

**SECURITY DYNAMICS IN NIGERIA'S NORTH-WEST
REGION: EVALUATING THE EFFECTS OF ARMS
TRAFFICKING ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND
LIVELIHOODS IN KATSINA STATE**

BENUE JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
Volume 11 Issue 1
ISSN: ISSN: 0386
Department of Sociology
Benue State University, Makurdi
Pg: 163 - 176

Abdulsalam Mohammed Rilwan

Federal University Dutsin-Ma,
Katsina State.

Yusufu Ahmed Audu

Phoenix University Agwada,
Nasarawa State.

Abstract

Nigeria's North-West region has become a hotspot of security concerns and Katsina State, nestled within Nigeria's North-West region faces a critical security challenge fueled by the rampant flow of illegal arms. This unfettered access to weapons has become a major impediment to rural development and the very livelihoods of the state's population. This study investigates the impact of arms trafficking on rural development and livelihoods in Nigeria's North-West region, focusing on Katsina State and anchored theoretically on Human Security Theory. Methodologically, it employs a survey research design utilizing Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). Six Key Informants (KIs) were purposively selected from critical stakeholders such as public servants, community leaders, and farmers. Thematic analysis of KII data was conducted using Atlas.ti software, supplemented by secondary sources like scholarly literature, books, journals, and online resources. The findings highlight significant disruptions caused by arms trafficking in Katsina State, including undermined agricultural activities, loss of lives and livelihoods, internal displacement, disrupted business operations, and threats to peace and stability at state and regional levels. The study concludes that without prompt intervention, arms trafficking will continue to destabilize socio-economic stability, undermine agricultural productivity, escalate violence, and hinder sustainable development initiatives. Addressing these challenges necessitates enhancing border surveillance, equipping security forces with advanced weaponry through reforms, implementing economic development programmes to enhance livelihoods,

Corresponding Author:

Abdulsalam Mohammed Rilwan

Email: *aayusufuphd@gmail.com*

raising public awareness about the adverse impacts of arms trafficking, and fostering dialogue and cooperation between border communities and security agencies. These strategies are crucial for effectively combating arms trafficking in Katsina State and the wider North-West region.

Keywords: Arms Trafficking, Effects, Livelihoods, Rural Development, Security Challenges

Introduction

Arms trafficking presents a significant threat to global peace and security, particularly in the context of Africa. In Nigeria, it has facilitated the widespread distribution of illicit firearms, exacerbating issues such as banditry, the Boko Haram insurgency, and kidnapping, predominantly in the North-West region. Despite Nigeria's active participation in international peacekeeping efforts, internal conflicts persist, impeding economic growth and exploiting the country's natural resources. Since gaining independence, Nigeria has confronted various insurgencies and a civil war, compounded by deep-seated religious, ethnic, and regional tensions. Moreover, political maneuvers aimed at undermining state authority further compound these challenges (Haldun & Opeyemi, 2016).

West Africa finds itself at a pivotal juncture in its socio-economic and political evolution. Despite its abundant natural resources, strategic geographical location, and substantial market potential, the region confronts formidable challenges that leave its fragile institutions and post-conflict societies susceptible to political instability, economic downturns, and violent conflicts. A prominent challenge is the widespread phenomenon of arms trafficking, which has been evident in past civil conflicts in nations like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, and Côte d'Ivoire, as well as ongoing insurgencies such as the Tuareg revolts in Niger and Mali, and insurgency in Nigeria's Northern and Niger Delta regions (Linda, 2011). Insecurity often prompts individuals to resort to self-help measures, exacerbating disorder and creating hazardous environments. Despite the existence of robust peace and security frameworks in West Africa (Obi, 2009), intra-regional security challenges persist, fueled by the nexus between trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs), ongoing conflicts, and transnational criminal enterprises. Addressing these interconnected challenges is imperative for fostering lasting peace, security, and sustainable development throughout the African continent.

The Center for Democracy and Development (2015) underscores that the trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) constitutes a critical

factor exacerbating the escalation and intensity of banditry in Nigeria's North-Western regions. In 2014, substantial reports indicated a significant influx of SALWs into the possession of non-state actors. The proliferation of these arms among non-state entities poses grave security risks and substantially contributes to conflicts within the region and across the nation. These conflicts encompass election-related violence, clashes involving pastoralists, incidents of kidnapping and hostage-taking, acts of maritime piracy, cases of sexual violence, and occurrences of armed robbery, all of which undermine peace, security, democratic processes, and national cohesion (Wenibowei, Isaac & Godknows, 2024).

