept as a theory in their work on U.S. Army attitudes and behavior. This was expanded upon by Gurr (1970), which grounded this study. Recent works on relative deprivation were (Bernstein & Crosby, 1980; Crosby, 1976; Crosby & Gonzalez, 1984). Davis (1959) believed that people feel a sense of injustice when they are not able to get what others can get, even when they think they should get it. Davis (1959) posited that deprivation is relative, not absolute, that the most deprived are objectively not likely to experience deprivation. On the other hand, Crosby (1976) argued that it is not enough to discuss objectivity alone, rather delineation of the relationship

between objective and subjective status is necessary to understand deprivation. Crosby (1976) identified three mediating variables of relative deprivation: (a) the blame of self or society for experiences of deprivation, (b) personal control, and (c) the presence of actual opportunities for initiating social change. Crosby asserted that these variables elicit the following responses to relative deprivation: (a) constructive change of society happens, (b) violence against society happens, and (c) self-directed behaviors aimed at an improved position within society and passive response that exhibits stress.

Gurr (2015) argued that all forms of political violence start with an analysis of peoples' hopes and grievance. To understand why people participate in risky acts such as violence; there is the need to know what they think and believe (Gurr, 1970). Gurr (1970) illustrated relative deprivation through value expectations and the environment. According to Gurr(1970), the “discrepancy between value expectations and the environment is value capability” ( p. 105). Value expectation is the good and conditions people expect, value capabilities is the good and conditions of life they think they can attain, and value discrepancy is the difference between the expectations and realities (Gurr, 1970, p. 105).

According to Crosby (1976) relative deprivation assumes that persons who lack opportunities of goods, desire to have them, but cannot without any sense of responsibility. Gurr (1970) explained that men and women are slow to accept their inabilities, quick to vent anger in their aspirations for benefits, and are always looking for someone to blame in the end. Anger and frustration are necessary preconditions for violence, which are a product of relative deprivation or grievance (Gurr, 2015). Gurr

explained the three perspectives of the theory: (a) decremental deprivation, where value expectation is constant, but capabilities fall; (b) aspirational deprivation, where value expectation rises, but capabilities remain constant; and (c) progressive deprivation, where expectation grows, but capabilities are not able to keep up with the growth. The ND situation is between the aspirational and progressive deprivation prisms. There is a high expectation from government and oil multinationals among stakeholders, especially the youth. In the same vein, change in technology in the oil industry leaves locals behind as they are not able to keep pace with changing technical skills required to compete in the sector.

Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory has come under criticism among scholars (Gurney & Tierney, 1982; Muller, 1972). Muller (1972) argued that the potential for violence is dependent on political authority, beliefs in the use of violence, and the results of previous violence outcome, rather than on relative deprivation. Despite the criticisms, relative deprivation continues to serve as a theoretical framework for understanding the individual motivation for rebellion and violence. I relied on Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory, which was based on the following premise: (a) deprived groups rebel when they cannot get what they should get and knowing that others have them; (b) deprivation breeds frustration and frustration breeds aggression, fear, and anger, which ultimately leads to violence; and (c) peacebuilding efforts that focus on closing the gap on value discrepancy at the individual level, are likely to eliminate the feeling of deprivation, which could ultimately lead to a resolution.



Iwilade (2015) used the relative deprivation theory to explain youth embedded in the complex resource conflict in the ND. Rather than the dominant narrative that Niger Delta militants are members of a disempowered, deprived, and marginalized social grouping in the society, Iwilade (2015) posited that they are part of the complex social web and network that reap and harvest from the complexities of the social environment in the ND. Change is only possible within a policy framework that recognizes youth embeddedness in the complex power equation and its implication on the intractability of conflict in the ND (Iwilade, 2015). Ajayi (2013) argued that widespread neglect, deprivation, backwardness, and striking poverty are responsible for youth violence in the ND. This submission links to Koos (2016), that argued that violent rebellion is an efficient tool for deprived groups to attain political goals in the midst of poverty and hopelessness, as is the case in the ND situation. Koos (2016) cited examples from the deprived Ijaws people of the ND and ethnic minorities from Southern Sudan and asserted that the Ijaw violence against the Nigerian state produced Dr. Goodluck Jonathan as vice president who later became the President of Nigeria.

In the same vein, ethnic nationalities in Southern Sudan used violence to attain political autonomy from the government. Despite the acknowledgment of these groups that state military forces have superior military power, violence was their choice knowing the potential benefit from their rebellion outweighed the potential losses. This links deprivation to the rational choice of a rational human being to go to war amid other options. Youth violence in the ND also results from the deprivation suffered by the ethnic minorities of the Delta (Koos, 2016; Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). Tantua and

Kamruzzman (2016) believed that a feeling of deprivation was responsible for the rebellion led by Isaac Adaka Boro and was aimed at creating an Ijaw independent country in 1966 in the ND. The Boro-led revolution only lasted 12 days before it was crushed by the Nigeria military (Tantua & Kamruzzman, 2016). Closely related to the relative deprivation theory is the rational choice theory (RCT) and violent conflict in the ND.

### **Rational Choice Theory**

Rational choice theory (RCT), like many other social theories, continues to inform and explain social phenomena. The main two propositions of Homan's RCT are the value of the reward and the probability of the perceived result of the actor. Dietrich and List, (2013) believed that people take certain course of action after they have weighed the cost benefit of optimal outcome. In his works on social dilemmas and collective action, Ostrom (1998) explained that RCT helps us to understand human beings as short-term self-maximizers. That is, short-term self-benefit is the overriding consideration in the choice of action.

Behaviors in social dilemmas are affected by a number of variables that include size of the group, heterogeneity of participants, dependency on benefits received, reciprocity of participation, predictability of transformational outcomes, monitoring and information available to participants, and not just rationality, as proposed by some scholars (Ostrom,1998). Ostrom explained that social dilemmas are situations in which individuals make independent choices in an interdependent circumstance. Ostrom asserted that RCT views humans as complex, fallible learners seeking to do as much as they can, given constraints they face, learning heuristics, norms, rules and values to

improve outcomes. Emphasizing the value of reciprocity in social dilemmas, Ostrom made the following propositions:

- an effort to identify who else is involved,
- an assessment of the likelihood that others are conditional cooperators,
- a decision to cooperate initially with others if they are trusted to be conditional cooperators,
- a refusal to cooperate with those who do not reciprocate, and
- punishment of those who betray trust. (p. 9)

While agreeing to the general notion of humans as rational agents that will always make a rational decision based on self-conviction, Ostrom argued that reciprocity in action and reward are at the root of individual decision making in a collective action situation. This study relied on Ostrom's RCT, which lends itself to the general principles of RCT as espoused by scholars.

In RCT, individual decision making is based on preconceived beliefs, which inform actions in each situation (Dietrich & List, 2013). They will act on these beliefs in ways that satisfy their desires based on what they perceive as possible outcomes from different choices (Dietrich & List). Dietrich and List argued that in such situation the individual is constantly weighing alternatives, considering the costs and benefits of the options and taking individual actions on outcomes with the optimal benefit. Kaya and Kale (2016) argued that rebellion or violence is only possible when the gains and opportunities outweigh pursuing alternative income-generating opportunities. It is contended that in an environment where the cost of organizing rebellion is low, with a

large youth population (making recruitment into youth groups cheaper), a high level of poverty and illiteracy, and the presence of easily loot-worthy resources, like in the ND, youth inclination to violence is greater (Kaya & Kale). In their study of oil terrorism, Mafimisebi and Thorne (2015) found that people involved in resistance and violent activities are rational actors making rational choices in the ND. Kaya and Kale, and Mafimisebi and Thorne provided a basis to seek an understanding of the incentive for postamnesty violence in the ND.

Ajala (2016) argued that the study of violent conflicts has focused mainly on the structural conditions that increased the risk of conflict, with little attention given to the rational choice of individual actors engaged in violence. Ajala argued further that the analysis of these structural conditions is based on the state and other institutions, not the concerns or needs of individuals. Violent conflicts in the ND and armed groups are spearheaded and consist of young men who are frustrated by the contractions in their economic and political opportunities for a better living, due to actions that are not perceived to be their fault (Ajala). At the root of most conflicts and wars in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America in the last decade is poverty arising from eroded livelihood and exacerbated by environmental degradation (Ajala). Young people are deprived of participating in the oil economy (Iwilade, 2015) and in the inclusion of sharing oil rents in the ND (Iwilade, 2013). Their vulnerability in the poverty index has increased, incentivizing protest, resistance, and conflicts among various actors and youth in the ND.

Some of the criticism of RCT is that it does not provide an understanding of the environment in which these choices are made (Boyle, 2016; Burns & Roszkowska,

2016). This gap will be closed by Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory, which considers the social, political, and economic environment where the rational decisions are made. RCT was appropriate for the study of motivation for PAYV violence in the ND, as it provided a basis for understanding individual choices involved in violent behaviors. It helped to identify incentives that motivate the individual to act in a violent manner and explored how this can be changed to produce a more desirable outcome through policy options and actions. The combination of Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory and RCT provided an explanation on what incentivizes PAYV in the ND among beneficiaries of the PAP.

The justification for violence by youth in the ND hinges on a feeling of being deprived of the benefits of oil, and the underdevelopment suffered by the region from government neglect and repressive policies (Aaron, 2015; Koos, 2014; Tobor, 2016b). Amnesty was proclaimed for youth in the area as a palliative to deal with neglect and human capital development challenges of the ND. This has not assuaged the feeling of deprivation as youth violence persists. These theories are relevant in finding the answer to the central question of this study.

## **Literature Review**

### **Youth Violence**

Youth violence as a social phenomenon has received great attention in the literature (Amzat & Abdullahi, 2016; Iwilade, 2014; Okafor, 2015; Watts, 2016). Okafor (2015) explained that 97% of election-related violence in Nigeria are perpetrated by youth as they serve as agents to politicians and ready tools, doing the bidding of their

paymasters. This assertion portrays youths as averse to democratic consolidation. Besides the contradictions of oil wealth and economic neglect, clientelistic networks are central to youth involvement in violence in the ND (Iwilade, 2014, p. 575). Iwilade (2014) explained clientelistic networks to mean payoffs and rents by government officials and oil multinationals. On the contrary, Amzat and Abdullahi (2016) argued that youths are agents of change in Nigeria and have continued to play a significant role in advocating for change. Wilson (2013) argued that youth violence is caused by agitation for change in youth leadership and poor corporate governance by oil multinationals in the ND. Iwilade (2014) asserted that the dominant narrative of resistance has undermined our ability to understand the possible incentive for youth violence. The next sections will look at various aspects of youth violence.

### ***Youth Violence in the Niger Delta***

Durham (2000) explained that youth riots, crises, demonstrations, and restiveness in sub-Saharan Africa date back to the late 1980s and early 90s. Durham (2000) explained further that, starting from prodemocracy agitations by Francophone countries in the late 80s and early 90s, African youths have become restless and motivated by violence and conflicts that have become part of daily lived experience in sub-Saharan Africa. This description captures the situation in the ND region where violent conflict is prevalent. Violence orchestrated by youth dominates the ND conflict narrative (Iwilade, 2015; Ugor, 2013; Watts, 2016). Recent cases of youth violence rooted in ethnic politics started from the Warri crises of 1997 and 2003 over the relocation of local government headquarters in Warri southwest area, from an Ijaw town to an Itsekiri town, *Ogbe-Ijoh to*

*Ogidigben* (Ukiwo, 2007). Ijaw and Itsekiri are two main ethnic nationalities in the ND and they largely inhabit the creek area (backwater) with a presence in the main cities across the region (Agbedo, 2013).

Youth violence manifests in community leaders fighting over supremacy (Wilson, 2013). Violence is also seen as a means to an end in the complex network of clientelism, patronage, and payoffs in the power relations in Nigeria (Iwilade, 2015). Ethnic cleavages and or ethnic militias orchestrate youth violence in the Niger Delta (Abdullahi & Issah, 2016). There are also petroleum wars and conflicts over control of natural resources, criminality, and organized cult group activities with active youth involvement in the ND (Watts, 2016). Other forms of youth violence manifest in the form of underground activities such as illegal oil bunkering, pipeline vandalization, kidnapping for ransom, and perceived legitimate grievance over deprivation, neglect, and political exclusion (Aghedo, 2015; Iwilade, 2015).

The various dimensions of conflicts in the ND result in the destruction of property, death, injury, and insecurity (Anthony & Pratt, 2015; Ajayi & Adesote, 2013; Iwilade, 2014; Ugor, 2013). Ajayi and Adesote (2013) explained that youth restiveness in the ND is responsible for the huge loss of revenue to government and oil multinationals. Anugwom (2014) argued that before the amnesty program, militant youth and their organizations proliferated and clashed with security forces over control of oil resources. Such clashes served as a cover for illegal bunkering and sea piracy in the waterways (Eke, 2016; Hastings & Phillips, 2015; Murphy, 2013). Youth violence thrives in a socio-economic environment, that provides limited opportunity for growth and self-fulfillment

(Ukeje & Iwilade, 2012). Anthony and Pratt (2015) argued that policies that neglected children and adolescent issues in a postconflict environment are likely to produce militants and violent youths based on their experiences, especially with the amnesty program focused on militant youth.

Youth violence increased cases of sea piracy and kidnapping in the Gulf of Guinea and waterways in Nigeria (Hastings & Phillips, 2015; Murphy, 2013). Renewed violent activities by the NDA, Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), and other youth groups, cut down oil production to 1.2million barrels per day (Imhonopi et al., 2016; Nwagboso, 2016), and resulted in an economic recession (Offiong et al., 2016), making it difficult for the country to meet its domestic and international debts servicing and repayment obligations. Some of the oil multinationals declared force majeure (Akinrele, 2016; Courson, 2016) due to their inability to meet oil supply obligation caused by pipeline vandalization. On the economic front, businesses relocated to neighboring countries of Ghana, Togo and Benin Republic due to the high cost of doing business associated with insecurity in Nigeria (Mofoluwawo, 2015).

The state's response, through an increase in deployment of the military in the waterways and major cities, further exacerbated the situation as not all political problems cannot be solved by military operations. A heavy military presence hampers commercial activities. As the movement of goods and services are restricted; there are increased cases of human rights abuses, rape, and childhood pregnancy (Adeakin, 2016; Onapajo, & Moshood, 2016). Military operations in the Gbaramatu area of Delta State in the ND led to internal displacements, dislocation in livelihood activities and disruption of academic



programs among school children (Adhikari, 2013). There is heightened insecurity, fear, depression, and increased vulnerability among the local population, especially women and children. The economy has suffered adversely due to reduced electric supply affected by damage to gas pipelines that supply liquefied natural gas for power generation (Ascher & Mirovitskaya, 2016; Bello & Olukolajo, 2016). Ethnic nationalities are divided and are speaking against one another regarding youth violence and military occupation.

The social fabric of the society is altered culturally, politically, and economically. Various groups canvassing for self-autonomy (Imuetinyan, & Uyi-Ekpen, 2016; Seteolu, 2016) threatening national cohesion and sovereignty due to calls for secession. Aghedo and Osumah (2015) explained that unemployment, poverty, and infrastructural decay drive youth into criminality, violence, and insurgency; as survival strategy. Iwilade (2015) attributed youth violence to the badly managed oil political economy that marginalizes, deprives, and disempowers young people, leaving them to animate and rationalize violence. The huge revenue stream from illegal oil bunkering fuels insurgency and youth violence in the Niger Delta (Ugor, 2013). From the foregoing, no one reason can be adduced for violence in the Niger Delta. A constellation of attributes engendered youth violence in Nigeria. The following sections examined ethnicity, resource mobilization, and the resource curse impact on postamnesty youth violence in the ND.

### ***Ethnicity and Youth Violence***

The debate over ethnic identity in Nigerian politics is contentious, manifesting itself within regional language, cultural and religious cleavages (Ifeme, 2016; Oladiran, 2013; Stewart, 2016). Ethnicity entangles itself in history as a unifying force in

mobilization for a collective voice over mutual interest, a vintage stage for attracting patronage, a divider in the politics of resources ownership, and access to land in Nigeria (Hassan & Umar, 2014; Nwagwu, 2016; Olaiya, 2016). With well over 250 languages and tribes, mostly distinct in culture, some linked by family history, Nigeria is an ethnically diverse country (Agbiboa, 2013; Gilbert, 2013; Ojie & Ewruhjakpor, 2009). Ethnic diversity complicates conflict through small groups fighting for liberation from dominating larger groups (Ojie & Ewruhjakpor, 2009). Ethnicity serves as a vehicle for getting a share of the proverbial national cake, thereby creating tension and conflicts that hinder national growth and development (Ojie & Ewruhjakpor, 2009). Agbiboa (2013) explained that ethnicity and religious bigotry have deprived Nigeria of fostering a strong national identity. Gilbert (2013), on the other hand, blames underdevelopment and poverty for youth-led militant ethnic nationalism that threatens security and the corporate existence of the Nigerian state, delegitimizing the authority of the State.

The Nigerian complex ethnic diversity replays itself in the ND (Obi, 2014b; Oriola et al., 2013; Watts, 2016), which, by itself, is a source of conflict and rebellion in the region (Oyefusi, 2014; Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). The socio-economic and political context that reinforce and exacerbate the ND conflict is premised on the multiplicity of ethnic nationalities, which contributes to identity politics (Aghedo & Osumah, 2012; Gilbert, 2013; Tantua & Kamruzzaman 2016). Identity politics provide an explanation for the unequal distribution of resources, feelings of being oppressed, and experiences of deprivation by ethnic minorities, creating conditions for unhealthy rivalry over power and access to benefits (Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016). Ethnicity or ethnic

identity is not just a social classification and configuration as seen in western societies, but rather is rooted in endemic homogeneity, cultural hegemony, and biological cleavages in Africa (Lim, Metzler, & Bar-Yam, 2007; Rutherford et al., 2014; Williams, 1989). Ethnicity convolutes and conflagrates when embedded in resource ownership, land tenure, and who has control over what and for what purpose (Edward & Abel, 2012; Esteban, Mayoral, & Ray, 2012). Communities and ethnic nationalities in the ND fight over the distribution of resources and payment of compensation by oil companies or government (Aghedo, 2013; Le Billon, 2012).

Rents and compensation payments are contentious political issues in the ND as they are often characterized with perceived deprivation by ethnic nationalities, coupled with the national governments inability to manage the political economy of natural resource revenue, and distribution justifies ethnically motivated violence (Festus, 2015; Iwilade, 2015; Tantua & Kamruzzaman, 2016; Ubhenin, 2015). Festus (2015) asserted that ethnicity has come to stay in Nigeria politics, so efforts should be made to create and accommodate ethnic-based political structures and other social institutions to mitigate ethnic tension and conflicts. This recommendation leaves out how structures will be developed to accommodate 250 ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Studies on ethnic violence have focused on why they rebel, with less emphasis on how ethnicity exacerbates postamnesty violence in postwar or postconflict societies, especially in the ND. Closely related to ethnicity, its natural resource endowment, and its implication on the peace conflict situation in the ND. The next section examines how natural resource endowment motivates PAYV in the ND.

## **Natural Resource Endowment**

The natural resource endowment delivers benefits and creates healthy and peaceful societies, but this is not the case in the ND. The ND region is one of the world's richest river basins. Revenues from oil and gas from the ND funds every sector of the Nigerian economy (Anthony & Pratt, 2015). The region's vast natural resources have heightened conflict and violence (Ross, 2014; Ugochukwu & Iwilade, 2012). The region produces and accounts for 80% of foreign earnings in oil and gas revenues to the national distributable pool (Badmus, 2010). The substantial income from oil has not addressed unemployment of youth, or youth violence and related social vices (Iwilade, 2015; Ugochukwu & Iwilade, 2012). Corruption and mismanagement of oil revenue provides an enabling environment for conflicts, militancy, kidnapping, and vandalization of oil installations to thrive. This is further complicated by marginalization, deprivation, and uneven distribution of oil assets and wealth by the national government, that denies local communities in the region of benefits from natural resources (Oyefusi, 2014).

Oyefusi (2014) explained that 83% of the oil blocks located in the ND, which are in the Southern part of the country, are owned by northerners who are not from the ND. Oyefusi argued that the lopsided ownership of critical oil assets is partly responsible for the high incidences of oil theft, vandalism, and violent conflicts in the region. According to Iwilade (2015), natural resource abundance has not provided an opportunity for young people to participate in the oil economy and the sharing of oil rents. The abject poverty amid plenty in resource revenue-endowed economies incentivizes protest, resistance, and conflicts. It is exemplary of the ND situation where various actors struggle for strategic

position and advantage to capture benefits, most times, by all means necessary. It is argued that what the ethnic minorities of the ND demanded was resource control, and not amnesty (Abdullahi, 2014; Obi, 2014b; Tobor, 2016b). The brazen injustice and deprivation breed frustration, anger, and violence. The situation also spurns homegrown insurgency and violence in the ND (Obi, 2014b). Closely related to the natural resource issue is the politics of oil and its implication on youth violence in the Niger Delta.

### ***Oil Politics in the Niger Delta***

Large crude oil availability and its production breed youth gangs and related cult groups that perpetrate violence in the ND (Agbibo, 2013; Frynas, 2001). Studies showed, that as far back as 1990, there were 349 drilling sites, 22 flow stations, and 1 export terminal, 10,000 km of pipelines, 10 gas plants, 3 oil terminals and 1,500 oil producing wells in the ND (Amandi & Alapiki, 2014; Ojatorotu, 2009). Ojatorotu (2009) explained that the number of oil fields have grown to more than 600 with approximately 5,300 onshore and offshore wells. The number of export terminals have increased to 10, with 275 flow stations, 4 refineries, and well over 30 billion barrels of crude oil in reserve. Daily crude oil production in Nigeria is estimated at 2.5millionbarrels per day (Takon et al., 2014). At the height of the militancy, before the proclamation of amnesty, production dropped to 700,000 barrels/day (Obi, 2014b; Osaghae, 2015). Oil-related resource conflicts in the ND predate crude oil discovery and production (Acey, 2016; Martin, 2006; Ukiwo, 2007).

