

NIGERIA'S RESOURCE WARS

Edited by

Egodi Uchendu

University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria

Series in World History



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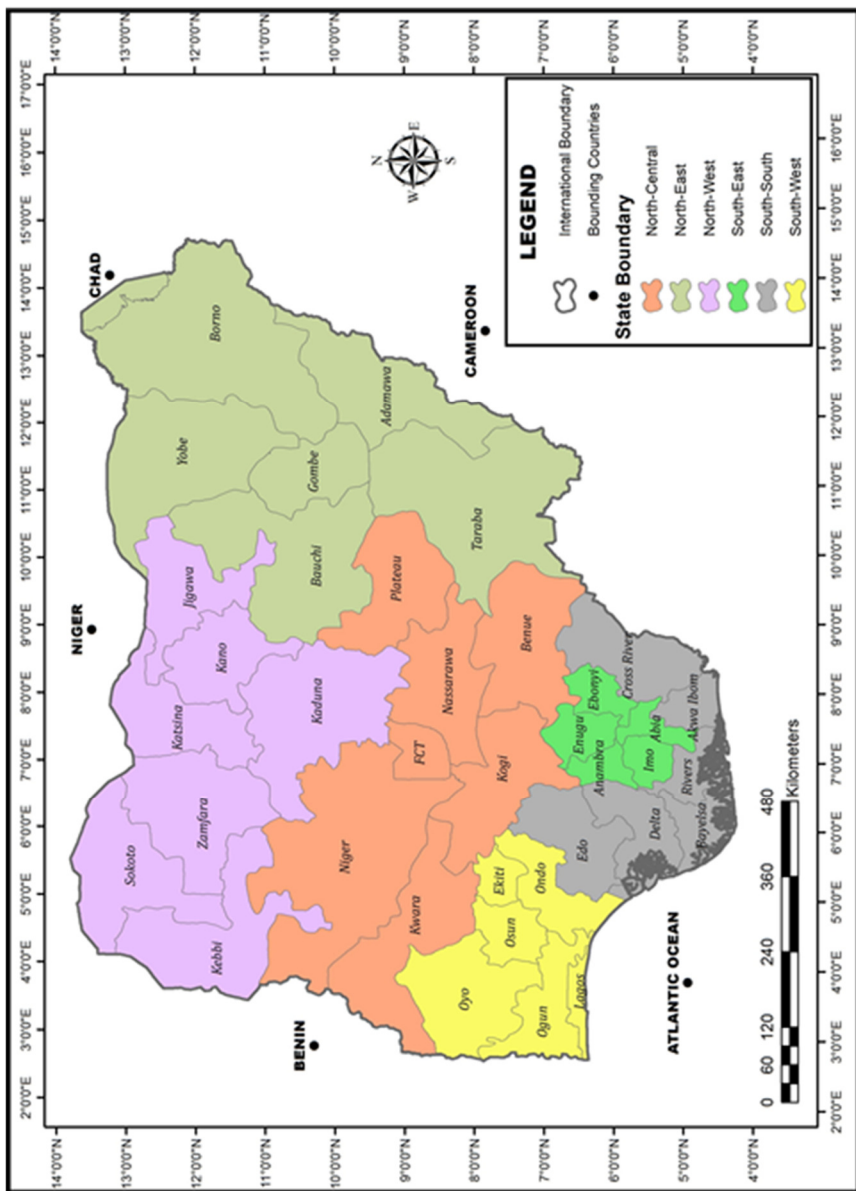
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Nigeria's current delineation into six geo-political zones.

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List of Abbreviations

AFRICOM	African Command
AD	Anno Domini (a year after Jesus Christ is thought to have been born)
ADB	African Development Bank
AG	Action Group
AI	Amnesty International
AFDB	African Development Bank
APC	All Progressives Congress
APC	Arewa People's Congress
AU	African Union
AYCF	Arewa Youth Consultative Forum
BH	Boko Haram
CFAO	Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale
CMS	Church Missionary Society
COMA	Coalition for Militant Action
CFA	Commonwealth Forestry Association
CLEEN	Centre for Law Enforcement Education
CLO	Civil Liberties Organization
CON	Commander of the Niger
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DPA	Distributable Pool Account
DPR	Department of Petroleum Resources
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EBA	Egbesu Boys of Africa
ECDA	Eggon Cultural and Development Association
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EU	European Union

FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FCP	Federal Character Principle
FMARD	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
FME	Federal Ministry of Environment
FMPW&H	Federal Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
FMT	Federal Ministry of Transport
FMWR	Federal Ministry of Water Resources
FUNAM	Fulani Nationalist Movement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMoU	Global Memorandum of Understanding
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDE	Improvised Explosive Devices
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGOs	Inter-Governmental Organisations
IPC	Igbo People's Congress
ISWAP	Islamic State's West Africa Province
IYC	Ijaw Youth Council
JAS	<i>Jamaat Ahl as Sunnah Lid dawa wa al-Jihad</i>
JNDLF	Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force
JRC	Joint Revolutionary Council
JTF	Joint Task Force
LGA	Local Government Area
LT	Lieutenant
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
MACBAN	Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MNDA	Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs
MNOCs	Multinational Oil Companies
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control
NAN	News Agency of Nigeria
NAOC	National Agip Oil Company
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCNC	National Convention of Nigeria Citizens
NCNC	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
ND	Niger Delta
NDA	Niger Delta Avengers
NDDB	Niger Delta Development Board
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDLA	Niger Delta Liberation Army
NDLF	Niger Delta Liberation Force
NDPC	Niger Delta People's Congress
NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NDRBDA	Niger Delta River Basin Development Authority
NDV	Niger Delta Vigilantes
NDVF	Niger Delta Volunteer Force
NDVS	Niger Delta Volunteer Service
NFDPs	National Fadama Development Projects
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIWRMC	Nigerian Integrated Water Resources Management Commission
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NRG	Natural Resource Governance
NWRI	National Water Resources Institute
OMCT	World Organization Against Torture
OMNCs	Oil Multinational Companies
OMPADEC	Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission
OPC	Oodua People's Congress

PAP	Presidential Amnesty Programme
PANDEF	Pan Niger Delta Forum
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PM	Post Meridiem
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RNC	Royal Niger Company
RBDA	River Basin Development Authority
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SMC	Supreme Military Council
SPDC	Shell Petroleum Development Company
SPDCN	Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria
SSG	Secretary to the State Government
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TNCs	Trans-National Corporations
UMBC	United Middle Belt Congress
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNHR	United Nations Human Rights Commission
UNO	United Nations Organisation

Scientific codes

Al	Aluminium
Δt	The desired rise in temperature above ambient temperature
A_u	Area of the absorber plate surface
Ch	Chrome
C_{pw}	The specific heat capacity of air
CO	Carbon Monoxide
Cu	Copper
CuO	Copper Oxide
Fe	Iron
h_{fg}	The heat of evaporation

I	The radiation received from the sun
m_{air}	The rate of flow of air
m_{ma}	The quantity of moisture that will be extracted from crops
m_{cr}	The original mass of crops to be dried
M_{im}	The original moisture content
M_{fm}	The final moisture content
Ni	Nickel
NO ₂	Nitrogen Dioxide (NO ₂)
Q_u	The useful thermal energy gained
Q_u	The quantity of thermal energy needed to evaporate m_{ma}
SO ₂	Sulphur Dioxide
Z	The efficiency of solar collector
Zn	Zinc

