

## **Implications of Cross Border Proliferation of Small and Light Weapons (SALWs) for Nigeria's National Security: A Study of Kaduna State, 2010-2020**

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### **Abstract**

This work examined the security implications of the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons(SALWs) in Nigeria laying more emphasis on Kaduna State. The work relied on both primary and secondary data. For the primary data, they were obtained through an in-depth interview with key stakeholders who are abreast with issues of the subject matter, this included all three arms of the armed forces, the police, customs, immigration, and those who have been victims of attack and culprits who were arrested with SALWs. While secondary data were sourced from textbooks, journal articles, seminar papers, and newspapers, among others on the subject matter. The work adopted the relative deprivation theory as a framework of analysis. Findings of the work show that there were serious security implications of the proliferation of SALWs for Kaduna state which has led to an increase in crime rate, political violence, conflicts, and disruption of economic activities within the period under review. The study, therefore, recommends inter-agency and bilateral cooperation on border patrol, adequate equipment and training of security personnel, proper remuneration for security agents, improved government policies and framework to grow the economy and create jobs, strict adherence to prescribing laws and regulations governing the possession and use of small arms and light weapons among others.

**Keywords:** Border, Implications, Nigeria, National, Proliferations Security, Small and Light Weapons

### **1. Introduction**

The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) has become one of the serious security challenges both to individuals, societies, states, and the entire world today, fueling civil wars, organized crimes, violence, insurgency, and terrorist activities, posing great obstacles to sustainable development. Several times, small insurgencies tend to develop into huge civil wars that have the potential of destabilizing an entire region. This trend especially in Africa can be attributed to the weak nature of the states and their attendant failure to deliver in governance. In place of enhanced security, virulent internal conflicts with attendant unprecedented civilian causalities and gross violations of human rights have emerged at an alarming rate. The local root causes of these conflicts are diverse and numerous, however, in nearly all the conflicts, the deployment of small arms, particularly from the industrialized nations to the developing and less developed world can be said to play a major role in the escalation, intensification, and resolution of these conflicts.

Recognizing this, the United Nations (UN) by its 4362 meeting of the Security Council captures

the devastating impact of small arms and light weapons proliferation on global peace and security. In his 2000 millennium report to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), the former Secretary-General Kofi Annan [3] brought the issue of SALW to the front burner of the UN's agenda by noting that the death toll from small arms dwarfs that of all other weapons system and in most years greatly exceed the toll of the atomic bomb that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in terms of the carnage they caused, small arms, indeed could well be described as a weapon of mass destruction. Small arms proliferation is not merely a security issue; it is also an issue of human rights and development. The proliferation of small arms sustains and exacerbates armed conflicts, endangers peacekeepers and humanitarian workers, it undermines respect for international humanitarian laws. It threatens legitimate but weak governments and it benefit terrorist as well as the perpetrators of organized crimes.

In Nigeria as a case in point, the Proliferation of SALW is no longer an issue of speculation as the Nigerian Customs Service intercepted at different times containers loaded with weapons, arms, and ammunition. According to Sahara Reporters of September 22, 2017, between February and September of 2017 alone which was cited in Ade [1], the Nigeria Customs Service intercepted container loads with assorted weapons for the third time with a total of 2,762 rifles. With these consignments of weapons that were impounded, there are chances that many more containers of such weapons have gone through the country as can be seen in the number of arms and ammunition recovered by security agencies in many of their operations in recent times across the country. Of course, violent attacks have been recorded in many parts of the country.

In Kaduna State in particular which is the study area of this work, communities have been sacked, lives maimed, and property destroyed in major parts of Kaduna State- from the Southern part of Kaduna of Kajuru, Zonkwa, Kafanchan communities, among others to the Northern part of the state such as Birni Gwari, among others. In these attacks, records show that SALW is mostly used. To this end, the implications of the proliferation of this SALW on human security in Kaduna State, therefore, becomes the problem of the study. Put differently, the problem of this study is to find out the impact of the proliferation of SALW on National security, using Kaduna State of Nigeria as a case study.