Before the advent of crude oil, the palm oil trade dominated the ND economy (Oosterveer, 2015). The discovery of crude oil complicated the situation and took the

conflict in a different trajectory. Issues of conflict were no longer on the price regulation of palm oil, but about ownership of land and crude oil mineral resources (Butler & Gates, 2012; Fairhead et al, 2012). The conflicts were about allocation and distribution of revenue (Agbaeze et al., 2015; Andreasson, 2015), underdevelopment, deprivation, loss of livelihood (Oyefusi, 2014), and environmental justice (Anugwom, 2014; Babatunde, 2014).

Oil has become a major factor in global alignment and friendship, significantly altering the sociopolitical-economic order in the ND and the rest of the world (Ajayi, 2013; Anthony & Pratt, 2015). Crude oil discovery in the ND in 1956, with commercial production beginning in 1958, altered the socio-economic and political landscape. Oil revenue accruing to the country rose from 1% gross national product in 1958 to approximately 90% in 2015, placing the ND as a critical national security and economic interest (Isumonah, 2015; Obi, 2014b; Osaghae, 2015). It has been debated whether oil company policies and state responses to issues concerning oil have been responsible for most of the conflicts in the ND (Agbiboa, 2013; Udoh, 2013; Watts, 2007). Others have argued that protracted corruption, uneven distribution of oil wealth, neglect, and marginalization is responsible for violent conflicts in the ND (Anthony & Pratt, 2015; Takon et al., 2014; Watts, 2016). Governance deficit and a badly managed political economy of oil revenue created the leeway for youth organizations, cult groups, and armed gangs to carry out illegal refining of crude oil, accumulating capital that funds militancy, and criminal activities (Gow et al, 2013; Ugochukwu & Iwilade, 2012). These claims in the literature do not have any empirical basis for verifying them as most of the

studies relied on secondary data. Others have blamed the resource curse phenomenon for the conflicts in the area.

### ***Resource Curse Phenomenon***

Natural resource endowment is nature's gift to humanity, to enhance living conditions, for aesthetic enjoyment, and for survival (Akpabio, 2012; Ignatov, 2016; Ravenscroft et al, 2013). Ravenscroft et al. (2013) asserted that the gift that the nonhuman world has provided for humankind freely places an obligation to nurture and replenish the natural resources. In the proper management of natural resources, the natural, human, and spiritual worlds are organized as unified systems to work together to ensure continuity and survival (Melaku, 2016). Societies with this level of understanding allocate land and the resources beneath for the benefit of the people and the environment judiciously (Aghedo, 2013; Obi, 2014b). In the natural resource discourse, especially among African and some other low-income countries, the resource curse phenomenon dominates (Amandi & Alapiki, 2014; Auty, 1994; Obeng-Odom, 2012; Osaghae, 2015; Ross, 1999). Pioneering work on the phenomenon was carried out by Auty (1994), who described it as a situation where resource-rich countries lack the capacity to translate proceeds from those resources into prosperity for their people; rather they post low economic growth and poor human development index results compared to countries without such an endowment.

The phenomenon is also known as the paradox of plenty (Adano et al, 2012; Borge et al,2015) and the Dutch disease (Allcott & Keniston, 2014; Van der Ploeg & Venables, 2013). The resource curse phenomenon describes how resource-endowed

countries suffer from poverty, underdevelopment, weak governance and democratic institutions, and endemic corruption (Ajayi, 2013; Chindo et al., 2014; Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012). Roy (2016) explained that the albatross of states with lootable natural resources is that they intensifies cyclic armed conflicts with intense fighting. Roy explained further that a proper understanding of the causative factors or incentives for violence among resource-endowed nations by policy makers and academics could mitigate violence and promote good resource governance. Corroborating Roy's claim, Conrad and DeMerrit (2013) argued that more discovery of oil increases civil strife and war, which also enhances the resource curse. Oil endowment does not translate into better living conditions. Badmus (2010) explained that the Niger Delta paradoxically accounts for some of the poorest of the local populations in Nigeria, despite its abundance in oil and gas deposit. Osaghae (2015) described the situation as a classic case of poverty and lack amidst plenty.

Proceeds from oil have not developed the people of the ND, but funded corruption and rebellion, illegal bunkering (Joab-Peterside et al., 2012; Oyefusi, 2014), violence, and transnational crimes along the West African Coast (Babatunde, 2014; Maconachie et al, 2015; Watts, 2016). Conrad and DeMerrit (2013) asserted that as oil production increased in the 1990s, with the State depending on oil revenue as the mainstay of the economy, so did the desire of the state to use violence against the civilian population in Nigeria increased. The 1990s experienced most of the dictatorial regimes in Nigeria, with military dictators like General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sanni Abacha at the helm of affairs (Daramola, 2016; Ojukwu & Oluwole, 2016). The exception to the situation in



Nigeria is found in Norway where oil revenue growth has translated into a better society for its citizens (Conrad & DeMerrit).

The situation in Nigeria is a classic case of the resource curse trap with its low economic growth (Adenugba & Dipo, 2013; Etuk et al, 2014; Yusuf & Malarvizhi, 2014). The country has less democratic culture and weak governance institutions (Gberevbie, 2014; Oni et al 2013). The country also suffers from low infrastructural development and endemic corruption (Adamu, & Rasheed, 2016; Kayode, Adagba, & Anyio, 2013; Nageri et al,2013). Additionally, there is high youth and young people unemployment and underemployment (Ajufo,2013; Ehinomen, & Afolabi, 2015), despite the enormous and oil wealth that accrues to the country (Osaghae, 2015; Porter, & Watts, 2016; Sala-i-Martin, & Subramanian, 2012). The ND is characterized by low human capital development (United Nations Development Program, 2006), the dearth of basic infrastructure (Ering et al ., 2013), and a poor standard of living (Amandi & Alapiki, 2014; Ebegbulem et al., 2013). Poverty is endemic amidst plenty, which breeds frustration, aggression, and hostilities among the local youth (Aghedo, 2015; Iwilade, 2014; Obi, 2014b; Osaghae, 2015). Osaghae (2015) argued that whether natural resource abundance will result in a resource curse or a blessing depends on perspective and the disposition of political leaders toward revenue from a natural resource.

The delicate ecosystem of the ND and the depleting nature of oil mineral resources require proper utilization of revenue and tendering of land, trees, and other parts of nature's endowment (Melaku, 2016). Inequity in the distribution of economic and social benefits, illegal appropriation and exploitation of oil mineral resources, and

ecological damage characterizes the ND situation (Higginson et al 2015; Oyefusi, 2014). The use of natural resources and the revenue accruing from the ND area has not promoted mutual benefits derivable for human and nonhuman worlds (Joab-Peterside et al., 2012; Nte & Charles, 2013; Osaghae, 2015). The many years of oil exploration and exploitation activities in the ND have altered the ecosystem, degraded and polluted the environment, and eroded livelihood opportunities (Okonkwo et al., 2015). Policies and programs of government have not considered the region's strategic significance manifest in its vast oil mineral deposits, as host to many multinational oil companies with their local and expatriate personnel (Nte & Charles, 2013). The hardship arising from poor natural resource governance seem to justify the rational choice to be violent in the ND.

The loss of subsistence opportunities due to oil exploration and exploitation activities leads to frustration and anger, which results in violent conflicts (Acey, 2016). The revenue allocation laws and national fiscal policies that places oil revenue sharing in the hand of the national government, and the parameters used in the allocation and distribution of oil revenue, do not favor the people of the ND. Parameters such as population density, land mass, the number of local government areas, and derivation formulas are used in revenue allocation to federating states (Abdullahi, 2014; Gonzalez, 2016; Sala-i-Martin & Subramanian, 2012; Wegenast, 2016). Before the discovery of oil, the derivation principle was 50% to the region or state from where the resource was derived (Ewetan et al, 2015). Oil revenue altered this allocation formula as the federal government inserts and asserts itself more in the politics of oil income distribution, a process facilitated by many years of military dictatorship that has deprived people of the

ND (Ewetan et al,2015; Ewetan,2012). From 50% in 1958, the allocation to the source of the natural resource revenue dropped to 0% at one point and was adjusted to 13% by the 1999 constitution (Abdullahi, 2014; Ikunga, & Wilson, 2013).

The people of the ND felt shortchanged in the process, which led to protests and outcries through position papers, peaceful protests, and occupation of oil facilities (Al Chukwuma, 2013; Nzeadibe, Ajaero, & Nwoke, 2015). Peaceful oil-related protests and agitations were met with state violence, and the region remained largely ignored, deprived, neglected, and marginalized. Frustrated youth mobilized and organized themselves into militia groups and confronted the government with violence for violence (Demirel-Pegg & Scott, 2015; Oriola et al., 2013). This situation led to petro-insurgencies and resource wars in the ND (Courson, 2016). The amnesty program targeted youth in the region to lay down their arms and avail themselves of opportunities that would enable them to escape the resource curse phenomenon. A total of 30,000 young people are benefiting from the program, with incentives ranging from educational opportunities to vocational training, yet postamnesty violence among youth continues in the ND. A proper understanding of what serves as an incentive for PAYV has not been adequately elucidated within the resource curse literature. In the next section, militants and militancy will be examined, as well as how it either exacerbates or provides an incentive for PAYV in the ND.

### **Amnesty**

Amnesty is the process of granting mercy or pardon by the state to an individual or group of persons alleged to have committed treasonable acts against the state. Amnesty

is granting of unconditional pardon for crimes perpetrated against the state (Goldman, 2002). Weisman (1972) defined amnesty as the “obliteration of people’s wrongdoing against the state by those in authority” (p. 1) and remarked that such offenses include felony, treason, insurgency, and secession. In the conceptual definitions, pardon and amnesty tend to be used interchangeably. It is worth noting that there is a remarkable difference between amnesty and pardon. Amnesty provides an avenue for the crime to be overlooked and ignored, but in the case of mercy, the lawbreaker had been convicted, but excused from additional punishment (Simon, 2015; Yancey, 2015). Many countries (e.g., United States, Rwanda, Mexico) have used amnesty at one time or another to diffuse crime related activities and uprisings and to restore peace and stability in conflict zones.

### ***The Niger Delta Amnesty Process***

The PAP is the Nigerian government’s latest efforts at peace stabilization and energy security in the volatile ND (Agbibo, 2015b; Aghedo, 2013, 2015; Eke, 2016). The main objectives of the program were to contribute to peace stabilization in the ND through comprehensive disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of ex-militants. It was a means to secure a steady production of oil, as well as facilitate an avenue for medium- and long-term development programs to be implemented (Nwankpa, 2014; Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta [OSAPND], 2016; Ubhenin, 2013). The implementation of the PAP involved the composition of the preamnesty committee, the amnesty period, and postamnesty.

**The Composition of the Preamnesty Committee.** The government constituted a preamnesty committee headed by General Godwin Abbey, a retired general in the

Nigerian army (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013). The committee mandate was to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate (DDR) militants who accepted the amnesty offer (Osumah, 2013). Three other subcommittees were set up to support the amnesty committee: (a) the DDR subcommittee, (b) the oil and gas protection committee, and (c) the environment and the infrastructural development subcommittee (Osumah, 2013).

**The Amnesty Period.** The amnesty offer was for a 60-day period that started August 6, 2009, and ended October 4, 2009 (Oluduro, & Oluduro, 2012). During this time, the preamnesty committee traveled from state to state within the region to collect arms and ammunitions from repentant militants and documented them. The process involved the surrendering of weapons and ammunition, renunciation of militancy, and a written pledge not to return to armed struggle. The President also appointed Chief Timi Alaibe, a respected politician from the region who worked side by side with the committee (Ukiwo, & Ebiede, 2012). Ukiwo and Ebiede (2012) explained that the appointment of Timi Alaibe introduced a political dimension to the amnesty program, as an unhealthy rivalry ensued between him and the preamnesty committee regarding who should collect the most arms. A total of 20,192 persons accepted the offer of amnesty (OSAPND, 2016). The demobilization and reintegration process were to commence immediately, but this did not happen due to the ill health of late President Yar'Adua who initiated the program (Ukiwo & Ebiede, 2012). Jonathan's presidency after the death of Yar'Adua reinvigorated the program with the appointment of Timi Alaibe as the substantive adviser to the President on Niger Delta affairs and coordinator of the Presidential Amnesty Program. Alaibe laid the foundation for the implementation of the

program but left to pursue his political ambition. Kingsley Kuku who succeeded Timi Alaibe expanded and brought in overseas scholarships and a vocational training component for the implementation of the program (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013).

**Postamnesty Implementation.** Postamnesty implementation involved demobilization and reintegration of ex-militants. A central demobilization camp opened at Obubra in Cross Rivers State (Oriola et al., 2013). Career guidance counseling sessions were carried out to guide beneficiaries as they enrolled for formal education or vocational skills training. Program beneficiaries received N65000 (\$203)/month, which is 3.6 times higher than the national minimum wage of N18000 (\$56.25)/month (Aghedo, 2013; Ekumaoko, 2013). They were also paid in-training allowance of N3000 (\$9.30)/day, almost three times above the poverty line of \$2/day (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013; Ikelegbe & Umukoro, 2016). Those on a regular academic program enjoyed a full board, tuition, and fees scholarship, a \$700 monthly educational allowance, and a one-time annual book allowance of N20,000 per academic year for those who were registered in the amnesty program (Ubhenin, 2013). Finally, those who benefitted from vocational and enterprise development training programs were given business startup capital, either in cash or in-kind (Odubo & Tobor, 2016; Omokhoa, 2015; Ushie, 2013).

This phase also witnessed the addition of a new set of militants who were not documented during the amnesty period, regarded as phase two and phase three, which brought in 6,166 and 3,642, bringing the total number of beneficiaries to 30,000 (Ekumaoko, 2013; Nwankpa, 2014; OSAPND, 2016). This number included 500 enrolled from the Itsekiri ethnic nationality who accepted the offer of amnesty but refused to be

documented in 2009 because they claimed they were not militants, but freedom fighters who were defending their territories against external aggression (Ikelegbe & Umukoro, 2016).

### ***Amnesty as a Conflict Mitigation Mechanism***

Granting of amnesty is a necessary crime control, conflict prevention, and peacebuilding mechanism that ensures sustainable peace and development in postconflict societies (Battle, 2000; Cassese, 1998; Gibson, 2002; Simon, 2015). According to Baker (1972), the use of amnesty as a rehabilitation and peacebuilding strategy dates back to United States' efforts at curtailing drug use among American troops in Vietnam in the 1970s. Amnesty was used in 1978 in the United States to allow persons and organizations involved in illegal cartel activities to receive leniency if they came forward to denounce their gang activities (Chen & Rey, 2013). The program was to restore victims of drug abuse to full and useful duties (Baker, 1972, p. 858). Since then, amnesty programs have been implemented in many countries around the world. Argentina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Uruguay, South Africa, and many other countries have granted amnesty to dissidents and regimes that committed crimes against humanity and the state (Scharf, 1999). The United Nations has helped directly in some instances or played an advisory role to push countries in dispute to embark on amnesty programs as a mechanism to disincentivize ills in the society, facilitate reconciliation mechanism and peacebuilding (Scharf, 1999).

Scharf further posited that amnesty, as a postconflict reconciliation and reintegration tool, is necessary to heal the wounds after decades of war and hatred.

Amnesty is also used as an incentive to push government revenue up and to deal with illegal migration. Other forms of amnesty include tax amnesty and amnesty for irregular migration. Tax amnesty is aimed at encouraging nontax return filers to begin to file tax returns (Manly, Thomas, & Ritsema, 2005). Amnesty for immigrants is intended to deal with crimes related to documented or nondocumented immigrants. Amnesty can also be used to destabilize cartel activities in countries and neighborhoods (Baker, 2000).

Amnesty for peacebuilding, reconciliation, and reintegration is a tool for dealing with postconflict peace stabilization and democratic consolidation (Sarkin-Hughes, 2004).

This study focuses on the latter, which has to do with peacebuilding and reconciliation as contained in the amnesty program. The Nigerian government offered amnesty to militants in the ND as a mechanism to reduce stockpiles of arms in the hands of nonstate actors, mostly youths, to restore peace and increase production of crude oil that was shut down by the violence from time to time (Dienye, 2016; Naanen & Nyiayaana, 2013).

### ***Amnesty Program and Sustainable Peace in the Niger Delta***

The PAP was seen by many as a pathway to sustainable peace in the ND (Agbibo & Maiangwa, 2013; Amandi & Alapiki, 2014; Mohammed et al., 2014). Aghedo (2013) argued that despite the relative success recorded by the amnesty program, peace remained elusive in the region. Before the amnesty program, the government had initiated various development programs and constituted various commissions and peace programs. The first was the Willinks Commission of 1958, set up to investigate the perceived and real fears expressed by ethnic minorities in the ND, in an independent Nigeria (Adebanwi, 2012; Etemike, 2009; Eze, Elimian, & Chinwuba, 2015). Since then,



many more interventionist efforts have been launched, including the establishment of the NDDC and the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA) (Badiora, 2015; Tar, 2012), among others. However, these efforts have not translated into development or restoration of peace in the region (Babalola, 2014; Badiora, 2015; Mähler, 2012).

Babalola (2014) argued that endemic and systemic corruption made it difficult for these agencies of government to fulfill their mandate, thereby exacerbating the conflict situation in the region. Mähler (2012) blamed it on the resource curse phenomenon, while Badiora (2015) believed that insecurity orchestrated by violent incidences of kidnapping expatriates had made the region unsafe for foreign investment. Ikelegbe and Umukoro (2016) criticized the amnesty program and the implementation plan for not including the voice of critical stakeholders, including civil society actors. This limits the program's ability to restore sustainable peace in the region (Ikelegbe & Umukoro, 2016). Ikelegbe and Umukoro further argued that the effort put into securing the PAP has not translated into an effective implementation framework. The program was designed to deceive militants, disarm them, and allow the free flow of oil, without addressing underdevelopment and neglect of the region (Mohammed et al., 2014).

Lack of a proper implementation plan is one of the many challenges facing the program (Oluduro & Oulduro, 2012). Scholars have argued that an amnesty without complementary programs addressing environmental remediation and restoration, community reintegration and healing, alternative livelihood opportunities, and infrastructural development cannot guarantee sustainable peace in the region (Agbiboa, 2013; Agbiboa, 2015a; Aghedo, 2013; Ering et al, 2013; Ubhenin, 2013; Ugor, 2013).

Aghedo (2015) believed that the amnesty program was only a strategy to pacify militant youth and ensure a steady flow of oil without addressing root causes of conflict in the region. Ering et al. (2013) argued that the amnesty program with modest success cannot guarantee sustainable peace without recourse to other social issues in the region. Iwilade (2015) explained that policies aimed at addressing rising youth militancy and violence without socioeconomic development could not facilitate sustainable peace in the area. Sustainable peacebuilding efforts should involve grassroots stakeholders' participation (Acey, 2016; Tobor, 2016b).

Others argue that understanding the root causes of conflict is critical to enduring peace in the ND among protagonists of violent agitations in the region (Agbibo, 2013; Umejisi & Akpan, 2013). Bad leadership and leadership failure have been given as reasons why the region is embroiled in conflict (Ewetan & Ese, 2014; Watts, 2016). Addressing environmental pollution and unemployment in the region is critical to peace consolidation (Ebegbulem et al., 2013; Kew & Phillips, 2013; Obi, 2014b). Aghedo (2013) and Udoh (2013) argued that poverty and corruption are at the root of conflicts in the region. On the other hand, Iwilade (2015) explained that without a proper understanding of motivations for violence and networks that instrumentalize violence, policies formulated to address infrastructural development could not end violence in the ND context. These recommendations are far reaching; however, they lack empirical grounding as most of the studies relied on secondary data without the perspectives of the lived experience of those who have participated in postamnesty violence in the ND.

### **Postamnesty Violence in the Niger Delta**

The ND region witnessed relative peace following the amnesty proclamation (Aghedo, 2013; Osumah, 2013). Many were skeptical about the genuineness of the postamnesty peace, describing the situation as a *no peace, no war* situation or a ‘peace’ of the graveyard (Aghedo, 2013, 2015; Eke, 2014). Aghedo (2013) believed that sustainable peace would continue to elude the region until the incentives for violence are identified and addressed. Corroborating this position, Eke (2014) contended that the relative peace was a *cash for peace exercise* as the amnesty program did not make effort to understand the incentive for violence. The postconflict or postamnesty peacebuilding effort has been hijacked by powerful elite who manipulate the process for their selfish political ends (Nwokolo, & Aghedo, 2018). The manipulation and elite capture of the process creates and breeds PAYV as youths are ready tools in the hand self-serving elites (Nwokolo, & Aghedo, 2018).

According to Ajayi and Adesote (2013), the amnesty program has restored oil production to the preamnesty era, but laments that the gains of the program have not translated into a better living condition for the local population. Davidheiser and Nyiayaana (2011) argued that the amnesty program was offered as beneficent gift to militants while the state expanded its exclusive legitimacy and sovereignty, criminalized the genuine grievances of local youth militant agitations. Albert (2019) stated that the lack of alignment of the interest of the militant by leaders of the program explains why some of the beneficiaries have return to PAYV, as amnesty was a gift to criminals, leaving out most of the local population, making it difficult for the program to achieve

sustainable peace (Albert, Olarinde, & Albert, 2019; Davidheiser & Nyiayaana, 2011). Amnesty is dangled as a carrot by government to reward and silence criminal elements who they are unable to defeat (Albert, Olarinde, & Albert, 2019), celebrating criminal heroism as those offered amnesty do not show any remorse thereby incentivizing and perpetuating PAYV among youth.