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Egodi Uchendu

Preface

Egodi Uchendu

University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria

Nigerians anticipated a new political dawn from the February-March 2015 general elections in which a former military Head of State, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, emerged winner of the presidential election. Local and international analysts praised the rare incident of a smooth change of power in Nigeria, from one political party to another. It is no more a mystery that the out-going president, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, was the hero of that process with his insistence on peace for all Nigerians,¹ instead of the political anarchy threatened and anticipated by the opposition party, the All Progressives Congress (APC),² which won the presidential election. The report of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) on that election reads:

On 28 March, Nigerians went to the polls and voted decisively for change. Opposition candidate Muhammadu Buhari won approximately 52 per cent of the vote to defeat incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan, who collected 44 per cent. Across the country, the conduct of the vote took place in a civil atmosphere, largely undisturbed by violence. Goodluck Jonathan graciously conceded defeat and congratulated Buhari on his victory, a move which was welcomed by the heads of international observer missions. Although there were some reported problems, these elections were a positive harbinger for democracy in Nigeria and Africa at large. ... Nigeria's 2015 general

¹ This informed his public concession of defeat before the end of vote collation and in spite of glaring voting irregularities, including massive under-age voting that favoured the opposition party candidate. See Abimbola Adedokun, "Was Buhari ever cheated at the polls?" *Punch Newspaper*, 20 December 2018.

² Adedokun, "Was Buhari ever cheated at the polls?" *Punch Newspaper*, 20 December 2018.

elections are an important victory for democracy in Africa and around the world.³

The strong support Muhammadu Buhari received hinged especially on his promise to end insurgency and general insecurity in the country within weeks of assuming power, if elected. As the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) posted on their site: “When Buhari was elected president in 2015, his platform included, among other things, defeating Boko Haram and restoring security throughout the country.”⁴

The Christmas of 2017, roughly a year and a half into Buhari’s presidency, will be remembered for the series of armed attacks across Nigeria, which continued into the New Year of 2018. These were captioned in many headlines as follows: “Nigerian Army Deployed to States Rocked by Deadly Herdsmen Violence” (Africanews.com); “Dozens buried after Nigeria clashes” (joyonline); “End killings by Herdsmen Now, Ohaneze charges Buhari” (news2.onlinenigeria.com); “Declare Fulani herdsmen Terrorists Now—Southern, Middle Belt Leaders charge Buhari” (dailypost.ng); “Mass Burial for 73 Nigerian farmers killed in Herder clashes” (*Daily Monitor*); and “Herdsmen killings: Fayose’s Utterances Capable of Tearing Nigerians Apart-DYCB” (dailypost.ng).

These were among over sixty headlines that poured into the Nigeria online news platform within the space of an hour on 12 January 2018, all reacting to the unrelenting killings that commenced from the Christmas of 2017. The major killing fields were the Benue, Southern Kaduna, Nasarawa and Adamawa States, but extended also to several other states in North Central, South South, South East and South West geopolitical zones of Nigeria. The grievance was Fulani herdsmen allegation of indigenous farmers’ refusal that they graze cattle on their farms. Without being evident, a war over resources was raging in the country.

³ Bill Sweeney, “Nigeria’s 2015 elections,” accessed 29 November 2018, <https://www.ifes.org/news/nigerias-2015-elections-critical-vote-democracy-africa>.

⁴ Council on Foreign Relations, “Nigerian Military Conduct Should Be of Serious International Concern,” accessed 19 December 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/.../nigerian-military-conduct-should-be-s...>

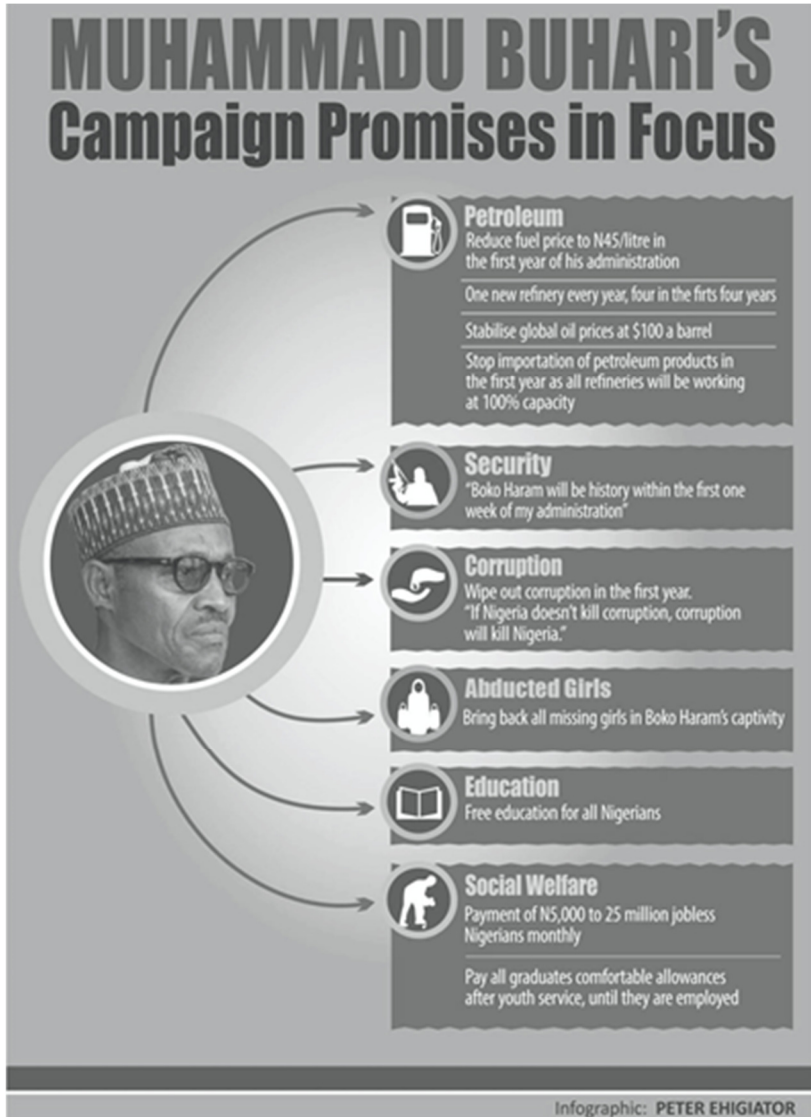


Figure 0.1: Major General (Rtd.) Muhammadu Buhari's campaign promises.
 © Peter Ehigiator (November 2015). Used with permission.⁵

⁵ The extensive concern gendered by the issues addressed in this volume is evident from the parallel discussion on social media, underscored with myriads of cartoons and pictographs created by professionals and amateurs alike as we can see in this and other images used in this chapter.