National security constitutes a fundamental pillar for fostering economic growth and development. A stable and peaceful nation attracts both foreign and domestic investors, facilitating a conducive environment for economic activities with minimal tension (Omede & Omede, 2015). Despite Nigeria's 61 years of political independence and a population exceeding 213 million, the country grapples with multifaceted challenges such as unemployment, poverty, economic volatility, and pervasive insecurity. These issues are even more pronounced in many developing countries. With burgeoning population growth, economic downturns, and a dearth of political accountability exacerbated by years of pervasive corruption, poor governance, and weak institutional frameworks, these nations often become fertile grounds for violent anti-state factions. These groups typically espouse ideologies antagonistic to state authority, significantly contributing to heightened insecurity (Stern & Ojendal, 2010).

Arms trafficking, akin to human trafficking and drug trafficking, represents an illicit activity with profound implications for global security and human welfare. This phenomenon involves the illegal movement of weapons, which subsequently fall into the possession of individuals who exploit them for criminal purposes and acts of terrorism. According to a 2019 INTERPOL Report, the proliferation of illicit arms jeopardizes the safety of citizens worldwide. These weapons are frequently utilized in insurgency, terrorism, armed robbery, homicide, and various other criminal activities, thereby fostering a nexus with a spectrum of additional offenses such as corruption, environmental crimes, human trafficking, maritime piracy, organized crime, and terrorist operations. Their compact size and ease of concealment make them particularly appealing to criminal organizations and terrorist entities, facilitating a profitable enterprise that not only sustains but also finances various other serious criminal enterprises.

The trafficking of SALWs in the North-Western region of Nigeria leads to situations where non-state actors, such as vigilantes and other private security outfits, secure and use weapons without licenses. Given this context, every state takes the protection of its territorial integrity against internal insurrection and external aggression very seriously. Insecurity causes fear, discourages free movement, investment, business establishment, home building, social relationships, and trust. It hinders development in all areas, particularly in the economy, by truncating growth, discouraging Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), sabotaging expansion, and fostering political instability. Therefore, to address insecurity, states must prioritize national security (Udeh, Okoroafor & Ihezue, 2020).

Against this backdrop, this paper undertakes an evaluation of the impacts of arms trafficking on rural development and livelihoods within Nigeria's North-West region, with a specific focus on Katsina State during the period spanning from 2015 to 2023.

Literature

Arms trafficking involves the illegal importing and selling of weapons from the manufacturer to the seller and sometimes to the final buyer/users (Hamidu, 2023). It is the illicit trade of contraband arms and weapons, which fuel a wide range of nefarious criminal activities associated with transnational criminal organizations (Kofi, 2010). According to Ogu (2014), the proliferation and illegal possession of arms, mostly by non-state actors, have significant implications for national security. It increases the likelihood of numerous security challenges, undermining the government's ability to fulfil its primary responsibility of providing security to its citizens, and also escalates terrorist activities. Similarly, Waziri (2023) lamented that the illegal transfer of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) has greatly contributed to the rising insecurity in Nigeria, intensifying kidnappings nationwide, armed banditry in the northwest, and insurgency in the northeast. Eloma *et al.* (2014) also opine that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons not only causes insecurity but also facilitates militia activities, posing threats to both individuals and the state. Waziri further observes that the porosity of borders in most countries, ineffective security measures, corruption among government officials including security personnel, and the debilitated economy of African countries play a crucial role in the increased illicit transfer of SALWs.

Iringe-Miebaka (2021) analysed the ECOWAS Convention's effectiveness in controlling illicit arms in West Africa using Rational Choice Theory (RCT). The study noted over one hundred million illicit arms in the region, perpetuating

conflicts despite ECOWAS efforts. Weak national controls and insufficient international cooperation hinder the Convention's goals, allowing arms trafficking to thrive. Insufficient data and political will complicate policy decisions. The study concludes that combating illicit arms transfers to criminals, terrorists, and combatants necessitates a revamped approach with clearer ECOWAS member state objectives.