Other critiques highlighted additional issues with the program. The highly selective approach to disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration with its limited emphasis on community reintegration does not have the capacity to deliver employment, which is necessary to ensure stability in the ND (Aghedo, 2015). The program excluded nonviolent youth who have played important roles in the conflict and had been negatively impacted by it, as well as women and girls (Tobor, 2016b). The unclear selection criteria leave room for abuse and resentment. It is argued that ex-militants never surrendered all of their weapons during the disarmament phase of the amnesty process, which increased their capability to engage in the bombing, sabotage, cultism, kidnapping, killings, and protests (Eke, 2014; Ikoh & Ukpong, 2013; Joseph, 2010). Joseph (2010) posited that, despite the militants surrendering many arms and ammunitions, it is unquestionably scanty when weighed against the percentage of enlisted militants in the amnesty program. Therefore, some accept as true the claim that the rebirth of militancy in the region is a manifestation of the failure of the amnesty program to devoid the area of arms completely (Aghedo, 2013).

Some practices, including contract awards for security to ex-militants, appear to have rewarded criminality with dangerous long-term consequences (Obi, 2014a; Osumah,

2013). According to Ikelegbe and Umukoro (2016), the beneficiaries are only interested in the financial incentive, not the long-term skills, development, or educational opportunities offered. The excess inflow of amnesty money portends danger for the security and development of the region (Agbibo, 2015b; Murphy, 2013). Such monies realized from the program are used for future arms stockpiling (Babalola, 2014; Ikelegbe and Umukoro, 2016).

The emergence of the NDA, NDGJM, Adaka Boro Avengers (ABA), Red Sea Egbesu Lion, and Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) signaled the beginning of organized militancy in the region (Aghedo, 2017; Ayokhai & Peter, 2016). This resurgence of militant groups exacerbates oil bunkering, electoral violence, kidnapping, piracy, arms trafficking, petty crimes, and other security challenges in the region. An independent day celebration bombing in Abuja by renegade leaders of the MEND two years into the implementation of the program signaled the return of violence to the region (Oluwafemi et al., 2013; Omede, 2011). The Abuja bombing incident was closely followed by another bombing at a peace rally in Warri and the subsequent return to the creeks by Mr. John Togo and his boys. The Nigerian military embarked on a clamp down operation to apprehend Togo and his men, which resulted in the destruction of the Ayakoromor community in Delta State (Emuedo, 2012; Moruku, 2012; Okuyade, 2011). Since then, criminal activities and violence orchestrated by the NDAs and other militant groups largely composed of ex-militants have been on the increase (Nnadi & Isung, 2016; Ojatorotu & Idowu, 2016; Tobor, 2016b). What remains to be understood, however, is the incentive for postamnesty youth violence among beneficiaries of the program in ND.

## Summary and Conclusions

Chapter 2 consisted of an extensive review of literature which seeks to gain an in-depth understanding on the incentive for postamnesty youth violence among beneficiaries of the amnesty program in Niger Delta. The review examined various forms of youth violence, natural resources endowment, resource curse phenomenon and their implication on youth violence, oil politics, and militancy, the amnesty program as a pathway for sustainable peace, and a conflict mitigation mechanism and postamnesty youth violence in the Niger Delta. The reviewed literature highlighted relative deprivation and rational choice as an explanation for violent activities in the ND. Relative deprivation and rational choice theories form a sound basis for understanding youth violence activities. It is evident from the literature that various forms of youth violence continue to disable and dislocate proper functioning of society and the ND region is not an exception. Youth violence provides a haven for illegal oil bunkering, pipeline vandalization, kidnapping for ransom, and other social vices in the ND. It was further evident from the literature that corruption, weak corporate governance within the oil industry, and political payoffs and patronage exacerbate youth violence in the ND. While the amnesty program put an end to organized militancy, new groups are beginning to emerge in the region whose activities are orchestrating PAYV.

Renewed violent activities by youth organizations such as the NDA, ABA, Red Sea, Egbesu Lion, IPOB, and others cut down oil production, which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. Youth violence finds expression in ethnic and identity politics. It is exacerbated by unequal distribution of resources, the feeling of being oppressed and

deprivation. This is further aggravated by the unhealthy rivalry over power, access to benefits, and violent conflict. Consequently, young people and youth in the region made a rational choice to be involved in violent militancy after all legal means to draw the attention of the government to the plight of the people in the area failed to yield the desired result. The rise of militancy was exacerbated by corruption, uneven distribution of oil wealth, neglect, and marginalization arising from oil politics and the resource curse phenomenon. Many years of violence orchestrated by youth in the ND forced the federal government to initiate a peace process through the implementation of an amnesty program. The Presidential Amnesty Program is the Nigerian government's latest effort at peace stabilization and energy security in the volatile Niger Delta through a comprehensive disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) program.

It is evident in the literature that the amnesty program was a means to secure the steady production of oil, and not necessarily aimed at peace stabilization or promoting the medium and long-term development of the region. The noninvolvement of critical stakeholders, lack of a proper implementation plan, corruption and mismanagement, and political interference inhibited the program's ability to be successful to the extent expected. Also, the absence of parallel programs addressing the environment, community reintegration and healing, alternative livelihood opportunities, and infrastructural development inhibited the success of the program. The current literature has not been able to provide an understanding of what motivates postamnesty violence in the ND. There are recommendations in the literature for an understanding of the incentive for violence among youth in the region. This study will employ the qualitative method using

a phenomenological design to understand the motivation for PAYV among beneficiaries of the amnesty program. The next chapter will elucidate the research method and the appropriateness of the qualitative method for this study.



## Chapter 3: Research Method

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences and motivation for postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND. I sought to answer the research question of what motivates PAYV in the ND among beneficiaries of the PAP. A qualitative approach with a phenomenology design was used in this study as the philosophical underpinning. The justification for using a qualitative approach was that would enable me to understand the emotions, sentiments, epitomes, opinions, and perspectives that trigger the lived experiences of PAYV in the ND. In this chapter, I explain the research design and rationale for the study, the research question, and the role of the researcher. I also explain the research methodology, participant selection, sampling, data collection procedures, data analysis, interpretation, and ethical protection of the participants are also included in this chapter.

### **Research Design and Rationale**

I used a qualitative study to gain an understanding of the lived experiences of PAYV among PAP beneficiaries in the ND. In qualitative research, a researcher study participants' lived experiences of real-world conditions contextually to gain insight of the phenomenon (Yin, 2015). Qualitative research locates the observer in the real world through interpretation, representations, field notes, interviews, conversations, and photographs with an attempt at making sense of a phenomenon under study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011); conversely, a quantitative approach relies on an objective positivistic approach. The philosophical underpinning for qualitative research is that realities are a

social construct with varying perspectives (Walker, 2015). Qualitative research as an exploratory and discovery-oriented approach is focused on exploring how individuals make sense of their experiences through the heart of the researcher (Moustakas, 1994).

In this study, I used the phenomenological approach within the qualitative design, an approach that investigates the lived collective experiences of research participants from their individual experiences. In phenomenology, evidence is derived from experiences shared in the first person (Moustakas, 1994). This method allows the study of individuals' lived experiences of a phenomenon in their own space; in this study, those individuals were ND youths and their experiences with postamnesty violence.

I used the epoche phenomenology in this study. The epoche phenomenological design is underpinned in a philosophy of reframing from judgment or commonplace perception. That is, this approach is used to seek to eliminate bias associated with preconceived or day-to-day perceptions of reality, as reality is constructed from the perceptions of those who live with the experience of the phenomenon under study. *Epoche* is a word with Greek origin meaning “stay away from or abstain” or what Husserl referred to as “freedom from supposition” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85). An epoche phenomenology design was selected because it allowed me to eliminate biases, prejudgment, and preconceived ideas about things and people (Moustakas, 1994). This design allowed me to inhibit and disqualify previous knowledge and experience, preparing me to derive new knowledge about the phenomenon of postamnesty violence from the varying perspectives of participants. This way of looking and being allowed me to approach whatever emerged with openness and receptiveness. This design is

particularly important in trying to gain insight and understanding of lived experiences of youth with postamnesty violence given common views of youths as irrational individuals who approach life with a level of aggressiveness.

An epoche phenomenological design was most appropriate for this study because it provided an opportunity to listen and hear lived experiences of youth with postamnesty violence without preconceived idea, prejudgments, beliefs, and knowledge in a receptive and open manner. The knowledge of the lived experiences of youths with postamnesty violence is scant in the academic literature. The epoche in the research design has the ability to generate contextual understanding, rich in participants' descriptions of their personal lived experiences of postamnesty violence. Other qualitative research designs, such as narrative, grounded theory, ethnography and case study, also are used to focus on lived experiences of research participants (Creswell, 2013) but are limited in their ability to explore in greater depth the phenomenon of youths' lived experiences with postamnesty violence in the ND. The narrative method allows research participants to tell their lived experiences as stories, helping researchers make a sense of the story through two-way dialogue (Yates & Leggett, 2016). Stories told by participants are organized in chronology (Yates & Leggit, 2016). Creswell (2013) described narrative research as autobiographies or biographies. To a large extent, narrative and phenomenological research designs share much in common, but narrative design has the limitation of exploring only one or two participants' stories; phenomenology is concerned with multiple perspectives and was more well-suited in exploring the central phenomenon of youths' lived experiences with postamnesty violence.

Grounded theory research is concerned with generating new theories from data, as opposed to testing existing theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The grounded theory approach shares some similarities with phenomenology: research is conducted in natural settings, data are collected through interviews with participants, and researchers interpret participants' narratives. The researcher assumes greater responsibility in the interpretive role, beyond merely narrating or giving voice to research participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). For the purpose of this study, grounded theory was not appropriate because the goal of the study was not about theory generation or hypothesis testing. The goal was to use existing theories to bring greater understanding of youths' lived experiences with PAV.

With roots in anthropology and sociology, ethnography is when a researcher is part of the study; the researcher immerses themselves in the study setting to gain firsthand experience. Ethnographic research requires a researcher to overtly or covertly embed in the culture and everyday lives of the people over a period of time, observing, listening, and questionings are tools for data collection to gain understanding of the issues of the people (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This qualitative method is most suited for the study of the culture of a society or social grouping to understand how practices and norms are responsible for decision making. For this particular study, ethnography was not appropriate because the purpose of the study was not to gain an understanding of a culture of violence. The case study is a qualitative paradigm for studying a case of interest in a natural setting—either an individual or group of individuals—through triangulation with a view toward arriving at detailed case descriptions (Ridder, 2017).

Case studies are characterized as bounded studies (Creswell, 2013), a research methodology (Baxter & Jack, 2008) used to “investigate contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”(p.62). When a researcher is interested in understanding the why and how questions, a case study is used to explore, describe, and explain the case of interest (Yales & Leggit, 2016). The case can be single, or multiple cases can be used. The multiple case method could include quantitative or qualitative method for data collection (Yales & Leggit, 2016). Like an ethnographic study, a case study requires substantial time on the part of the researcher, which made it inappropriate for this study. A qualitative method was most appropriate for this study as human experiences are difficult to quantify or measure in numerical terms. A qualitative study was imperative to understanding the lived experiences of youths with postamnesty violence.

### **Research Question**

In this study, I explored the following research questions:

RQ: What motivates postamnesty among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND of Nigeria?

The following three subquestions supported the research question to provide deeper insight and understanding postamnesty:

SQ1. : What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among youth in the ND?

SQ2: How do youth perceive sustainable peace in the ND?

SQ3: How do youth make meaning of what sustains postamnesty violence in the ND?

### **Central Phenomenon**

The central phenomenon of this study was to understand the lived experiences of youth with postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND. The ND witnessed postamnesty peace following the proclamation of amnesty and subsequent disarming of exmilitants. This postamnesty peace was eroded with the resurgence of violence in the region. The resurgence of postamnesty violence has claimed many lives, heightened insecurity, and increased criminality in Nigeria (Eke, 2014); postamnesty violence has also increased transnational crime along the West African coast (Annan, 2014). There remains gap in the literature regarding the study of postconflict peacebuilding efforts in the ND focused on the motivations of postamnesty violence among persons enrolled in the PAP. An understanding of what motivates PAYV is necessary for policy makers and academia and thus required an in-depth inquiry (Iwilade, 2015).

### **Research Tradition**

The phenomenological design is the qualitative research tradition of choice for this type of study as it relies on a rigorous iterative process to make inductive findings and descriptions of a phenomenon of study through in-depth interviews and observations, which respects participants' views and opinions with minimum disruption to the natural environment and reports findings in narrative descriptions, rich in respondent's commentaries (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Phenomenological design involves obtaining a

comprehensive description of an experience reflectively through structural analysis that portrays the essence of the meaning of the experience (Moustakas, 1994). Wagstaff and Williams (2014) argued that interpretive phenomenological study provides an opportunity for the researcher to carry out a detailed case-by-case analysis of each research participant's transcript for a better understanding and perception of a particular group rather than making a general claim. Phenomenology is based on the premise that individuals' experiences and the meanings they attribute to a phenomenon are different and unique. Therefore, the participants' varying perspectives can only be better understood through one-on-one interviews to gain a deeper insight (Bakanay & Çakır, 2016). The phenomenological design provided good basis for understanding the experiences of those who live with and are involved with postamnesty violence as opposed to a case study, grounded theory, and other qualitative designs that do not necessarily capture the descriptive experiences of individuals.

The preference for qualitative study as against quantitative approach to understanding the phenomenon of motivation for postamnesty violence through cause and effect, while measuring and quantifying against the quality of entities, processes, and meanings would have taken away the voice of those who had experience with the phenomenon. The qualitative approach maintains the researcher's attention to understanding a case rather than empirical generalization, which is the hallmark of quantitative research (Power & Gendron, 2015). In a quantitative study, the concern lies with assigning numerical values to objects, and with a qualitative approach the concern

lies with providing the needed adaptability and flexibility to understand feelings, motives, or emotions as opposed to numerical quantification of data (Maggino, 2016).

A qualitative study allowed me to bracket, observe, and document themes, patterns, and interpretate as an emic researcher and as the primary research instrument. The fundamentals of qualitative research allow for the acknowledgement of multiple realities, in-depth understanding of phenomena, respect for participants' views, minimum disruption to the natural environment, and reporting findings in narratives, which are rich in participants' commentaries (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Phenomenology is grounded by the sense of the experience of one who has lived with the phenomenon and how they describe their experience in a way that allows for the general or universal derivation of meaning (Moustakas, 1994). This epistemology grounds the Moustakas (1994) paradigm of the phenomenological design. I adopted Moustakas's phenomenological design to gain an understanding of the motivation for PAYV in the ND.

Data for this study was obtained through one-on-one interviews with 20 participants who were beneficiaries of the PAP from Bayelsa and Delta States in the ND. The 20 study participants were selected using criterion purposive sampling technique. Criterion Purposive sampling technique was appropriate for this study because it allowed me to select participants who had experienced the phenomenon being studied (Jani, & Saiyid, 2017). Details of how the participants were identified, the safety of the researcher is explained below. Data collection involved audio recording, complemented with field notes and language translators, depending on the needs of the participants. This was



carried out through open-ended questions in a location convenient for research participants. The main research question and supporting questions had explanatory interview questions that guided data gathering in the field (see appendix B) for interview guide questions. The one-on-interviews helped me probe the deeper meaning from participants' perspectives on the motivation for living with PAYV. It also provided an understanding of the enablers and/or influencers of the youths' predisposition towards a lifestyle of violence.

### **Role of the Researcher**

In qualitative research, the researcher is the research instrument, which makes his role unique (Shaw, 2013). This unique role creates the potential for possible bias and ethical issues. My role in this research in this study was similar to that of the participants who, through empathic insight, brought a personal meaning to the phenomenon under investigation. Moustakas (1994) believed that empathy is comprised of someone's experience of the other in an intersubjective world. The researcher is part of the experience, sharing a *copresence* and *pairing* relationship with participants (Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas described *copresence* as being aware of the existence of the other body within your body and described *pairing* as a way you experience someone else empathically (p. 19). This allows the researcher to perform an in-depth exploration and to follow up on leads that might not be contained in the original guiding questions. My role as the researcher was to facilitate the flow of communication and dialogue, identify cues, and the enabling environment for the participant to be open and deep in responding to interview questions (Poggenpoel, & Myburgh, 2003).

This study was grounded on three epistemological paradigms that sought the following: (a) what is known about the phenomenon of motivation for PAYV, (b) my roles as the as an emic researcher, and (c) the reality from the perspective of those with the lived experience of the phenomenon. Chapman and Kinloch (2011) described emic data as the information the “researcher gathers to articulate the events, perception, and behaviors identified in the specific context” (p. 380). An emic researcher maintains an intimate relationship with participants and the context but allows enough distance for readers to draw parallels between personal experience and those of the participants (Chapman & Kinloch, 2011). An emic researcher takes the participants’ perspectives, that allows the researcher to appreciate the participants’ understanding of the situation or phenomenon (Arino et al, 2016), in this study the lived experience of youth with postamnesty violence in the ND of Nigeria. My role as an emic researcher was particularly important given where the passion for this study was derived—I lived and worked in the ND for most of my life. The cyclic and endemic nature of the conflict in the ND and the various dimensions of violence are particularly troubling.

I have witnessed firsthand the impact of the violent conflicts in the ND. I have also witnessed the loss of loved ones to the violence. I have observed and participated in some of the efforts aimed at proffering a lasting solution to the perennial crisis, including serving as a consultant to the committee that developed the PAP. I have also seen how some of these efforts have failed to change the context and the dynamics on the ground, the politics and the interplay of power, influence, and position with little effort at bringing about genuine positive change to the situation.

Concerned about changing the situation, I set up a nonprofit organization that has implemented conflict management and peacebuilding programs in the region for the past 23 years. I have been involved in several interventions on youth development, mindset change, conflict management, and peacebuilding as a resource person. I have also been involved in studies on the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, corporate social responsibility, and environment issues in Nigeria. While some of our interventions have been successful, others have not. Of interest was the PAP that I regarded as one of most audacious and ambitious efforts of the federal government in addressing youth violence in the ND. In my position as a consultant, I visited several training centers and educational institutions inside and outside Nigeria to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the program in addressing concerns of youth in the ND. I interacted firsthand with some of the program beneficiaries and knew very well how many of them talked about the scholarship and skill-development components of the PAP. In my discussion with governmental officials, I witnessed the desire to make positive changes to the PAP and the commitment to funding the program that was demonstrated through annual federal budgetary allocation.

This passion and knowledge of the context and persons living with the phenomenon could also create an ethical dilemma if not properly managed. Haverkamp (2005) asserts that good intentions alone are not enough to guide against ethical issues, which makes it imperative that attention be focused on how ethical issues will be dealt with in data gathering and analysis. I managed the study process through bracketing and horizontalization. Shonin et al (2014) described bracketing as employing foreknowledge

and perceived ideas of a study with constant reflexivity to eliminate bias and personal idiosyncrasies. Horizontalization allows the researcher to give distinctive character and meaning to a phenomenon of study through textural qualities that provide a basis for us to understand the experience (Moustakas, 1994). This will be explained further in subsequent sections.

### **Methodology**

Qualitative methodology relies on a rigorous iterative process to make inductive findings and conclusions about a phenomenon of study. The next section will look at the logic of participant selection and instrumentation in this study.

#### **Participant Selection Logic**

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) explained that the type of sampling technique is dependent on the study design. Since the purpose of the study was to understand the lived experience of the motivation for PAYV violence, criterion purposive sampling was used for participant selection. In any study the more specific the inclusion and exclusion criteria of a sample universe is defined, the closer it gets to achieving homogeneity (Robinson, 2014). Various parameters such as demography, geography is used in participant selection (Robinson, 2015). In this study, the criteria for inclusion were (a) beneficiaries in the PAP, (b) residents of either Bayelsa or Delta State, (c) between 18 and 35 years, and (d) willingness to participate.

Valerio et al. (2016) explained that purposive sampling allows for the selection of a sampling frame mostly affected by a specific issue. Valerio et al. further explained that the strength of purposive sampling lies in its ability to maintain rigor and identify samples

based on variables that drive a study. The criterion purposive sampling was adopted in this study as samples included in the study were selected based on predetermined criteria (Hasson et al, 2000). The weakness of criterion purposive sampling is that it requires collaboration from others in identifying the matching sample and is time consuming due to variable specificity. In this study, participant's selection was based on willingness to participate. Additionally, the following conditions formed the basis for participant selection: (a) enrolled in the PAP, (b) receiving a monthly stipend payment, (c) have been involved in either vocational training or the scholarship program, (d) between 18 and 35 years, (e) a resident of Bayelsa or Delta State and (f) have experienced postamnesty youth violence. Gender disaggregation was also carried out in this study.

I conducted interviews in locations that guaranteed my security and that of the participants. Locations were such places that were convenient without requiring participants to travel or incur any out-of-pocket cost. From available studies, 30,000 persons are enrolled in the PAP in the three phases, which are at various stages of reintegration (Ekumaoko, 2013; Nwankpa, 2014; OSAPND, 2016). From this population, 20 persons, cutting across the three phases, formed the sample for this study. This number of participants was consistent with the sampling requirement in a phenomenological design, which emphasizes having a smaller number with in-depth interviews and a rich understanding of, and experience with, the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). One key area in participant selection, given the relatively sensitive nature of this study, is how to identify, contacts, and recruit participants. Multiple approaches were used to gain access to participants which helped to overcome challenges

associated with participant's selection. From data collection to analysis, participants were treated as co-researchers as relevant portions of transcripts were sent for their feedback.

### **Instrumentation**

In a qualitative study, the researcher is the primary research instrument (Shaw, 2013). The researcher releases his presence in the natural setting or environment of the study, bonding and building trusting relationships with the participants, and seeking to gain a deeper meaning and understanding of the phenomenon of study. This was the case for in this study. I personally conducted the interviews, guided by an interview protocol. Interview was the main instrument for data collection in this study. This is consistent with phenomenological research (Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas (1994) explained that interviews in phenomenological study are usually informal and interactive using open-ended questions. Denzin & Lincoln (2011) explained that interviewing brings the researcher face-to-face with the object of inquiry and is popular in qualitative studies because they provide an opportunity for the researcher to reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible. Seidman (2013) described research in the social sciences as being largely about humans; interviewing provides humans the ability to "symbolize their experiences through language" (p. 9) verbalizing or vocalizing their thoughts. Storytelling through interviews stirs the mind, heart, and soul of people, helping them to gain new insights into themselves, their problems, and human conditions (Seidman).