Resource wars have raged in Nigeria for more than two decades since the Niger Delta crisis erupted in the early 1990s.⁶ Prior to its eventual containment by the President Musa Yar’adua administration (2007-2010), the Boko Haram insurgency erupted in 2009. Despite the group’s insistence that they were on a religious war to expand the frontiers of Islam and establish caliphate rule, Nigerian politicians, government officials and the world summarized their agitation as another resource-related conflict.⁷ After a decade of insurgency with thousands of lives lost, vast territories devastated and depopulated, infrastructures destroyed, and millions of Nigerians living in Internally Displaced People’s (IDP) camps,⁸ the trouble remains uncontained.

While Nigerians eagerly anticipated a strong political leadership from the 2015 electoral exercise and elected a former military officer and Head of State for purposes of ensuring security across the length and breadth of the nation, besides other pressing needs of national importance, the post-election era rather unfolded another resource-related emergency with grave security implications for Nigeria and Nigerians—this being the unprecedented increase in Fulani herdsmen harassments, molestations and killing of farmers and other citizens all over North Central Nigeria (Nigeria’s Middle Belt region) and Southern Nigeria; simply put, in regions below the North East and North West geopolitical zones. The rage unleashed by Fulani herdsmen on their victims led the Nigerian *Guardian Newspaper* and Amnesty International⁹ to both publish in December 2018 some gruesome reports on the human costs

⁶ Ike Okonta and Oronto Douglas, *Where Vultures Feast; Shell, Human Rights and Oil in the Niger Delta* (London: Verso, 2003).

⁷ Kingsley Ighobor, “Africa’s youth: a “ticking time bomb” or an opportunity”? *Africa Renewal*, May 2013, accessed 19 April 2020, <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/may-2013/africa's-youth-'ticking-time-bomb'-or-opportunity>; Kyari Mohammed, “The Message and Methods of Boko Haram,” in *Boko Haram: Islamism, politics, security and the state in Nigeria*, ed. Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2014), 23, and Hakeem Onapajo and Abubakar A. Usman, “Fueling the Flames: Boko Haram and Deteriorating Christian–Muslim Relations in Nigeria,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* (2015): 5-6, 9-10, doi.org/10.1080/1360204.2015.10767. See also chapter 29 in this volume.

⁸ Sani Tukur, “Shocking Revelation: 100,000 killed, Two Million Displaced by Boko Haram Insurgency, Borno Governor says,” *Premium Times*, 13 February 2017, accessed 28 August 2017, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/239-shocking-revelation-10000-killed-two-million-displaced-boko-haram-insurgency-borno-governor-says.html>.

⁹ “When will Nigerian citizens feel secure?” *The Guardian*, 18 December 2018. And, Amnesty International, “Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders in Nigeria,” (December 2018), <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AFR4495032018ENGLISH.PDF>

of the attacks. *The Guardian* asked in its editorial: “When will Nigerian Citizens feel Secure?” The first few paragraphs of the editorial read:

Since the advent of Boko Haram insurgency in 2009, the security situation in Nigeria has continued to worsen. In the last three and a half years [2015-2018], it has intensified across the length and breadth of the country. This has been worsened by the brazen and wanton killings by herdsmen. On top of these are other forms of social vices such as kidnapping and ritual killings. Most people believe that these gory tales have been underreported even in the news media.

The statistics are galling. According to Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) about 1,061 persons were killed by Fulani militias in the Middle Belt in the first quarter of 2018. In its survey, Amnesty International put the number of deaths across 17 states since the beginning of the year at 1,814. The U.S. Council on Foreign Relations earlier put the figure of those killed since June 2015-to date at 19, 890 while between 2011 and 2018, about 54,595 lives were lost due to the activities of the insurgents...

It is to be noted that there was a general awareness of this dire security situation in the country when the people decided to elect an ex-general and civil war veteran to rein in the hopeless situation in the country. Therefore, it is scandalous and alarming that the incumbent leadership in the country is still shopping for solution to a major problem it promised the electorate that it would resolve if elected three and a half years ago.¹⁰

As it turned out, within the mesh of Boko Haram insurgency and Fulani herdsmen troubles, Niger Delta militants regrouped with the new name ‘Niger Delta Avengers’, IPOB—Independent People of Biafra—also re-emerged in the South East demanding for an independent Republic of Biafra and the South West took to the streets for Oduduwa or Odua Republic.¹¹ Other voices calling for regional independence also became visible from the South South and North Central (Middle Belt) sections of the country. These incidents share one thing in common: grievances against the central government and its resource management and resource allocation processes. In effect, different groups

¹⁰ “When will Nigerian citizens feel secure?”

¹¹ Olasunkanmi Akoni, “Igbo quit notice: Pan Yoruba group calls for Oodua Republic,” *Vanguard*, 11 June 2017, accessed 29 April 2020, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/igbo-quit-notice-pan-yoruba-group-calls-oodua-republic/>.

and sectors in the country embarked on a collision course over resources, their allocation, and the right of access to them. The raging resource wars, which sparked grave insecurity across the country, affected Nigeria's political experience, inter-group relations, religious views, and the economy, besides its spillover effects on Nigeria's immediate neighbours.

A Response from Humboldtians

To find a solution to Nigeria's worsening insecurity, an international conference of Humboldt Scholars—commonly called a Humboldt Kolleg—was convened with financial support from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Germany, and the University of Nigeria. Participants deliberated on Nigeria's resource wars and analysed their consequences for individual, group and national wellbeing of Nigerians. The meeting brought together Humboldt fellows (Humboldtians), other scholars from within and outside Nigeria, and experts from the Nigerian military, police, and media who met for four days at the main campus of the University of Nigeria. After listening to over sixty-four (64) paper presentations and four panels, conference participants articulated proposals for effective containment of the crisis.

This Humboldt Kolleg that held in the second week of May 2019, fell within the 250th anniversary of the birth of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), a famous Prussian geographer, explorer, and naturalist who was widely recognized for his works that laid the foundation for biogeography, and for many other scientific achievements; for which Charles Darwin, in 1881, called him the "*greatest scientific traveller who ever lived.*"¹² In recognition of his scholarship and global impact as a networker and science communicator, his friends established the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in his honour in 1860. The German government later took over its management in 1925, making it one of Germany's most famous research foundations. The Humboldt Foundation, by the end of 2019, had attracted more than 30,000 scholars from over 140 countries to work for a period of time in Germany and had sponsored German researchers to do the same abroad.¹³ Some 55 Humboldtians had earned the Nobel Prize for their scientific studies. More than 600 Humboldt Fellows are from sub-Saharan Africa and 125 of this number came from Nigerians, with the University of Nigeria leading in number of recipients of the Foundation.

¹² Darwin Correspondence Project, "Letter 13277—Darwin, C. R. to Hooker, J. D., 6 Aug 1881," <https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-13277.xml>.

¹³ The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, <http://www.humboldtoundation.de/web/home.html>.

It was, therefore, auspicious that in Baron Alexander von Humboldt's 250th anniversary, when the Foundation and Humboldtians across the world were answering the question: "What if Humboldt were a researcher today in 2019, what will he do? What would he be working on? How would he attempt to solve some of the problems facing humanity or his community?"¹⁴ that Nigerian Humboldtians would reach out to scholars the world over to join them in deliberating on one of Nigeria's national problems—the conflicts over resources—which appeared poised to overwhelm the nation. It was necessary to ask ourselves the question: Why are Nigerians at loggerheads with each other over our natural resources to the degree that they had become rather a curse and not the blessing they were meant to be? Are these conflicts indeed resource-related or engineered by other factors? What loopholes enabled them and how should the government and the citizens resolve or contain these problems? This volume encapsulates different answers to these questions. It focuses especially on rural land conflicts, but touches also on older issues, including the Niger Delta crisis and Boko Haram.