Sokoh (2020) investigated the impact of state failure on the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria, utilizing a cross-sectional research design. The study involved distributing questionnaires to 300 respondents in the South-South geopolitical zone. Data analysis, employing correlation and linear regression with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), revealed a significant association between state failure and SALWs proliferation. Specifically, the findings underscored that state failure positively influences the proliferation of SALWs in Nigeria. In response, the study recommended governmental efforts to combat corruption, promote genuine development, and enhance the well-being and quality of life for its citizens as critical measures to mitigate SALW proliferation.

Hamidu (2023) investigated the impact of arms trafficking on the political economy of Nigeria and found that non-state actors, ethnic militias, and politicians are the primary groups involved in arms trafficking. The scholar also found that this phenomenon negatively impacts Nigeria's political economy by disrupting agricultural activities, leading to the closure of educational institutions, promoting armed banditry, causing the militarization of civil society for self-defense, discouraging Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), resulting in loss of lives, and increasing terrorism and kidnapping for ransom, among other criminal activities.

Obademi, Chagba, and Omale (2023) conducted a study on factors influencing arms proliferation and rural development in the Katsina Ala Local Government Area (LGA) of Benue State, Nigeria. Employing a cross-sectional survey research design, the study focused on examining arms proliferation and criminality in the region. Data collection involved distributing questionnaires to 400 respondents selected through cluster and simple random sampling methods. The analysis utilized frequency counts and percentages. The findings highlighted electoral violence, the rise of ethnic militias, the economic viability of small arms, as well as unemployment and poverty, as pivotal factors driving arms proliferation in the area. The study also identified arms smugglers, politicians, blacksmiths, and youths as key actors in the proliferation of arms. To address the security challenges posed by arms proliferation, the study

recommended the implementation of a comprehensive security policy by the government, among other measures.

The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) represents a significant international issue, with Africa alone hosting more than 100 million such weapons, including 8 million in West Africa and 30 million in Sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria, which holds approximately 70% of the SALWs on the continent, plays a critical role as both a recipient and a source of illicit arms. In West Africa, Nigeria serves as a principal destination for SALWs, contributing substantially to the region's estimated total of 350 million illicit weapons (Wenibowei, Isaac & Godknows, 2024).

Theory

The human security theory, developed by Mahbub ul Haq (1995) as referenced by Auwal, Gyong, and Aliyu (p.306), posits a paradigm shift in the understanding of security. Haq argues that security should encompass safeguarding both individuals and property, extending beyond traditional notions of national security to include personal safety and well-being. He emphasizes that true security arises from progress and development rather than reliance on coercive measures. Fundamental to this theory is the principle that the protection of human life should be the central goal of security policy, challenging the historical emphasis on state-centric security approaches. The implications of this perspective suggest a broader framework where human rights are integral, encompassing not only basic freedoms such as freedom from fear and want but also political and social liberties. It advocates for prioritizing the security of individuals, communities, and societies alongside traditional state security concerns. By focusing on enhancing human security, societies can ensure that people live in conditions of liberty, safety, and well-being, with access to essential resources like healthcare, education, and protection of their human rights.

Furthermore, ensuring the security of individuals within a state involves facilitating access to resources and basic necessities, thereby enhancing livelihoods, reducing poverty, and ensuring food security. This holistic approach aims to create environments conducive to human flourishing and well-being, safeguarding against threats that undermine human health and welfare. The human security theory prioritizes the security, rights, and development of individuals across various dimensions of life. Rooted in a people-centered and multi-sectoral approach, the theory underscores a comprehensive understanding of threats, encompassing factors that contribute

to insecurity and their impacts on the economy, livelihoods, food security, health, environment, and communities.

In the context of this study, the theory underscores a critical aspect of developmental discourse, emphasizing the process of expanding individuals' freedoms. It emphasizes the necessity of safeguarding individuals from economic hardships that can exacerbate conflicts and violence if neglected. Effective provision of security, conflict prevention, respect for human rights, and alleviation of poverty require concerted attention. Human security prompts all nations, regardless of their development status, to reassess their security, economic, and social policies to enhance the safety, livelihoods, and dignity of their populations. The proliferation of illicitly acquired arms has surged due to declining state capacities in ensuring security for lives and property. Consequently, the notion of national security is evolving in contemporary security discourse, reflecting a global paradigm shift in security priorities.

The emphasis of Human Security theory on freedom from fear has incentivized non-state actors to acquire arms through various illicit means. This phenomenon has contributed significantly to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons across national borders, prompting numerous scholars and security experts to attribute the exacerbation of global security challenges to this trend. Consequently, the fear of uncertain threats has driven the smuggling of arms and ammunition across Nigeria's porous borders.