Moustakas's (1994) approach to phenomenological interviews guided the interview process. The interview started with social conversations creating an open and relaxing atmosphere, which facilitated a process that allowed the participants to feel

comfortable and responded honestly and comprehensively to the interview questions that were structured to answer the central research question and subquestions of inquiry in this study. The interview questions served as a guide to the conversation during the interview. Responses from participants were followed with the research question, taking into account the focus of the study and avoiding mission drift, making sure that the process and data generated meet basic content and process validity. The process and the output from this study is reproducible, systematic, credible, and transparent (Fenner-Crisp & Dellarco, 2016; Lakens et al, 2013).

Reproducibility means that in a similar situation and context, someone else should be able to use the same topic guide to arrive at the same result. Systematic ensures that we can establish a process that eliminates our biases, while credibility requires that we structure and ask questions that generate valid and truthful accounts of the phenomenon. Transparent means that there is a method for readers to see how data was collected. Content validity was maintained through the audiorecording of interviews based on participant's permission and how this will support a healthy environment for quality responses. The audio recorded interviews were transcribed and returned to the participants for confirmation and validation.

The interview process involved taken field notes to complement audio recorded responses. The identity of participants was concealed by assigning secret codes and numbering. This ensured the collection of correct and accurate qualitative information during the interviews. Ethical standard and professional practice were observed, placing the participants at the center, treating them with respect, and honoring and

acknowledging them along the way. Interviews with program beneficiaries took into account cultural sensitivity and language specific requirements. Cultural sensitivity will require an understanding of what is and is not acceptable. For instance, is it appropriate to maintain eye contact? What particular sitting position and posture is acceptable? Nonverbal cues are also significant when absolute silence is required.

In instances where a less, literate participant was interviewed, they were encouraged to express their thoughts in local languages or pidgin.

### **Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection**

The quality, type of data, and where to collect the data was largely informed by the research methodology and design (Cleary et al, 2014). Robinson (2014) explained that sample size used in a qualitative study is influenced by theoretical and practical considerations. A phenomenological study requires a smaller sample to enable the researcher to explore a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Moustakas, 1994). The epoche phenomenological design process was observed in the participants, recruitment, and data collection (Moustakas, 1994). The epoche process helped with minimizing and eliminating past experiences, associations, understanding facts and biases that would have influenced the interview process. Data collection was consistent with qualitative research approach in the natural setting in the field and locations determined by the participants bearing security and safety considerations. The recruitment process included key informant references, information from the amnesty office, and information from the media.



In a qualitative interview-based study, Robinson (2014) outlined four things to consider: (a) defining the sample universe through clear inclusion and exclusion criteria for participation, (b) deciding on sample size considering epistemological and practical concerns, (c) adopting an appropriate sampling strategy, and (d) sampling source (i.e., where and how to collect the data taking bearing ethical consideration). Paying attention to these elements impacted on data quality and trustworthiness (Robinson, 2014). Data was obtained from beneficiaries of the PAP. The study targeted 20 participants from Bayelsa and Delta States, respectively. Interviews took place in the cities of Warri and Yenagoa.

Interviews are one primary method of data collection that brings the researcher and the participants to a level of interaction (Oltmann, 2016). Interviews helps the researcher gain a closer perspective of the participant in a topic of study (Oltmann, 2016). Oltmann (2016) explained that interviews were largely perceived to be face-to-face; however, interviews are now being conducted over the telephone or by using other audio-visual Internet platforms. Through in-person semistructured interviews, the researcher was the primary collector of the data. This is consistent with qualitative research practice where the researcher is the research instrument. Personal face-to-face interviews with participants provided an opportunity to deepen discussions and conversation beyond the surface meaning of words, concepts, and phenomena. I used unstructured guiding interview questions and protocol, audio recording, and field notes with permission of participants.

One of the onerous tasks besides the research topic and research design is ensuring the adequacy of data (Marshall et al, 2013). Data collection in qualitative research is an iterative process (i.e., the process is not complete until the deeper meaning of the phenomenon of interest is elucidated or saturation point is reached), which could be regarded as data redundancy (Marshall et al., 2013). A reflective review of interview transcripts will require a back-and-forth consultation with participants to ensure that the data collected are the actual lived experiences of the respective participant. The conversational nature of the interview process in phenomenology provides an opportunity for collective reflection and co-presence between the researcher and the participants, which was explained to the participants at the beginning of the research. This made participants felt confident and comfortable with the process (Moustakas, 1994).

The reality of most research studies requires setting provisional sample size and design (Robinson, 2014). This provisional sample allows for allocation of resources and time needed to complete particular study (Robinson, 2014). Robinson (2014) cautioned that while this decision is important, a priori sample specification should be flexible to accommodate time for collection of additional data that may be required. The data for this study was collected in four weeks and another one week for data validation. After the interviews were completed, audio recorded and field notes were transcribed verbatim to ensure that each participant's perspective is fully documented. Each interview lasted between 35-60 minutes.

The interview sessions were audiorecorded with permission from the participants. Field notes also were taken to complement the audio recorded data to avoid data loss due

to possible malfunctioning of the audio taping device. Recorded interviews were transcribed after each interview session. There were no Follow-up action interviews with participant study because of careful participant's recruitment process.

Thank you, SMS/text messages were sent, and phone calls were made to each participant acknowledging their role and the importance of their participation in the research. This was done in a customized manner recognizing each person's contribution to the research process. They were also told in those correspondences that they will would have access to the final report if they are interested.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

The topic, central research question, and subquestions guided the type of data collected. The topic and the research question also guided the development of interview questions. Standard practice requires that interview questions connect to the central research and supporting questions. The central and sub research questions had many interview questions which helped to generate enough data for analysis. Van Kaam (1959) phenomenological data analysis in Moustakas's (1994) steps and process were used to organize and analyze the data. This involved bracketing my experience and knowledge with the PAYV which allowed me to understand participants' experience, by staying away from prejudice, presuppositions and preconceptions.

Moustakas (1970) analysis involves phenomenological reduction which consist of horizontalizing (listing all relevant expressions), reduction of experiences to invariant constituents (clustering of horizons into themes). The thematic clustering help to create core themes and comparison of multiple data to validate invariant constituents. It also

involves development of individual textural description of participants imaginative variation and construction of composite structural description (what occurred and how it occurred) (Yüksel, & Yıldırım, 2015). Data Analysis helped to create and synthesize the composite textural and structural descriptions based on shared meaning units which helped to determine the essence of the phenomenon.

### ***Type of and Procedure for Coding***

Coding or indexing is an important aspect of qualitative studies that helps to organize data for ease of analysis. Coding serves as the transition between data collection and data analysis (Saldaña, 2015). Preset and emergent coding were used in this study. Preset coding involves determining themes before analyzing a word category that will aid in data analysis. Such predetermined codes help organize data into categories. Alternatively, new coding involves assigning codes from emerging themes in the course of analysis, especially themes that emerge outside of the preset codes. Both coding methods complemented one another in this study. Data was coded manually (i.e., computer-based software was not used) for coding data in this study.

Data analysis is a critical aspect of any research study whether qualitative or quantitative. Research is not complete if data collected and organized into codes and themes are not analyzed for deductive or inductive inferences or conclusions. This task is an arduous one in a qualitative study because qualitative data analysis is a dynamic, intuitive, creative process requiring inductive reasoning, thinking, and theorizing (Blair, 2015). This is so because, frequently, the researcher is responsible for data analysis in qualitative research. Through analysis, the researcher attempts to gain a deeper

understanding of the object of study, continually refining interpretation, drawing on firsthand experience with the natural setting of data collection, and establishing relationships and assumptions that impact the respondent's world view (Blair, 2015).

Data analysis in qualitative research is an ongoing process through the entire spectrum.

In this study, I analyzed data manually. Given the sample size of 20 participants, which is relatively small, manual coding was sufficient. This is consistent with qualitative data analysis within the phenomenological paradigm, using the Kaam (1959) method, which involved the following: (a) listing of preliminary grouping; (b) reduction and elimination; (c) clustering and thematizing; and (d) original textural description of the experience and meaning and essence of the experience (Moustakas, 1994). Listing preliminary groupings involved listing any expression relevant to the lived experience-horizontalization. Reduction elimination involved testing for moments of experience in statements that constitute constituents of understanding and possibly to abstract and label the horizon for purposes of eliminating overlap, repetition, and vague expression. This helped to retain invariant horizons of constituents of understanding. Data was horizontalized, which means placing equal value on every statement relevant to the topic and question.

Clustering and theming consisted of clustering of invariant constituents of the experience related to thematic labels. Horizontalized statements informed listing of meaning or meaning units. Meaning or meaning units were clustered into themes of common categories to eliminate overlaps and repetition. This helped to generate a descriptive account of the experience. This was helpful in developing textural and

structural descriptions for integration into meanings and the core of the incentive for PAYV violence, which is the central phenomenon of study.

Discrepant cases in the study were given special treatment. Maxwell (2004) explained that analyzing and identifying discrepant data is a major part of drawing up a valid conclusion. Maxwell argued that discrepant cases could point to a critical defect in the study if the discrepancy is self-validating and recommended rigorous examination for both supporting and discrepant data to ascertain their plausibility for retention, modification, or otherwise. Qualitative research is largely about human behaviors and society, which means that in finding meaning to behaviors and attitude, people are bound to hold different views and opinions. McPherson and Thorne (2006) argued that overlooking inconvenient variations or observations that are distant, deny our analysis of depth, capacity, credibility, and utility of research findings. McPherson and Thorne argued further that to maintain the integrity of research, outliers should be investigated to understand why they appear in the first place. We should see exceptionality as an opportunity to challenge assumptions and avoid simplistically coherent conclusions that will deny the multiple perspectives that are hallmarks of qualitative studies (McPherson & Thorne, 2006). In this study, discrepant cases were acknowledged and investigated further to understand how and why they occurred during validation process.

### **Issues of Trustworthiness**

The strategy for showing trustworthiness in quantitative research is relatively straightforward since research is conducted with a time-tested instrument. Because of their quantitative nature, it is easy to verify validity. It is important to ensure

trustworthiness at every stage of qualitative research. Trustworthiness in a qualitative study is concerned with determining the validity and reliability of the qualitative data. A qualitative study is trustworthy to the extent that it correctly denotes or epitomizes the experiences of the participants in the study (Elo et al, 2014). Trustworthiness in qualitative research is ensuring credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and ethical procedures in the process.

### **Credibility**

Credibility in a qualitative study is engendered through prolonged triangulation contact, member checks, saturation, reflexivity, or peer review. Lincoln and Guba (1985) believed that credibility is simply the value and believability of research findings. Credibility is established when the study participants acknowledge the results of the investigation into their lived experiences and is concerned with the reality of how the participants discern and encounter the phenomenon under investigation. To ensure credibility, only those with the experience of motivation for PAYV participated in the study. Triangulation and member checking were adopted. Triangulation is commonly used in the quantitative study to test validity and reliability; however, it is also used as a strategy in qualitative studies to test multiple realities.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) described triangulation as an “attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in question” (p. 5). Triangulation is a form of validity that displays multiple refracted realities, helping readers and audiences to explore competing views of the context, immersing in, and merging with, comprehensible new reality (Denzin & Lincoln). It is a way to explore different perspectives of the same

phenomenon in qualitative research (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Hussein (2015) explained that data triangulation provides diverse ways of looking at the same phenomenon, adding to credibility by strengthening conclusions drawn from a study and emphasizing consistency across interviews. Hussein further explained that triangulation is the “combination of two or more methodological approaches, theoretical perspectives, data sources, investigation and analysis methods to study the same phenomenon” (p. 3). In this study, triangulation simply meant consistencies of how individual participants provided the meaning of their experiences with the phenomenon of PAYV.

Morse (2015) described member checking as allowing research participants to check and obtain additional information. This is done when interviews are transcribed—such transcripts are given back to participants to check for errors of misrepresentation or add a piece of information or data. The researcher conducted member checks using the participants’ responses or comments. It is important to state that member checking in this study was limited to data collection, not data analysis, because data analysis is a synthesis of various interviews, which do not reflect individual perspectives and terminology.

### **Transferability**

Bengtsson (2016) explained that transferability refers to the “degree to which the results may be applicable to other settings or groups and to the number of informants or study objects” (p. 13). Shaw (2013) and Elo et al. (2014) explained that transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation of information. In the view of Streubert and Carpenter (2003), transferability, which is otherwise known as fittingness, is whether the results fit in or can be transferred to similar/analogous situations. Streubert and Carpenter



(2003) explained that it is not the researcher, but the prospective user that determines the transferability or otherwise of the data. The appropriate strategy that established transferability in this study was the thick description. Morse (2015) indicated that thick description is an appropriate strategy to ensure validity when interviews are unstructured. Morse (2015) also indicated that it would be necessary to have an adequate and proper sample when using a thick description to arrive at saturation. Thick description within a large data pool enables the researcher to observe data overlap and similarity. In this study, data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection which ensured an opportunity for identifying replication and overlaps.

### **Dependability**

Dependability is to test how the data is stable over a period and under different conditions (Elo et al., 2014). Dependability is established when a research process logically adopts methods that provide answers to the research question that are traceable and clearly documented (Munn et al, 2014). Dependability is concerned with the consistency of results. In a qualitative study, the most important instruments that are evaluated for consistency or stability are the researcher and the study participants (Munn et al., 2014). Munn et al. (2014) argued that for dependability to provide insight into the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, it must answer the following questions: (a) is there congruity between the research methodology and the research question? (b) is there congruency between methodology and methods used in data collection? (C) is there congruency between methodology, representation, and data analysis? And (d) is the researcher biased? The strategy used to ensure dependability was audit trails. Cope

(2014) posited that audit trails collect study materials (e.g., interview transcripts, data analysis, process notes, and draft final reports) in ways that allow another researcher following the trail to draw the same conclusions on a particular study. To ensure a clear audit trail is established, data collected, field notes and audio recordings will be preserved for a reasonable period of time.

### **Confirmability**

According to Cope (2014), confirmability is the researcher's ability to show that data represents participants' views and it is devoid of investigator bias. It approximates the extent of neutrality or objectivity of the data; however, it is pertinent to state that in qualitative studies, objectivity is not concerned with the researcher's objectivity or neutrality, but rather on the objectivity of the data. This can be demonstrated through a direct quote from respondents and establishing how conclusions and interpretations were made. The strategy used to establish confirmability in this study was reflexivity. This is the awareness of how a researcher's previous experiences with phenomenon, values, and background can affect a study. This is particularly relevant when the researcher in a qualitative study is considered the research instrument and considers how the researcher eliminates bias and personal idiosyncrasies that could becloud their sense of judgment through bracketing and horizontalizing (Cope). Cope recommended keeping a "reflexive journal, notes, thoughts and feeling to bracket off perception and subjectivity" (p. 90). Shaw (2013) explained the importance of decision trails that considers personal contributions of the researcher.

## **Ethical Procedures**

Rights of the research participants need to be respected and recognized by the researcher in a study (George et al, 2014). In this study, I took into account the need to engender trust and build rapport with the participants and valued them as independent humans, both of which were critical to elicit honest, rich and detailed responses. Moustakas (1994) emphasized the need to observe sound ethical standards in research, that includes establishing a clear agreement with research participants, recognizing and observing confidentiality and informed consent, the procedure for full disclosure of the nature, purpose of the study, and requirements of the research. The participants' confidentiality, protection from harm, or exposure to possible criminal prosecution is laid out in Walden University IRB process. The Walden three-part compliance program that emphasizes preventive, monitoring and reactive, and the revised and updated IRB requirement of 2018 (Walden, 2019) were observed and adhered. It is also important to mention that this study was also approved by Walden's rigorous IRB process. Participants' identities were concealed through the assignment of a unique identity codes.

An informed consent form was designed with the following information: (a) the purpose and nature of the study, (b) the voluntary nature of participating in the research study, (c) the approximate time it will take to participate, and (d) possible follow-up contact for additional information, if necessary. The consent form was approved by the IRB. It was further explained that data and information gathered from the research will be used for a doctoral dissertation and publication purposes only. It was explained that information specific to their participation will be validated by them. The participants

were also informed of the confidentiality of information provided for this study, and that no personal comment will be attributed to any individual in the study report. Their consent to audio record proceedings and the taking of side notes was obtained through the signing of a voluntary consent form. Participants initialed consents forms to demonstrate their willingness to participate in the study. In summary, participant selection involved key informants, media contacts, and references. Each participant was treated in a manner consistent with ethical standards and the requirements for human subjects. Ethical concerns were a vital feature in this investigation taking into consideration the delicate nature of the research. Potential risks were continuously appraised to avoid exposing the participants to hazards.

The ethical process in this study consisted of completing the NIH Web-based training course *Protecting Human Research Participants*, submission of the proposal and final dissertation to various levels of institutional review as appropriate, obtaining informed consent, respecting privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity results dissemination, and observing participants' right of withdrawal.

To demonstrate a commitment to a high ethical standard, the researcher completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI PROGRAM) in February of 2020. The knowledge gained from this course provided great insight in dealing with the human subjects. The key element in ethical discussion are setting minimum benchmarks for research participants' privacy as well as meeting their expectations. Participants gave access or provide information in a context and an understanding that privacy rules that govern the context will be observed (Martin, 2016).

That is privacy is an accord between parties to restrict information access based on mutually and trusting relationship fostered (Martin, 2016).

I made it clear that information of participants' experience with PAYV will never be revealed to a third party. Considering this, I ensured that the names of the participants were not attached to the information supplied, rather they were identified by the codes assigned. Other issues to consider in a research study are anonymity and confidentiality. Privacy and confidentiality are maintained through anonymity in research studies (Vainio, 2013). Anonymity means information on research participants is concealed in ways and manners that the identity of an individual cannot be traced (Vainio, 2013). Confidentiality, on the other hand, means information provided by a participant is not disclosed to a third party. This was achieved using labels codes. In this study, a participant's right to withdraw from the study was explained in the consent form prior to participating in the research. Research reports are the typical means of disseminating research results. The report of this study will be published in accordance with Walden University's academic requirements, which can be accessed through various databases. This information was communicated to research participants who might be interested in obtaining the final report from the study.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, information regarding research design and rationale for the study was presented. The role of the researcher was also examined. The research methodology explained the process of participant selection, instrumentation, and the data analysis plan. Chapter 3 also contained a review of issues of trustworthiness and ethical procedures.

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study is to understand the motivation for postamnesty violence among youth in the ND who are beneficiaries of the PAP. The role of the researcher in this research was that of the participant. This is consistent with the phenomenological paradigm.

Through criterion purposive sample, 20 participants were selected for the interview through a semistructured interview process to elucidate meaning and understanding of the incentive for postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP. The researcher was the instrument of data collection. I interviewed participants for data collection. Content validity was guaranteed through the audiorecording of interviews based on permission from participants. Transcripts of audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and sent back to the participant for confirmation and validation. Data analysis in the study was consistent with the phenomenological paradigm using the Kaam (1959) method. High ethical consideration and processes consistent with Walden University's institutional review process and treatment of the human subject in educational research were strictly adhered to. Chapter 4 will provide an opportunity for field interviews with research participants in the Delta and Bayelsa States in the participants' natural setting for purposes of data collection. Interviews will be with beneficiaries of the Presidential Amnesty Program and will provide an opportunity to present findings of the study, which will include identification of themes and subthemes and support data from participants' interviews.

## Chapter 4: Results

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand the motivation for PAYV among beneficiaries of the ND PAP. In this study, I explored one central research question with three subquestions. The central question explored the motivation for PAYV among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND of Nigeria. The following three subquestions supported the research question:

**SQ1:** What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among youth in the ND?

**SQ2:** How do youths perceive sustainable peace in the ND?

**SQ3:** How do youths make meaning of what sustain postamnesty violence in the ND?

The central phenomenon of this study sought to understand the lived experiences of youth with postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND. This chapter contains setting, demographics information, findings from the interviews, analysis, and a summary.

### **Setting**

I conducted this study using criterion purposive sampling. Valerio et al. (2016) explained that purposive sampling allows for the selection of a sampling frame mostly affected by a specific issue. Valerio et al. further explained that the strength of purposive sampling lies in its ability to maintain rigor and identify samples based on variables that drive a study. Criterion purposive sampling was adopted in this study as samples included in the

study were selected based on predetermined criteria (Hasson et al., 2000). In this study, the STATRT criteria for inclusion were (a) beneficiaries contemporary phenomenon of the PAP, (b), residents of either Bayelsa or Delta state, (c) between the ages of 18 and 35, and (d) willing to participate. In any study, the more specific the inclusion and exclusion criteria are defined, the closer the study is to achieving homogeneity (Robinson, 2014). Various parameters such as demography, geography, and age are used in participant selection (Robinson, 2015).

I recruited 20 beneficiaries of the ND of Nigeria PAP who were between 18 and 35 years of age and resided in Bayelsa or Delta. In the process, I met with 24 participants who were recommended by those who participated previously. Only 20 participants were accepted. Four potential participants were eliminated because either they were not within the age bracket or they did not reside in the Delta or Bayelsa states. Participants in the study determined the dates, times, and locations for the interviews. The results of this study were not affected by any external influence or by any personal or organizational conditions.

