SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

by

SOGO ANGEL OLOFINBIYI

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Supervisor: Professor Jean Steyn

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other higher institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made.

Signed: ---

Date: ---

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to **God Almighty** in sweet memory of **Pa James Kolawole Olofinbiyi**
(1935-2015)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGIS: Abuja Geographic Information System

AMAC: Abuja Municipal Area Council

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BBMASSOB: Bakassi Boys and Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra

BH: Boko Haram

CBD: Central Business District.

CNN: Cable News Network

CTCED: Counter-terrorism Committee Executive Directorate

DCCN: Da'wah Coordination Council of Nigeria

ECER: European Commission on Ethical Review

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crime Commission

EI: Euromonitor International

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

GTI: Global Terrorism Index

HRW: Human Right Watch

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICPC: Independent Corrupt Practices Commission

IDI: In-depth Interviews

IDP: Internationally Displaced Persons

ILO: International Labour Organization

IPA: International Planning Associates

IRIN: Integrated Regional Information Networks

ISIL: Islamic States of Iraq and Lybia

ISIS: Islamic States of Iraq and Syria

JTF: Joint Task Force

KII: Key Informant Interviews

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

NANNM: National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives

NBS: National Bureau of Statistics

NCC: Nigerian Communication Commission

NDA: Niger-Delta Avenger

NESH: The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

NMA: Nigerian Medical Association

NTPA: Nigerian Terrorism Prevention Act

NYSC: National Youth Service Corps

OPC: Odua People's Congress

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PCRC: Police Community Relation Committee

PHC: Primary Health Care

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Funds

USIP: United State Institute of Peace

WHO: World Health Organization

WIR: World Investment Report

WMA: World Medical Association

WMO: World Meteorological Organization

ABSTRACT

There have been widespread assumptions across the globe that the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is religious rather than socio-economic. An investigation into this dichotomy allowed this study to fully demonstrate the root cause of Boko Haram's terrorist actions as a twin phenomenon that emanated from religious injunctions and the non-fulfilment of socio-economic goals that are prompted by the violation of fundamental human rights, corruption, poverty, unconstitutional and undemocratic practices in the northern part of the Nigerian state. To achieve its aim of examining the root cause of the terrorism crisis in the latter country, the study critically appraised the public perceptions on the socio-economic context of the insurgency by investigating the pattern of its maintenance from 2009 to 2017, examining the socio-economic consequences of the crisis, and identifying possible techniques for resolving the problem. The study adopted a qualitative methodological approach using in-depth interviews involving forty (40) participants to interrogate the phenomenon of the insurgency by Boko Haram in Nigeria. The study advanced a theoretical integration of the social exchange, social conflict and rational choice theories to explain a combination of the factors that were found to produce, reproduce and sustain the crisis in Nigeria. Empirical evidence from the study demonstrated that the evolution of Boko Haram terrorism was not only religiously inclined but also subject to socio-economic phlebotomy, political and moral putrescence, and the dehumanization of people that stemmed from a combination of decades of mismanagement and pervasive corruption by various Nigerian leaders. The study concludes that, as long as the endemic socio-economic problems caused by global capitalism vis-a-vis unequal hegemonic power exchange as expressed in socio-political, ethno-religious and cultural forms persist in the Nigerian society, the terrorism insurgency will recur and remain an inevitable enterprise and indeed a normal social reaction to every undesirable state of affairs. Based on the findings, the study urges the need for the amelioration of the conditions of the vast majority of the Nigerian populace by making socio-economic facilities available to them through the political state. The study recommends that the Nigerian state must respond to a new paradigm in counter-terrorism strategies by shifting from a violent military approach to more appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies in order to win the war against Boko Haram terrorism and to eradicate this menace from the Nigerian society. This approach can best be accomplished through intelligence gathering, an emancipatory struggle, collaborative efforts, peaceful negotiations and partnerships with local communities.

Key words: Boko Haram, Class-conflict, Conflict resolution, Insurgency, Nigeria. Political state, Sect, Socio-economic, Terrorism.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

According to Rapoport's submission (2004), terrorism is adjudged to date as far back as the1880s. This scholar asserts that modern terrorism began in Russia in the 1880s and that, within the span of ten years, it spread to Western Europe, the Balkans and Asia. This wave of terrorism was anarchistic and targeted mostly prominent officials (ibid.). However, the rebirth of modern terrorism evolved with sophisticated technology into the 21st century and has gained a dominant popularity among nations and individuals (Rapoport, 2004:38). Several research findings have persistently argued that acts of terrorism have been unleashed on human settlements for centuries but that such acts have never attracted concerted global focal prominence until 11 September 2001. It was on this fateful day "that a seemingly indomitable and impenetrable technological state-of-the-art American security surveillance network was supplanted by forces of terror to apocalyptic proportions" (Ninalowo, 2011:139). The twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon building (headquarters of the American defence establishment) in Washington DC were simultaneously attacked by three hijacked passenger aircrafts that were used by terrorists as weapons of mass destruction (CNN Report, 2001 September 12; Awake, 2006:4). Thousands of human lives were lost and many were maimed. As a consequence of the magnitude of the impact of the terrorist calamity, sympathetic sentiments, anger, and condemnation were invoked globally. The degree of the damage, violence and outrage was indeed unprecedented. The strike against the United States (US) arguably became one of the most memorable historical events, and President George W. Bush declared a war "that would never end until every terrorist group of the global reach was found, stopped and defeated (Rapoport, 2004:46). It is undeniable that terrorism has a linkage with international security and, by extension, with the threat against world peace. In this context, the national security challenge that is posed by Boko Haram fundamentalists in Nigeria re-enforces the claim that security problems in a particular region on a globalized continent remain a security challenge to all elsewhere in the world (Tersoo & Terzungwe, 2015:34). However, as a strategy of the powerless against the powerful, it is not surprising that ethnic movements, political and social minorities as well as religious organizations often utilize acts of terrorism

to drive home their respective agendas (Rapoport, 1984). Writings about terrorism have been controversial not only because of its wide perspectives, but also because of the labyrinth of controversies generated by it (Anger, 2002). Tersoo and Terzungwe (2015:28) argue along the same lines, stating that "…just as diverse as the techniques of terrorists are, so are the contending issues about terrorism as well as the tactics of terrorism and the strategies of curtailing it from ravaging national security and world peace".

Terrorism remains an entrenched phenomenon in societies and has survived for centuries as a vibrant tool for those who believe in using it. However, in modern times the spate of terrorism is taking on new dimensions due to technological advancement, globalization, and its dominant popularity which was accentuated by the attack on the World Trade Centre (WTC) and the Pentagon building in the USA on September 11, 2001 (Tersoo & Terzungwe, 2015:39). Put differently, although terrorism has always been practised, it has emerged as a significant international problem since the 1990s. Wittkopf and Kegley (1999:45) argue that the changing frequency of terrorism suggests a general trend of an increasing level of transnational terrorist activities since 1968, followed by a slight upsurge since 1987.

Terrorism is universally conceived as "a deliberate, calculated and extreme use of violence or threatened violence, perpetuated by malice, to cause serious harm or violence against individuals, governments and their assets with the sole intention to attain socio-economic, political, religious or ideological goals, through intimidation or coercion or instilling fear on civilian population" (US Department of Defense, 2014; Federal Republic of Nigeria Terrorism Prevention Act, 2011:1). Terrorism is an incredibly difficult phenomenon to define. However, the most widely accepted definition of this concept is that of the State Department of the United States of America, which defines terrorism, in accordance with title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d), as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience". (US National Institute of Justice, 2011). According to the South African government, terrorism is "an incident of violence or threat thereof, against a person, a group of persons or property not necessarily related to the aim of the incident, to coerce a government or civil population to act according to certain principles" (Masuku, 2002). Although slightly differently worded, the commonality linking these definitions is that of violence being utilized to influence or force the actions of individuals or groups.

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These definitions were adopted for the purpose of the current study. In light of the complexity of defining terrorism, the world has come to realize that there is no single definition of terrorism, as "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" (Laqueur, 1987; Ganor, 2002). It is noteworthy that even those seeking sovereign statehood or independence, such as the Basques in Spain and Fatah and Hamas in Palestine, had at different times rationalized their attempts at terrorism (Rapoport, 1984:52).

At this juncture it is important to note the difference between freedom fighters and terrorists. History has a number of personalities who fought for freedom in various contexts, such as Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro of Cuba; Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran; Gerry Adams of the UK; Osama bin Laden of Saudi Arabia; Yasser Arafat of Palestine; Samora Machel of Mozambique; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Nelson Mandela of South Africa. It is also germane to mention that there are state sponsored or state supported forms of terrorism, for example the charges that the US levelled in the 1980s against Cuba, the Soviet Union, Syria, Iraq and Libya, among others. Similarly, others accused the US of sponsoring terrorist activities in Vietnam, Chile, Nicaragua and elsewhere (Schlagheck, 1990 cited in Wittkopf & Kegley, 1999).