Method

The research was conducted in the North-West region of Nigeria, with a detailed focus on Katsina State. This study adopted a robust survey research design aimed at investigating specific aspects of arms trafficking and its impact on rural development and livelihoods. Employing a qualitative approach, primary data were meticulously gathered through in-depth Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). Six (6) key informants were strategically chosen using purposive sampling techniques, ensuring representation from diverse stakeholder groups such as public servants, community leaders, and farmers. The fieldwork involved intensive data collection efforts, where insights and perspectives were elicited from the selected key informants. These qualitative data were systematically analysed using sophisticated analytical tools such as Atlas.ti software, allowing for rigorous thematic coding and interpretation. The findings of the study were then meticulously organized thematically, aligning closely with the research objectives and shedding light on the multifaceted

impacts of arms trafficking in the region. This methodological approach not only provided comprehensive insights into the specific dynamics of arms trafficking in Katsina State but also enabled a nuanced understanding of its broader implications for rural development and livelihoods in the North-West region of Nigeria.

Results and discussion of findings

This section presents the results and discussion of findings of this study.

Table 1: Demographic Information of the Informants

The demographic profile of informants includes key variables such as age, occupation, educational attainment, gender, and marital status. These factors were considered essential for understanding the diverse backgrounds and characteristics of the study participants.

Informant	Age	Occupation	Qualification	Gender	Marital status	Code
A	46	Public Servant	B.Sc.	Male	Married	R.1
B	65	Community Leader	B.Sc.	Male	Married	R.2
C	57	Public Servant	M.Sc.	Male	Married	R.3
D	58	Public Servant	B.Sc.	Male	Married	R.4
E	66	Farmer	ND	Male	Married	R.5
F	44	Farmer	HND	Male	Married	R.6

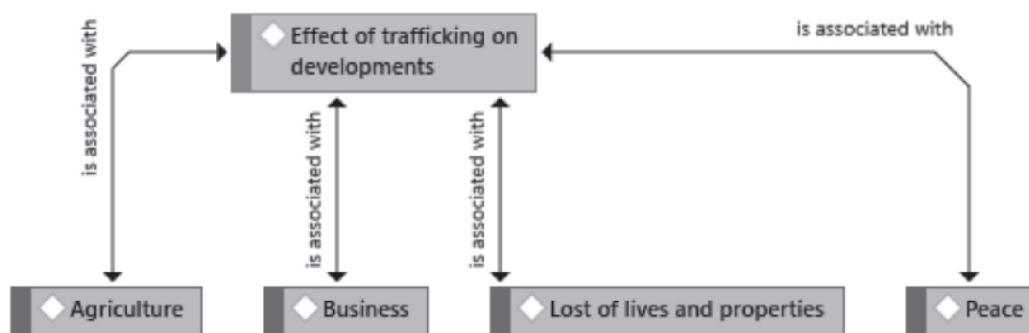
Source: Field Work, 2023

Table 1 presents demographic details of six (6) Key Informants (KIs) interviewed in Daura and Jibia Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Katsina State. The KIs comprised three (3) public servants, two (2) farmers, and one (1) community leader. Their ages ranged from 44 to 66 years, with educational qualifications ranging from National Diploma (ND) to Masters Degrees. All KIs were male and married. Data were analyzed thematically using Atlas Ti 6, with the initial stage of thematic analysis involving the categorization and coding of qualitative data as show below:



Source: Data Analysis, 2023

A word cloud analysis was conducted to identify themes and sub-themes. As a result, the main theme "Impact of Trafficking on Rural Development and Livelihoods" emerged, with sub-themes including Agriculture, Business, Peace, Human Lives and Property.