### **Demographics**

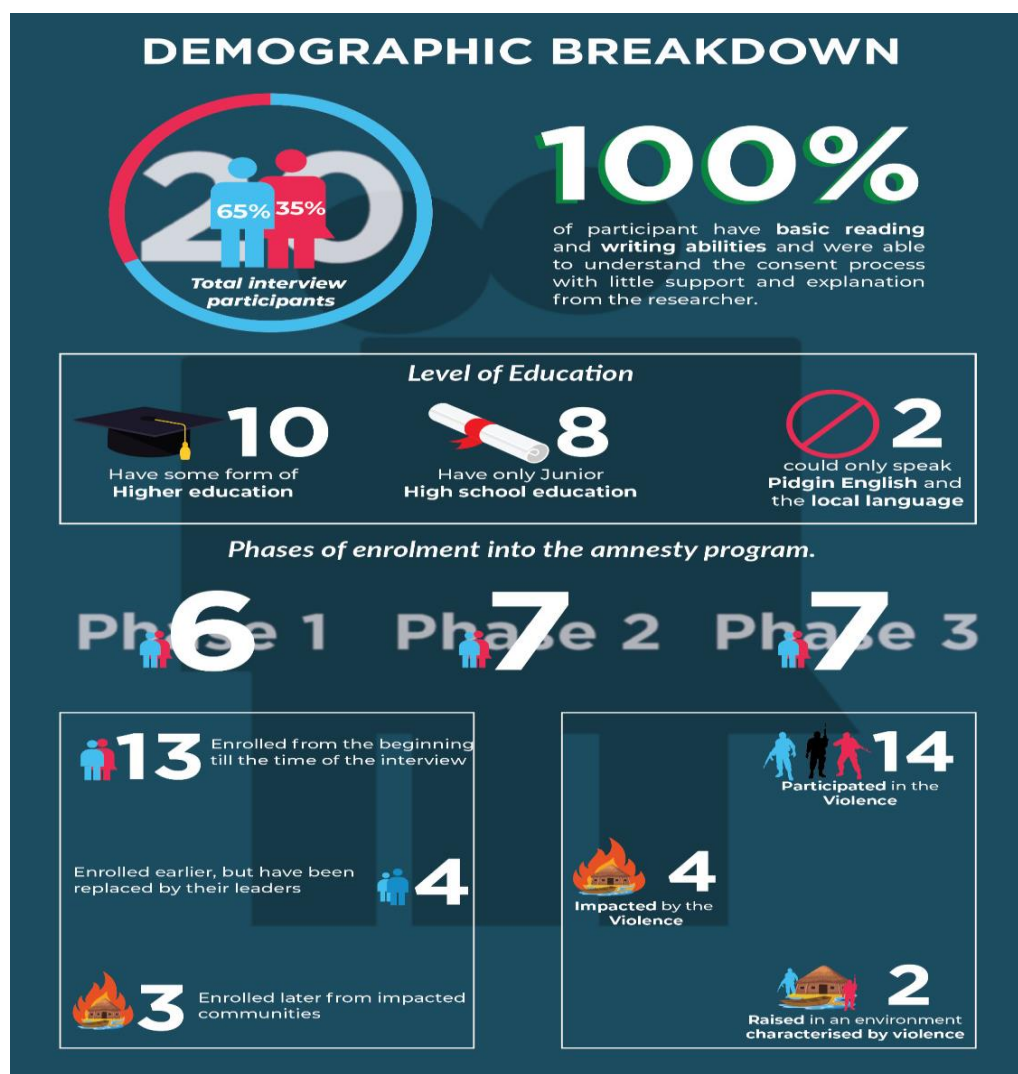
The study included 20 youth who are beneficiaries of the ND of Nigeria PAP; they were recruited through criterion purposive sampling. The recruitment included completion of a consent process; participants were taken through the consent process to gain an understanding of the purpose of the study. Those who accepted to participate in the study initialed the consent form. Selected participants were interviewed based on their understanding of the central phenomenon of the study, their participation in the amnesty



program, their age being 18–35 years, and being a resident of either Bayelsa or Delta state. Figure 1 provides a visual breakdown of the demographic information of the participants.

**Figure 1**

*Participant Demographic information*



The total number of persons interviewed was 20; seven participants were female and 13 were male. Participants were broken down into the phases of their enrollment in

the amnesty program: six participants were in Phase one, seven participants were in Phase two, and seven participants were in Phase three. Participants were categorized based on their placement in the program. Four participants were enrolled in the program earlier but were replaced by their leaders after their studies or vocational training; three participants were not enrolled from the beginning but were later added to the program because they came from impacted communities; and 13 participants were part of the program from the beginning.

In assessing participant demographics, I also looked at education and comprehension levels as this facilitated communication and participants' understanding of interview questions. Ten participants reported some form of higher education; eight participants had junior high school education; and two participants were only able to express themselves in Pidgin English and local languages. All participants had basic reading and writing abilities and were able to understand the consent process with little support and explanation. Fourteen participants expressed their participation in PAYV directly, four indicated they were impacted by postamnesty violence, and two participants postamnesty reported being raised in an environment characterized by various forms of violence.

### **Data Collection**

Interview data were collected from 20 PAP recipients for this study. These data were integrated into invariant meaning units and themes, their textural and structural experiences with verbatim descriptions. I conducted face-to-face interviews with participants using interview questions approved by IRB as a guide (see Appendix C). The

interview questions were crafted to provide answers to the research question and subquestions. The research question and the subquestions guided the set of interview questions that were used to provide answers to the phenomenon of study. Table 2 shows the research question and subquestions and related interview questions.

**Table 2**

*Details of Interviews and Number of Responses*

Research question	Interview questions	# Respondents	# of pages transcribed
RQ: What motivates Postamnesty Youth Violence among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program in the ND?	What is your assessment of a postamnesty Niger Delta region?	16	6
	How can you describe postamnesty youth (ages 18–35) violence?	15	4
	Do you see postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta as a problem that you and I should be interested in? Why do you think so or why not?	12	3
	Why do you think youth (ages 18–35) get involved with postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta region?	14	4
	What increases the risk of youth being involved in postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta?	13	4
SQ1: What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among young in the Niger Delta?	What was the experience like growing up in the Niger Delta?	19	6
	Where have you lived most of your life in the Niger Delta?	14	4
	What was the experience like for you living with postamnesty youth violence in the Niger Delta?	15	5
	What is/are your personal experiences with postamnesty violence?	18	6
SQ2: How do youth perceive sustainable peace in the Niger Delta?	What would be the best ways to tackle lack of security in the Niger Delta?	16	5
	Do you see postamnesty youth violence as a problem? How and why not?	19	5
	How can postamnesty youth violence be addressed among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program in the Niger Delta?	15	4
	Do you see a role for youth, parents, community, and government in finding a solution to the absence of security in the Niger Delta?	17	4
	What do you see as sustainable peace in the Niger Delta?	18	5
	What are the things that can create sustainable peace in the Niger Delta?	14	3
SQ3: How do youth make meaning of what sustains postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta?	Is the current level of peace in the Niger Delta acceptable to you? If yes, how? If no, why?	14	3
	What does sustaining postamnesty youth violence mean to you?	18	5
	What has it been like living with postamnesty violence?	10	3
	What advice do you have for people living with postamnesty violence?	5	2
	What else would you like to share with me about postamnesty violence?	5	2

As Table 2 shows, an average of 14 participants responded to all the interview questions. The interviews were audiorecorded after obtaining approval from participants to record. I used initials as a system of coding to conceal participants' identities. I decided to assign participant numbers to their name initials when transcribing audiorecorded interviews into narratives to secure privacy. Transcribed interviews from audiorecordings came to about 78 pages. I also took field notes and maintained a journal to record key comments and observations. From the interview transcripts, field notes, and journals, I was able to deductively identify themes that emerged during data collection. These notes made some level of preliminary data collection and analysis run concurrently. Interview responses were presented as a description of participants' understanding of the central phenomenon of study and experience of the phenomenon using manual data coding without the use of any software.

In considering description as a mode of presenting intentional experience, Moustakas (1994) asked the following questions "what is the nature of the phenomenon? what are its qualities, what appears at different times and under varying conditions?"(p.8). He concluded that the challenge of description is to determine the textural component of the experience that is, the *what* of the experience. The "what" in this case represents the themes derived from participants description of their perceived understanding of PAYV that form the textural description that were drawn from participants verbatim transcripts. The textural description of an experience omits nothing as every dimension or phase is granted equal attention and included in the analysis (Moustakas, 1994). That is in phenomenological reduction horizontalizing (listing all

relevant expressions), and reduction of experiences to invariant constituents (clustering of horizons into themes). The thematic clustering helped to create core themes and comparison of multiple data to validate invariant constituents in this study. It also helped in the development of individual textural description of participants imagination, variation, and construction of composite structural description (what occurred and how it occurred) (Yüksel & Yıldırım, 2015). The structural themes in phenomenological studies are themes derived from the imaginative variations (Moustakas,1994). Moustakas (1994) described the task of imaginative variation as seeking “possible meanings through varying the frames of reference, employing polarities and reversals and approaching the phenomenon from different perspectives, positions, roles or functions” (p.97). That is the structural description of “how” that speaks to conditions that illuminate the “what” of the experience (Moustakas, 1994), a demonstration that the textural and structural are in a continual relationship (p.79). During data analysis, I uncovered the paired themes by interpreting the transcripts of participants’ interviews for meaning. Moustakas (1994) summed that “evidence from phenomenological research is derived from first-person report of life experience” (p.84). The basic themes uncovered in this study integrated the deeper meaning of PAYV among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND.

### **Data Analysis**

The central phenomenon, which is the motivation for PAYV in the ND, ungirds the research question and subquestions, interview questions in this study. The research question for this study was, RQ: What motivates postamnesty youth violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND of Nigeria? The sub questions that supported the

research question are: SQ1. What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among youth in the Niger Delta? SQ2. How do youth perceive sustainable peace in the Niger Delta? SQ3: How do youth make meaning of what sustain postamnesty violence in Niger Delta? The interview questions approved by the IRB which formed the basis for data collection in the field were derived from the RQ and the SQs, the data collected from interviews with participants were analyzed for themes to make meaning of the participants lived experiences with the phenomenon of PAYV.

Data analysis is a critical step in a research process as it forms the prelude to findings, conclusions and recommendations in a research study. According to Bailey (2008) “researchers’ methodological assumptions and disciplinary backgrounds influence what are considered relevant data and how data should be analyzed”. Generating findings that transform raw data into knowledge requires a qualitative researcher to actively engage in a critical and methodological analytical process (Thorne,2000). This will help in reading, understanding and interpreting results of a study (Thorne, 2000). To achieve the above in this study, first, all participants were asked the same set of semistructured interview questions that were submitted to IRB and were approved to guide the study (appendix C). Based on the responses from participants, the frequentative flow of the data influenced additional questions with subsequent participants. Follow up questions were asked participants to follow up a lead or clarify further investigations. The interviews were audio-recorded with Olympus digital voice recorder VN-712PC and played back where necessary for participants to listen to their interviews. I uploaded all 20 audio recorded interviews into my computer that is password-protected, using their unique

identification to save them. I then transcribed individual interviews the way they responded to questions verbatim and saved as a word file individually on my password-protected computer. I then read through each interview transcript reflectively that helped me to gain an understanding of the data universe. In analyzing the data, I was guided by Van Kaam method of phenomenological data analysis (Moustakas, 1994). Van Kaam stated that using each participant transcript, you analyze phenomenological qualitative data by:

1. Listing and preliminary grouping of every expression relevant to the experience (horizontalization). This was achieved in this study by grouping every expression from transcribed interview into their data category considering commonalities and similarity of expressions.

2. Reducing and eliminating to determine invariant constituents, that is testing for moment of experiences that were necessary and sufficient for understanding, abstracting, and labeling overlapping repetitive vague expressions, only retaining horizons that are invariant constituents of the experience. In doing this, I cut and paste expressions, phrases and words that are repetitive, overlapping, vague and horizons.

3. Clustering and thematizing the invariant constituents: relevant phrases, words categories, and invariant constituents were clustered and organized around deductive themes developed from words phrases.

4. Identifying the invariant constituents and themes through validating records of research participants to see if invariant constituents and their accompanying themes are expressed explicitly, or compatible or relevant to the experience. Field notes, journals

were compared with phrases and words clusters developed to identify invariant constituents and validate deductive themes.

5. Constructing each individual textural and structural experiences including verbatim examples from the transcribed interview and imaginative variations, and lastly,

6, constructing research participant a textural-structural description of the meanings and the essences of the experience incorporating the invariant constituents and themes.

This individual textural-structural description helped me to develop a composite description of meanings and essence of the experience representing the group as a whole (Moustakas, 1994.p120-121).

The above process resulted in the development of a preliminary words and phrases category table with deductive themes, see appendix C.

### **Results**

From the words, phrases category and deductive themes table , I sieved for horizons repetitive expressions that form preliminary thematic codes. I reduced units' phrases that were clustered on the basis of commonality and invariability to determine their relationships and similarities to clustered and overlapped themes and assigned each theme a descriptive label. I also considered participant's responses related to the theme and the word category that described their experiences and how they make meaning of the experience. Through deductive reasoning and clustering, I identified the following preliminary themes and associated sample meaning based on participants response as contained in the table through manual coding of data. The themes were deductively



generated and the words and phrases category were deduced from participant's responses, through horizontalization of expressions from participant's transcripts.

**Table 3***Preliminary Themes and Sample Meaning Based on Participants' Responses*

Themes	Words and phrases category	# of responses
Perception of the amnesty program	To stop violence in the Niger delta, to address of militants and militancy, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, we surrender our arms to government, for freedom fighters in the Niger delta	12
Rationale for the Violence	Armed struggles in order to make the federal government listen to us, our oil taken away from the region, environmental degradation, environmental pollution, joblessness, fundamental problems of the region, means of livelihood taken away	18
Enrolled in the amnesty program	Documented as the government deems fit to give us pardon, they pay N65, 000, vocational training and empowerment, among the beneficiaries as a student, surrender arms, demobilized at Obubra	19
Postamnesty Niger Delta	Peaceful when the reasons for arms struggle is effectively and efficiently addressed, structural and physical violence persist, nothing like peace in the region; 60% peaceful, 40% violence, we were in peace without amnesty, insecurity in the region, 'Gbegerism', 'we nor go gree, we nor go gree'', gas flare, environmental degradation is still in place, amnesty is just to take away the boys, makes some of us lazy and jobless, hostilities have dropped, there is relative, peace things are far better now	20
Postamnesty violence as a problem in the Niger Delta	We should be worried, government and international community should be worried, if anything affects the Niger Delta, it affects Nigeria, it is the future we are talking about, nothing really, not a problem if the federal government should look into the amnesty program	20
Postamnesty youth violence by beneficiaries	Buhari government actions and inactions, distrust, the promises made were neglected, student beneficiaries stranded abroad, violence perpetrated by persons enrolled in the program, youth felt betrayed, 'Zenerales'(camp leaders) replaced boys names, 'Zenerales' hijacked the program, stipends payment diverted, corruption, unequal treatment to leaders	17
Lived experiences with postamnesty youth violence	Sad experience, but inevitable, we are abandoned, how to survive in a life of abandonment, living from one form of crisis to another, living with the memories of losing loved ones	15
Sustainable peace in the Niger Delta	insecurity, security is freedom from fear, freedom from want, Corruption is also insecurity, corruption creates fear, the government has to involve the youth, public security personnel have turned themselves into businessmen, policing oil facilities with heavily armed security personnel is not the issue, security men should be restrained from burning down communities in the guise of search for criminals	18

From the preliminary themes and words categorization contained in the table above, I identified a set of inductive textural themes which form the basis for further data analysis as stated below.

In this study, a second level of textural themes emerged inductively from data collected from interviews of 20 beneficiaries with an understanding of motivation of PAYV in the ND. . This second level inductive textural themes of the *what* of the experience of PAYV included motivation for PAYV, perception of the amnesty program, hope of a better future through amnesty program, sustainable peace in the ND, and living with PAYV.

### **Theme 1: Motivation for Postamnesty Youth Violence**

I examined the motivation for PAYV among beneficiaries of the ND of Nigeria PAP. Participant's responses were diverse and revealing. Participant [1, ROI] revealed that postamnesty youth violence "became prominent from 2015 when President Buhari came to power...close to six months president did not appoint coordinator, no leadership to pilot the affairs of the amnesty office....The vacuum created gave room for data manipulation and replacements of names, monthly stipends of N65,000 were not paid, there was hunger in the land and there was manhunt for persons perceived to be enemies of the administration, those close to former president Jonathan, a southerner from the Niger Delta". Participants were unanimous on the lack of trust as prime motivation. One participant said, "the federal government did not play their part of the amnesty deal after we had dropped our arms".

The breakdown of trust was motivated by both personal and external issues. Participants indicated that financial incentives, educational and skills development opportunities with placement in jobs were key part of the amnesty deal, but those promises were never fulfilled. A participant said “in my village in Aghoro in Bayelsa State, we do not have roads, no vehicles, yet I was sent to a car assembly plant to go and learn how to make a car with a promise that after my training I will be resettled in the city and given a job.... I spent two years in the training.... about 50 of us from the program were trained.... At the end dem(they) send me back to my village with nothing....Wetin you want make I do na (what options do I have in that situation)”. “ for village, boys no even believe say I go training, o boy man tire na”(in my village they did not believe that I went to the training in the first place...what the level of frustration with do you want me to do)”. Another participant said “since I enrolled in the program, I have never been trained or sent to school... they were paying my stipends, suddenly the payment stopped... I called by RM (Relationship Manager), He said I should talk to my Zenerale (camp leader)”.

The external issues range from deviation from the original plans (the amnesty blueprint as some participants call it) to manipulation, leadership failure, corruption and insensitivity to the plight of program beneficiaries. Participant [6, O.G.C] said “Nigerians should ask President Goodluck Jonathan why he abandoned the amnesty blueprint negotiated by the Aaron team and the late president Yar’ardua”. The participant said, “As part of the amnesty program, the federal government assembled a team and asked Niger Deltans to also assemble a team.... We put the Aaron team led by the Nobel laureate

Prof. Wole Soyinka and other sound and knowledgeable Niger Delta sons and daughters who were meeting from time to time to marshal out a comprehensive program of human and infrastructural development plan for the Niger Delta.... Various committees were looking at different aspect.... When Yar'ardua died and Jonathan took over, he dumped the Aaron team, he appointed his cronies and started bribing stakeholders with contracts and financial gifts, criminalized opposition voices and started treating militant leaders preferentially as unequal's.... This led to John Togo and his boys pulling out of the amnesty program and returning to the creeks.... MEND also bombed a peace rally in Warri and carried out the Independence Day celebration bombing in Abuja... The resurgence of violence in the Niger Delta from 2010 to date is as a result of the deviation of former president Jonathan from the cardinal point of the amnesty program”.

The manipulation of the program by those participants referred to as zenerales (camp leaders), the program office and political interest also served as a key motivator for PAYV according to participants. A respondent said camp zenerales hijacked the program. “Imagine some of the zenerales connived with people in the amnesty office and banks to collect our money.... Before the amnesty, every camp has a leader, so we were all registered under our camps.... They said we should open account in the bank.... At the end of the month, you will receive alert of payment, before you get to bank, the money is gone to the zenerale account ....Sometimes out of the N65, 000, you will only see N20, 000, and some will not even see any money.... They even replace some names with their family and friends.... They will tell the amnesty coordinator, I know my boys, I have to pay them myself”. A participant said “they have introduced politics into the

program, they remove our names and ask people from the national assembly and presidency to forward names to replace beneficiaries....I was called to submit my passport for scholarship abroad...two years after they said I should come and collect my passport, when happened? We made a mistake; you name is not on the program even though I went to Obubra and was given a UN code”. Another participant said “the Zenerales, they denied us benefits and opportunities, the boys who suffered with them before the amnesty program... they will just hire military men to guard themselves, we cannot have access to them again, before the amnesty there was no brother, no sister, we were all together in the creeks in the camps as one”.

Participants discussed about the role of companies in motivating what a participant described as the push and pull factors. According to him “instead of training and employing the youth, the companies introduced ‘ghost workers’ syndrome...., they asked us to stay at home, and pay us money.... An idle mind is the devil’s workshop.... We are being indoctrinated by certain perception that you get money, you don’t have to suffer” [participant 1 ROI]. Another participant [ 19,B.E.M] corroborated the pull, push effect when he said “ when we were in the camps{militant camps}, we were used to getting good money, N100,000 as monthly stipend, two weeks in two weeks out of the camp, we get money from Bunkering, soldiers also *de load {participate}* , once they finish loading their badges , it is our turn oil company contractors patronize us, they dole out money, we burst pipes, they get contracts, life goes on, since nobody give us job, if you don’t have jobs to survive, what will you be living on, illegality, we have to help ourselves”. Others believe that the Nigeria government is not sensitive to genuine

agitations and grievances, that the only way you draw the attention of government is when you become violent, a participant stated “we embarked on arms struggle because the Nigeria government fails to listen to our voices... our monies are being diverted, we complained nobody listened, we wrote letters to amnesty office that zenerales are cutting our stipends and changing our names no reply... Since we started the ‘gbege’ they have started attending to some of the issues”.... Violence, killing and destruction is sometimes the extreme, but it is only when the pipelines go in flame that government will know that are people there” participant[20 DEE].

Corruption induced contracting process in the amnesty office incentivized violence among the beneficiaries. A participant said “a vendor who was contracted to empower us, enticed us with cash and share the money with us.... I did not know that it was money meant for our set up, some of my friends used the money for drinks get high (indulge in drugs), thinking it was out of the contractor’s goodwill, few days later we were sent home without anything...what do you expect? it is to go back to the creeks (language used to mean the path of violence)”. This practice enables contractors spend less and keep chunk of the money through corruption after taking care of supervisory interest in the amnesty office.

Female participants are greatest victims of the manipulation. All female participants said they were never paid the N65, 000 monthly stipends, only benefitted from the program when they were either in school or when they are in skills development training programs. Once they complete their programs their names are removed. A female participant said “the amnesty program is not gender friendly”, it is all men affairs

even though we were there in the camps cooking. “Some of us carried guns and played key roles in the peace process and were also victims of Nigeria military invasion in camps, there are no women Zenerales”. Female Participant[16 D.V.E] said “I was only a beneficiary of the program for five years just when I was in school....My name was dropped there after without a job and no means of livelihood only the certificate”.