According to the Global Terrorism Index (2015:3), terrorism remains highly concentrated in just five countries of the world, namely Iraq, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria. These countries accounted for 78 per cent of the lives lost in 2014. However, terrorism is spreading to more countries, with the number of countries experiencing more than 500 deaths escalating from 5 to 11 – a 120 per cent increase from the previous year. The six new countries with over 500 deaths are Somalia, Ukraine, Yemen, the Central African Republic, South Sudan and Cameroon (GTI, 2015).

Also notable is the major intensification of the Boko Haram terrorist threat in Nigeria over the past few years. The country has witnessed the largest increase in terrorist deaths ever recorded by any country, increasing by over 300 per cent to 7 512 fatalities (GTI, 2015). Boko Haram, which operates mainly in Nigeria, overtook ISIL to become the deadliest terrorist group in the world. Evidence in support of this submits that the net deaths attributed to Boko Haram increased by 317 per cent in 2015 to 6 644, while in 2014, ISIL was responsible for 6 073 terrorist deaths (GTI, 2015).

Boko Haram terrorism arguably remains one of the biggest threats to global peace and stability in contemporary times (Okoli, Al Chukwuwuma & Lortyer, 2014:44). Since the

dawn of this millennium, the incidence of terrorism has been on a steady rise worldwide with the manifestation of terrorism most evident in Africa, and in Nigeria in particular where the phenomenon has found expression in the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism (Okoli, Al Chukwuwuma & Lortyer, 2014). Since its advent, this particular sectarian insurgency has wreaked immense havoc in the country, especially because explosives and firearms are used with gruesome and fatal consequences (Awake June, 2008:6). A critical corollary of this violence is a dire humanitarian crisis that threatens human security in Nigeria where acts of terrorism are perpetrated by a Nigerian sect of militants popularly known as Boko Haram fundamentalists. Before now, different sects arose in Nigeria with a lesser militancy approach in prosecuting their respective objectives (DCCN, 2009). Prominent among them were the Odua People's Congress (OPC) of the Yoruba race, the Bakassi Boys Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (BBMASSOB) of the Igbos, and the Niger-Delta militants in the southern part of Nigeria. Others without a particular identity also lurk dormant within the Nigerian system. However, prominent among these groups is the on-going Boko Haram terrorism movement, which was the subject of investigation of this study.

The term 'Boko Haram' is of the conception that western secular education is Islamically prohibited and that it is an aberration that is highly regarded as a sinful practice by the Boko Haram fundamentalists. A study that was conducted by Olagunju (2012) unfolds that, at the outset of the new millennium, this group sprang up under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf who hailed from the north-eastern part of Nigeria. It was originally a small, religious Islamic organization and social movement that intended to articulate the collective interest of the poor masses. Therefore, the question of how the Boko Haram religious group waxed stronger and metamorphosed into a predatory, life-threatening phenomenon today remains an everyday challenge that cuts across different fields of academic study. It was this phenomenon that prompted the current investigation.

However, based on the findings of the study, it is established that the transformation of Boko Haram into a horrific terrorist group is closely associated with failure of the political state to meet the basic needs of the citizens.

Recently, abduction has become one of the several instruments of terrorism. The strategy has been exploited against the US ambassador to Guatemala, Haiti and Brazil; President Aramburu of Argentina (1970); the British ambassador to Uruguay; and even the entire executive body of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The OPEC

executives were released only after the terrorists had made a broadcast furthering the Palestinian cause over Austrian radio (Anger, 2002). In Africa, terrorism has taken root since the 1990s. For instance, the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania also experienced terrorist attacks by the Al- Qaeda group. Somalia and Kenya have also experienced different levels of terrorism by the Al Shabaab and Ansaru groups. Terrorists' newly adopted tactic of abduction is a modern-day strategy that is made easier with the use more sophisticated weapons in the 21st century. This tactic has also been utilized in the Niger- Delta region of Nigeria. Most recently, Nigeria has become home to abduction by Boko Haram terrorists. The abduction of about 276 school girls from Chibok in the Borno state by the dreaded Boko Haram sect only a day after the bombardment of Nyanya in Abuja remains one of the most recent atrocities committed by this group (Vanguard, 2014; This Day, 2014)..

Boko Haram terrorism is the deliberate and systematic use of violence to destroy, kill, maim and intimidate innocent citizens in order to achieve a goal or to draw national or international attention to their demands which may be impossible or difficult to achieve through normal political negotiation or on the battle field against the government's army (Chukwurah, Eme, & Ogbeje, 2015). Terrorism, whether internationalized or localized, is always politically and socio-economically motivated, although it may also show other auxiliary motives such as religious, socio-ethnic, or cultural reasons. These motives constitute the ideology for which these terrorists seek sympathy at a national and global scale and for which they are prepared to ravage Nigeria. The Boko Haram sect is undoubtedly the most blood thirsty and destructive group and is notorious for its demonic brutality, mindless savagery and intense increase in the scope of its operations (Obioma, 2009). From harmless group of 12, it has in recent times escalated to more than 10 000 violent members (Akpan et al., 2012). According to Eve and Ibietan (2012:34), Boko Haram is "an indigenous salafist group which turned itself into a salafist Jihadist movement in 2009. The group was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri with the aim of establishing a Sharia government in the Borneo state under former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff. The founder established a religious complex that included a mosque and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria and neighbouring countries enrolled their children". From the beginning, the group's manifest stated that it rejected "…western education, institutions, and agencies that go with it, including government institutions. It prefers to have a sharia law applied all over the country, but if that is difficult to grant, they would rather have a separate Islamic state carved out of Nigeria, where they can practice their religion unhindered. If this is not granted, Nigeria would be

made ungovernable". The government saw these demands as treasonable, unreasonable and unacceptable and, in an attempt to purge the group of its excesses, their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, died by an alleged extra-judicial killing in 2009. From that year onwards, under the assumption of a new leader named Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram "reinvented violence and began what can best be described as the bombardment of northern Nigeria with [a] frequency and intensity that are quite unprecedented in the history of violence in Nigeria because those who escape death by day, sleep with one eye open by night" (Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje, 2015:12). The Boko Haram sect has created widespread tension across northern Nigeria and various ethnic communities where it interrupted commercial activities and frightened investors to the extent that their activities generated concern among neighbouring countries. This unprecedented state of terrorism by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria has ruined the tranquillity of life in the northern regions of the country. Alarmingly high rates of insecurity pervade the northern regions in particular and the nation in general, and the lack of security constantly creates serious concerns among average Nigerians.

A host of previous studies suggest that the Boko Haram sect kicked off as a group of fanatic Islamic faithfuls who viewed themselves as a mouthpiece for the poor against all shackles of oppression in the north-eastern part of Nigeria (Olagunju 2012;Onuoha, 2010; Danjibo,2009.). Today, the sect has transformed and degenerated into a dreadful group of terrorists who continue to cause irreparable harm to the nation, more so than any set of militants has ever done.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Following the widespread perception that the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is religious rather than socio-economic, this research project was formulated to examine the socio-economic context of the crisis by focusing the relevant research questions on the root cause of the insurgency, the pattern of maintenance of the crisis, its socio-economic consequences on civil society, and the possible solutions to resolve the problem in Nigeria.

Boko Haram, the 'Nigerian Taliban' that operates in the north-eastern parts of Nigeria, stepped up its violent actions against the Nigerian state and its citizens by unleashing a systematic campaign of bombings, kidnappings and drive-by shootings on diverse government and civilian targets since as far back as July 2009 (Adesoji, 2010). The crisis became worse in May 2013 when President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in the worst hit north-eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. However,

according to Agbiboa (2013a:17), "these emergency measures failed emphatically and woefully and eventually turned the tide of the insurgency by strengthening the group's vigour to impose its will on Africa's most populous country". Of particular concern is the growing intensity of sophisticated arms and weapons employed by Boko Haram fighters in recent attacks, as shown in the seizures made by state security forces in northern Nigeria. Following an intensified state offensive onslaught against Boko Haram, thousands of Nigerians have fled into neighbouring countries because of the great fear of retaliatory attacks and general insecurity. In 2012,the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) announced that up to 10 000 Nigerians had fled to Niger's Diffa region, while Cameroon was hosting in excess of 44 000 Nigerian refugees and another 2 700 had fled to Chad (cited in Agbiboa,2013a:19) The vast majority of these refugees were women and children. Meanwhile, some 650 000 people remain internally displaced in north-eastern Nigeria due not only to Boko Haram's acts of domestic terrorism, but also to counter-terrorism initiatives and indiscriminate killings by the state-led Joint Military Task Force (JTF) (Baiyewu, 2014; Adrian, 2014). In an October 2014 report, the Human Rights Watch noted that Boko Haram had kidnapped over 592 persons, mostly girls, boys and women. Since April 2016, more than 20 000 people have been killed by Boko Haram terrorists and about 2.3 million have been displaced since the group began its violent campaign in 2009 (The Nation ,2016 April 20).