Arms trafficking poses a significant threat to the agricultural sector in Katsina State and the broader North-West Region. Supporting this claim, a Key Informant stated:

The trafficking of arms has intensified in recent years, making it increasingly difficult for farmers to access their fields. The pervasive insecurity has instilled fear among people, hindering movement and impacting both agricultural productivity and commercial activities in the state. Consequently, this situation has had adverse implications for the overall development of the region." (R1)

Peace

Arms proliferation in the north-central region has plunged the state into a Hobbesian state of nature, characterized by a condition akin to war where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" due to a pervasive "war of all against all" (Joshua, 2023). Echoing this sentiment, a key informant remarked:

The trafficking of arms significantly undermines the country's peace and poses a threat, especially given Nigeria's historical transitions from military to civilian governments. As community leaders, it is our responsibility to ensure security within our domains. When strangers enter our communities with unknown intentions and potentially harmful items, it jeopardizes societal well-being. Bringing in arms particularly threatens community stability." (R2)

Similarly, another informant noted:

From 2010 to the present, there have been significant changes in lifestyles and security activities across the country. When the current government took office, security became a top priority, with efforts focused on combating insecurity and monitoring border activities. This approach mirrored events observed in Maiduguri during incidents such as those in Chibok and other areas, which, although unrelated to our discussion, serve as relevant examples. Subsequently, issues like armed banditry and cattle rustling emerged, profoundly impacting community life. Many individuals were displaced from their homes, seeking refuge in our community due to insecurity. We fervently pray for peace to be restored in our country. (R3)

Another informant added:

As I have read in newspapers, the development of any country hinges on its internal peace. In Nigeria, the lack of security is

directly linked to underdevelopment, and vice versa. When there is peace and security for human lives and property, business activities thrive, and agriculture improves. Considering that the majority of our population are farmers and entrepreneurs, insecurity prevents them from accessing their farms. In areas like Kankara and Faskari within the Katsina Emirate, insecurity has rendered farming untenable, leading to mass migration and agricultural stagnation. This decline in farming activity has a ripple effect on other business sectors, threatening the overall economy. The influx of trafficked arms exacerbates insecurity, while issues like drug abuse among youths necessitated government and community collaboration to combat. These factors collectively impede the country's development. (R4)

Loss of lives and property

Lives and valuable property have been devastated due to violence stemming from arms trafficking. According to a key informant:

The repercussions of arms trafficking in Nigeria are profound; numerous lives have been lost as armed bandits, kidnappers, and other criminal elements perpetrate attacks on innocent citizens. These criminals heavily rely on trafficked arms to carry out their operations. In fact, approximately 90% of their activities, such as kidnappings, are facilitated by illegally acquired weapons. (R1)

Similarly, another informant stated:

Insecurity in the country has escalated, especially since 2010. In places like Kebbi State, there's a local government area, Dan Kowa Sabu, within Zuru emirate (Ngas), where many people were killed. Just three months ago, unknown gunmen attacked and kidnapped several girls from a government secondary school in Birnin Yauri. While Boko Haram was previously a major concern, now in the northern region, there are daily reports of gruesome killings and kidnappings. In Dankowasabu alone, 400 individuals, including women and children, were killed in one incident. This alarming trend is not limited to the northern region, as arms trafficking is also widespread (R3)

Also, an Informant said that:

The effects are profound. We are witnessing Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East, armed banditry in the North-West,

militancy in the East, and other criminal activities in the southern part of Nigeria. None of these activities would be possible without illegally imported arms. Currently, in Nigeria, commonly used weapons include AK-47s and other heavy firearms that are not licensed. This is where the problem originates. Once these arms find their way to irregular forces or criminal elements, they contribute to trafficking. Consequently, Nigeria's insecurity worsens daily. Addressing this issue is imperative. (R4)

Business

Another consequence of arms trafficking on the development of Nigeria's northern region, specifically Katsina state, is its detrimental impact on business activities across the country. Business people frequently fall victim to attacks where armed groups, possessing illegal weapons, target them and loot their valuables. According to one informant:

The impact on development is clear. In many states in the North-West region, government efforts are diverted from developing infrastructure and providing social amenities to combating insecurity. This situation severely curtails freedoms; in some areas, lack of network connectivity hampers commercial centers and disrupts daily life and livelihoods for many. Instances of NNPC pipeline vandalism are frequent, posing continuous challenges to the government due to the availability of deadly weapons. The Niger-Delta remains unstable, the IPOB issue persists with sit-at-home directives challenging states in the South-East and South-South. These groups possess ample arms, enabling them to resist state authority. Consequently, these issues affect government functionality, the populace, the economy, and adversely impact the normal way of life. (R5)

Conclusion

Arms trafficking has significantly increased in Nigeria's North-West region in recent years. Factors such as the porous nature of the country's land borders and the profitability of the arms trade have been identified as key drivers of this escalation. This trend poses a grave threat to the peace, security, and stability of the states in the region and the nation as a whole. Regarding the impact of arms trafficking on rural development and livelihoods in Katsina State, findings from this study indicate that the phenomenon has led to the disruption of agricultural activities, loss of lives and livelihoods, forced internal displacement of individuals, disruption of business operations, and undermined peace and stability in the State.