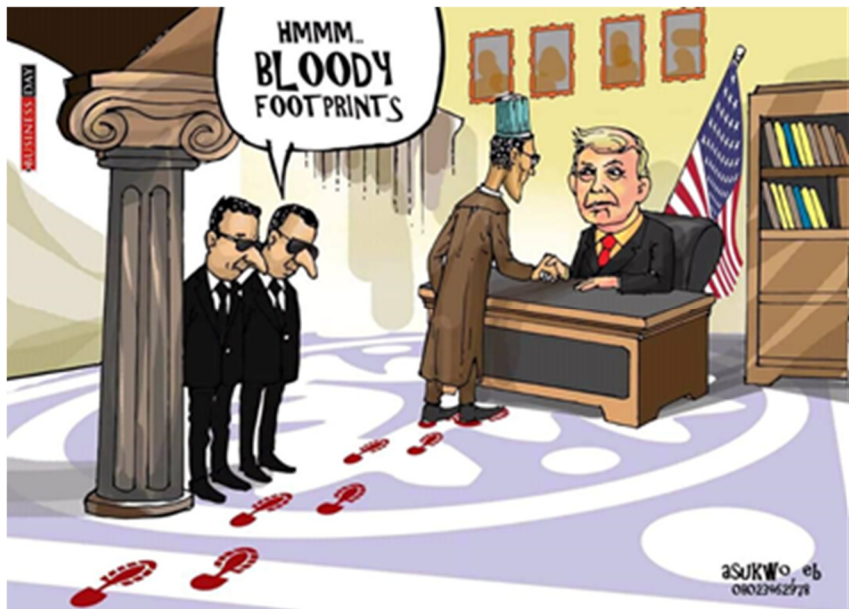


Figure 0.2: An impression of President Buhari's handling of resource conflicts.
© E. B. Asukwo (2018). Used with Permission.

¹⁴ Georg Scholl, "Editorial: Humboldt Today: The Secret of an Eternal Idol," in *Humboldt Kosmos* (September 2018), <http://www.humboldt-today-de>.

Conceptual clarifications

Resources are the totality of the assets—supply, riches, funds, wealth and reserve—a person, an organization, or a country can draw on in order to function effectively. Resource wars, as used in this volume, therefore, refer to those internal conflicts that attend the allocation, management and use of Nigeria’s national wealth whether as minerals, land resources, human resources, reserves and monies; plus natural or invented resources. Nigeria’s resources are either nationally, or privately and communally, owned. Economic trees, including the palm trees (genus *Arecaceae*) and baobab trees (genus *Adansonia*), prodigiously found in many communities are privately or communally-owned and therefore localized resources. The exceptions are those found in government plantations. Highly prized resources like crude oil found in the Niger Delta region of Southern Nigeria¹⁵ are nationally owned following official legislation designating it as national wealth. For this reason, refineries were built in different parts of the country, namely Warri, Delta State (1978), Port Harcourt, Rivers State (1989), Kaduna, Kaduna State (1989) and with plans by the current government to complete the construction of another refinery in Mushi, Katsina State by 2021.¹⁶ Yet crude oil is neither extracted in Kaduna nor in Mushi. Unlike with crude oil, gold found in several western and northern states—Kwara, Oyo; Kaduna, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto and Zamfara, and extensively extracted in the latter—has not become a national

¹⁵ The designation “Niger Delta” has two general applications: First, and foremost, it refers to the major oil-producing states of Bayelsa, Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Cross River. Secondly, in 2000, President Olusegun Obasanjo broadened the geographical limits of the Niger Delta by recognizing five additional states where crude oil, Nigeria’s major source of revenue, was discovered before and after 1960. Consequently, the second designation of Niger Delta refers broadly to the nine oil-producing states of Southern Nigeria—Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Imo and Rivers—all of which belonged to the old Eastern Region of Nigeria; but also to Delta, Edo and Ondo—formerly part of the old Western Region of Nigeria. See Egodi Uchendu, *Islam in the Niger Delta, 1890-2017: A Synthesis of the Accounts of Indigenes and Migrants* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2018), 16.

¹⁶ “Katsina 150,000 barrel refinery to be completed in 3 years – Minister,” *The Guardian*, 24 July 2018; and “Katsina refinery becomes a reality as Buhari, Moumadou Issoufou signs MoU tomorrow,” *Katsina Post*, 23 July 2018, accessed 9 April 2020, <http://katsinapost.com.ng/2018/07/23/katsina-refinery-becomes-a-reality-as-buhari-moumadou-issoufou-signs-mou-tomorrow/>.

resource and continues to be privately prospected, despite the strong reactions this has engendered among some segments of the population.¹⁷

Time and the application of technology potentially transform a product into a resource. This was the case with both coal in Enugu and crude oil in the Niger Delta. For the former, the economic value of coal was for centuries unknown to the locals until some foreign strangers ‘discovered’ it in 1909.¹⁸ Similarly, indigenes of towns where crude oil was found in Southern Nigeria were unaware of its potentials and market value until it was also discovered, and technologically extracted by the Royal Dutch Shell—also Shell D’Arcy and later Shell Nigeria.¹⁹ The successful processing of the initial cache of Niger Delta crude oil in Europe changed its status from that ‘black strange liquid’ to oil, a natural resource with international marketability.

Proper management of resources generate wealth and promote better standards of living. Hence, countries that are not well endowed with natural resources, may seek to remedy their circumstances by other means. As the Nigerian situation buttresses, the inherent utility of any resource as well as its limited availability and prospective diminution engender competition, which, if not properly managed, result into crisis.²⁰ On the basis of the latter, population growth becomes a significant factor in resource-related conflicts; for as the population grows the capacity of the resource to go round diminishes.

In this volume, contributors used the phrase ‘resource wars’ to refer to resource conflicts that have raged in the country for decades, which have assumed alarming proportions across the country in the last half decade. The preference for ‘wars’ instead of ‘conflicts’ rests especially on the spate of recurrence, the nation-wide coverage and their human costs all of which have taken a toll on inter-communal and inter-group relations in Nigeria. Besides the huge loss of lives, they engendered displacements leading to the rise of IDP camps—Internally Displaced Persons’ camps—in the North East and North

¹⁷ Stephanie Obasanho, “Mining in Nigeria: Overview of minerals,” (2019), accessed 9 April 2020, <https://www.legit.ng/1099647-mining-nigeria-overview-minerals.html>; S. Olawale, “List of Mineral Resources in Nigeria and Their Location,” 25 February 2020, accessed 9 April 2020, <https://naijaquest.com/list-of-mineral-resources-in-nigeria-and-their-location/>; Inwalomhe Donald, “Zamfara gold: A threat to national stability?” *Punch*, 22 April 2019; and WHO, “Nigeria: Mass lead poisoning from mining activities, Zamfara State,” accessed 9 April 2020, https://www.who.int/csr/don/2010_07_07/en/.