In trying to address the question of the root cause of the crisis, several scholars have assumed that the successful conclusion of the 2011 general elections in Nigeria was accompanied by the dreadful re-emergence of the radical Islamic terrorist sect (Aro, 2013). The system has suffered an uninterrupted and dramatic increase in violence that has been instigated by this dreadful sect, and all periodic efforts by the Nigerian government to submerge the group have been counterproductive. During the course of prosecuting their objectives, this group has destroyed property worth billions of Naira, killed thousands of innocent people, and added to the religious misconceptions that plague Nigeria (Aro, 2013). Boko Haram terrorism has been described by many research analysts as an anathema to Nigeria's sustainable development. This is evident in the sect's bombing of the UN building in Abuja and other prominent government-owned structures. The sect has openly entrenched its niche in the Nigerian consciousness and has tirelessly destroyed life and property in the northern part of the country. In executing their cardinal objective, the Boko Haram fundamentalists continue to bomb government institutions, offices, police headquarters, army barracks, event centres,

schools, universities, churches, mosques, and private property (Peterside, 2014). The most deplorable part of their operations is that many of these suicide operatives are teenagers. This statement is supported in a report by the United Nations International Children's Emergency fund (UNICEF) which states that more than 75% of the children that are involved in Boko Haram suicide bombings are girls, and that "the number of children involved in suicide attacks in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger has risen sharply over the past years, from 4 in 2014 to 44 in 2015"(UNICEF; cited in the Nation, 2016 April 12). This can be succinctly believed to be an attendant consequence of brainwashing vis-à-vis failed socio-economic and political situations of the country.

More specifically, the last straw that broke the camel's back was the abduction of a total number of 276 school girls on 15 April 2014 from the north-eastern town of Chibok in the Borno state (The Punch ,2014 April 16). Following this traumatic incident, no or little productive efforts have been made by the Nigerian government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other organizations concerned with children's welfare to salvage those children from the unprecedented disaster that befell them. It appears as if these girls were left to their own devices as the first who were found seemed to have escaped without assistance. For example, in 2014 a total of 57 managed to escape, and in May 2016 another girl was found. In October 2016 another 21 managed to escape. On 1 November 2016 and in January 2017 another 2 were found(Wikipedia, 2018). Moreover, there was recently a security alert by the State Chairman of the National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives (NANNM) to inform all nurses in Nigeria that the US embassy in Nigeria had alerted them to the fact that Boko Haram was in desperate need of nurses to care for the sick and injured abducted girls. It was alerted that nurses would simply be abducted as well and that "no nurse should be in uniform outside the hospital premises" (NANNM, 2014). This alert marked the significance of the threat in Nigeria.

Attempts to analyze the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism brought the present situation in Nigeria into the limelight as the literature portrays nothing but a scenario that replicates the Hobbesian problematique which reflects the absolute enthronement of anarchy in human society. The level of insecurity that is experienced on a daily basis due to the monstrous activities of this sect has transcended beyond what the security apparatuses can cope with. The consequences of the anarchy created by Boko Haram terrorism has produced a great deal of adverse effects on the socio-economic, political, religious, educational and health advancement of the country. As a corollary, there is currently a

gradual breakdown of the country's fiscal strength and national development because most resources have been channelled towards providing a lasting panacea and restoring peace to the nation. However, all these efforts have been to no avail. In effect, the Boko Haram sect is waxing stronger and has caused more havoc in Nigeria than any other sect of militants has ever done. In corroboration of this point, Emmanuel Oladosu (The Nation, 2013: 4) states the following:

"Since the end of the civil war, no calamity of such enormous proportion has ever befallen the fledgling nation state more than the harrow unleashed by the dreadful sect, Boko Haram. Many innocent souls have been lost, [and] property worth billions of Naira have been destroyed. Hitherto, nobody is insulated from the attack. Government officials and buildings, traditional rulers, police and military formations as well as church worshippers are targets."

Nigeria is wracked by panic on a daily basis. It is therefore no wonder that Oladosu stresses that "the fear of the invincible agitators has become the beginning of wisdom". It is suggested that certain factors that applied to other groups of Nigerian militants must have laid the foundation for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism.

Wole Soyinka, in an insightful article on the rise of Boko Haram, bitterly bemoans the fact that "when you get a situation where a bunch of people can go into a place of worship and open fire through the windows, you have reached a certain dismal watershed in the life of the nation" (Warner, 2012:38). It was also recorded that, between 20 and 24 January 2012, a spate of coordinated bomb attacks in Kano and Bauchi, in which almost two hundred people died, pushed Nigeria beyond the threshold of security (Warner, 2012:38). Boko Haram has introduced into the Nigerian public space a level of insurgency that has never before been witnessed in in this country. Suicide bombings, roadside shootings and bomb attacks characterize their modus operandi. Commencing with its engagement in simple attacks by employing simple weapons to create sectarian violence, Boko Haram has become audacious, sophisticated, and coordinated over time. It destroyed around 600 people in various attacks in 2011, and the number of casualties doubled in the first four months of 2012 (Pothuraju, 2012:1). The initial demands of the group included the establishment of unadulterated Sharia law, the prosecution of those responsible for the extrajudicial killing of their leaders in 2009, and the release of their detained members (Sango, 2012:1).

Undoubtedly, their policy of suicide bombings, shootings and the killing of ordinary citizens is aimed at inciting ethno-religious violence in Nigeria (Sango, 2012:1).

An influential factor that still fuels the maintenance of the crisis in Nigeria is the transnational nature of Boko Haram terrorism. This threat looms large as the group's influence extends beyond Nigeria's national borders to neighbouring countries where citizens' lives are subjected to unprecedented levels of stress from Boko Haram terrorists. In light of this observed scope of the problem, it could well be that the transnational nature of the insurgency could be attributed to political, community and international support offered to the sect. This was an aspect that was explored in depth in the current study. Moreover, it was surmised that the problem was compounded by the group's exponential rise and swift radicalization, and that Nigeria and its neighbouring countries would become increasingly embattled with issues of individual physical security even as they strive to suppress the decades-long economic hardships caused by the irrational policies of successive regimes. There is no doubt that Boko Haram's reign of terror is ongoing and escalating and that it is plaguing the Nigerian system; yet there has hitherto been no sign of promising efforts to stop the mayhem. Instead, the Nigerian population is periodically exposed to new variants of terrorism. This complex situation seems to be entrenched in the Nigerian system and it makes it more complicated for Nigeria to win the war against Boko Haram.

Rgardless of Boko Haram's rationale for the insurgency that was given impetus in 2009, the magnitude of their actions and the years of the havoc that these terrorists wreaked on the Nigerian community seem to have left the Nigerian state with little or no hope of arresting the atrocious situation. This state of affairs opened the door for what might possibly be controversial insights into the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

When formulating this study and during its execution, the researcher was driven by the belief that solutions to the problem could be attained through credible, confirmable and dependable answers to the research questions. This means that the root cause of the insurgency has to be established in order to address the influential factors that fan the flame of the crisis in Nigeria.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the study was to determine whether socio-economic or religious factors were drivers of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The specific objectives were to:

i. examine public perceptions on the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

ii. investigate the patterns that maintain Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

iii. examine the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria;

iv. identify possible techniques that can be adopted to resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria through the development of appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies.

1.4 Research Questions

Based on the objectives of the study, this research work aimed at finding answers to the following research questions:

i. What are the public perceptions on the root causes of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria?

ii. What patterns characterize Boko Haram terrorism and how do they maintain this form of terrorism in Nigeria?

iii. What are the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria?

iv. How can Boko Haram terrorism be resolved in Nigeria?

1.5 Aim and Scope of the Study

This study essentially aimed at exploring people's perceptions on the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The scope of the study was strictly streamlined to the socio-economic context of the insurgency. The study location was confined to the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. This is the north-central senatorial district which is one of the three senatorial districts in the north of the country. The territory is currently made up of six local government councils, namely: Abuja, Abaji, Gwagwalada, Kuje, Bwari and Kwali. However, the research study was restricted to Abuja Municipal Area Council for certain prominent reasons that shall be discussed in the methodology section of this thesis. The study population covered two different categories of stakeholders (i.e., male and female) with the age bracket ranging from the penal age of 18 and above.