### **Theme 2: Perception of the Amnesty Program**

Participants’ perception of the program is diverse and different depending on where you are in the ladder of strategic positioning. Those close to the power structure who are benefiting believe the amnesty program is one of the best things that have happened to the Niger Delta region. Participant [5, J.A.] said “the program as empowered some many people, they trained a lot of people including studies home and abroad”. For other participants, the program was not meant to develop the region, or help them, but to pacify genuine agitation. Some also believe that the concept of granting amnesty was wrong in the first place, because it criminalizes genuine struggle for justice. Participant [9 P L] “Why was the program called amnesty program, when we are not criminals...amnesty is pardon met for criminals...it should have been armistice”. Another participant said “the program was just mere window dressing, to allow oil to flow.... They train us, send us to schools abroad and outside the creeks, but no jobs for us”. Some participants believed the federal government proclaimed the amnesty to make way for oil to flow in the region. That government do not have any commitment to addressing development issues in the ND. One participant said “there is no sincerity on the part of the government to develop the Niger Delta... many years into the amnesty



program, environmental degradation is still there, gas flare is still there” Participant [TKK]. Another participant said “they raised false sense of hope...they took us out from the darkness of civilization, no light, no road to European countries with 24 hours electricity where we enjoyed all the good things of life, after our studies, you brought me back to that forgotten, conquered and battered environment without job and you want us to be happy”.

### **Theme 3: Hope for a Better Future Through Amnesty Program**

The hope of a better future with the amnesty program is dashed for many. The dream jobs, housing, and businesses were all deception. A participant lamented that “the dreams and aspirations of the youths were dashed by an Ijaw born Nigeria president (Goodluck, Jonathan)”. “They promised us when we lay down our arms, they will develop, the Niger Delta, but 9 years after, nothing, we have become poorer, made lazy and frustrated since this amnesty started” [participant [TKK]. According to participants, they were promised quarterly housing allowances and, overtime, houses will be built for them in a place of their choice. A zenerale stated, “them say them go build houses for us as leaders, but one small uncompleted two room house na him them buy for Abuja with plenty of money say make I come take (they promised to build houses for us, I was handed a small two-bedroom uncompleted bungalow, they acquired with huge sums of money)” .... Wetin, I go do with that small house wey no reach only me to stay let alone with my boys (what am I going to do with such an apartment that will not accommodate me and my boy”.

**Theme 4: Sustainable Peace in the Niger Delta**

The search for a sustainable peace in the Niger Delta is being an elusive and tortuous journey. This is due to the various forces and interests at play in the region. Participants believe it will be a mirage to talk about sustainable peace in the Niger Delta when the government at national, state and local levels are not ready to do the right thing. When public office holders are not there to serve the common interest of all, but rather parochial personal and selfish interest. A participant stated “when you talk about insecurity, you first talk about security.... Security is freedom from fear, security is freedom from need, freedom from want, right to education right to a means of livelihood... is when you have this in place before you talk about peace...these are lacking in the Niger Delta, how can there be sustainable peace?”. He said further that “instead of attending to this, the government believe in tradition definition of peace and security, through the use of military force.... Because the government is corrupt... corruption is also insecurity corruption creates fear” [participant 12 L P]. He further asserted that only fairness, real democratic principles, justice, equity and human rights can guarantee security which by extension can provide sustainable peace in an environment. Another participant opined that “if my activities does not include your peaceful existence with me, I will not have peace.... I must always think of my peace within the context of your peace” Participant [EVO]. Participants believed that security and peace arrangement by government and communities must involve active participation of the youth because just as youths are agent of change, they are also vehicles for criminal activities because they constitute largely the productive age of society. A

participant blamed insecurity and lack of sustainable peace on security agents like the Joint Military Taskforce (JTF). According to him “most of the soldiers have become businessmen in the Niger Delta, they lobby and bribe their way to be posted to the ND because of their involvement in illegal oil bunkering... they are in partnership with the boys”. Some believe as long as there is poverty and hunger in the oil-bearing communities, no amount of military personnel or soldiers can secure oil facilities and guarantee peace in the region.

Specifically, [participant 7 J.A.A] said, “as long as the Zenerales will not pay our stipends of N65, 0000 or when they continue to cut our stipends, conniving with government, there will be no peace”. He also said, “Peace is a big business in the Niger Delta, community leaders make money, government make money and those powerful Zenerales make money from it, instead of developing the Niger Delta government pay for peace”. It is also a widely held belief among participants that the amnesty program can contribute greatly to a sustainable peace in the Niger Delta if it is able to provide employment for those educated and trained by the program, accommodate some of the youths not already captured in the program and revisit original plan of the amnesty program to fast track massive development. The amnesty office also should be headed by someone who understand the Niger Delta and the issues of the region. Some also emphasized the role of parents in child upbringing and how that de-escalates or exacerbates conflicts. A participant said some parents have abdicated their responsibilities to their children,” you ask a parent where your pikin, e go say I nor know oh, eno dey sleep here oh, e de sleep with his friend (ask a parent where is your child,

they would say I don't know where he is, he leaves with a friend) ... Who be that him friend (who's that friend)? Wetin them they do together, who de give the pikin home training (what are they into, who is mentoring your child) ....., the bible says train up a child in the way he should grow". A female participant said mothers have a major role in the upbringing on their daughters. "... I am a woman for the female child I have a major role to play... girls sometimes attract the evil of rape to themselves through indecent dressing and keeping company with boys or men, indulge in drug addictions and become victims of teen pregnancy" [(Participant 10, GCO)]. A Participant explained sustainable peace to mean the peace that attracts development, "a win win situation where both parties, the federal government and the people supply and demand is met... where the justice system is in place" [(participant 12 TKK)].

### **Theme 5: Living With PAYV**

Participant shared their experiences living with postamnesty violence. A participant said "it is a sad, but inevitable experience living with postamnesty violence... a life of abandonment and rejection, but we have to survive" [Participant 16 EVO]. It is a "miniature job, make small money, marry many wives until my last day on earth" [participant 20 L.B]. It was also uncovered that not all chose to be violent, but rather they are born into a culture of violence. A female participant stated, "I grew up the in the village with the experience of my father involved with various forms of ethnic crisis... sometimes we have to run into the bush when military planes come to bomb the village". Youth are exposed to a culture of violence and in most cases grow up with it. Even

though, it may not be exactly similar to the radicalization for violent extremism, it registers in the mind of young ones that they are born into society where all is not well.

### **Structural Themes**

One important aspect of a qualitative phenomenological studies is its imaginative variation. What Moustakas (1994) described as “seeking meanings through the utilization of imagination, varying the frames of reference, employing polarities, reversals and approaching the phenomenon from divergent perspectives, positions, roles or functions” (p.97). According to Moustakas this is to help the researcher arrive at a structural description of the experience. This process helps to illuminate underlying and precipitating factors that account for what is being experienced, that is the “how” that speaks to conditions that illuminate the “what” of the experience” (Moustakas,1994. p.98). Keen cited in Moustakas (1994) referred to the structure as “that order embedded in the everyday experience which can only be grasped through reflections” (pp.78-79).

Moustakas stated that imaginative variation enables researchers to derive structural themes that illuminate the fact that there is no “single inroad to truth, but that countless possibilities emerge that are intimately connected with the essences and meanings of an experience” (p.99), in this case, the experience of living with postamnesty youth violence among beneficiaries of the Niger Delta of Nigeria presidential amnesty program. The structural themes uncovered in this study were through reading and reflecting on the transcripts, observation of participants during interviews, review of interview notes and during analyzing the data. The textural themes that emerged in the study that described the meaning of postamnesty youth violence to beneficiaries of the

presidential amnesty program are institutional weaknesses and lack of administrative oversight, limited opportunities for beneficiaries, under development and neglect in the Niger Delta Region, and destruction and pollution of the environment.

***Institutional Weaknesses and Lack of Administrative Oversight***

The responsibility for the implementation of the PAP rests with the office of the special adviser to the president on ND who is also the coordinator of the program. The responsibility of the office is primarily to manage the reintegration of ex-militant enrolled in the program. This includes documentation and biometrics data capture of beneficiaries, payment of monthly stipends, tuition and fees, in-training allowance, vocational skills development and business enterprise development. At the end of training, they were to provide start up-packs for vocational skills trainees, and business development mentorship and startup capital for small business owner- beneficiaries and lastly job placement for scholarship beneficiaries who attended regular academic programs. Many participants think the program is being poorly managed and government agencies with oversight functions have either abdicated their responsibilities or looked the other way because of corruption. They accused the office of name substitutions, diversion of stipends payment, corruption on the part of vendors and service providers who train for the office with the office abdicating its oversight function of monitoring and evaluation for result. Participant [8 JA] stated that “the vendors who pay the boys during training just give money to the boys which they squander within 24 hours.... They share the money, that is money for empowerment of the boys and the boys use this money on drugs and go back to square one”. This is made possible either due to massive corruption,

collusion, connivance or lack of administrative oversight from the office to see and check out what vendors are doing in the field. Another participant stated “I went for training to learn how to bake, make cake, meat pie, doughnuts and other pastries, and was I waiting for my empowerment, only for someone to tell me that they have given my starter packs to another person because they have changed my name” [Participant 9 BEM]. A participant said “the leaders are under developing the Niger Delta... leaders use their position to oppress people deprive them of their positions and opportunities and the amnesty office is supporting them...” [Participant 6 B EM]. Participants complained about how the program is being badly managed by the amnesty office. A participant stated “... the management is what is causing all this backwardness of the program they are mismanaging, bending it, that is the reason why people go back to the creek to cause more violence”. Apart from the amnesty office, participants also expressed their frustration and disappointment with agencies and institutions of government created solely for the development of the Niger Delta. Of particular interest to participant is the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (MONDA), and the NDDC. Participant [6BEM] said further, “we struggled and agitated that the oil is from our place, but there is no development...the government introduced the amnesty program, they also created the MONDA, the NDDC to develop the ND.... We can say all these are from the struggle, but the people from the ND who are appointed to occupy these offices are the wrong people... they connived with the traditional leaders, community leaders and youth leaders to share the money meant for development.... Will you still blame the government?”

### *Limited Opportunities for Beneficiaries*

The promises that came with the amnesty package raised high expectation and hope among beneficiaries. In the reintegration phase, it was the hope that poverty will be eradicated, joblessness will be a thing of the past and beneficiaries will have access to decent housing. In every disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program, reintegration plays a critical role in the lived experiences of beneficiaries. In the presidential amnesty program various promises were made, that were never fulfilled.

One participant stated “when they send me for training, they promised to get me job after the training, now five years after nothing” [participant 5 GCO]. The frustration of lack of employment opportunities to beneficiaries who were promised gainful employment was of great concern to many of the beneficiaries. Participant [9FA] stated “there are 3 stages of the amnesty program, the disarmament, the demobilization and reintegration phases, most of us after the demobilization have gone for training, but there is not job for us, sometimes our stipends are not paid, we are stranded in our own land and are made vulnerable”. He went further to say “even many of our colleagues who went to school abroad and in Nigeria who were promised employment, are jobless and are roaming the streets in the ND in the cities because they cannot go back to the creeks.... The lack of something to do and the government not keeping to their part of the agreement makes youths to be involved in violence.”

A participant stated that “the kind of violence we have now is unbearable because all what we hoped for were dashed. The amnesty office had promised to pay 700k, 500k and 200k housing allowance yearly.... They only paid 150k naira once since then



nothing” [participant 3 OAK]. The participant went further to say that “our situation is worse than before the amnesty program.... we have become very lazy, only waiting for monthly stipends which is nothing”. The participant went further to say “amnesty is just to take these boys away... they deceived us so that they can continue to take oil from our land.” This is a situation of the frustration aggression syndrome, a feeling of deprivation and denied opportunities. Some of the participants feel the program has been hijacked by the leaders that is camp leaders or the Zenerales. A participant said “...I prefer the former life before the amnesty program they brought to the Niger Delta because it is causing us more harm... the leaders are the ones enjoying the program, they were using us to disturb, now that is enjoyment time, they refuse to carry us along...too bad” [participant 4 FYI]. A participant expressed the level of frustration and the feeling of deprivation this way “I am concerned about postamnesty youth violence because I don’t want us to go back to the dark days when we were fighting in the trenches in the creeks being beaten by mosquitoes with weapons on our shoulders to defend our land and protect our environment any longer, innocent persons killed, women raped by soldiers of the Nigeria military who came to defend ‘their oil’, their interest is their oil, not the people of the Niger Delta”[Participant 6 BEM]. The participant stated that the violence is being perpetrated by persons enrolled in the amnesty program because of the activities of the Zenerales “they deprived the boys of even the small stipends the federal government is paying to them... as we speak many of them have not gotten their stipends many years into the program”. Participant [11 OAK] said “look at me, I am 35 years and I am still depending on people, Mr. John will give money, Isaac will give money, at 35 years? I am

supposed to own a house by now and live a comfortable life, but that is not happening, I am still living on the street, why?”

### ***Underdevelopment and Neglect in the Niger Delta Region***

The ND is the crude oil base of Nigeria accounting for more than 95% oil and gas deposit in the country (Asagunla, 2018). Revenue from oil from the ND fund about 85% of national budget in Nigeria (Omitogun et al, 2018), yet the region account for the poorest of population in Nigeria (Deinne & Ajayi, 2018). The region is largely underdeveloped, lacking in basic infrastructure. Participants attributed the absence of infrastructural development and the broken promises of development of the region as major causes of the resurgence of violence in the region. Participants lamented the dearth of infrastructural development in the region. A female participant said “the under development in the Niger Delta by the Federal government is the cause of the violence in the region” [Participant 19, OAO]. Another female participant said “growing up without electricity pipe borne water, roads and the modern amenities of life in the creeks of the Niger Delta, I thought it was a normal way of life until I visited the cities when I saw electricity, water and tarred road...it dawned on me that things are not okay with us”. A participant wondered “if they can develop Abuja, Lagos with money from oil, why can’t they develop the Niger Delta, if they are not wicked?” It is clear that there exists a nexus between under development and resources-based conflicts.

### ***Destruction and Pollution of the Environment***

Participants talked about the importance of the environment to their livelihood and existence. They are concerned that oil exploration and exploitation activities are

destroying the environment which is negatively impacting on their wellbeing and livelihood without any plan for remediation and restoration by the oil multinationals. A participant said “gas flare is one of the critical reasons for the armed struggle is still going on today...the environment is polluted, we can't fish as we use to fish before and the problem is still there... your environment is your life, if your environment is not conducive and comfortable for you, you are a Deadman”. Another participant stated how dredging activities have destroyed their source of drinking water and the hardship associated with getting water to drink this way: “where I come from in Egbema, Polobubo, use to have a very good mangrove forest, but today , the place is a desert because of oil exploration activities , we cannot get drinking water”... we use to have water to drink, but now we can't get water , we have to paddle in dugout canoes, miles away to other people's territory to get drinking water”. Another participant described the exploitation this way “The ND region is like a female, a teen being raped and abandoned by her perpetrators... the impact of the oil exploration is devastating, they take away oil and do not give back to the land and the environment, fertile fishing water bodies are now heavily polluted, we have to rely on frozen fish from Norway and faraway places imported to get fish protein”. When people's livelihoods are eroded without an alternative, when their source of basic needs are threatened, especially when their natural resources are exploited , it generates conflicts.

Conflict over unhealthy exploration and exploitation of natural resources are rooted on the fundamental existence of humans. Depleting wasting natural resources

which extraction negatively impacts the environment without a remediation plan over time will live those in the immediate environment in poverty and penury.

### **Evidence of Trustworthiness**

The strategy for showing trustworthiness in quantitative research is relatively straightforward since research is conducted with a time-tested instrument. Because of their quantitative nature, it is easy to verify validity. It is important to ensure trustworthiness at every stage of qualitative research. Trustworthiness in a qualitative study is concerned with determining the validity and reliability of the qualitative data. A qualitative study is trustworthy to the extent that it correctly denotes or epitomizes the experiences of the participants in the study (Elo et al, 2014). Trustworthiness in qualitative research is ensuring credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability, and ethical procedures in the process.

### **Credibility**

Credibility in a qualitative study is engendered through prolonged triangulation, member checks, saturation, reflexivity, or peer review. Lincoln and Guba (1985) believed that credibility is simply the value and believability of research findings. Credibility is established when the study participants acknowledge the results of the investigation into their lived experiences and is concerned with the reality of how the participants discern and encounter the phenomenon under investigation. Credibility was achieved in this study using the same interview questions on participants, establishing consistency and regularity of participant's response to questions. This helped in data Triangulation and member checking of data. Triangulation is commonly used in the quantitative study to

test validity and reliability; however, it is also used as a strategy in qualitative studies to test multiple realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The responses from one participant to the other helped in testing multiple realities of themes and clusters.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) described triangulation as an “attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon in question” (p. 5). Triangulation is a form of validity that displays multiple refracted realities, helping readers and audiences to explore competing views of the context, immersing in, and merging with, comprehensible new reality (Denzin & Lincoln). Hussein (2015) explained that data triangulation provides diverse ways of looking at the same phenomenon, adding to credibility by strengthening conclusions drawn from a study and emphasizing consistency across interviews. In this study, triangulation simply meant consistencies of how individual participants provided the meaning of their experiences with the phenomenon of PAYV.

Morse (2015) described member checking as allowing research participants to check and obtain additional information. This is done when interviews are transcribed—such transcripts are given back to participants to check for errors of misrepresentation or add a piece of information or data. In this study the researcher conducted member checks through participants’ responses and comments in some instances, telephone calls were also made to participants to follow up on issues that needed clarifications and confirmation during data collection.

### **Transferability**

Bengtsson (2016) explained that transferability refers to the “degree to which the results may be applicable to other settings or groups and to the number of informants or

study objects” (p. 13). Shaw (2013) and Elo et al. (2014) explained that transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation of information. In the view of Streubert and Carpenter (2003), transferability, which is otherwise known as fittingness, is whether the results fit in or can be transferred to similar/analogous situations. Streubert and Carpenter explained that it is not the researcher, but the prospective user that determines the transferability or otherwise of the data. In this study I provided rich thick description and used criterion purposive sampling to establish transferability. Morse (2015) indicated that thick description is an appropriate strategy to ensure validity when interviews are unstructured. Morse also indicated that it would be necessary to have an adequate and proper sample when using a thick description to arrive at saturation. Thick description helped me to observe data overlap and similarity. This was possible because data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously.

### **Dependability**

Dependability is to test how the data is stable over a period and under different conditions (Elo et al., 2014). Dependability is established when a research process logically adopts methods that provide answers to the research question that are traceable and clearly documented (Munn et al, 2014). Dependability is concerned with the consistency of results. In a qualitative study, the most important instruments that are evaluated for consistency or stability are the researcher and the study participants (Munn et al.). Munn et al. argued that for dependability to provide insight into the trustworthiness of a qualitative study, it must answer the following questions: (a) is there congruity between the research methodology and the research question? (b) Is there

congruency between methodology and methods used in data collection? (C) is there congruency between methodology, representation, and data analysis? And (d) is the researcher biased? The strategy was used to ensure dependability was audit trails. Cope (2014) posited that audit trails collect study materials (e.g., interview transcripts, data analysis, process notes, and draft final reports) in ways that allow another researcher following the trail to draw the same conclusions on a particular study. To determine dependability, I presented rich thick description, identified my researcher biases, provided limitations and delimitations of the study. I also committed to preserving, data collected, field notes and audio recordings for at least 5 years, this to allow if other researcher follow same audit trail to arrive at same results.

### **Confirmability**

According to Cope (2014), confirmability is the researcher's ability to show that data represents participants' views and it is devoid of investigator bias. It approximates the extent of neutrality or objectivity of the data; however, it is pertinent to state that in qualitative studies, objectivity is not concerned with the researcher's objectivity or neutrality, but rather on the objectivity of the data. This can be demonstrated through a direct quote from respondents and establishing how conclusions and interpretations were made. The strategy used to establish confirmability in this study was audit trail in the data collection and analysis phases and reflexivity.

### **Summary**

The majority of participants were dissatisfied with the way the amnesty program is being implemented. Their dissatisfaction derives from perceived deception or

deceptive tendencies and practices, loss of opportunities and unequal treatment of beneficiaries. Another group expressed dissatisfaction due to the level of frustration, seeming apathy and nonchalance from those with administrative responsibility for the implementation of the program. Broken promises, renegeing from commitments made to program beneficiaries on the part of the government were also responsible for PAYV in the ND. Some of the participants thought the amnesty program can bring about sustainable peace in the ND with the right leadership, commitment to probity, accountability and sincerity of purpose. Also, if the program is freed from political manipulation, and implemented according to global best practices, it could facilitate proper reintegration of militants into civil society.

The chapter revealed that postamnesty youth violence was real in the ND and beneficiaries of the amnesty program were deeply involved. Motivation for postamnesty violence stemmed from denial of benefit, unfair preferential and unequal treatment of beneficiaries of the program, leadership failure and greed. The chapter also revealed the nexus between development and a stable postamnesty ND. Sustainable development and genuine reintegration of ex-militants are critical to a stable postamnesty ND devoid of youth violence. Chapter 5 begins with an introduction, findings, limitations of the study, followed by recommendations and implications for social change and conclusions.



## Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

### **Introduction**

I carried out a qualitative phenomenological study by interviewing 20 beneficiaries of the ND PAP to understand the motivation for PAYV in the ND of Nigeria. I used Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation and Ostrom's (1998) rational choice theoretical lenses to undergird this study and conducted face-to-face interviews to collect data. Data were analyzed to establish patterns, reducing the expressions to the invariant constituents using textural description and a structural approach to elucidate central phenomenon of the study. The participants provided insight on how PAYV has impacted their lives and the peace and security situation in the ND, and participants offered recommendations on how the situation could be improved. In this chapter, I present the interpretation of findings related to the themes presented in Chapter 4, and I discuss the study limitations and recommendations for future inquiry, implications for social change, and conclusions.