¹⁸ J. N. Young, “The Growth and Development of Enugu” (B.A. Project, University of Nigeria, 1989), 1-2.

¹⁹ Royal Dutch Shell, *Shell in Nigeria: Our Economic Contribution*, accessed 9 April 2020, <https://www.shell.com/>.

²⁰ Robert E. Ricklefs, *The Economy of Nature*, 6th ed. (New York: WH Freeman, 2005).

Central zones of the country, infrastructural damages and grave insecurity.²¹ Without a doubt, these conditions undercut the quality of life of those affected, leading some scholars to regard Nigeria's resource endowments as a curse.²²

Resource wars or conflicts are neither a new phenomenon nor peculiar to Nigeria. Several countries across the globe have faced the same crisis with some cases dating several centuries back.²³ Among these were:

- The American revolution (or American war of independence) in the eighteenth century in which the French took part on the side of America as an extension of her war with Britain over commodities and trade routes.²⁴
- The Battle of Plassey (1757) by which Britain established control over India, Indian commodities and trading routes.²⁵
- The nineteenth-century American civil war over slavery. The institution of slavery, which it sought to abolish, was driven by demand for cotton and other agricultural commodities.²⁶
- The wars of conquests in Africa by which European nations enforced colonial exploitation on African states and kingdoms for purposes of economic exploitation.²⁷

²¹ Dávid Vogel, "BRICS in Africa and the Brazilian Approach," in *The Dynamics of Conflict in Africa in the Early 21st Century*, ed. János Besenyó–Viktor Marsai (Budapest: Campus Life, 2018), 78.

²² Alex Perry, "Brief History: The Resource Curse," *Time*, 28 June 2010, accessed 5 February 2018, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1997460,00.html>, Michael Roll and Sebastian Sperling, eds., *Fuelling the World – Failing the Region? Oil Governance and Development in Africa's Gulf of Guinea* (Abuja: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011) and Mary Erwin, "Natural Resource Rents and Conflict in Africa" (unpublished, 2014), accessed 28 April 2019, https://www.academia.edu/12241566/Natural_Resource_Rents_and_Conflict_in_Africa.

²³ Michael Klare, "Resource Conflict," accessed 5 February 2018, <https://www.hampshire.edu/pawss/resource-conflict>.

²⁴ Willard M. Wallace, "The American Revolution," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed 9 April 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/American-Revolution/French-intervention-and-the-decisive-action-at-Virginia-Capes>.

²⁵ Tony Bunting, "Battle of Plassey," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed 9 April 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Plassey>.

²⁶ Christopher Clark and Nancy Hewith, eds., *Who Built America? Vol.1: From Conquest and Colonization through 1877* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2000), 67-99.

- The Finnish-Soviet war of 1939-1940, called the Winter War, was prompted by Joseph Stalin's quest for Nickel during World War II. The Soviet Union won the war and seized the nickel-endowed portion of Finland.²⁸
- Japanese strike on Pearl Harbor in 1941 was an attempt by Japan to scare the U.S. out of the World War so that it could get access to commodities in South Asia.²⁹
- The German invasion of Russia, also in 1941, code-named 'Operation Barbarossa' was a battle for commodities, particularly oil, which had become scarce in Germany during World War II. It was reported that Germany invaded Russia "not just over ideological differences but also because it wanted access to the grain belts of southern Russia and Ukraine and oil wells of far southern Russia."³⁰
- Oil very probably caused the tensions in the Falkland Islands in 1982 leading the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, to declare war against Argentina for making an amphibious assault on the disputed islands. In 2010 tensions resurfaced when Britain began drilling oil off the coast of the Island.³¹
- The Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990 in an attempt to gain control of the latter's large oil reserves. This was described as

²⁷ Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 301.

²⁸ "USSR attacks Finland," accessed 30 April 2019, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/ussr-attacks-finland>.

²⁹ Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, Daniel Aaron, Winthrop D. Jordan and Leon F. Litwack, *The United States*, 4th ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 599-600.

³⁰ Laurence Rees, *Hitler's Invasion of Russia in World War Two* (2011), accessed 30 April 2019, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/hitler_russia_invasion_01.shtml.

³¹ John F. Burns, "Vitriol Over Falklands Resurfaces, as Do Old Arguments," *The New York Times*, 5 January 2013, accessed 29 April 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/06/world/americas/argentinas-call-for-return-of-falkland-islands-causes-a-stir.html>; and Mamta Bdkar, "9 Wars That Were Really About Commodities," accessed 8 February 2019, <http://www.businessinsider.com/nine-wars-that-were-fought-over-commodities-2012-8?IR=T#>.

the twenty-first century's first "resource war, in which powerful countries use force to secure valuable commodities."³²

- The territorial disputes in the South China Sea—between China on one hand and Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam on the other—which have raged since the twentieth century, have largely been about the oil wealth in the antagonized territories.³³

These wars share the common denominator of being external conflicts for the countries involved. They, therefore, constitute one example of resource conflicts, showing that countries can be at loggerheads over each other's resources. The other model is epitomized by the Nigerian experience—an experience that resonates with many African, Asian and Latin American countries³⁴—where resources create tension and engender conflicts within the polity, thereby constituting an internal threat to peaceful co-existence. The picture below graphically shows the state of Africa with respect to resource wars. Of the 24 African countries troubled by resource conflicts between 2010 and 2014, Nigeria and Libya faced the greatest threats from resource-related crises. Nigeria was singled out as "consistently [exhibiting] high levels of directly-resource-related conflict, and has experienced a markedly higher number of these events relative to other African countries since 1997."³⁵ Resource conflicts in Nigeria revolve mostly around crude oil, land and water and the allocation of proceeds from national earnings. Recently, gold was added to the list of resources fuelling crisis in the country and responsible for the insecurity and banditry especially in Zamfara State since 2016.³⁶ Incidentally, Nigeria and several other African countries bedevilled by resource conflicts are yet to

³² James Randerson, "UK's Ex-Science Chief Predicts Century of 'Resource' Wars," 13 February 2009, accessed 8 February 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/feb/13/resource-wars-david-king>.

³³ Steve Mollman, "The South China Sea's untapped oil and natural gas are back in focus," *Quartz*, 25 July 2017, accessed 13 April 2020, <https://qz.com/1037896/south-china-seas-untapped-oil-and-natural-gas-back-in-focus/>.

³⁴ Countries in this category are: Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Colombia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Angola, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Libya, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan. See, for example, Lili Breininger and Michael Reckordt, eds., *The Frenzy for Raw Materials: The Effects of Mining in the Philippines* (Essen: Philippenbuero, 2012).

³⁵ ACLED, "Resource-Related Conflict in Africa," accessed 8 February 2018, <https://acledata.com/2014/11/19/resource-related-conflict-in-africa/>.

³⁶ Augustine Ehikioya and Blessing Olaifa, "Zamfara Killing Fields," *The Nation*, 8 April 2019.

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List of Contributors

Kemi Abodunrin is at the moment undertaking further studies as a doctoral candidate in Mass Communication at the University of Nigeria. Her research interests are in advertising, public relations and journalism. She has quite some articles in academic journals and has presented papers in conferences. She is a member of the Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON), Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) and African Council for Communication (ACCE-Nigeria Chapter).