Questionnaires were not administered to the participants. The study also did not involve any testing of hypotheses due to the nature of the research questions and the methods chosen for the investigation. Rather, the study adopted a qualitative methodological approach involving an ethnographic method of in-depth interviewing using semi-structured interviews as the research instrument. The choice for the adoption of an in-depth interview method was to gather a large body of credible and dependable primary data, which may not have been possible through a mere survey method. An audio recorder assisted in the procurement of oral and institutional data that were collected directly from the field as sources of information relevant to the study of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. It was argued that the chosen method would give greater leverage to the study due to its in-depth and qualitative nature. In the secondary data collection phase, relevant published scholarly literature, journal articles, newspaper reports, the electronic media, and various other print media were scrutinized and analysed. The secondary data were juxtaposed with the primary data for credibility, dependability and trustworthiness.

1.6   Significance of the Study

In light of the prevalence of the terror campaign that is sustained by members of the Boko Haram sect and the fact that all remedies have thus far been ineffectual, it is envisaged that the findings of the study will proffer new insights into the on-going discourse on the Boko Haram problematique. Most recent studies on the subject matter have not adequately addressed the cause and effect sequence of the sectarian phenomenon. In effect, there appears to be little or no conscious attempts to understand the socio-economic basis of the crisis and its humanitarian effects on national security in Nigeria. On the contrary, many people have channelled their respective opinions towards religious injunctions, particularly Islam, as the most viable context for the existence of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Therefore, this research sought to fill this gap in the literature in order to add to the extant knowledge on the subject matter. It is also expected that the study will make valuable policy recommendations on how to reposition the fight against terrorism in Nigeria in order to eradicate this scourge.

More importantly, the widespread assumptions about the cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria have made it difficult for many researchers, particularly those that have shown a high sense of research interest, to have a clear-cut understanding of the root cause of the crisis. The study was therefore fundamental in establishing the major cause of the Boko

Haram impasse in the country in order to nip in the bud all the hypothetical statements surrounding the cause of the problem. The study will therefore illuminate the direction that should be taken to tackle the menace in order to restore peace, stability and orderliness among the affected Nigerian communities.

It has been widely acknowledged that the development and sustainability of the Nigerian state may remain difficult to accomplish if no further efficacious efforts are taken to arrest the on-going situation of insecurity in the country. In this context, this study is necessary to alert the government, non-governmental and other organizations concerned to the needs of citizens who are impacted by the repeated havoc that Boko Haram inflicts on the social fabrics of the nation. Chief among these areas for retribution are socio-economic development, political stability, technological advancement, and the education and general health of the citizens.

The study will also sensitize the youth, especially those whose lives have been battered by acute poverty and social instability, to the fact that they place themselves at risk by engaging in terrorism which could compromise their future dreams and their position as tomorrow's leaders. It is hoped that, by taking positive steps towards addressing the various problems of the youth as well as making them realize that terrorism is not the last option to achieve their goals, the tremendous rate at which the youth degenerate into radicalism and terrorism in Nigeria will be reduced. Therefore, by creating various awareness programmes based on the findings of the study, incidences of violent terrorism may be radically minimized, if not completely eradicated, in the Nigerian society.

The findings of the study will help policy makers and stakeholders who are involved in the provision of basic needs, information and services to the people to understand the adverse consequences of insecurity on the quality of life of the citizenry. This will enable them to design and adopt more appropriate policies and intervention strategies that will enhance the general well-being of the populace. More importantly, the study will sensitize the government and NGOs to the causes and impact of Boko Haram terrorism which should, in turn, motivate them to improve the socio-economic infrastructure of the country. This may safeguard citizens' moral rectitude and ensure effective individual contributions to national development.

Because the fire-for-fire approach that has been adopted by the Nigerian government to submerge the terrorist group has hitherto not produced the desired result, the study is crucial to send the message to the world that terrorism cannot be fought with conventional weapons,

but that the battle could be won by a diplomatic adoption of psychological and ideological strategies that employ peaceful negotiations on equal terms.

It is undeniable that Boko Haram causes tragedy, panic, dispossession, social dislocation, irreparable loss of property and the disappearance and death of loved ones. As a consequence of the magnitude of this crisis and the impact of Boko Haram insurgence on Nigerian societies, the study will of necessity convey adequate information and ideas to the Nigerian state through fieldwork research. This will certainly offer significant steps forward towards operationalizing appropriate strategies for conflict resolution in Nigeria.

1.7   Analytical Explanation of Key Concepts

The seven basic concepts that were central to this study are clarified and operationalized in this section. This will undoubtedly help the reader to have a clearer picture of each of the seven concepts that were used in the study, and will also facilitate an understanding of the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the study.

1.7.1   Socio-economic context

Socio-economic context delineates the perspective within which the phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency can best be discussed and understood in this thesis. This equally describes the socio-economic status (SES) of people in relation to the economic and sociological classification indicating the close relationship between people's relative to the standard of living or wealth and their social status or social position relative to other members of the society, based on their income, employment status, education, religion and cultural practices. The term 'socio-economic context', also widely referred to as 'socio-economic status' (SES), "is a loose, barely definable term used to define social, cultural, economic and environmental variables that influence an individual, group, community, society or nation" (ILO, 1986:34). Inherent in the usage of this term are variables such as socio-cultural practices that are peculiar to the group and economic and work activities. Socio-economic factors are "the sectors of an individual's activities and understandings that shape an individual as an economically active person" (ILO, 1990:44). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), "culture, social understandings, religion, unemployment and education are the main elements that are explored by socio-economics. They also present the economic activity and the economic classes within a society and indicate the stage of

development of multiculturalism and integration within the developed states and the developing economies" (ILO:44).

This study identifies socio-economic factors as the key variables responsible for the propagation of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In this context, the study refers to poverty, joblessness, illiteracy, false religious doctrine, material deprivation, state-actor terrorism, bad governance occasioned by leadership deficit and failure, non-fulfilment of social contract as regards the provision of basic amenities to the citizenry by the political state, corruption, greed, political deceit and injustice as the offshoot of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

1.7.2 Boko Haram

There is neither an academic nor an international legal consensus regarding the definition of the concept 'Boko Haram'. In the same vein, the international community has been dilatory to formulate a universally agreed upon and legally-binding definition of this concept. The complexity and nebulous nature of this concept arose from the fact that the term 'Boko Haram' is politically, socio-economically, religiously and emotionally charged. For this reason, "it has become an academic 'Eden' for many scholars due to the intricacies encountered in pinning down its etymological perception" (Okoro, 2012). Given the multiplicity of views that characterize the concept, it thus becomes onerously for anyone to manufacture the divergent views to come up with a working definition of the concept. However, an attempt would be made to pin down its conventional meaning in this study.

By definition, the term 'Boko and Haram' originates from the Hausa/Arabic languages. 'Boko' means animist, Western or non-Islamic education. 'Haram' on the other hand is an Arabic term meaning 'forbidden' or 'sacred'. By Islamic definition, the word is used to refer to anything that is prohibited by the Islamic faith, while its antonym is regarded as 'halal' (Okoro, 2012). According to Okoro, "Boko Haram can be applied to certain forbidden acts or items such as food stuff, food ingredients, pork, alcohol, etc. … Ideologically, Boko Haram opposes not just Western education, but all the attributes of Western culture and modern science." In other words, it declares Western or non-Islamic education as sinful. Put differently as agued by Okoro (2012:14), "any group that is opposed to Western culture and influence, depicted most poignantly by democracy and [the] Christian religion, will find a ready soul-mate in Boko Haram zealots". Whichever way one looks at Boko Haram, it is comprehended as an attempt to provoke fear and to intimidate the main target audience,

which could either be a government, a whole society or a group within a society. To Nwankwo (2014:19), "the goal of Boko Haram in Nigeria may be to impose an extreme interpretation of Islam and abolish Western education, and this may be the rationale for couching its atrocities under the guise of anti-Western education. It should be noted that all other aspects of Western culture-democracy, Christianity and so forth, are inseparable in any significant way from its educational component". More specifically, Boko Haram is an Islamist movement that strongly opposes man-made laws and westernization. It is regarded as a Jihadist militant organization based in the north-east of Nigeria and northern Cameroon. As an indigenous group, it transformed itself into a Jihadist group and proposes that interaction with the Western world is forbidden. According to Nwankwo (2014), it supports opposition to the government of Nigeria.