## 2. Conceptual Issues

### 2.1. *The Concept of Small and Light Weapons (SALWs)*

Barnsley [7] posits that small arms comprise revolvers and self-loading pistols, rifles and carbines, submachine guns, and assault rifles; while light weapons include, *inter alia* general-purpose or universal machine guns, medium machine guns, heavy machine guns, under-barrel grenades, rifles, anti-tank missile and rocket systems, man-portable launchers, and anti-aircraft missiles.

To the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime(UNODC) [22], small arms are weapons designed for personal use, which include firearms and any portable barreled weapons that are

designed to expel, or may be readily converted to expel a shot bullet or projectile by the action of an explosive, excluding antique firearms or their replicas, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [19] further specifies SALWs could be any weapon or destructive devices such as an explosive bomb, incendiary bomb or gas bomb, grenade, missile or mine, other related materials, or any parts or replacement parts of a small arm or light weapon including ammunition, cartridge case, primers, propellant powder, bullets or projectiles, provided that these component are themselves subject to authorization in the respective state. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [19] concludes that light weapons are portable weapons designed for use by several persons serving as a crew.

Relatedly, in a publication by Saferworld [20] on “small arms and light weapons control” “A training manual”, small arms have distinctive features, they are usually at the lower end of the caliber spectrum 4.6-40 or 66<sup>mm</sup> and they include handguns and shoulder arms, which are revolvers Automatic pistols and various types of rifles and machine guns. Safer world [21] publications describe the following as small arms:

#### **2.1.1. *Handgun***

Handguns are small arms that in theory can be fired one-handed They are widely available and can be easily concealed which makes them one of the weapon types most often used in a crime, especially in urban areas. Their military use is limited, but police officers are often armed with handguns.

#### **2.1.2. *Automatic Pistols***

These are small arms that store the ammunition in the grip and prepare a new round for firing until the magazine in the grip is empty.

#### **2.1.3. *Revolvers***

These are weapons that have bullets in a rotating cylinder above the trigger and are seen less frequently.

#### **2.1.4. *Shoulder Arms***

These small arms are designed to be fired with the back end – the butt held into the shooter’s shoulder for greater stability. These weapons are the most common small arms and light weapons found in Sudan, Niger, and other parts of Africa, and are the cause of most arms-related deaths and injuries, both accidental and deliberate, this shoulder arm requires two hands to use effectively.

#### **2.1.5. *Assault Rifles***

These are small arms capable of automatic fire, that is, squeezing the trigger once releases a burst of bullets, they are the most common shoulder arm today and are found in almost all areas of civil or military conflict. The most famous are the Kalashnikov family and AK 47, AKM, and AK-74. They tend to be short up to 70cm with the butt and lightweight and can be identified by the presence of a large semi-curled shaped magazine.

### **2.1.6. Bolt Rifles**

These are long guns that shoot single bullets to a great distance. After each round is fired, the shooter moves a bolt to load the next round for firing.

### **2.1.7. Semi-Automatic Rifles**

These refer to the type that uses the energy released during firing to reload another round from a box magazine suspended underneath the weapon semi-automatic rifles can be converted to fully automatic rifles, among others.

## **2.2. The Concept of- National Security**

National Security in simple terms signifies the security of a Nation-State including its citizens, economy, and institutions, usually guaranteed by the government.

Longley [16] opines that national security was originally conceived as protection against military attacks, but is now widely understood to include also non-military dimensions, including the security from terrorism, crime, economic security, energy security, environmental security, food security, cyber security, etc. Olaniyi [19] argues the concept of national security remains ambiguous having evolved from simpler definitions that emphasized freedom from military threat and political coercion. According to Ebeh [10] national security may also be viewed from the angle of measures taken by governments to build and promote conditions of security regionally and internationally by reducing transnational causes of insecurity such as climate change, economic inequality, political exclusion, and nuclear, small arms, and light weapons proliferation.

United Nations Trust fund for Human Security [23] sees national security as shared freedom from fear and wants, and the freedom to live in dignity, imply social and ecological health, rather than the absence of risk

Bellamy [8] pays more attention to the causes of national insecurity when he asserts that potential causes of national insecurity include actions by other States e.g. (military or cyber-attacks) violent non-state actors (e.g. terrorist attacks), organized criminal groups such as narcotic cartels and also the effects of natural disasters (e.g. flooding and earthquakes). According to Nwizu [18], systemic drivers of national insecurity which may be transnational include climate change, economic inequality, marginalization, political exclusion and militarization. Given the wide range of national security risks nation-states experience, Essa[11] the national security of a Nation-state has several dimensions including economic security, energy security, physical security, environmental security, food security, border security, and cyber security.