Francis B. Adah graduated from the Department of History and International Studies, University of Calabar, Cross River State. He is a social historian with a strong interest in infrastructural development and rural poverty in Nigeria.

Chukwuemeka Agbo is currently a PhD Candidate in the Department of History, The University of Texas at Austin. He is also affiliated to the Department of History and Strategic Studies, Alex Ekwueme Federal University, Ndufu-Alike, Ikwo (AE-FUNAI), Nigeria. His research focuses on the labour history of Eastern Nigeria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Emmanuel Akpabio, PhD, a human geographer, and a lecturer in the Department of Geography, University of Uyo, Nigeria, was a Commonwealth Scholar at Lancaster, UK (2004-2006); a British Academy Fellow, Newcastle University, UK (2008); AvH Fellow and a Senior Researcher with ZEF, Germany (2011-2012). He was also a JSPS Fellow and a visiting Professor with DPRI, Kyoto University, Japan (2013-2015); a visiting Research Associate, African Studies Centre, Oxford (July-August 2014), and currently EU Horizon 2020 MARIE SKŁODOWSKA-CURIE Fellow in Geography and Environmental Science, Dundee, collaborating with Professor John Rowan on a project on science-policy interface, in partnership with the Scottish Government Water Industry Team. Akpabio was a Director in the Executive Board of the IWRA: 2013-2015 and served as one of the members in the ISC for the XVth World.

Dmitri van den Bersselaar (PhD Leiden 1998) is Professor of African History at the University of Leipzig, having previously worked at the University of Liverpool and at Leiden University. He is a social and cultural historian with an interest in economic history. His books include: *In Search of Igbo Identity*:

Language, Culture and Politics in Nigeria, 1900-1966 (1998) and *West Africa's King of Drinks. Schnapps Gin from Modernity to Tradition* (2007). His articles have been published in leading international journals, including *Africa, Journal of African History, History in Africa* and *Cultural and Social History*. He is currently working on a set of themes around multinationals in West Africa, including marketing and advertising (*Journal of African History*, 2011), how the United African Company (UAC) adopted to decolonisation (several articles in press), the careers of African employees of multinationals (in *Sources and Methods for African History and Culture*, 2016, and forthcoming publications), trade unions (*Revista Mundos do Trabalho*, 2016) and the history of white-collar work in Africa (in *General Labour History of Africa*, 2019).

Blessing N. Chinweobo-Onuoha is a lecturer in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria. She holds a BSc in Media and Advertising (NAU), MA in Development Communication (Nigeria) and PhD in Health Communication (Nigeria). Her doctoral studies which focused on rural women's compliance with media health messages explored various factors that hinder women from adhering to media health messages. She concentrated on women in remote areas affected by various health challenges in order to understand the reason for the persistent health challenges including death in spite of the much-publicized solutions by the media. She introduced participatory communication whereby the women were given the opportunity to air their fears, aspirations and hopes concerning the messages they heard. Through participatory communication, they were made to understand the danger of delay in the treatment of health challenges and the benefits of early treatments. The study found that rural women are aware of the various messages on maternal health. However, the majority of women do not comply with media messages. This is because factors such as poverty, clinic being far away, lack of cooperation from spouses and local treatment preference hinder the women. Also, family and friends are the major sources of information. Her current research is on participatory development communication. Other areas of interest include cultural communication and gender studies. She currently teaches media and society at the undergraduate level, broadcast seminar presentation at the Master's level and seminar in topical issues in mass communication at PhD level.

Michael Ifeanyichukwu Chukwudebele is a graduate of History and International Studies from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. His research interest includes: African Studies, Environmental History, and Peace and Conflict Studies. He is a Member of the Historical Society of Nigeria.

Muhammed Sani Dangusau is a lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies, Federal University Lokoja, Kogi State, Nigeria. He obtained his B.A. and M.A. Degrees in History from Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto and University of Ilorin, respectively. His areas of interests include historiography, economic history and conflict studies.

Victor S. Dugga studied at the Universities of Jos (Nigeria) and Essex (UK) before he completed his PhD at the University of Bayreuth. He later obtained a postgraduate diploma in monitoring and evaluation from the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. He won the Association of Nigerian Authors' (ANA) Prize for Drama in 2009 for his play, *Hope Harvesters*. He is currently a Professor and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Federal University Lafia, Nigeria. He continues to write creative and critical works in the fields of theatre, literary theory and cultural studies. He is an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow.

Nnaemeka Enemchukwu is a graduate of History and International Studies from the University of Nigeria. He is currently a researcher with interests in Economic History, Gender Studies, Environmental Studies and International Politics. He was formerly the Coordinator of Double Edge Network, a youth capacity building organization during his undergraduate studies. He is the founder and editor-in-chief of Prometheus Scholar Series for emerging scholars.

Olawari D. J Egbe (PhD) is a scholar of International Relations with interests in the environment, international political economy (IPE), military and strategic studies, environment and indigenous peoples, among others. He has participated in several conferences and published quite a number of publications there-from; a couple of which has recorded enormous mentions on international academic platforms. He is a member of a number of associations including the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) and Teachers Registration Council of Nigeria (TRCN). He has the following recent publications to his credit: *The Challenge of Natural Resource Endowment to Regional Integration in Africa; Emerging Trajectories in the Niger Delta Struggle; Interrogating State Artificiality and Regional Integration in the ECOWAS sub-Region; The Burden of Nature: Oil, Profit and the Displacement of Indigenous People in the Third World; The National Assembly and Supra National Legislative Bodies: The Case for the Environment, etc.* He teaches Political Science at the Niger Delta University, Bayelsa State. His email contact is odjegbe@gmail.com.

Sule Emmanuel Egya is professor of African Literature and Cultural Studies. He teaches Literature and Creative Writing in the Department of English, IBB University, Lapai. He has published over one hundred articles in local and international journals. His books include *Nation, Power and Dissidence in Third Generation Nigerian Poetry in English* (2014), *The Literary Biography of Niyi Osundare* (2017), and *Power and Resistance: Literature, Regime, and the National Imaginary* (2019). He writes fiction under the preferred name E. E. Sule. His novels are *Sterile Sky* (2012) and *Makwala* (2018), and his poetry collections are *What the Sea Told Me* (2009) and *Naked Sun* (2006). He is the recipient of many awards, grants and fellowships, including The Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship, Rachel Carson Fellowship, and TETFUND National Research Fund.

Chinonye C. Ekwueme-Ugwu teaches courses in African, American and comparative literature in the Department of English and Literary Studies, University of Nigeria, UNN, where she obtained a PhD in English and Literary Studies (2015) in the area of Literature and the Environment. With a B.A. (1997) and an M.A. (2009), in English from the University of Lagos, Akoka, Nigeria, and a Post Graduate Diploma in Education (2008), she had fifteen years prior teaching experiences in secondary and post-secondary institutions. She is a member of the Society for Academic Excellence, UNN. Her published works include books and articles in language and Literature, some of which are *Foundational Courses in English Grammar and Usage* (2013), “Global Ecological Degradation and English Nouns” (2013), “Environmental Crisis in Nigerian Novels” (2016), and “On Postcolonial Literature: Ideological and Generational Shifts South of the Sahara”, co-authored with Professor Egodi Uchendu (2017).