Furthermore, the nomenclature 'Boko Haram' is derived from a combination of the Hausa word *'boko'* (book or Western education) and the Arabic word *'haram'* (unlawful). If combined, Boko Haram means 'Western education is unlawful' (Onuoha, 2012). Boko Haram was derived as "a nickname given to the movement by outsiders by truncating a slogan repeated by the late Mohammed Yusuf on video discs, prohibiting not just the colonial European format of literacy but any collaboration with the neo-colonial state" (Manfredi, 2014:2). However, Boko Haram has rejected the designation 'Western education is unlawful'; instead, it prefers the slogan, 'Western culture is forbidden'. As a senior member of the group explained, "culture is broader, as it includes education but [is] not determined by Western education" (Onuoha, 2012:136). In northern Nigeria, a distinction is often drawn between *makarantan boko* (schools providing 'Western' education) and *makarantan addini* (schools for religious instruction) or *makarantan allo* (schools of the state that are understood to be Koranic schools)" (Danjibo, 2009:8). Across northern Nigeria, *makarantan boko* continues to be linked to endeavours by evangelical Christians to convert Muslims who fear southern economic and political domination. Isa (2010:322) argues that Boko Haram implies a "sense of rejection" and "resistance to imposition of Western education and its system of colonial social organization, which replaced and degraded the earlier Islamic order of the jihadist state", otherwise known as the "Sokoto Caliphate".

1.7.3 Terrorism

The term 'terrorism' derives from the word 'terror' meaning 'to frighten' in Latin. Alao (2011) observes that terror refers to panic and a state of emergency in Rome in response to

the approach of warriors of the Cimbri tribe in 105 BC. In contemporary times it has been adopted to mean:

> "*A wide range of deployment of forces ... targeted at a civilian population by disgruntled elements within the society to direct the attention of [a] government to the plight of militants or to force a change of government. Regardless of the problem associated with the definition, certain attributes of terrorism manifest in bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, hostage situations and hijackings*" (Alao, 2011:21).

The latter study agrees with Cunningham (2003) that a wide variety of actors, namely individuals such as Carlos Illych Ramirez (the Jackal) or the Unabomber, groups such as the Tamil Tigers, Provisional IRA, Hamas and Boko Haram, and institutions such as the Gestapo, the KGB, SAVAK and even governments and states such as the Taliban practise what could be defined as terrorism. Moreover, the engagements of America in Vietnam, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya and Egypt is also seen by some as acts of terrorism. Reich (1998) argues that terrorism is a strategy of resistance to oppression by modem states which evolved some half century after the French Revolution(1789), and the term describes a state or a regime of terror.

According to the United States Department of Defence (2013:6), terrorism is "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear [that is] intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological". Inherent in this definition are the three key elements of violence, fear, and intimidation. All three these elements compel the instigation of terror in the victims or those at the receiving end of the terrorist acts. The American Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI: 2013:6) defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives". From a military perspective, the US Department of Defence (2014:3) comprehends terrorism as "the deployment of premeditated politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience". Kashima (2003) and Martin (2003) add to the scholarly debate about what constitutes terrorism by stating that what is blithely understood as acts of terrorism might be perceived as a struggle for emancipation from the shackles of oppression.

Terrorism has been described as a worldwide enigma, yet there is no universal consensus in terms of what constitutes a terrorist. The definition of terrorism remains so multifarious that several attempts put forward by various experts on the subject remain unresolved. According to Anger (2002), a commonly accepted definition of terrorism has been difficult to devise due to reasons of politics rather than semantics. This is because every party tends to define terrorism to suit its own purpose or motive. Dickson (2005), as cited in Tersoo and Terzungwe (2015), thinks that terrorism is the "premeditated use, or threat of use of violence or force, to gain political objectives through intimidation of a targeted audience…. It is an act of deliberate violence against individuals or groups". It is important to note that Dickson's definitional attempt may be seen as narrow because terrorists now pursue religious and economic ends as well as political ones. To Clausewitz (2009), terrorism is the continuation or extension of war, yet it differs from conventional kinds of war. The latter author argues that it transforms on occasion into guerrilla warfare, but unlike guerrillas, terrorists are unable or unwilling to take power or hold territory. According to Goldstein, (1999), terrorism refers to political violence that deliberately and indiscriminately targets civilians. Wittkopf and Kegley (1999:12) support Goldstein's view when they reiterate that terrorism is, according to Title 22 of the United States Code (USC), "premeditated, politically motivated violence that is perpetrated against non-combatant (civilian) targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience". Similar to Dickson's perception, Todd and Keith perceive terrorism as "the premeditated use of, or the threat to use, extra-normal violence or brutality to gain a political objective through intimidation or fear" (Todd & Keith, 1995). Although the instruments of terror are varied and the motivations of terrorists are diverse, experts agree that terrorism is "the use or threat of violence, a method of combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals that [are] aimed to induce a state of fear in the victim, as well as ruthless decisions that do not conform to humanitarian norms, and in which publicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy" (Laqueur, 1987 in Wittkopf & Kegley, 1999). The Nigerian Terrorism Prevention Act of 2011 describes terrorism as "calculated and extreme use of violence or threatened violence, perpetuated by malice, to cause serious harm or violence against individuals, governments and their assets with the intention to attain political, religious or ideological goals, through intimidation or coercion or instilling fear on civilian population" (Federal Republic of Nigeria Terrorism Prevention Act 2011:1).

However, none of these cited definitions of terrorism, no matter how extensive or detailed, can claim to capture the whole idea of terrorism as used and understood by different people. It is on this account that some scholars argue that a comprehensive definition of terrorism does not actually exist and may not be devised in the predictable future. Based on this argument, the hyperbolized quotation argues that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter and one nation's liberation movement can always be another's terrorist organization". For instance, Osama Bin Laden was an indispensable instrument in al-Qaeda's quest for freedom, but the Americans launched a US$3 billion project in August 1998 by firing at least 15 American missiles at the US president's orders against the same man (Gasper, 2001:3). In another instance the Jewish underground movement in Palestine, which was referred to as 'terrorists' in the 1930s, was suddenly described as 'freedom fighters' after the 1942 Holocaust (Dickson, 2005). However, in an attempt to comprehend the concept of terrorism, the scholar should seek the motive of a person or a group of people seek for the use of force against at non-combatant or civilians to attract or motivate an action. Therefore, whatever the argument of scholars may be regarding this subject, it is a truism that terrorism occurs on a global scale and that it ravages national security and world peace. Considering the theoretical and conceptual arguments of this study, two forms of terrorism were deemed relevant to this research, namely state-actors terrorism and non-state actors terrorism.

(a)   State-actors terrorism is also known as 'state terrorism'. It is a form of terrorism that is practised by a government against its own people. It is said to be "a calculated use of violence, force or threat against the people by instilling fear through the use of intimidation or coercion with a view of achieving specific goals and objectives" (Ogunrotifa, 2013). In the same vein, state-actors terrorism is a form of counter-terrorist acts and tactics used by a state to suppress dissent, rebels, anti-status quo, and violent opposition to its rule among its citizens. State terrorism entails the use of terrorism against weaker states and the use of state institutions to sponsor or provide logistical support for foreign combatant sects that engage in individual terrorism against their own state. For instance, in Nigeria the Joint Task Force (JTF) embarked upon a militarized campaign to fight against Boko Haram insurgents, which is a classic example of state-actor terrorism. Similar examples of this form of terrorism also cut across a wide range of global societies such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Europe and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

(b) Non-state actors terrorism is also called 'individual terrorism'. It is a form of terrorism that is perpetrated by an individual or a group with a view to taking over a territory or championing a cause or expressing grievances over a general state of affairs with the purpose of intimidating or coercing a government, individuals or groups to accept their ideology or their course of action. It is a kind of terrorism carried out by sect(s) or non-state actor(s) against the state and the ruling class with the aim of attaining certain objectives. They do not trust the police, courts or other state institutions, and whenever they feel aggrieved, they seek various means of diffusing their grievances such as through maiming, killing, disorderliness and violence. Individual terrorism includes suicide bombings, kidnapping of key political figures, wanton destruction of lives and property, assassinations, and the killing of individuals believed to oppose their interests (Ogunrotifa, 2013). Examples of such groups are Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Al-Shabaab, and ISIS which operates in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Mali and the Middle East, as well as other individual terrorist organizations that operate in various parts of the world.

1.7.4 Class

Class connotes a group of people in society that have the same relationship in terms of means of production and governance (Ogunrotifa, 2013). The class which owns and controls the means of production rules society. In the contemporary world, the capitalist system has generated a class system within societies that revolves around class differences. This thesis highlights four major categories of class that define the Nigerian society.