Attah and Okoi [5] examined national security as an important element of a business environment. In their submission, they viewed crime and insecurity as bad for business, they argued that perceptions regarding national security greatly influence business and investment decisions, therefore adequate emphasis needs to be given to perceptions about a security threat in the business environment, their work further observed the continuing debate on security regarding the sharing of responsibilities between the federal, state and local governments, seeking to the push public debate on national security policies, particularly the question of responsibilities between the

three tiers of government in ensuring security, because national security is the business and responsibility of all.

National security portrays the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, diplomacy, power projection, and political power, accordingly, to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, and environmental security amongst others, therefore, as posited by Anya [4] for nations to ensure and guarantee national security, several measures including the use of diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; marshaling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defense, and emergency preparedness measures, using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage and protecting classified information using counter-intelligence services or secret police to protect the Nation from internal threats and threats to national security should be of paramount importance.

An aggregate of the views expressed above suggests that national security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources, and military might to secure a nation-state. It measures the state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimension to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

Many theories can be applied in this research or study, amongst the several theories that can be used as a framework of analysis for this research are relative deprivation theory, frustration, aggression theory, conflict theory, and failed state theory amongst others. But for this work, the relative deprivation theory of Samuel Souffer, whose concept was further developed by Robert Merton was adopted. The theory is part of the larger social movement theories which are used as an interdisciplinary study within the social sciences and it seeks to explain past, present, and future political-cultural, religious, and social consequences of critical issues in society. Deprivation theory can be classified into absolute and relative. Physical abuse, starvation, and poverty are viewed as a form of absolute deprivation.

Ted [2] in his work “Why Men Rebel” sees relative deprivation as the discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities. Relative deprivation refers to the idea that feelings of deprivation and discontent are related to a desired point of reference. The feelings of relative deprivation arise when desire becomes legitimate expectations, and those desires are perceived to be blocked or blocked by society.

Social satisfaction is the reverse of relative deprivation. Longley [16] asserts that, while absolute deprivation leads to feelings of discontent and ultimately efforts to effect social change, feelings of relative deprivation may or may not definitively lead to the creation of social movements and collective identity.

Relative deprivation is generally considered to be the central variable in the explanation of social

movements and its use to explain the quest for social change that inspires social movement; social movements emerge from collective feelings of relative deprivation. People who are deprived of things deemed valuable in society, whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances.

Relative deprivation as a theory explains what people think they should have relative to what others have or even compared with their past or perceived future, and failure to attain or achieve these desires the action they resort to. According to Dollard [9] when expectation outstrips achievements, regardless of absolute levels of economic consumption or the provision of political rights, frustration is generated thus collective frustration hinged on relative deprivation turns to anger leading to violence.

Relative deprivation theory can be linked to the historical antecedent of conflicts insurgency, banditry, kidnappings, ethno-religious crisis, socio-economic agitations, and frequent rise of individuals, and groups against the Nigerian government. From the viewpoint of this theory, it is apt to submit that the inability of the Nigerian State to address critical human security and socio-economic challenges in many parts of the country plays a fundamental role as a contributory factor to the internal insurrection by non-state actors and the quest to traffic and proliferate small arms and light weapons in the country. An example of this is the upsurge in non-state armed groups across the length and breadth of the Nation engaging in banditry, kidnappings, murder, terrorism, insurgency, robbery, and other forms of organized crime in Kaduna State and across Nigeria fueled by proliferated small arms and light weapons.

Armed violence and human security threats occasioned by the feelings of related deprivation and executed through the use of SALWs in most parts of Nigeria particularly in Kaduna State are clear indicators that the government seems to be weak in the constitutional role of protecting lives and properties of the citizenry as a fundamental function of national security. The lack of ability to perform this key role is demonstrated by the increased case of banditry, kidnappings, insurgency, armed robbery, armed violence, crime rate, ethnoreligious conflicts, and political assassinations all prosecuted with small arms and light weapons.