Emmanuel T. Eyeh teaches European and West African history in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He got his PhD in Economic History from the same university. He obtained his Master's and Bachelor's Degrees in history from the Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna and UNN respectively. He also has a Postgraduate Diploma in International Relations and Diplomacy. In addition to mainstream history, his research interests besride conflict and peace studies.

Ezinne M. Ezepue is a lecturer of film at the Department of Theatre & Film Studies, University of Nigeria. She has a BA in Theatre & Film Studies (Nigeria), an MA in Film and TV (Birmingham) and a PhD in Media and Cultural Studies (Birmingham). Her PhD study interrogated Nollywood's transformations as gentrification. Her current research spans through film,

media, communication and cultural studies with special focus on how emerging cultural industries develop, formalize and gentrify. Her other research interests are in reality television and documentary film production. She is interested in film content analysis and the representations of the Nigerian woman in film/television. She is published in both local and international journals and has book chapters to her credit. She could be reached at ezinne.igwe@unn.edu.ng.

Sati U. Fwatshak is a lecturer and professor at the Department of History and International Studies, University of Jos. His research interests and publications focus on African and Nigerian history and specifically on themes such as the economy, conflicts, politics, and gender. He is the author of several journal articles and book chapters, as well as editor of several books. Some of his book publications include the sole-authored *African Entrepreneurship in Jos, Central Nigeria, 1902-1985* (Durham: CAP, 2011) and co-edited volumes such as *Historical Perspectives on Nigeria's Postcolonial Conflicts* (Lagos: Unimark Ltd, 2007); *Beyond Tradition: African Women and Cultural Spaces* (Trenton, NJ: AWP, 2011), *The House that Lugard Built; Perspectives on Nigeria's First Centenary: The Pains, the Gains and the Agenda for the Future* (Jos: Jos University Press, 2014), *Contemporary Nigeria: Transitional Agencies of Change* (Austin: Pan African University Press, 2016); *Popular Ideologies, modernity, and the national question in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Professor Monday Yakiban Mangwat* (Jos: University of Jos Press, 2018).

PD Dr Jan Patrick Heiss is a senior lecturer and researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology and Empirical Cultural Studies at the University of Zurich. He has conducted research in Niger, Nigeria, and Chad. His main research interests are farmers, work, methods and the relationship between society and individuals. He was visiting professor at the Universities of Kyoto and Tübingen and on research stays at the Universities of Keffi and Paris Ouest Nanterre. Among his most important publications are "Zur Komplexität bäuerlicher Feldarbeit – eine Feldstudie in einem Mangadorf (Niger)" and "Musa - An Essay (or Experiment) in the Anthropology of the Individual" (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 2015).

Emmanuel Johnson Ibuot has parallel appointments in the Humanities Unit of the School of General Studies and the Department of Philosophy, both at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. A member of the African Humanities Research and Development Circle (AHRDC), a UNN based research group and a Junior AvH Researcher at the Institute of Asian and African Studies,

Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany (July to October 2019), Emmanuel's research interests are in African Studies (African Religion and Philosophy), Philosophy of Literature and Development. Emmanuel is a public speaker with a passion for youth development and transformation. His publications witness to his convictions.

Christopher Uchechukwu Ifeagwu has a Diploma in Social Work and Education and degrees in History from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto and the University of Jos, Nigeria. He is currently working on his PhD. He is a part-time lecturer in Conflict Management and Peace Studies at Plateau State Polytechnic, Barkin Ladi, Jos Campus.

Dr. David Imbua is a lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies at the University of Calabar, Nigeria. He researches the Atlantic world and the institution of pawnship in precolonial and colonial Eastern Nigeria. He is the author of *Intercourse and Crosscurrents in the Atlantic World: Calabar-British Experience, 17th-20th Centuries* (2012), which won the Lapai star prize for outstanding Historical Text in International History (2015). With Paul Lovejoy and Ivor Miller, he co-edited *Calabar on the Cross River: Historical and Cultural Studies* (2017).

Preye K. Inokoba (PhD) is a scholar in International Relations with research interests in military and strategic studies, governance and democracy, African states' international relations, gender, conflict and security issues. He has researched and published extensively; these have received several reviews in international academic platforms. He has also participated in several academic conferences. He is a member of several academic associations such as the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), African Political Science Association (APSA), Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP) and Sino – Nigerian Friendship Association. His recent works include: *State Police and National Security in Nigeria* (2018); *Violent Conflicts and the Burden on Women: Insight from the Niger Delta Crisis* (2018); *War against Women in Africa: A Threat to Peace and Security*, and, *Unveiling Security Agencies as Challenges to Electoral Integrity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*. He teaches courses in Political Science and International Relations at the Niger Delta University, Bayelsa State. His email contact is preyesoffice@gmail.com.

Reginald Chikere Keke holds a PhD in Africa History, Diplomacy and International Studies from the University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria. He is a prolific writer. He worked for several years as the Director of Research and Planning in Onyoma Research Publication, Rivers State, and is currently a faculty member at Admiralty University of Nigeria, Asaba, Delta State, Nigeria.

Peter Memga Kertyo holds a BA and MA History of the Benue State University, Makurdi in 2008 and 2014 respectively. Currently, he is a doctoral student of the Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. His areas of research include social-political and diplomatic history. He has attended conferences and contributed articles in journals and books.

Zara Emmanuel Kwaghe studied History at the prestigious Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. She obtained her Master's Degree at the University of Maiduguri in 1997. In 2002, she joined Adamawa State University Mubi (ADSU) as a lecturer. In 2010, she obtained her PhD in Social History. She joined the Department of History and International Studies of Federal University Lafia in 2015 where she is currently a Reader. Zara's other interests are in Gender Studies and Economic History. She has attended several national and international conferences and has published in both local and international journals such as *Lafia Journal of History and International Development* (2018), *Kaduna Journal of Humanities* (2017), *Calabar Historical Journal* (2016), *International Journal of Development Studies* (2008), *Historical Research Letter* (2016) and *Chinese Business Review* (2015), among others.

Francis O. C. Njoku holds a Diploma in Legal Studies (Oxon); MA Theology (Pittsburgh, USA); and BPhil., Licentiate in Phil., and PhD (Gregorian, Rome). A professor of Philosophy, and Associate Dean of the Faculty of the Social Sciences University of Nigeria, Njoku has published extensively. Some of his works include: 'Rorty on Post-philosophical Culture: Shaping our cultures with our Thoughts' *West African Journal of Philosophical Studies* WAJOPS 3 (2000); *Studies in Jurisprudence: A Fundamental Approach to the Philosophy of Law* (2001, 2007); *Essays in African Philosophy, Thought and Theology* (2002); *Development and African Philosophy: A Theoretical Reconstruction of African Socio-Political Economy* (USA, 2004); "Moral Critique of the Functionalist Account of the Nature of the Mind" in *Journal of Nigerian Philosophical Association* (NPA) 2 (2006); "A Perspective of an African Philosophy on the Problem of Identity and Conflict Resolution" in *Mbari Journal* (USA) 1 (2008); *A na Atutu – Igbo Philosophy: An African Perspective on the Problem of Identity and Conflict Resolution* (USA, 2009); *Igbo Jurisprudence: An African Exercise in*

Legal Coherentism (USA, 2009); “A Theoretical Foundation for Understanding Law Subjects and Rights in Igbo Philosophy of Law” in *Open Journal of Philosophy* 3 (2013); “Meaning, Truth and Language in T. Okere’s African Philosophy” in *Notes and Records: An International Journal of African and Diaspora Studies* (USA) 2 (2017); “Philosophy of Communication, Culture and Mission” *Journal of Communication & Religion* (USA) 40 (2017) and *Introduction to Social and Political Philosophy* (Nigeria, 2019).