- Ruling class: This refers to a broad group of people that controls the economic and political power of the state and of society. They are in possession of material wealth; they own the means of production and exercise power and authority to shape the political and economic direction of the country. The ruling class thus comprises the economic elite (capitalist/business sector leaders) as well as the political elite (representatives in government, people of political power, the wealthy, politicians, and hired political managers) of the country.

- Middle class: This refers to a broad group of people that constitutes the administrative bulk of the governance structure. It is a class that stands or falls

socio-economically between the ruling class and the working class. Professionals such as lawyers, university lecturers, doctors, nurses, teachers, policemen, members of the armed forces, civil/public servants, engineers, and business managers abound in this class. The nature and attributes of the middle class depend on high educational status, professional qualifications, and lifestyles that are inclined towards those of the ruling class.

- Working class: This term denotes a broad group of people that does not own any means of production and that is not related to the administrative structures and governance of the state or society. A wide range of people falls into this category and comprises people who sell their physical labour and often their fundamental human rights to earn a living. They do not own mines, oil wells, land, capital, factories and other means of production but they contribute directly to the production processes.

- Lumpen class: This category refers to peasants, artisans, the unemployed and other groups in the society that are regarded as 'parasites' that live and feed on the sweat and labour of other classes in the society. The members of the lumpen class are arguably the majority of the population. This group comprises millions of teeming labourers, peasant farmers, jobless graduates, underemployed workers, criminals, beggars, prostitutes, the poor, the aged and other social strata that lie outside the wage-labour system. Prior to the study, there were strong suggestions that it is this class that contributes most significantly to the increasing size and power of the Boko Haram sect although the sect has representatives from all four the classes of the Nigerian society. This point was a particular focus of the current study.

1.7.5 Sect

A sect (or often more commonly referred to as a 'gang') can be described as a small group of people who exhibit opinions that are contrary to those held by the masses of society, but who see themselves as the fighters for the rights of the majority. They are said to be non-state actors or a group of people forming a distinct faction within a larger group on the basis of shared beliefs and specific objectives (Ogunrotifa, 2013). Sects usually comprise religious groups, ethnic militias, rebels, fascist organizations, and anarchist/insurgent groups. It is

noteworthy that the Boko Haram sect targets members of the lumpen class for recruitment and membership. In effect, the majority of the sect originates from the lumpen class.

1.7.6 Conflict

Marxists define conflict as "a class struggle, trial of strength, clash, or a disagreement between two or more parties … which usually results from material deprivation vis-à-vis [the] failure of the political state to distribute resources uniformly across the civil society" (See Giddens, 2010). Such situations are believed by Karl Marx to create the 'impetus' or 'tonic' for the transformation of various societies. Conflict as a social reality has been part and parcel of human existence. Whether it is in the 'state of nature' as described by Thomas Hobbes, or the history of ancient or modern empires, or even contemporary history that is marked by the emergence of the modern nation-states, all have witnessed one form of conflict or another. Africa, like other continents of the world, has witnessed series of conflicts. Some of these conflicts were anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles (South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia), civil wars (Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo), and communal cum ethno-religious and political conflicts such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Niger-Delta Militants, the Niger-Delta Avengers (NDA), the Fulani Herdsmen, the Tiv-Jukun, Ife-Modakeke, Pan-Gamai, Hausa/Fulani-Birom, Afizere and Anaguta, to mention a few. Absence of conflict is a recipe for growth and development and the effects of conflict determine whether a society will move forward or backward. Because the absence of conflict is said to be an indispensable ingredient for the growth and development of any nation, the quest to resolve it has increasingly attracted the attention of policy makers, governments, non-governmental organizations and scholars across the global spectrum.

1.7.7 Insurgency

Scholars and theorists have offered different definitions of insurgency over time and space. Criticisms of widely held ideas and actions about insurgency began to occur in the works of the 1960s, and they are still prevalent in recent studies (Robert & Timothy, 2009). While some of these definitions are closely related, others are not overtly related but contain common elements; however, this still makes the subject technically difficult to understand.

Liolio (2013:7) posits that "insurgency is not terrorism or conventional war, [but argues that] they share some similarities such as the use of force or guerrilla tactics to achieve an end

which is often political". Basically, the difference between insurgency and terrorism lies in the scope and magnitude of the violence that is employed (Liolio, 2013). For instance, where terrorism rarely brings about political change on its own, insurgency attempts to bring about change through forceful use of arms. Terrorists often apply a wider range of force compared to insurgents. Moreover, where conventional warfare involves adversaries that are more or less symmetric in equipment or training, insurgency involves adversaries that are asymmetric and weak. Traditionally, insurgents seek to overthrow an existing order and replace it with one that is commensurate with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals (Gompert & Gordon, 2008).

Kilcullen (2006:12) argues that insurgency is "a struggle to control a contested political space between a state (and a group of states or occupying powers) and one or more popularly based non-state challenger/s". The author also tries to draw a line between classical and contemporary insurgencies. Thus, while the latter seeks to replace the existing order, the former sometimes strives for the expulsion of foreign invaders from a given territory, or it seeks to fill an existing power vacuum. In summary, insurgency connotes "an internal uprising [that occurs] often outside the confines of a state's laws and it is often characterized by social-economic and political goals as well as military or guerrilla tactics". Put differently, it is "a protracted struggle carefully and strategically executed to accomplish certain goals with an eventual aim of replacing the existing power structure" (Kilcullen, 2006:12).

Robert and Timothy (2009:13) view insurgency "as a rebellion against authority (for example, an authority recognized as such by the United Nations) when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents". To them, "an insurgency can be fought via counter-insurgency warfare, and may also be opposed by measures to protect the population, and by political and economic actions of various kinds aimed at undermining the insurgents' claims against the incumbent regime". When insurgency is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land, its use is neutral. However, when it is used by a state or another authority under threat, insurgency often carries the implication that the rebels' cause is illegitimate, whereas those rising up will see the authority itself as being illegitimate. Sometimes one or more simultaneous insurgencies may occur in a country. The Iraqi insurgency is a classic example of a recognized government versus multiple groups of insurgents. Robert and Timothy(2009) argue that some historic insurgencies, such as the Russian Civil War, "were

multipolar rather than straightforward models made up of two sides". The Boko Haram insurgency, coupled with other existing insurgent groups, is a prominent example in the Nigerian context.

Insurgency, like terrorism, has no single definition but it is often presumed to be synonymous with terrorism and guerrilla warfare, and in this context these terms are sometimes used interchangeably. A key distinction is that an insurgency is a movement; i.e., a political effort with a specific mission to accomplish some socio-political and economic goals. By the same token, the disparity between insurgency and terrorism comes down to the intent and the mission of the individual actors. In Tomes's (2004) opinion, "insurgency movements and guerrilla forces could adhere to international norms regarding the law of war in achieving their goals, but terrorists are by definition conducting crimes under both civil and military legal codes". The latter author (Tomes, 2004:8) also argues that insurgents differ in their use of tactics and techniques, but that the following four elements typically encompass and define an insurgency:

    i.   Cell-networks which are used to maintain secrecy;

    ii.   Terrorism which is always used to foster insecurity among the population;

    iii.   Multi-faceted attempts to cultivate support among the general population;

    iv.   Attacks against the government and the political state occur as a matter of course.

1.8 Dissertation Overview

The thesis comprises seven chapters.

Chapter One is the introductory section and provides a brief descriptive essay on the research topic, the background to the research, and the statement of the problem. This chapter also illuminates the significance of the study and highlights the aim, scope, objectives and research questions. The key concepts that were deemed relevant and central to an understanding of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria are also elucidated.

Chapter Two focuses on introducing the rationale for the study that was anchored in a review of relevant literature and other scholarly investigations. The chapter critically reviews previous studies and thus identifies the gaps in the literature with specific reference to Boko

Haram terrorism. The discourse attempts to address the relevant research questions that related to this phenomenon before the field work phase of the study was commenced.

Chapter Three provides a theoretical framework for the study by illuminating relevant theoretical models which served as a blueprint according to which Boko Haram terrorism could be better investigated, explained and understood. The chapter explores the social exchange, social conflict and rational choice theories to account for the wide variety of factors that prompted and sustained Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Chapter Four focuses on a description of the methodological strategies that were employed in the execution of the study. The research design and methods are described and justified and the study setting (or study location) is discussed. The chapter also describes the various steps that were undertaken in generating and analyzing the qualitative data. The chapter systematically addresses the objectives of the study while incorporating excerpts from the data under specific themes. The discourse entails a detailed discussion of the ethical considerations that underpinned the study, with particular reference to participant anonymity, confidentiality, privacy and informed consent that were adhered to in the processes of selecting the participants and retrieving and analyzing the data. Finally, the chapter presents the strengths and limitations of the study and discusses how the challenges that were encountered were overcome in order to achieve the stated objectives of the research.