In affirmation, the use of arms in Kaduna State is occasioned by feelings of deprivation which has led to the emergence and increase of organized perpetrated by non-state actors. These non-state armed groups have often engaged the police and the military as they move about with dangerous small arms terrorizing the populace creating fear and panic amongst them. Given this, small arms and light weapons illegally find their way into the hands of these criminal groups whose motive and intentions are at variance with that of the State and as a result, threaten human and national security.

The above assertion confirms the idea that relative deprivation is a potential cause of social deviance and that perception of inequality can lead to extreme situations. According to deprivation theory, inequality and injustice exist because those in control of a disproportionate share of society's wealth and resources actively defend their advantage. This has the potential of leading to armed violence and other instance of social deviance such as personal insecurity as is being

experienced in Kaduna State. Therefore, this theory is understood not only within the context of economic backwardness and terror social movement but it is also applied in explaining the identity and basic human security needs of individuals and communities in societies in Nigeria.

#### **4. Methodology**

In the case of the methodology used for this paper, the following issues are discussed.

##### ***4.1. Research Design***

The research design adopted in this study is a mixed method of both survey research design and explorative methods. This involved the use of the instrument of an interview to sample the view of key informants who have in-depth knowledge of the subject matter and exploration of secondary data on the subject matter.

##### ***4.2. Research Population***

The research population in this work is centered on the number of officials and victims with in-depth knowledge and personal experiences regarding small arms and light weapons proliferation. These officials include government personnel working in defense institutions, paramilitary services, the police force, and armed forces, and persons who are victims of small arms and light weapons violence. An in-depth and comprehensive interview was conducted with these people to determine the impact of small arms and light weapons proliferation on Kaduna State particularly and national security in general.

##### ***4.3. Sample Size and Technique***

This work for the gathering of primary data, adopted the purposive or judgmental sampling technique. Judgmental, selective, subjective or purposive sampling, simply stipulates the choosing of sample elements by the researchers guided by what the research considers as typical cases which are most likely to provide the researcher with requisite data or information. When a researcher chooses samples under this condition, the researcher is said to be involved in judgmental, selective or subjective sampling. In this method sampling units are subjectively selected, all in an attempt to obtain a sample that appears to be a reflection or representative of the population. Thus, the chance that a sample will be selected depends on the judgment of the researcher. The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which will best enable the researcher to provide answers to the research question.

Samples from the Defense, Armed Services, that is the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Navy, and Nigerian Air force were directors of operations of these services who were interviewed. For the paramilitary, Deputy Controller Generals of the Customs and Assistant Comptroller of Immigration are in charge of Enforcement Investigation and Inspection and Investigation Inspectorate and Enforcement Directorate respectively. And for the Police Force, the sample was the Deputy Inspector General of Police in charge of operations and Counter Intelligence, as well

as several kidnaps. Ethno religious and bandit attack victims. These people interviewed above have firsthand experience and sound and adequate knowledge of small arms and light weapons proliferation and its attendant consequences.

#### ***4.4. Technique of Data Analysis***

The technique used to analysis data for this research was content analysis. Content analysis is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material. This is a research technique for an objective, systematic and qualitative description of the content of the communication. With the use of content analysis, the researcher can classify the character and content of any set of qualitative materials obtained from records and research into appropriate categories so that he can describe it in an orderly sequence. Akindele [2] contends that content analysis is the examination of a class of social artifacts, typically written documents like newspapers, articles, books, magazines, speeches, laws, letters, and consultations as well as components or collections thereof. In other words, as shared by Babbie [6], content analysis is the analysis of communication. Simply put, the content analysis method may be applied to virtually any form of communication.

The impediment of content analysis is that decoding human communication might be difficult which has the potential of leading to wrong inferences in the analysis, therefore, cross-examinations of evidence or facts from a poll of sources, to avoid this encumbrance becomes necessary.

### **5. Data Presentation, Results, and Findings**

This part of the work discussed the security implications of the proliferation of SALW in Kaduna State, a microcosm of the Nigerian state. In doing this, the views of the respondents interviewed were here presented. i.e, those interviewed whose profiles were well captured under methodology.