Dr. Amuche Nnabueze is a sculptor, a graphic artist and art educator, currently teaching sculpture in the Department of Fine and Applied Arts (Nsukka Art School) of the University of Nigeria.

Odigwe A. Nwaokocha teaches in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Nigeria. He earned his doctorate in History from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He researches on the history of modern Nigeria and is particularly interested in how ethno-regional tensions have shaped modern Nigerian History.

Dr Ozioma Nwokedi is a lecturer in the Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria. She has published extensively on Development Communication, Electronic Media Sequencing, Advertising and Public Relations.

Chiedozie Obia, B. A. (Nigeria), M. A. (Ibadan) is a teaching staff in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. His research interests are African History, Nigerian History, Biafra studies and Youth studies. He can be reached through chiedozie.obia@unn.edu.ng.

Onyekwere Ojike holds a PhD degree in Agricultural and Bioresources Engineering with areas of research interest as Renewable Energy, Energy Efficiency, Waste to Energy conversion, Biomass/Biogas Production, Energy Policy and Environment, Food and Bioprocessing Engineering. He has several international research publications on these areas and has equally, participated in many professional conferences and workshops. He was a researcher with the National Centre for Energy research and development, University of Nigeria, Nsukka and presently, an academic staff of the Agricultural and Bioresources Engineering Department, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Chukwuebuka Omeje has a BA in History and International Studies (Nigeria) and an MA in History (Ibadan). For his MA thesis, he interrogated the manifestations and effects of the World Food Crisis in the late 1940s. His other research interests include issues in international relations and intellectual history.

Adoyi Onoja teaches history and security courses in the Department of History and in the Security and Strategic Studies Unit of the Institute of Governance and Development Studies, Nasarawa State University, Keffi, Nigeria. A recipient of the 2009-2010 American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) African Humanities Program (AHP) fellowship award, he has participated in several academic programmes at home and abroad. His research interests are security, governance, media and the Middle Belt.

Olihe Adaeze Ononogbu is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She holds a B.Sc. in Government and Public Administration and M.Sc. and PhD in Political Science. Her areas of interest are international relations, gender issues, foreign policy and migration studies. Her emphasis is on West Africa. She has published in both local and international journals.

Blessing Nonye Onyima is a Cultural/Medical Anthropologist with focus on Culture, Environment and Health of marginal and medically underserved populations. She holds an M.A. and PhD in Medical Anthropology and a B.A. in Cultural Anthropology from the University of Ibadan. She is a seasoned ethnographer and qualitative researcher; and a 2016 Fellow of the African Humanities Program (AHP) Dissertation Completion Grant of the American Council for Learned Societies (ACLS) sponsored by Carnegie Corporation. She has published in local and international journals and also made contributions in book chapters. She is currently a CO-PI in a trans-disciplinary research project going on in South Africa and Nigeria, sponsored by the Leading Integrated Research Agenda 2030 in Africa.

Uzoma Samuel Osuala joined the service of Federal University Lokoja in November 2012. Before this time, he taught at Renaissance University, Ugbawka, Enugu, where he was among the pioneer academics in the Department of History and International Relations. Uzoma's primary research interest lies in Economic and Political History for development in developing countries – Nigeria in particular. He is mainly interested in Igbo Business

Entrepreneurship in Nigeria. He holds a B.A., M.A. and PhD in History and International Studies from the prestigious University of Nigeria. His publications have appeared in international and local journals such as *Journal of Historical Research Letter*, *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, *Journal of Developing Country Studies*, *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, *Journal of Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, *Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, *Journal of Research and Development in Arts and Social Sciences*, among others. He has attended and presented papers at local and international conferences. He is a member of Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN) and was a Visiting Scholar at the Department of History, The University of Texas at Austin, U.S.A. (2016).

Saheed Babajide Owonikoko is a lecturer and researcher at the Centre for Peace and Security Studies, Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola. He holds a doctorate in Peace and Conflict Studies from the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies (IPSS), University of Ibadan. He is a member of the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP). He has published widely in local and international journals. His areas of research include management of non-state armed groups, security studies and countering violent extremism. Email: owonikoko.babajide@mautech.edu.ng.

Abraham Nabhon Thomas received his doctorate in International Relations and Development Studies, University of Benin, Benin City. He is working on another doctorate degree in Defense and Strategic Studies, Nigerian Defense Academy, Kaduna. He coordinates Intelligence Training Programmes of the Nigeria Police Force and also serves as an adjunct Senior Lecturer in Security and Strategic Studies, University of Benin, Benin City. Dr Thomas is a member of the International Association of Law Enforcement Intelligence Analysts, International Association of Crime Analysts, Association of Certified Forensic Intelligence and Crime Analysts, International Association of Chiefs of Police, associate member Centre for Defense Studies and Documentation (NDA) and a former member of the Nigerian Presidential Committee for the Review of National Defense Policy (2014-2015). Dr Thomas is a Fellow of the Institute of Management Consultants, Fellow Institute of Management Specialists, a Certified Crime Prevention Specialist, an Intelligence-led Policing and Security Pracademic, a Certified Teacher, and Certified Management Consultant. He has participated in national and international conferences and workshops. His researches focus law enforcement intelligence, policing, community security and safety, national security and development

Chisom Uchendu is a postgraduate student of communication art and design at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. She has a B.A. in Fine and Applied Arts from the same university, with a major in visual communication design. She also has interests in creative writing and fabric design.

Egodi Uchendu is Professor of History at the University of Nigeria. In addition to her teaching job, she has worked as a researcher in several locations in and outside Africa and received several awards and fellowships. Her studies revolve around women in conflict situations, men and masculinities, African historiography and emerging Muslim communities in Eastern Nigeria. She currently leads the African Humanities Research and Development Circle (AHRDC) and the Centre for Policy Studies and Research at her university. For more information, visit www.egodiuchendu.com.

Ubong Udoudom is a geographer and currently a PhD student in the Department of Geography, University of Lagos, Akoka, Nigeria.

Professor Ibrahim Maina Waziri graduated from the University of Maiduguri where he also obtained his M.A. degree in Social History. He did his PhD in Economic History at the University of Bayreuth. He followed it up with the post-Doctorate fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Professor Waziri has published over 50 articles and chapters in local, national and international journals and books. He also attended over 40 local, national and international conferences. Currently, Professor Waziri is a member of ASSU, HSN, the Senate of the University of Maiduguri and the Director, Centre for Trans-Saharan Studies, University of Maiduguri. He holds the traditional title of *Tida* of Fika.

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