### **Interpretation of the Findings**

Youth or adolescence is usually described as a stage of life between childhood and adulthood encompassing elements of biological growth and social role transition (Fayyaz, 2020; Sawyer et al., 2018). In the youth discourse of Nigeria and the ND, militant and violent activities are often associated with youth behavior (Inyang, 2018). In an environment of poverty, unemployment, decaying infrastructure, corruption, and lack of basic amenities in Nigeria's ND, violence becomes a tool in navigating the contentious landscape (Inyang, 2018). This situation is overlaid by a postamnesty political

environment in which peace should have reigned against the backdrop of benefits offered by the PAP (Abomaye-Nimenibo et al., 2020). Sadly, postamnesty violence persists and scholarship has offered little information on the motivation for postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND (Abomaye-Nimenibo et al., 2020).

The goal of this phenomenological study was to understand the motivation for PAYV among beneficiaries of PAP in the ND of Nigeria. The findings of this study are the textural and structural themes that arose through the data analysis process. I present findings for themes that emerged in participants' responses as they relate to results from previous studies and the theoretical perspectives identified in the literature. Lastly, I provide concepts and themes that emerged from participants' responses and show the relationships between them. The textural themes deductively identified in the data were: (a) motivation for postamnesty violence, (b) perception of the amnesty program, (c) hope of a better future through the amnesty program, (d) sustainable peace in the ND, and (e) living with PAYV. The structural themes uncovered inductively in this study were: (a) institutional weaknesses and lack of administrative oversight, (b) limited opportunities for beneficiaries, (c) underdevelopment and neglect in the ND, and (d) destruction and pollution of the environment. The first theme and the third theme—motivation for postamnesty violence and hope for a better future through amnesty—connected directly with my central research question which aimed to gain a better understanding of the motivation for the lived experiences with postamnesty violence among beneficiaries of the PAP in the ND.

### **Motivation for Postamnesty Violence**

This theme helps to elucidate the emotional, social, and cognitive forces that propel violent behavior among beneficiaries of the amnesty program. Participants were asked the following question regarding their motivation for postamnesty violence in the ND: Based on their understanding of the PAP, why do youth get involved in postamnesty violence in the ND, and what increases the risk of youth being involved in postamnesty violence in the ND? In response to a question of their understanding of the PAP, 15 of out 20 participants (75%) indicated seeing the PAP as a pardon by the federal government; three participants (15%) indicated that the program was a reward to freedom fighters to live a better life; and two participants (10%) identified the PAP as mere deception. One participant, ROI, said,

Amnesty to bring the people of the suffering ND region to a place where by they will be organized... to make sure the people are in peace for developmental purpose and create the enabling environment for development... The federal government understand that the ND is not being developed, so we are asked to drop our arms so that they can develop our area.

Another participant{OAK} responded, “It is a pardon for us to come out of the creeks [backwater areas] and be free... a presidential pardon for us freedom fighters.” Participant {PA} viewed the amnesty program as a deception, stating, “First of all, I fault the name or the word *amnesty*... amnesty in another word means *pardon* ... Is the Nigeria state pardoning me for fight for my right or freedom of my people?”

On the question of why youths are involved in postamnesty violence, 10 participants (50%) indicated reasons as joblessness, poverty, frustration, and lack of attention postamnesty; five participants (25%) blamed the activities of camp leaders' (*generals*), their unwholesome activities, and service providers. Two participants (10%) said the program administration was responsible, and one participant (5%) blamed the federal government and their policy inconsistencies. One participant said, "Hunger is another major thing. There is hunger in the land." Participant EVO said,

We youths are vulnerable—unemployment and underemployment. No job, the oil companies in our areas are not carrying us along... No job, an idle mind is the devil's workshop. If you don't have a job to survive what will you be living on? Illegality. ... Instead of setting up the boys after training, the vendors will entice us with cash, which we will fall for and blow up the money in few days. If you keep giving a man money every day without a proper orientation, he cannot make anything out of it.

Participant FYI stated,

So many of us are not benefiting from the amnesty program. We ought to have benefitted from it. They collect the money and pocket it—the *generales* are the camp leader. They will tell the amnesty office, I know my boys I have to pay them." They will collect the total money belonging to the boys; some they will give 20k instead of the 65k, and others they will not pay at all. They arrange with banks to divert our money. You will receive alert on your phone; the next minute you will receive another alert—the money is gone. When you ask the bank staff,

they will say it is a mistake, every month the same thing. When I find out, they said my *zenerale* give instruction say make them transfer my money to his account. Why?

In summary under the theme of motivation for PAYV, participants expressed both personal and external choices and issues. Personal motivators were conviction that they could bring about desired change through pressure on the federal government and the neglect they suffer from government development effort and interventions. Responses also indicated a reaction to low self-esteem; deprivation at the hands of their leaders, the *zenerales* (camp leaders); and vendors who denied or shortchanged them of financial benefits. It is documented in the literature that youth behavior could better be understood by the way they navigate the landscape of exclusion and inclusion, crises, and opportunities for growth and self-actualization (Iwilade, 2013). Eke (2014) found that conflict is exacerbated by criminal hijacking of the fragile and volatile political environment by elite in the ND region. Ewetan and Ese (2014) unveiled that the unemployment of the youth population explains the cyclic nature of conflict in the ND. There have been no scholarly works highlighting the role played by *zenerales* (camp leaders) in hijacking benefits meant for beneficiaries; rather, the emphasis has been on the role played by political elites. The compromising role of service providers in shortchanging beneficiaries of the amnesty program and how that exacerbates drug abuse, frustration, and conflict escalation is not documented in the literature.

### **Hope for a Better Future Through Amnesty**

Participants talked passionately on how they had hoped a better life with the amnesty program.

Participant {B.E.M} said,

It gave a kind of ray of hope to some stakeholders including myself that it has gone beyond mere incrimination of amnesty to a round table discussion where at the end of the day the blueprint development of the region will be marshalled out. And if it is, this could mean invariably a step forward in the agitation of the Niger Delta youth. At a point in time behold the hopes., by inviting us for a meeting, the Aaron team, that is the name they gave to the proposed team for the round table discussion, the Aaron team. But when Yar'ardua, dies his successor Jonathan dashed the hope. It became a mere window dressing for round table discussion with the Aaron team led by prominent Nigerians why should a president from the region, an oppressed region, people who have been crying for so many years for the control of their resources. It would have been his tenure to correct all injustices by sitting in round table discussions with stakeholders of the Niger Delta.

According to participant[P.A.].

President Buhari is the cause of the PAYV... for close to 6months when he took over, there was no coordinator for the amnesty office ,no leadership to pilot the affairs of the office... the vacuum created resentment, the vacuum gave room for data manipulation and replacement of names.... He Buhari also embarked on man

hunt for perceived persons closer to former president Jonathan, Southern president.... also, Jonathan deviation from the cardinal point of the program... the abandonment of the blueprint laid out by Yar'ardua.

The denial of reintegration assistance (vocational skills training, scholarship for local and foreign schools, business startup capital and tools, job placements) they were promised, broken promises, dashed hopes and aspirations.

It was also revealed that female beneficiaries suffer gender-based discrimination and gender profiling in the distribution of benefits. All seven females interviewed were persons who only benefited from the amnesty program when they were either in school or vocational training program. None of them was a Zenerale and none has ever received the N65, 000 monthly stipends paid to their male counterpart. They were never invited to leadership meetings facilitated by the presidential amnesty office. I did not find any literature that has looked at the gender-based discrimination in the amnesty program, unequal treatment and discrimination, names substitutions and corruption as motivators for PAYV. An analysis of the interviews showed that patron-clientelism and corruption are embedded in the governance and management of the amnesty program such that those who fall out of the equation make rational choice to resort to violence (Nwokolo & Aghedo, 2018). I could not find any scholarly work that link name substitutions and discrimination as motivators for postamnesty youth violence in the Niger Delta.

The external issues are existential, that is those that border on the environment, livelihood, societal wellbeing and infrastructural development (decent education, health care, electricity). Adebayo and Matsilele (2019) study revealed that poverty and

inequality are responsible for resurgence of conflict. Adebayo and Matsilele (2019) claimed that perceived poverty and inequality breed an army of disgruntled citizenry with feeling of frustration and deprivation. Many participants believe there was no genuine interest to develop the ND through the amnesty program, rather it was meant to make way for free flow of oil. Odalonu (2018) studies corroborated this claim that the amnesty program was anecdotal and does not tackle the main grievances of the region.

There are also external issues that border on institutional failure and corruption, political interest, and politicization of the implementation of the amnesty program. Some participants in the study reported peer influence and pressure and a culture of violence they were exposed to from childhood. That is, they grew up in an environment characterized by all forms of violence. Various studies found peer influence and pressure in youth involvement in violence and crime (Ikelegbe, 2020; Khalid, 2018). I did not find any literature related to postamnesty youth violence which is the central phenomenon of studies in this research. Some participants said that exposure to oil war spoils (illegal bunkering and petro-naira-*Nigeria local currency*) induced youth violence. According Participants{R.O.I} “before amnesty when we go on top of barges at night(illegal bunkering barges) or when we protect them at night, we are paid big money, now that has stopped with amnesty”. This corroborates the findings in Schultze (2017) which revealed an escalation of violence and related “petro-criminality” due to the absence large-scale theft of crude oil because of the amnesty program.

A few of the participants also revealed that the amnesty program has made them lazy and unproductive as they wait for monthly stipends year in year out. The finding was



extended by others who alluded to the fact that they have been brought out of the creeks and made as “urban beggars” in cities in the ND as they rely on the goodwill of friends and families to augment what they get from the amnesty program which is not adequate and irregular in payment. The concept of urban beggars has not been extensively covered in the literature in the ND study, a concept common in Chinese tourism studies (Pointon, 2018; Qiao et al, 2017). The study also showed that the general feeling and assumption that ex-militants are powerful individuals who do not need any form of protection is wrong as most of the participants expressed how they feel neglected and abandoned by society. Some even said the mere payment of stipends and availing them the opportunities offered by the amnesty program was not enough. They said they needed a lot of support from society to overcome psychosocial issues they are dealing with.

From the interpretation of the findings of this study, it became apparent that knowledge gained supported what is known, expanded and extended knowledge in the discipline thoroughly elucidated in Chapter 2.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The sample size in this study is 20 from a population universe of 30,000 persons who are beneficiaries of the amnesty program. This limited number makes it difficult for findings from this study to be generalizable. While it is intended to capture the lived experience of participants with PAYV in the ND, the meaning they make of the experience and the essence of it, participants bias may have occurred or possibly set in given, time, space, circumstantial and situational influence on individual perceptions and events. Despite the fact that the consent process was explained by the researcher during

field data collection, some of the participants exhibited some level of nervousness during interviews. While these cases were isolated, they could possibly reflect in the way they responded to questions.

### **Recommendations**

Sustainable peace has eluded the Niger Delta region for a long time, even though the introduction of the PAP heralded a relative peace, what some have termed as peace of the graveyard (Aghedo, 2015). The tenuous peace environment can be consolidated if deliberate and conscious effort is made to harness potentials, retool, and provide a supportive policy environment to findings from this study. This will help to mitigate continuous resurgence of PAYV in the ND. To this end, participants make the following recommendations at personal and policy level.

#### **Company Social Responsibility and Community Participation**

Company community social responsibility obligations consolidated in Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) should have input from local communities rather than being drafted at corporate level and forced down communities for implementation. This is necessary to strengthen local ownership and local accountability. On the issue of pipeline vandalization, participants alluded to the fact that, because they do not have input or were not consulted on security issues and do not have stake in the ownership of oil bloc, they have no responsibility to secure facilities in their territory. This is consistent with Schouten and Miklian's (2018) postulation of business for peace in corporate governance and peacebuilding nexus. Schouten and Miklian, (2018) argued that legitimizing business as peace actor will institutionalize business for peace

framework which will strengthen relationship between firms and the people. One way to deal with this situation is to review existing laws and regulations in the extractive sector to allow for community participation in ownership and benefit sharing, that way they will invest a greater stake and interest in oil installations in their domain.

### **Dialogue Instead of Military Deployment**

Government response to security issues in the region should encourage dialogue with key stakeholders particularly youths, rather than deployment of gunboats and armed ill-trained soldiers whose response has always been to burn down communities. Dialogue will build trust and confidence among stakeholders. This is necessary for gathering credible security information and peace consolidation. Indiscriminate deployment of military for internal peace operation results in excessive use of force, extra-judicial killings, and violation of the fundamental rights of citizens. When persons are killed illegally, the tendency of their children being radicalized for violence or take vengeance of society is high.

### **Government Mechanism for Oversight Function**

Government mechanism for oversight supervision and monitoring need to be strengthened at different levels. First in the amnesty office, a strong monitoring and evaluation process that will carry out regular audit trail of stipends payment to ensure that there is no diversion from or at office level or at the bank, so that monies paid to individuals will get to them rather than through third parties. The amnesty office level monitoring and evaluation also should have a mechanism to oversee from beginning to the end vendor engagement and project implementation to reporting. Secondly, in the

deployment of security personnel to the ND for surveillance and other related security duties, processes should be in place to ensure that top-level supervisors have independent way of assessing what their men and commanders do in the field. Human rights due diligence and a grievance process that allows unwholesome actions and practices of security personnel to be documented and made to account for their actions should be put in place. Public security personnel deployed to guard and protect oil installation who are involved in the stealing of crude oil without a process to hold them accountable is dangerous for peace consolidation.

### **Enhancing Infrastructural Development**

Government at all levels in the ND needs to dedicate funds for infrastructural development, environmental remediation and improvement in livelihood opportunities for local population. Government should look back at the amnesty blueprint on development of the ND. Public probity and accountability policies need to be strengthened to mitigate corruption in public spending.

The study could be replicated in other states within the Niger Delta with a larger population. This will help to establish patterns and or variation from state to state. Such a study could possibly be a mixed method approach which will allow for use of some of the guide questions from this study combined with quantitative instruments that will help to measure social impact with measurable indicators. A study should also investigate skills to market approach that will close the gap in current skills development programs to mitigate the high level of unemployment among skilled beneficiaries of the amnesty program. The current practice where people are trained in various skills without market

availability to absorb their skills and products or asking beneficiaries of what they want to be trained on is a disincentive for creativity and innovation. The gender dimension of the amnesty program and its impacts on the peace security situation can also be a focus of future studies. The patriarchal nature of societies in the ND tend to downplay the role of women in peacebuilding and or conflict exacerbation.

### **Implications**

#### **Social Implication**

Walden University's social change strategic vision 2020 admonished scholars to apply scholarship research and theory to real issues and challenges in the community through systemic thinking, reflection, practice, advocacy, collaboration, political or civic engagement, ethics and values that seeks to promote the good of others and the ecosystem (Social Change report, 2017). To achieve this, social change agents must deliberately create and apply ideas and strategies in every action to enhance the development of the individual and the community. In advocating for positive social change, human prosperity and societal improvement must be the core of all endeavors. This study contributes to positive social change by identifying the importance of sustainable peace through an understanding of what motivates postamnesty violence among youths in the ND of Nigeria who are beneficiaries of the PAP. This study has expanded and extended the knowledge of what induces violence among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program. This information is vital for government and community actions toward joint problem-solving and proactive policy making.

## **Policy Implications**

The study did not find any comprehensive policy framework that guided the implementation of the amnesty program as the program was homegrown and locally implemented by the Nigerian government. There was an attempt at the onset through the composition of the “Aaron team” to negotiate with the government, but this was abandoned for a quick-fix “money and contract for peace” option and reward for the “most powerful” in the politics of inclusion and exclusion in the sharing of benefits. This study provided an evidence-based document that highlights people’s involvement in PAYV that can support formulation of an overall policy framework that will accommodate all facets and shades of opinions. It is imperative for the federal government to craft a policy framework that will incorporate issues from reintegration of ex-militants to their exit from the program, a program direction that is missing. It is also important to mention that findings from this study will also assist the Nigerian government as they deal with reintegration of repentant Boko Haram insurgents and bandits and other violent armed groups. A national policy on postamnesty reintegration will go a long way in improving Nigeria’s standing in the failed state index which currently ranks the country as the 14<sup>th</sup> most fragile state in the world among 177 countries (The Fund for Peace, 2018).

## **Conclusions**

Postamnesty Youth Violence (PAYV) is a phenomenon with significant negative social, economic and political impact in any country or society. This is true of Nigeria, a country that depends on oil from its ND region for economic survival (Aniche, 2019;

Nkem, 2020). The Nigeria state declared a PAP in 2009 to curtail violence and restore oil production in the ND when all attempts to quell protests and uprisings through military might failed (Walls, & During, 2020). Following the proclamation of the state pardon, 30,000 ex-militants signed-on to the amnesty program and were enrolled as beneficiaries (Ebiede et al, 2020). A number of beneficiaries were offered scholarships to study locally and in foreign lands in either formal educational institutions or vocational training centers (Albert, 2019). Relative peace was restored to the region, oil production was restored to preamnesty era of 2.5million barrels per day (Babatunde, 2019).

There was resurgence of violence in the ND among youth from 2016 mainly orchestrated by beneficiaries of the PAP despite the benefits they enjoy from the program (Adebayo, & Matsilele, 2019). The resurgence of violence hampered economic growth and dislocated the social order. An understanding of the motivation for PAYV in the ND of Nigeria was a gap in the literature. I used phenomenological qualitative study to gain that understanding. Phenomenology is suited for this study because it seeks to understand lived experience of an individual or group of individuals, the essence of the experience and the meaning they make of the experience. Moustakas (1994) stated that phenomenology involves attempt at obtaining a comprehensive description of an experience reflectively through structural analysis that portrays the essence of the meaning of the experience. According to Moustakas (1994), to determine the meaning of an experience from the person who lived with it, through description of the experience general or universal meaning can be derived.

My premise in this study was that the motivation for PAYV can only be understood through the lenses of persons who subjectively experience and live with the phenomenon. Beneficiaries of the PAP were able to openly share experiences of what motivates them individually to live with PAYV in the ND from various perspectives. How individuals perceive and understand PAYV throws up larger social peace and security issues. The choices individuals make about violent behaviors have wider implication for policies and programs aimed at sustainable peace. Proactive policy options, and collective actions towards joint problem-solving need to lend themselves to the attitudes and beliefs of beneficiaries of the PAP who participated in this study. Key findings include denials, deprivation and neglects in various forms and the need to draw the attention of the authorities to these situations, broken promises resulting in unfulfilled life dreams and aspirations, greed and frustration and institutional failures. Participants stated that they are aware of the implications of their actions which could attract repressive and heavy military actions but advised the authorities to adopt more inclusive approach in dealing with the situation. They were also aware that their actions can cause discomfort to government at all levels in loss of oil revenue arising from short down of oil facilities. I acknowledged the limitations of the studies and recommended areas requiring further exploration in the discipline and made recommendations to policy makers that could provide a pathway to sustainable peace in the ND. A national postamnesty policy framework is recommended against the backdrop that the government is dealing with similar situations in the Boko Haram Northern Nigeria. This is imperative as Nigeria continues to glide and slide in the global failed state index. Reversing this



trend in a positive direction is imperative for peacebuilding and regional peace consolidation in Nigeria and the West Africa sub region, especially in the gulf guinea in view of Nigeria's strategic importance.

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## Appendix A: List of Acronyms

## Acronyms Used Include:

ABA	--	Ada Boro Avengers
IPOB	--	Independent People of Biafra
MEND	--	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MONDA	--	Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs
ND	--	Niger Delta
NDA	--	Niger Delta Avengers
NDDC	--	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDGJM	--	Niger Delta Greenland Mandate
PAP	--	Presidential Amnesty Program
PAV	--	Postamnesty Violence
PAYV	--	Postamnesty Youth Violence

## Appendix B: Interview Questions

RQ. What motivates Postamnesty Youth Violence among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program in the ND?

- *What is your understanding of the Niger Delta of Nigeria Presidential Amnesty Program?*
- *Are enrolled in the Niger Delta of Nigeria Presidential Amnesty programme?*
- *What is your assessment of a postamnesty Niger Delta region?*
- *How can you describe postamnesty youth (ages between 18-35) violence?*
- *Do you see postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta as a problem that you and I should be interested? Why do you think so or why not?*
- *Why do you think youth (ages between 18-35) get involve with postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta region?*
- *What increases the risk of youth being the involved in Postamnesty violence in the ND?*

SQ1. What are lived experiences of postamnesty violence among youth in the ND?

- *Where were/did you born/raised/grow up?*
- *What was growing up experience like for you?*
- *What was the experience like growing up in the Niger Delta?*
- *Where have you live most part of your life in the Niger Delta?*
- *What was the experience like for you living with postamnesty youth violence in the Niger Delta?*

- *Can describe your experience with youth group(s), associations in the Niger Delta?*
- *What was/were your role in this group(s)*
- *What is/are your personal experiences with postamnesty violence?*

SQ2. How do youth perceive sustainable peace in the ND?

- *What would be best ways to tackle lack of security in the Niger delta?*
- *Do you see postamnesty youth violence as a problem? How and why not?*
- *How can postamnesty youth violence be addressed among beneficiaries of the presidential amnesty program in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria?*
- *Do you see a role for youth, parents, community, government in finding solution to absence of security in the Niger Delta?*
- *What do you see as sustainable peace in the Niger Delta?*
- *What are the things that can create sustainable peace in the ND?*
- *Is the current level of peace in the Niger Delta acceptable to you?*
  - *If yes/ how?*
  - *If no; why?*

SQ3: How do youth make meaning of what sustain postamnesty violence in ND?