#### ***5.1. The Security Implication and Impact of the Proliferation of SALW in Kaduna State***

SALW proliferation has had serious security implications on Kaduna state. As a victim of kidnap, Bagudu (Oral Interview, 2020) posits that the impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation on Kaduna State can be felt in the upsurge of crime and criminality. He identifies crimes such as kidnap, armed robbery, assassinations, political, and religious violence as some of the direct impacts of the illicit possession, availability, and proliferation of SALWs in Kaduna State. For him, one of the impacts of the proliferation of SALWs is that it has led to an increase in crime. Most of the young, jobless, literate and illiterate youths in the State and indeed the country and Kaduna, in particular, have taken to crime because the instrument of choice used to inflict fear and terror on innocent citizens is handy and can be gotten easily (Bagudu, Oral Interview, 2020).

Victor who has some experienced security on security issues, when interviewed asserts that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kaduna State has fueled ethnic and religious crises because according to him when the herders or herdsmen for example continue to attack and sack

communities undeterred, it left attacked communities (like Sanga, Birni-Gwari,) with no option other than to seek means or measures for self-defense. Victor (Oral Interview, 2020) further said that as a result of the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons, peace has been lost in the state and created ethnic divisions and suspicion among communities thereby fueling “somewhat” “local arms race” which has done the state and the country no good.

Arguing along this line Ishaya (Oral Interview, 2020) says the ultimate impact of small arms and light weapons is the ultimate price that victims who suffer from, which is “Death”. According to him, apart from death, it has also led to low productivity and stifling of developments. He goes further to say that SALW proliferation in Kaduna has led to the destruction of lives and properties and psychological sickness to those affected. For Ishaya (Oral Interview, 2020) losing his family to bandits through the use of Small Arms and Light Weapons is an experience that has left him in pain, discouragement, and hate.

In the same vein, Hadiza (Oral Interview, 2020) who lost her husband to individuals who possessed SALW, said that the impact of the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kaduna is very visible because she did not only lose her husband to it, but it also led to the destruction of her properties by bandits. To her, the implications are the hardship, fear, and poverty that users of this weapon bring to their victims which she is one of them. Accordingly, the Kaduna State Police Force PRO (Oral Interview, 2020) argue that the impact of the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kaduna State is enormous, as it has caused deaths and injuries to countless numbers of people across the state. He goes on to say that Small Arm and Light Weapons proliferation in Kaduna State has:

- i. Fueled Insecurity
- ii. Caused violations of Human Rights
- iii. Magnified violence
- iv. Create a climate where it is impossible to attract investment
- v. Contributes to the deterioration of institutions of health and education.
- vi. Exacerbated crime-related offenses
- vii. Causes massive social disruption

Even among the perpetrators of the dastard act of robbery, banditry among others using SALW, it was revealed that the availability of weapons in the hands of criminals has caused death, injuries, and destruction to innocent people. Tanimu (Oral Interview, 2020) a bandit who was interviewed while in detention confessed that because of the activities of gangs like his own and others, many have died, lives maimed and lost, but they engage in the activities of kidnapping and other social crimes as a means of generating funds to survive and cater for their families.

Shedding light on the forgoing argument of Yakubu, Nwogu (Oral Interview, 2020) posits that such impacts are better viewed from a wider perspective considering how many arms moved from the West African sub-region into Nigeria and then Kaduna state in particular. According to him, the proliferation of SALW in Kaduna State has led to an increase in crime and criminality leading to the refugee crisis, displacement of people who now live in IDP camps, and economic stagnation,

among others. To him, this has also made the government spend much money beyond budget estimation on security, as issues of security in Kaduna State are consuming much of government revenue to the detriment of development.

Gwaba (Oral Interviews, 2020) noted that the impact of the proliferation of SALWs in Kaduna State was seen in the increased rate of Kidnapping for ransom, wanton killings, destruction of property, and economic backwardness of the state due to poor investment occasioned by insecurity. These agree with the view of Nwogu (Oral Interview, 2020) that the implication of the proliferation of SALW has led to the diversion of appropriation of government funds from developmental projects to security, thereby posing threats to human and infrastructure development in Kaduna State. To Gwaba (Oral Interview, 2020) therefore, the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons can be adjudged as the most immediate security challenge to individuals and groups of individuals in Kaduna State fueling and promoting communal conflicts, robbery, banditry, rustling, kidnapping, and other heinous crimes as shown in both the Southern part of Kaduna (Kafachan, Sagan, Kubucha, etc and part of Birni Gwari) that keeps occurring in the state bedeviling the state security. These, therefore have brought about economic setbacks, poor societal integration, political unrest, social dysfunction, and general insecurity, and also the high cost of maintaining security apparatus, psychological, trauma, and provocation.