Chapter Five focuses on the analysis, interpretation, and presentation of the data that were collected during the fieldwork phase of the project. The chapter also addresses the findings that emerged from the identified themes for comparative and reflective purposes.

Chapter Six also discussed part of the study findings with reference to emerging themes for comparison and scholarly reflection

Chapter Seven concludes this thesis. It presents a summary of the main findings, draws relevant conclusions, and offers policy recommendations and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The concept of terrorism has become a major concern in philosophies, humanities and in the social sciences following the early writings of Thomas Hobbes, Talcott Parsons, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and other philosophers who critically delved into the discursive framework of the Enlightenment epoch and the qualitative effects of the French Revolution of 1789 on the European society (Fukuyama, 1992). Although none of these philosophers singled out terrorism as a study, each commented on it in the course of explaining other pertinent social vices at that time. Terrorism regained renewed academic vigour following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Soviet Russia, the counter-revolutionary violence of 1919 in Hungary, and the events of 1919 in Spain and 1925 in Germany. Coupled with the attendant crises of these events and the violence and social dislocations that heralded the cold war period (Fukuyama, 1992 cited in Ogunrotifa, 2013), terrorism became a force to be reckoned with. The post-cold war era did not usher in a new lease of peace and the end of terroristic history, as suggested by Francis Fukuyama (1992). Rather, it has been characterized by brutal killings and campaigns of terrorism and violence in countries such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the defunct Yugoslavia. The nature of conflict thus changed from international to local platforms where different state actors and non-state actors engaged in terrorism to express their discontent and to defend their respective interests.

The escalation of terrorism and the wave of global insecurity that shaped the advent of the 21st century were the products of unsettled issues that the cold war had generated (Ogunrotifa, 2013). Deepening contradictions and the fallout of these unresolved issues came to the fore following the attack on the New York Trade Centre and Washington DC in 2001, and terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004, in London in 2005, and in Oslo in 2011 on the one hand, and attacks in non-Western countries such as Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen and Nigeria on the other hand (Onuoha, 2012; Ogunrotifa, 2013).

In Nigeria, savage killings and wanton destruction of property characterize the on-going terrorist attacks by Boko Haram insurgents in the northern part of the country, whereas the recent Niger-Delta crisis in the southern region of the country was instigated by sectarian

groups and militants as a protest against the Nigerian state (Osaghea, 2005). According to Osaghea, Nigeria's internal security remained extremely volatile following a spate of shootings, kidnappings, bombings and suicide assaults at the time. Almost every week during this period as argued by Osaghea, there were reports of attacks or threats, putting the security agencies on high alert. The carnage caused by a series of bombings of most towns and cities left over a hundred dead bodies in its wake, while charred remains of vehicles dotted the affected places and many public buildings went up in smoke.

Globally, terrorism has permeated every facet of international society after the September 11 attacks in the US, and the subsequent 'war on terrorism' has left few areas unaffected by the hysteria caused by the threat of terrorism. Since then, the study of terrorism has preoccupied the attention of scholars with a view to establishing a viable foundation for the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the contemporary epoch (Ogunrotifa, 2013).

Basically speaking, the issues surrounding acts of terrorism have for centuries been a global scourge. As a result of this, the published works of distinguished scholars have raised and addressed many issues relating to these problems. In this context, a review of international research on Boko Haram terrorism revealed several explanations for why this phenomenon still persists in Nigeria despite many attempts to stamp it out. In an attempt to illuminate the findings of the various studies that have been conducted on the topic, the review of previous research and empirical studies is sub-divided into the following sections:

  i.   Socio-historical springboard of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

  ii.   Boko Haram's ideology and the human condition in north-eastern Nigeria.

  iii. The rationale for Boko Haram's revolt.

  iv.   Youth membership of Boko Haram terrorism.

  v.   Constitutional issues and Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

  vi.   A panoramic and chronological overview of Boko Haram's activities in Nigeria.

  vii. Attempted measures to submerge Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

2.1.1 Socio-historical springboard of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria

The historical conjecture of the birth of Boko Haram in Nigeria is robed with the chains of controversy. Different studies have persistently argued that the activities of Boko Haram fundamentalists kicked off in the year 2002, while some argue that it was an attendant

consequence of 2011 general elections. These submissions are sharply contradicted by a study that was conducted by Ekanem, Dada and Ejue (2012:232), who assert that the Boko Haram activities were predated to the 2011 general elections. They argue that this political era was not the first time in the Nigerian history that people engaged in different forms of political and ethnic revolt with some degree of religious undertone, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria. According to the latter scholars, Boko Haram has been in existence since the 1960s, but only began to draw attention in 2002. It is on record that this particular sect operated under the name 'Shabaab Muslim Youth Organization' with Mallam Abubakar Lawal as the leader from 1995. However, the leadership of the group shifted to Mallam Mohammed Yusuf when Mallam Lawal left Nigeria to continue his education in Saudi Arabia. It was the leadership of Mallam Mohammed Yusuf that allegedly guided the group to political influence and popularity (Joe, 2012). There is therefore no denying the fact that Boko Haram fundamentalism was officially founded by Mallam Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri in the north-eastern region of Nigeria, with the particular aim of establishing a Sharia government in Borno and its neighbouring state (Toni, 2011). From 2002, after Yusuf's installation as the sect's leader, Boko Haram styled itself after al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Following Mohammed Yusuf's declaration that democracy and Western education in Nigeria must be overthrown, military forces invaded the home of Boko Haram in Maiduguru and disrupted the organization, and they eventually captured Yusuf on 30 July 2009 (Onuoha & Ugwueze, 2014).

In its early days, many observers saw the group as a small social movement that had been established to strive for the collective interest of the poor by correcting the political errors of the ruling class in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. Boko Haram was not a violent movement at its inception, but recently it has killed more than 5 000 civilians between July 2009 and June 2014. This figure includes at least 2 000 deaths in the first half of 2014 in a series of coordinated attacks that occurred predominantly in the north-east, north-central and central regions of Nigeria (Sergie & Johnson, 2014).

Historically, Boko Haram, as a small group with an Islamic doctrine, saw itself as a cohesive unit embarking on a vendetta to avenge the killing of its members. For this reason, coupled with its rejection of Western education, the group is often compared to the Maitatsine movement of the 1970s and 1980s in northern Nigeria (Toni, 2011; Agbiboa, 2013c; Thurston, 2016). The Maitatsine group, led by Mohammed Marwa, condemned the reading of books other than the Quran. Marwa's ideology originated from the fact that he claimed

to be a prophet in the image of Usman Dan Fodio – Boko Haram's founding leader, as some Islamic scholars submitted. This also stems from the belief that Boko Haram's ideology was inspired by the sect's determination and commitment to eradicate what they thought were heresies and to implement the Sharia legal codes in Nigeria. To achieve this aim, Boko Haram has persisted in its belief that the political regime in Nigeria should change, because in its view a democratic and secular constitution contravenes the Sharia law and is an affront to the laws of Allah. Scholarly writings confirm that Boko Haram conducted its operations relatively peacefully during the first seven years of its existence. However, there were repeated warnings that the group was potentially dangerous and a threat to the government, but such warnings were ignored partly because the group had once been used as a political leverage in the election of the then Borno state governor, Sheriff Musa (The Guardian, 2009).

Aliyu Tilde (2012) observes that, before the onset of the insurgency crisis, the sect's leader (Muhammed Yusuf) wrote a series of letters to the Borno State government and the Borno Commissioner of Police in which he called for the compensation of the families of those who had been killed by the police during the funeral procession of their members who had been killed extra-judicially. He followed these letters with a personal visit to the police, but all appeals fell on deaf ears. He then urged the Inspector General of police and the Yar'adua administration several times to intervene, but nothing was done to b r i n g the culprits to book. He began to issue threats to the government and the police, castigating Yar'adua's government and labelling Yar'adua as an oppressor who led an unjust government. Muslim leaders and scholars who opposed his threat against the government were declared hypocrites and unbelievers, which is a dire insult in the Muslim faith. He and his members began to arm themselves while receiving support from many who sympathized with them and who held grievances against the 'jungle justice' approach of the Nigerian police. It is said that he received sympathy even from some non-Muslims who allegedly bailed him out on occasions when he was detained by the police on the ground of perceived breach of peace due to his threats to Yar'adua's government (Tilde, 2012).