- *What does sustain postamnesty youth violence mean to you?*
- *What has it been like living with postamnesty violence?*
- *What advice do you have with people living with postamnesty violence?*
- *What else would you like to share with me about postamnesty violence?*



## Appendix C: Word Clusters and Themes

Rationale for amnesty program Crisis; Crisis; crisis in the resort to; violence; basis for violence	the impact of oil exploration and exploitation Oil taken away from the region	Brunt of gas flare, environmental degradation	Joblessness, jobless when there is a lot of jobs in the oil industry	the people are made poor
agitations,		despoiling the environment waters are polluted; can't get good water to drink them gas flare, degraded environment pollution	cannot farm in their own land	did not benefit anything
armed struggles, arm struggle, arm struggle, arms struggle, armed struggle brought a lot of unrest to the Niger Delta	the region is a like a female, a teen being raped and abandoned by her perpetrators	Environnemental pollution, Environmental degradation,	they are supposed to give them some amount of money for them to have a house of their own. Possibly, buildings of their own. And they refuse to pay this money, the process of this amnesty program	made so many people move out of poverty
armed struggle in order to make the federal government listen to them				
violence the region was experiencing due to the neglect				
carry up arm so that her voice also could be heard				
voluntarily took up arms violently sometimes it becomes the extreme				
killing and destruction				
government that can only listen to you when you are violent				
take extra action				
we are not hostile people. But we were forced to				
The crisis started coming from 1989 period.				
Protest Revolutions				
peaceful processes				

going to the creeks, sabotaging, and if you look at the sabotage at a time some of our lives were at risk, some of our parents, our brothers, they were at risks, because of every of this attack, there was always a military invasion

not given necessary attention to those who had taken to intellectual struggle

compromise to lay down arms to allow government to look at the issues raised by them that was how the Perception of the amnesty program That was in 2009, around august 2009

Initiated by late president Yar'ardua in 2009 .

let these boys come out, so that we can start development of the area

for the Niger Delta freedom fighters, for peace to reign in the Niger Delta for the Niger Delta freedom fighters to lay down their arms

so that the government can negotiate

openness of mind to really help the oil-bearing

design by the federal government

The federal government understand that the Niger Delta is not being developed, to lay down his arms

to address the issue of militancy and unrest

presidential amnesty pardon,

we should surrender our

to bring the people, the suffering Niger Delta region to a place where by people will be organized

to make sure the people are in peace

for developmental purpose

to develop the region

have a free access to the people

to intervene on the plight of the Niger Delta people

to create the enabling environment for development

three sections in this program. DDR

they disarm, demobilize the reintegration phase is what is causing violence in the Niger Delta now

disarmament , demobilization after hostility

After the disarmament and demobilization, the reintegration is bringing them to the city to give them a good life, good job for us to forget about their past

mere window dressing

First of all, I fault the name or the word amnesty. Amnesty in another word means pardon Is the Nigeria state pardoning by fighting for our right

communities in the Niger Delta arms to the government

those who were violent against the federal government of their purpose entails pardon for us the Niger deltan

to stop the violence in the Niger Delta it is a freedom being given to the Niger Delta

The empower people freedom being given to the ex-agitators

whatever that will make us comfortable to avoid anything like violence in the creek

empowerment of the people of the Niger Delta, especially the youth

Enrolled in the amnesty program

documented as the government fits to give us pardon

They pay me N65,000 a month

if you want to go to school, you have the scholarship of the program

vocational training and empowerment

where we have to take our arms to a designated position

an oath between us and the federal government

We were told that 30,000 are enrolled in the program and I am among those

The difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries is the exposure stipend meant for an individual

my school expenses were paid for by the program

empowerment, because some of us are being enrolled for skills acquisitions

arms will be laid from there, bio that was captured and there was a register that was made that whoever sign on it, you are not going back again

amnesty proclamation

that were demobilized

poultry farming

enroll you in the system by giving training

who dropped their armed

	entitled to monthly stipend of N65000	I studied abroad which in the UK, one of the best universities in England, Anglia Ruskey University in Cambridge			
		BSc in a private university			
		among the student a beneficiary of the program			
Postamnesty Niger Delta when President Buhari came from 2016, 2017 2018, there was violence	Gas flaring, one of the critical reasons for the armed struggle is still on	For example, where I come from in Egbema, Polobubo was having a very good mangrove forest. But today, the place is a desert, because of oil exploration activities, they can get water to drink	This were people who just get water from their river and drink, but now they can't, get water, that water is no longer portable water	Amnesty is just to take these boys away	rate of hostilities has dropped and sabotage again has dropped
the government created some agencies to address some issues affecting the Niger Delta	Environmental degradation is still on		They have to paddle miles away, to other people's territory to go and fetch water to drink	characterized by violence situation is getting worst	weren't privilege to go to university before now before the amnesty was tense
promises made to us by government were not fulfilled	the environment is polluted, can't fish as they use to fish before and it is still there			present situation of the Niger Delta is even worse than the one we were living before	
The situation is still the same as before	Your environment is your life			we were in peace without the amnesty program	we have made so much progress, on educational for our youth
but infrastructural development which is the reason for the agitation is still lacking	If your environment is not conducive and comfortable for you, you are a dead man			amnesty makes some of us to be lazy than when there was no amnesty	
				amnesty program makes us to be very lazy and jobless	
				Amnesty program will pay money without me working	

what we have is a “temporary peace”

before our lives in the village were very okay

let me be part of the problem ‘as a means to an end insecurity in the region , this increased cost of construction

we have leadership problem to be tackled

lot of youths who are on the “Gbejerism” , we need to fight,

some of them loss their lives, we lost a lot of youth in the process of “we no go gree, we no go gree”

Throwing everyone back home after training brought a lot of frustration and made so many to go back to the creeks

Postamnesty violence in the Niger Delta as a problem We should be worried,

groups like Avengers and many other groups are coming up again

the future is what we are talking about

resources that the Nigeria state use to run the country come from the Niger Delta

a time will come voluntarily nobody will be sponsoring anybody, people will volunteer to be involved in the violence

it is not a problem ,if the Federal government should look into the amnesty program and restructure the program

Yes, we should be worried everybody should be worried about because what we are seeing now violence is not good

the youths are not satisfied

The kind of violence we have now is unbearable

The wrong persons at the right positions

a violent situation, you don’t know when it end

those who have interest of the Niger Delta should be worried about because of those camp leaders

The ND is like a time bomb. Anything can happen. Because we are being deprived

the management, the management is what is causing all this

What the former late president Yar’ardua brought is not what they are doing

all Niger deltans will come to their place to fight for their rights

not really, not really

situation is so violent, it can be long term, it can be short term,

We need to be worried about it, because of the broken promises on the part of the government	I wouldn't want to go back to those old dark days in the trenches	backwardness of the program		it also affects those who are involved in the violence	
We should be worried, even the government		they are mismanaging, bending it, that is the reason why people go back to the creek to cause more violence.			
the international community should be worried, if anything affects the Niger Delta, it affects the Nigeria state.	we wouldn't want to go back to the trenches and be locked in the creeks beaten mosquitoes, fighting with weapons on our shoulders to defend or protect our environment any longer where innocent persons killed	the way the people managing it is doing it now			
It is important for us to be worried about postamnesty violence	women raped by soldiers				
Postamnesty violence by beneficiaries prominent from 2015 election of Buhari has president	monthly stipends were not paid	unequal treatment of the leaders of the ex-agitators, that was the reason why late John Togo under the Goodluck government took up arms and pulled out of the amnesty of the program	The violence was perpetrated by persons enrolled in the program	politicized	Delta Federal government and our leaders have failed us
Buhari's government actions and inactions led to postamnesty youth violence	there was hunger in the land		The generals are the camp leaders Before the amnesty every camp has a leader	Students taking for studies are not the real beneficiaries,	lack of proper orientation.
for close to 6months president did not appoint the coordinator	Hunger is another, it is a major thing		I know my boys' I have to pay them the 'generales'	the amnesty office is now a place to compensate political office holders	the federal government fail to develop the Niger
no leadership to pilot the affairs of the office	Beneficiaries who were schooling abroad were stranded		they hijacked the process		
vacuum created resentment			the generals have hijacked it	The program is being manipulated by those who run the program to the disadvantage of some of the beneficiaries	Government failed promises are the reason why some youths are back to arm struggle
vacuum gave room for data manipulation and replacement of names	distrust set in		the generales collect the total money belonging to their boys		
	some were paid stipends, but	the boys who suffered with them before the	they give them 20k,	the promises made were neglected	

perceived manhunt on those who were perceived to be closer to former president Jonathan a southerner	where never trained	amnesty program ,	they don't give them anything at all.	nobody wants to be suffering to get money. Everybody want to be rich
deviation of former president Jonathan from cardinal point of the amnesty program	payment was stopped, immediately the stipends payment stopped, they want back to violence	they deprived them of even the stipends the federal government is paying to them	After enrolment you are no longer under thee zenerale Fine he may still have some rights over you, but now you are fully a government child	cause of the agitations is the under development of the Niger Delta the Niger Delta region underdeveloped
The abandonment of the blueprint laid out by Yar' Ardua and the Aaron team by the Jonathan administration Goodluck Jonathan for not follow up from the principles of his predecessor	the ones who are not enrolled in the program due to fear of arrest, and they are not benefiting because they are not enrolled even though they were also involved in the Niger delta struggle and should benefit are getting angry, those once went back to the creek	many of the beneficiaries have not gotten their stipends many years into the program  . like Aghoro village now somebody who has not seen car you take him to go and learn mechanic after the 6moths training now, where will the person now go, he will still now go and stay in that same Aghoro where he will not be seeing cars to draw the attention of government that our stipends for us to have peace in the Niger Delta	The leaders in the Niger Delta are under developing the Niger Delta Leaders use their position to oppress people, deprive them of positions and opportunities  Nepotic leadership is a big problem in the Niger Delta  Those who have made money trying to deprive others from making money  Only their own family members are empowered in public offices.  Before amnesty in the struggle, there was no brother, no sister, we were all together. Now that money has come, you deprive people and it becomes a family affair  leaders deviated and diverted their boy's money and denied them their benefits and opportunities	lack of quality education, no social amenities  have experienced people coming into the land, dishing out money.  Doling out money without doing any work, When we were in camps, were getting N100,000 as monthly pay and they was two weeks on two weeks off  Instead of training and employing us, the companies introduced ghost worker, they asked us to stay at home and were paying us money  Used to getting money is taking away from their land.
dumped the Aaron team				
bribing stakeholders who opposed his government by financial gifts, contracts and appointments,				
criminalizing some who opposed his idea. He tagged opposition voice as criminal element and threaten some with death sentence beneficiaries of the bribery missions of Goodluck Jonathan also joined him in name calling	violence is avenue to hold the federal government responsible  They take oil from the region develop other areas , leave us behind, gives us under development			
		So many of them are not	The vendors share the money, that is money for empowerment with us and	The youths are vulnerable , those trained not empowered,  no job, an idle mind is the devil's workshop no jobs. If you don't have jobs to survive what will you be living on, illegality

		benefiting it, they ought to have benefitted from it.	the money is used con drugs and go back to square one. Some of the boys in the program are now worse than when they were in the creeks	The oil companies in our areas are not carrying us along,
		They collect the money and pocket it. They even give to them. They will just go and hire military men to guard themselves , none of the boys will have access to them, but they are collecting their money.	people are being indoctrinated by certain perception that you can even get money, you don't have to suffer to get money	no employment, companies operating at the back of our houses make promises about employment, but at the end of the day, they will not employ
		Instead of setting up the boys after training, the vendors will entice them with cash which the boys will fall for and blow up in the money in few days. if you keep giving a man money every day without a proper orientation, he cannot make anything out of it	Because it has a push and pulling effect poverty rate is very high. Some of the parents cannot be able to afford train their children. so, I think the poverty rate in the Niger Delta is the cause of the age of between 18 and 35 to carry arms against federal government	the youth felt betrayed  They will give contract to chairman and leaders of the community while, the youths will be neglected,  no employment, that angers people who get involved in bursting pipelines
			want a means of livelihood	the youth that were not carried along
			can survive by any means necessary	those who were sent to school are jobless
			the things met for them were not given to them, so many of them felt cheated, they have been marginalized ,they felted that the Nigeria government have "used them" 'so they went back to the creek	those who schooled abroad and local because there is no job,
as child living with youths carry guns, weapons everywhere	living through different form of	One is greatly discomforted	. the consciousness is there now in the next round they craving to have women Generales,	



. sometimes, there is even no way to go to school, because of violence, it was quite a challenge for us	crisis, inter-ethnic and other forms of violence	because of security challenges and military action	who will also drop their arms in the amnesty program , women will champion it. Women are saying this time they will come out naked. They will come out with every means they think their voices will be heard I am getting angry and frustrated , no empowerment from the amnesty program , I have been receiving promises upon promises for more than 7 years now . I have been dumped at home		
experienced illegal bunkering over the years and which is also being aided and abated by the same security agents who are into big business with them	if you look now , Shell cannot employ me, society has rejected me	So, politicians always use this boy for this risky work of ballot snatching and they pay them.	You create skilled manpower and there is nowhere to actualize or utilize those skills for economic gains  Many of us trained by the amnesty program are all jobless	corruption money not used for the purpose they are meant for in public institutions NDDC MOD	, In violence we got to amnesty, another violence and the government will address the issue
then another one is illegal bunkering, they are not owners of the business, so you cannot, so you cannot protect what you don't own can get it sell it illegally. It is a push factor, because they make a lot of money	Multinational companies and government are not also fair. They don't keep their part of agreements	The lure of politics They(politicians ) get them guns, the push factors,	Anger, more agitations and other criminal activities		
So, if it is a quick way of money, it also helps them to get involved in arms struggle					
way the people in government are involved, they are making use of this guys					
. In the riverine area, a woman gives birth, after 7 days you see herself in the river fishing	most youth have been exposed to a culture of violence over the years	, lack for attention especially those of us who benefitted from the amnesty program, it is assumed once stipends are paid, and other educational and	our people were only opportune to work as gate men and laborers All the other juicy jobs that pay good money where handled by different people from different tribes These were some of the issues that brought the accumulated silent anger to a place where we could not bear it anymore and it evaporated even though the oil that feed the nation was from our land, even the oil companies neglected us , nothing to show for the oil in our land, that explains why we came up aggressive and youth restiveness increased,	postamnesty violence is what will have to happen, why, violent is violent either small of big, it is violent , there is still bombing of pipeline going secretly, that is because of the neglect, the man who originated the amnesty program died, and then those who took over kind of neglected the Niger Delta region	You now patronize them, politicians patronize them, because I know of a place where our boys were taken outside of the Niger Delta to do election, rig elections boys as I am talking to you are friends of the authority in power.

		<p>vocational opportunities are extended, things will just be fine</p> <p>with them the lack of attention cause many to lose focus which compelled us to go back to a life of violence</p> <p>government trained us and said they will empower us , but till date nothing, I am not mistaking, this is being 7 years they have been promising me</p>			<p>Friends to the authorities in power, if you tell them violence is a bad thing, they don't believe it because they power that be are their friends, and if you are saying anything against them, those are the ones who will even tell them that this one is your enemy Many persons look at postamnesty youth violence in different way, the leadership the money coming into the niger Delta, how do they manage it. Who is receiving them and what do they use this money for, is the money going to the grassroot</p>
<p>Lived Experiences with Postamnesty youth Violence</p> <p>A sad experience, but inevitable</p> <p>very tough one, but you can't go out of it</p> <p>Very tough</p>	<p>abandoned, we have given up in life how to survive in a life of abandonment and rejection</p> <p>nobody to assist</p> <p>not friendly</p>	<p>miniature job, marry as many wives until there last day on earth</p>	<p>I grow in a family with very poor background</p>	<p>make sure I put food on my table so it is not very easy for me</p>	<p>the social fabric of our society, is total changed, is no longer there, so those ideas of hard work that we received is only few of us who are imbibed with those ideas. These days they say when you see fire, jump inside, if you come out, you are a wealthy man, if you can't come out you die, 'all die na die'</p>
<p>The environment was very tough</p> <p>not a life man was supposed to live</p> <p>a perilous journey, I can say that</p>					
<p>We were born into the struggle in the Niger Delta we saw a very silent growing agitation. Silent in</p>	<p>One is greatly discomforted because of security</p>	<p>I played a key role,</p>	<p>military burn down my mother's community all our properties and documents were burnt</p>		

the sense that the aborigines are suffering and they could not complain Growing up in the Niger Delta in the creeks without any social amenities, I mean in the darkness of civilization, I thought it was a normal thing everywhere it was a normal way of life experience was bad, living so neglected. , as child living with youths carry guns, weapons everywhere sometimes, there is even no way to go to school, because of violence, it was quite a challenge for us living through different form of crisis, inter-ethnic and other forms of violence

challenges and military action,

relative's loss their lives

we live with the memory of losing a loved one for the rest of our lives

witnessed where my loved ones were killed in the process

I held the weapons, we held AK47 Rifles to defend the lives and properties of the people of the Niger Delta people against federal authority. ...I did that at the expense of our lives , I am alive staying here by the grace of God,

I am not myself right from that day till date

#### Sustainable Peace in the Niger Delta

When you talk about insecurity, you first talk about security

somebody is perpetual fear, there is no security, the fear of want, job security, if you are doing a job, you should be secured, having a job, do you have health security

Security is freedom from fear, security is freedom from need, freedom from want, right to education, right to a means of livelihood

government that believes in the traditional definition of security that has to do with the might of the government

When the government is corrupt, it cannot be talking about security

Corruption is also insecurity, corruption creates fear,

Where we have policies that drives the interest of capitalist, you can't be getting peace and security if my activities do not include your peaceful existence with me, I will not have peace

Like oil companies. They prepare MoUs on their own and give it to the people,

they use their position to discuss the MoU, even in dialogue which is not good.

They were not part of the MoU

the government have to involve the youth

How do you engage them? Like if there are facilities over there now, you can contact them as say you guys should please place an eye over this facility, there will be little damage on such things like that

The youth should be involved in whatever the government is doing

A youth Ex-agitator can be appointed to head the amnesty

you have  
corrupted the  
whole system

the government  
has to be fair  
and just, real  
democratic  
principles that  
has to do with  
justice and  
fairness, equity,  
human rights,  
where you get  
what is due you

deployment of  
guns will not  
help, these days  
nobody fears  
gun again, the  
only thing you  
can defeat  
people in the  
Niger Delta is  
you have  
government  
power, your  
troupes are in  
numbers

office, someone who  
knows the boys, the  
region and the issues,

technocrats have failed  
in running the office  
engage umbrella youth  
organizations like the  
Ijaw youth  
council, Itsekiri  
National Youth  
Council, Urhobo  
Youths, Ndokwa you  
Council, every youth  
organization  
the criminals they  
know themselves,  
because most of the  
violence is being  
carried out by the  
youth for example a  
lot of committees are  
being created like for  
example vigilantes and  
the rest, if the  
government can be  
able to involve the  
youth in that for some  
specific communities

they will pass  
information to the  
government; I think  
that is an employment  
as well and  
empowerment as well  
to the youth  
So many parents have  
taken off their hands  
bringing up this  
children

Bible says train up a  
child in the way he  
should grow,

to create job for this people not to  
go back to the creek If you look,  
you find some of our security  
personnel have turned themselves  
to businessmen in the Niger Delta

Policing oil  
facilities with  
heavily armed  
security personnel  
is not the issue .  
Where the owners  
of the oil are  
suffering in

Most of our  
security men,  
are into deals,  
deals like oil  
deals where  
they will be the  
one to tell this  
our brothers

People not about paying people N65000 stipend,  
what of some of us that have not been paid  
should show concern.

The payment of N65000 is a window dressing  
solution that is why you see violence happening  
in so many places.in Delta, Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom

Community participation.

Niger delta is the host of all the  
oil companies in the country,  
the youths are supposed to be  
guiding the facilities

hunger, anger and disease and you guide your oil installation with heavily armed security personnel do not help security ,

every Ijaw youth as signed their own death warrant

That is, they are ready to die with anybody, they are hungry, a hungry man is an angry man So to me an ideal peace and security in the Niger Delta, there must be sincerity of purpose, where nobody should use diplomacy to cheat the other person

that if you want to come and burst this pipe do not worry

The government should also show high level of sincerity to instill law and order

The federal government can set up and outfit under the control of an active military personnel and enroll these boys into

marginalization should be addressed ,

employment, engage the youth in productive economic activities,

amnesty stipends should be paid as at when due

those in school, their tuition fees should be paid as at when due

parents in recent times have neglected their responsibilities .

you see where children are now taking care of their father and mother.

it is not the duty of a 20 25 years old to buy a car for the father

Parents are life teachers of everybody first teacher of everybody is the parent,

parental upbringing is a major factor.

Parents should have necessary skills to engage their children on best way to go in the journey of life. carry out these criminal activities, when they come home, they give money to their parents, most of the parents they are happy without questioning them how they get the money , what is their source of livelihood,

I am a woman for the female child parents

have a major role to play.

Girls sometimes attract the evil of rape to themselves young lady will sit down with these men and drink with them, take some of these hard drugs with the men, after doing that is to engage in illicit activities.

Teen pregnancy is now a problem in our society

Our parents have lived through waging wars, carry arms and weapons, they have been at the forefront, they know what is needed to make a difference , they know the implications and impacts of war on any society , they need to make their children understand that path of war is cyclic so that they should explore some other creative away to deal with the situation

you imbibe good family values in your children, when the child grows up even though peer pressure is there some time to lead them astray, it

The peace process is being manipulated by some persons in the Niger Delta

security men should be restrained from burning down communities in the guise of search for criminals, government should avoid creating enemy image in dealing with Niger Delta Issues, stop indiscriminate arrest, as they will not get the cooperation of the people in dealing with security

there were people who were teen then we have been of age, they need to be integrated and captured in the program.

This people are not part of the program, and they are mobilizing again process that will continuously

the Total fundamental development of the region, good road network, bridges, regular electricity supply

Fight corruption in contracting and procurement

will not be to the extent where a parent totally neglects a child and then focus on business and focus money money, at the end of the day the child grows up to be managers of themselves they would do whatever they want to do with it.

A better nation is built in the family when the family is solid, the society is better and the nation is better.

Government is the father of everyone in every state, the governor has a role to play by gainfully employing many of the youth Sustainable peace is the peace that attract development , a win win situation where the both parties

the federal government and the people, where to both demand or demand and supply is met

bridges provide  
employment,  
engage them in  
academic work

capture these  
upcoming ones

those who were  
trained and or  
educated  
amnesty  
program  
engaged in  
gainful  
employment  
and made to  
contribute to the  
real sector  
government  
should be  
transparent and  
accountable,  
where all and  
sundry is  
important  
imagine he said  
during his  
election 5% did  
not support him  
and 95%  
supported him  
to show that he  
is not concerned  
about some  
areas of the  
country