The last to comment on the subject matter which is Illo (Oral Interview, 2020) did not agree less with what others have said. He said the use of SALW, rather the proliferation of SALWs and their use as well in Kaduna State has resulted in criminal activities in the state making the rural areas to be deserted as people moved to urban areas especially city centres and city suburbs for refuge. So therefore Illo (Oral Interview, 2020) submits that the impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation in Kaduna can be seen in the increase of violent crimes across the state leading to death, destruction, and the over-stretching of the security agencies. According to him the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kaduna State has impacted negatively on the state's economy and social cohesion and because of the nature and level of crime in the state, investors are staying away from the state, thereby enhancing the rate of unemployment and stagnated growth in the state. Moreover, this situation has led to the overcrowding of city centres due to rural-urban migration, thereby increasing the rate of crime and insecurity in the state (Ilo, Oral Interview, 2020).

The views of all the respondents on the subject matter, are not far from earlier research conducted by SMB Intelligence in 2016 and supported by Gadzama [12] In the research, the gory situation or the implication of the proliferation of SALW in Kaduna State was painted. In the report, Sanga village was attacked by some Fulani who the villagers claimed had a week prior, sent a letter informing the community they would be carrying out a raid of the community. Men and young adults formed a vigilante group. When the gunmen stormed the community, the youth who were keeping guard scampered to safety. To date, peace eludes the community. People can't farm for fear of being killed, women no longer go to streams, and nightlife is non-existent.

## **5.2. Economic Impact of SALW Proliferation in Kaduna State**

The economic sector of a State forms an integral part of the country's National Security. This is because National Security as defined in contemporary times goes beyond the protection against military attack, it includes non-military dimensions which have to do with Energy Security, Environmental Security, Economic Security, etc. It, therefore, goes that the free operation of the Energy, Environmental, and Economic Sectors of a State has the potential to influence positively or negatively as the case may be, the overall security of the state. Against this backdrop, this section of the work presents both primary and secondary data on the impact of the proliferation of SALW in Kaduna State on the economic sector of the State.

To clearly understand the impact of the proliferation of SALW on the economy of Kaduna State, it is important to briefly look at the state's socio-economic status in the 90s before SALW became a tool of service for non-state actors in the state. Hallogate [14] said that Kaduna state because of its cosmopolitan nature and its strategic location in the North-Western part of Nigeria is unarguably the capital of the entire Northern Region. In the years before this period that this study covers, specifically between the 70s and the 90s, Kaduna State's economy were booming due to the cosmopolitan nature of the state and the friendly, secured, safe and conducive atmosphere that the state offered investors.

Given the existing conditions then, the state becomes an investment hub, where investors from within and outside the country put in huge capital to boost the State's economy. The resultant effect of this was the establishment of factories, industries, and several companies that opened up the state's economic sector and created jobs for the teeming youthful population of the state. The investors also reaped huge profits from their investments because the economic and business atmosphere was very conducive for investment to thrive.

However, researchers discovered that with the coming of the new millennium, the dynamics and structure of the state changed. The inconsistent policies of the government, corruption, political bickering, and mistrust between the populace and the state promoted inequality, deprivation, social dislocation, and unemployment giving room for an increased economic downturn, political violence, and an increase in the crime rate that eventually fueled the desire to proliferate SALW across the porous borders into the state which eventually ended up in the hands of social miscreants and criminals. The situation painted above gave room to a rise in the crime rate and introduced new crimes such as banditry, kidnapping, insurgency, cattle rustling, and other heinous crimes effectively coordinated and perpetuated by well organized criminal gangs using SALW. As discovered in this research, this situation led to low productivity and hampered economic activities. The impact of SALW proliferation and its attendant result in the loose of life, creation of fear, panic and frustration has adversely affected the hitherto economic fortunes of Kaduna state. Ayandele (Oral Interview, 2021) paints a better picture of this when she argued that Kaduna State in North West Nigeria has experienced a near tripling of violent incidents involving armed groups in the past year. The violent events have resulted in nearly a thousand fatalities. Moreover, there have been roughly 40 persons abducted for ransom and hundreds of communities destroyed causing the displacement of more than 50,000 people. Over the last year, Kaduna has recorded the

highest number of episodes of political violence and fatalities in northern Nigeria, save Borno State—the epicenter of the BokoHaram insurgency.