Recommendations

Based on these findings, the study proposes the following recommendations:

1. There is an urgent need for the government to enhance surveillance and control mechanisms at the country's land borders.
2. The government must improve law enforcement by reforming and equipping security agents with advanced weaponry.
3. The government should improve livelihoods and economic opportunities for the populace through the implementation of comprehensive economic development programmes.
4. It is necessary for the government, through the National Orientation Agency (NOA), to raise awareness by educating the public, especially the youth, about the detrimental effects of arms trafficking on society.
5. Lastly, the government should promote dialogue and cooperation between border communities and security agencies to build trust and synergy in combating arms trafficking and insecurity in Katsina State and the North-West region.

References

- Auwal I, Gyong, Y.E & Aliyu, T.A (2023). Effect of insecurity on livelihood activities in Dutsin-Ma Local Government Area, Katsina State. *Journal of Economics and Allied Research*, 8 (4), 306-319
- Centre for Democracy and Development (2015). *Policy Brief: Rural Banditry in Northern Nigeria*. Abuja. Kuru: NIPSS.
- Eloma, H. E., Ugwumba, N. F., & Abang, O. E. (2014). Effect of proliferation of small arms and light weapons on the development of Niger Delta Region of Nigeria
- Haldun, C, & Opeyemi, A, (2016) Ethnic and Religious Crises in Nigeria: A specific analysis upon identities (1999-2013). Retrieved from <http://www.accord.org.2a/ajcr-issues/ethnic-religious-crises/nigeria>
- Hamidu, I (2023). Impact of Gun Trafficking on the Political Economy of Nigeria. Gun Violence and Prevention: Connections, Cultures, and Consequences. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.1001976>
- Haq, M, (1995). New Dimensions of Human Security: New Dimensions of Human Security. United Nations Development Programme, New York: Retrieved at <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1995/en/pdf/hdr>
- Iringe-Miebaka, F (2021). ECOWAS and the control of arms trafficking: Implication for regional security. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Reviews*, 11 (2), 56 – 72
- Joshua N (2023) Kierkegaard and Hobbes on the State of Nature. *The American Journal of Jurisprudence*, 68 (3), 211 – 228, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajj/auae002>

- Linda, D. (2011) The Challenges of Sub-regional Security in West Africa: The case of the 2006 ECOWAS convention
- Obademi, A.O, Chagba, J & Omale, O (2023). Factors influencing arms proliferation on rural development in Katsina-Ala Local Government Area of Benue State, Nigeria. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosiologi Dialektika Kontemporer*, 11 (1), 27-39
- Obi, C. (2009). 'Nigeria's oil in global energy security: Critical issues and challenges', in Ruchita Beri and Uttam Sinha, (eds). *Africa and Energy Security: Global Issues, Local Responses*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation.
- Ogu, I. M. (2014). The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa: Causes or effects. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 3(4), 34-48
- Omede, J. & Omede, A. (2015). Terrorism and Insecurity in Nigeria: Moral Values and Religious Education as Panaceas. *Journal of education and practice*, 6 (11), 120-126
- Sokoh, G.C (2020). Empirical study of state failure and proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. *European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 149-164. DOI: [10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-149-164](https://doi.org/10.29013/EJHSS-20-4-149-164)
- Stern, M. & Ojendal, J. (2010). Mapping the security Development Nexus: conflict, complexity, cacophony, convergence? *Security Dialogue* 41. www.journals.sagepub.com/doi/.
- Udeh, S. Okoroafor, E. & Ihezue, U. (2020). Insecurity and National Economic Development Implications for Nigeria's Vision 20:2020 retrieved at www.ajol.info.com
- Waziri, R. A (2023). Cross-border illegal transfer of small arms and light weapons: The Nigeria's experience. *Zamfara Journal of Politics and Development*, 4 (1), 86-94
- Wenibowei, K, Isaac, E.U & God knows, N (2024). The character of the post-colonial state and arms proliferation in fragile democracies in Africa: The Nigerian experience. *International Journal of Comparative Studies in International Relations and Development*, 10 (1), 42-57