To be sure, Kaduna State is known for excellence in the production of both cash and food crops, but with the proliferation of SALW in the hands of non-state actors, the farms and farm settlements have completely been taken over by armed bandits and kidnappers. These criminal gangs, maim, rape, and kill farmers thereby causing fear and panic amongst the farming population chasing them away from their farmlands. The economic impact of this on the state's economy and indeed the nation is the creation of food security. Presently in the state, the lack or inability of the farmers to cultivate farmlands is leading to a high cost of food and other raw materials usually cultivated for industrial purposes. The textile industries in Kaduna which use to be the source of raw materials for local industries in the state have shut down.

The state had cottage industries across the zones that were involved in the production of various commodities thereby creating jobs for the youths and opening up markets locally and internationally for the finished products, but the spate of insecurity caused by the increase in crime rate perpetuated by the use of SALW, the state is experiencing a retrogression in its economic fortune.

The unemployment rate in the state has risen, businesses have collapsed, investors have relocated and the entire socio-Economic sector in Kaduna State has nose-dived. The paramount reason for this change in the economic fortunes of Kaduna state is traceable to the level of insecurity in the state which has not only led to the death of thousands but has also destroyed properties and infrastructure. Despite the efforts of the state government geared toward boosting investor confidence in the state, this research discovered that investors shy away from the state because they cannot guarantee the security of life and property which are key factors upon which the business thrives. The result of an empirical study carried out by Gadzama [13] and four other persons on *Appraisal of Rural Banditry in Kamku Forest in Birni Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State* buttresses the foregoing point. In that study, it was discovered that predominant acts of banditry have led to a reduction in farming activities/livestock rearing and hunting. Gadzama [13] argued that it has also led to the loss of livelihood/income as well as lowering of people living standards in the area and Kaduna State in general

Another area of Economic retrogression in Kaduna State this work identified is in the area of trade and commerce. Kaduna State usually organizes, yearly, the First Investment and Trade fairs. These trade fairs hitherto attracted participants from across the globe, and apart from creating jobs and boosting investments, the fairs use to be an exhibition ground for trade and commerce. Unfortunately, due to the high level of insecurity occasioned by the proliferation of SALW, the investment and trade fair in Kaduna State is almost dead because participants no longer turn up for the show, thereby creating an adverse effect on the trade and commerce sector of the state. The Report of Financial Energy Review [12] suffices in this regard. The report showed that participants, exhibitors, and organizers of the Kaduna International Trade Fair blamed the nation's insecurity challenges and the downturn of Nigeria's economy as the factors that have led to the

low turn-out at the fairs. It was reported that the abysmal patronage at the fair is unprecedented. Many participants counted their losses at the fairs organized by the Kaduna Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (KADCCIMA) and urged the federal government to tackle insecurity and the opening of the borders otherwise trade fairs of this nature will not have the desired impact on the nation's economy.

The state has also experienced an economic downturn in the area of Interstate trade as the Kaduna/Abuja Road, Kaduna/Kachia /Keffi Road, and the Kaduna/Birnin Gwari Road which served as a trade route for traders from the Southern part of the country into Kaduna State has been taken over by kidnappers and bandits. On these roads, on, traders who dare to pass through them are either kidnapped for ransom or killed by bandits or the kidnappers. These ugly situations have led to a slow and low inflow of goods into Kaduna State thereby creating scarcity resulting in exorbitant prices of goods such as building materials, foodstuff, and fruit's medical and pharmaceutical equipment.

Generally, therefore, with the current state of insecurity in Kaduna State caused by the increase in crime rate perpetuated by the use of SALW the state economy is dwindling by the day and this in itself is a cause for worry because it produces unemployment which in turn creates a base for criminal recruitment that fuels the desire to acquire a SALW by non-state actors for criminal activities that will affect national security.

### **5.3. Political Impact of SALW Proliferation in Kaduna State**

The issues of cross-border proliferation of SALW have assumed a huge dimension in Nigeria and this has impacted the political landscape of Kaduna State which is the main focus of this study. Politically, the proliferation of SALW in the hands of non-state actors in Kaduna State has emboldened politicians and given them the impetus to indulge in political violence. According to Morris[17] The attitude of do-or-die politics imbibed by politicians in Kaduna State facilitated through the deployment of SALW in the possession of non-state actors to intimidate the citizens have usually resulted in the forceful election of unpopular candidates during general elections and this, in turn has adverse effects on development.

Post-election violence as witnessed in Kaduna State in 2011 is a clear case in point where non-state actors wielding SALW disrupted the peace of the state killing and destroying properties after the declaration of election results. The Human Right Watch [15] explained that the violence assumed a great proportion such that it is estimated that more than a thousand people lost their lives and properties worth millions of naira were destroyed. This political upheaval and disturbances were fueled and perpetuated through the illegal deployment of SALW proliferated in the state. The impact of this is that unpopular candidates that sponsor this violence get into office and official positions against the popular choice of the electorates, and this situation, among other factors leads to underdevelopment, corruption maladministration insecurity, crime, criminality, and incompetence in leadership thereby posing serious threats to National security.

In Nigeria today, the trafficking and wide availability of these SALW have exacerbated and

promoted organized crimes and conflicts across the nation and this situation poses great threats to the country's stability and in general terms National Security.

## **6. Conclusion and Recommendations**

### ***6.1. Conclusion***

The Proliferation of small arms and light weapons is one major cause of insecurity in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular, and this has negatively impacted the state's Security. The rationale behind arms proliferation varies from economic to political and social factors. Unemployment has served as a steady market for the recruitment of disgruntled people into criminal gangs, these situations have also encouraged several people to engage in the illegal and illegitimate business of arms production, smuggling, and sales thereby creating a steady supply channel of small arms and light weapons to criminals and would-be criminals alike. The do-or-die politics embarked upon by Nigerian politicians is another major concern that facilitates the inflow of small arms and light weapons into the country, these arms usually end up in the hands of unscrupulous people who eventually use them to inflict harm, terror, and death on innocent citizens, get rich quick syndrome and social inequality that causes the feelings of depravity which eventually leads to frustration and aggression also account for the insecurity fueled by small arms and light weapons proliferation across the country; and this causes instability in the polity. Small arms and light weapons proliferation is inimical to National security, therefore, all concerned must work conscientiously towards curtailing the inflow or proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria.

### ***6.2. Recommendation***

There is an earnest need to put an end to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the country to avoid the unnecessary negative implications that proliferation of small arms and light weapons has on National Security, therefore in getting the diagnosis right, the prescription is no less important, premised on this and for this purpose of this research, the under listed recommendation is made.

- i). Establishment and Enhancement of command control centres to aid inter-agency cooperation and interactions to promote security checks around the country's borders to curb small arms and light weapons proliferation/entry.
- ii). Security Agents must be adequately equipped with the latest technological equipment to detect smuggled small arms and light weapons across every entry point in the country.
- iii). Continuous training and re-training of security personnel to remain in tune with current strategies on how to check the proliferation of small arms and light weapons by the world's best practices must be encouraged
- iv). Synergy should be bilaterally and multilaterally enhanced between countries in areas of border policing and free movement of goods and persons and the government should formulate and implement policies that will create enabling environment for citizens to get

jobs, to curb unemployment that pushes people into frustration and crime.

- v). Security sector reform is required to review the security architecture of the country to accommodate current security challenges faced by the country occasioned by the massive proliferation of small arms and light weapons. And surveillance and tracking of the movement of small arms and light weapons from the manufacturing country to the final destination should be encouraged so as to curtail diversions and smuggling.
- vi). Arms imported legitimately into the country should be properly marked or labeled by the manufacturers with the insignia of the service to whom the consignment will be delivered, this will help to check and identify loss or sales by unscrupulous security agents of small arms and light weapons to non-state actors.
- vii). Mopping up of weapons already in circulation, disposal and destruction of confiscated small arms and light weapons should be a continuous exercise.
- viii). Finally, the creation of global awareness of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons to generate a global response that may eventually lead to the signing of treaties that will globally curtail the production, sales, and possession of small arms and light weapons across the globe.

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