The reciprocal action of Boko Haram to engage in the use of terrorism as a response to the use of state terrorism by the police and the Nigerian ruling class "is a dialectical process that is shared through socio-class relations" (Ogunrotifa, 2013). While the material condition for Boko Haram to strike and embark on a revenge mission was ripe, the catalyst for such a mission was linked to the perceived threat to its leaders and members, and until that

happened, the sect remained in the background while arming itself. As the sect was preparing for insurrection, the Nigerian government was aware of this fact and prepared to counter any aggression. The security information available to the government suggested that the sect might strike any time and, in order to prevent that, a pre-emptive strike under the code name 'Operation Flush' was launched on the sect's hideout in the Dutsen Tanshi area of Bauchi on 26 July 2009 by a joint security team. During this operation, nine of its members were arrested and materials for making bombs and other weapons were confiscated (Adesoji, 2010:98). This led to a reprisal attack on the police and prison formations on the same day. The leader of the group, Yusuf, was subsequently arrested and he died later in police custody.

The insurgency which started in Bauchi quickly spread to the six northern states of Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Kano, Kaduna and Katsina. This left hundreds of people dead and several houses, churches, police stations, prisons, government offices, schools and government property were burnt and destroyed (Adesoji, 2010:99). Danjibo (2009) notes that more than 500 members of the sect were killed by government security forces in Borno. In Bauchi, 41 persons, including a soldier and a police officer, lost their lives while in Yobe State, 43 persons lost their lives. The sect also suffered some casualties. By the time the violence was curtailed, between 1 000 and 1 400 people had lost their lives with inestimable damage to property. The sect was said to have used propelled grenades, locally produced bombs and AK 47 riffles in carrying out these attacks against civil society (Danjibo, 2009).

A study by Freedom Onuoha (2012) suggests that, in the aftermath of the five-day revolt, over 3 500 people were internally displaced, more than 1 264 children were orphaned, and more than 392 women were widowed. In addition, 28 policemen and five prison warders, as well as an undisclosed number of soldiers, were killed. Properties were destroyed, including 48 buildings, three primary schools, more than 12 churches and a magistrate's court. The Boko Haram uprising of 2009 was finally quelled when its founder—Mohammed Yusuf—was captured by the military and handed over to the police for interrogation. He died while in police custody, although the police and the Nigerian government denied that he was executed, claiming that he was shot when trying to escape from police custody. This claim was faulted by the Al-Jazeera news agency who reported that his body had been found in the street, still handcuffed. This raised concerns that he had been the victim of an extra-judicial execution. This is confirmed by documentary and video evidence made available by an online blog that shows that the Boko Haram

leader and other members of the sect were extra-judicially executed by the security forces in the aftermath of the uprising (Onuoha, 2012). Onuoha also observes that the news of the crisis of 25 to 30 July 2009, which led to the alleged extra-judicial execution of Mohammed Yusuf, spread across the four northern states of Bauchi, Kano, Yobe and Borno. Reports reveal that the demise of the Boko Haram leader was an unfortunate incident that established the platform from which the Armageddon was launched by Boko Haram insurgents in the Nigerian state. The aftermath of this is experienced to this day.

The use of state terrorism in the extra-judicial killing of the Boko Haram leader suggests that this gruesome murder was a deliberate action by the Nigerian ruling class to establish its supremacy, and that it was an action worse than any other form of crime (Onuoha, 2010). The Nigerian government regarded his death as 'justice', but justice traditionally means a due process of law according to which a person who is accused of even the most heinous crime is entitled to appear before a court presided over by a judge and jury with a lawyer to conduct his defence. In other words, every person is entitled to a fair trial. Mohammed Yusuf had no trial. He was simply gunned down in the police station because the verdict had been decided in advance. If he was indeed guilty of treason, terrorism and other associated crimes, why not put him on trial? It is quite obvious that, from the standpoint of the 'war against terror', the capture of Mohammed Yusuf would have been more advantageous because of the intelligence that could have been gleaned from interrogating him and his supporters, who were also killed. It can only be surmised that the reason the Nigerian establishment did not want him alive was because a trial would have revealed some very uncomfortable and damaging information about his contacts and past links with members of the ruling class, especially state governors, politicians, police and other members of the security forces (Onuoha, 2010).

Consequent upon the harsh brutality associated with state terrorism against the sect, Boko Haram members went underground following the death of its leader. The group went dormant for more than a year before re-emerging in 2010 with a series of assassinations (Onuoha, 2012). This violence was instigated under the leadership of Imam Abubakar Shekau, who assumed control of the sect following the death of Mohammed Yusuf. Boko Haram militants carried out violent operations against government targets in the north of Nigeria, the most notable being an assault on a Maiduguri prison which resulted in the release of 700 prisoners including Boko Haram members, and a bombing in the city of Jos that killed more than 80 people. The radical re-emergence of Boko Haram in 2010

marked the notorious advent of this crisis with a wave of terrorist attacks on police stations, banks, schools, tourist centres, military installations, churches, mosques, and entire communities in the north. From January 2010 to July 2017, the Boko Haram militants claimed responsibility for a series of killings and bombings in north-eastern Nigeria and other parts of northern Nigeria as well as those in neighbouring countries. These attacks have persisted to this day, leaving many military staff and civilians dead and wounded (Onuoha & Ugwueze, 2014) and generally devastating the areas where they strike.

2.1.2 Boko Haram's ideology and the human condition in northeast Nigeria

Boko Haram's ideology is embedded in deeply traditional Islamism in northern Nigeria, and is inspired by the Quranic phrase which states: "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors" (Mustapha, 2012). By its own definition, Boko Haram claims to be 'Sunni-Salafist', which means that it is "devoted to an austere and fundamentalist interpretation of early Islam" (Mustapha, 2012). The Salafi doctrine holds that the temporal proximity to Prophet Mohammed is affiliated with the sincerest form of Islam (Barkindo, 2014). To him, Boko Haram is also jihadist, signifying a commitment to actively advance its cause. The following quote from Mohammed Yusuf supports the regressive and anti-democratic ideology of Boko Haram: "These European educated Muslims [*Yan Boko*] returned home only to confuse other Muslims, claiming that democracy is compatible with Islam, while jihad should only be for self-control". As revealed by the words of Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram stands for the principle that its members are "…for jihad, and our jihad is to put an end to democracy, to Western education and Western civilization…. The jihad is intended to make we, Muslims, return to the original state of Islam" (Zenn et al., 2013:50). The rejection by Boko Haram of everything that is Western is based on the notion of 'the unity of God' (*tawhid*), which argues against the sovereignty of states and for the sole sovereignty of God's laws (*hakimiyyah*) as the only legitimate form of governance, which in this case is the Islamic Sharia (Zenn et al., 2013). Boko Haram's approach reflects the identity and behavioural patterns of the Jama'a groups, which is "the establishment of small groups of a diffuse nature, which then infiltrate the parent non-Muslim or pseudo-Muslim society, with the ultimate aim of establishing the Muslim Sharia state through a final violent stage" (Cook, 2011:8). For these groups, "violence is a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand" (Hoffman, 2002:88; Juergensmeyer, 2003:149-50; Piazza, 2009; Asal & Blum, 2005). Boko Haram is opposed to what it perceives as a Western-based incursion that erodes traditional

values, beliefs and customs among Muslim communities. Mohammed Yusuf, the group's founder, told the BBC Hausa in 2009:

> *"There are prominent Islamic preachers who have seen and understood that present Western-style education is mixed with issues that run contrary to our beliefs in Islam. Like the rain, we believe it is a creation of God rather than an evaporation caused by the sun that condenses and becomes rain. Moreover, [it is] like saying the world is a sphere. However, if all these scientific proclamations run contrary to the teachings of Allah, they are bound to be rejected. The theory of Darwinism will also be rejected in the same vein"* (BBC, 2009).

Furthermore, Mohammed Yusuf argued that Western education "is mixed with issues that run contrary to our beliefs in Islam… our land was an Islamic state before the colonial masters turned it to a '*kafir*' [meaning 'infidel'] land, and the current system is contrary to true Islamic beliefs" (Agbiboa, 2013b:5). This statement seems to confirm Juergensmeyer's contention that "religious terrorists have goals of returning society to an 'idealized version of the past' and are therefore necessarily 'anti-democratic' and 'anti progressive'" (Cronin, 2003:330). For Cronin (2003:38), it is "the forces of history" that seem to be driving Islamist terrorism back to a much earlier time. This is illustrated by Boko Haram's tendency to view Western missions and modernity as a *jahiliyat* (i.e., an ignorant) order. The *jahiliyat*, which displaced the pre-existing Islamic order in northern Nigeria, is often seen as coterminous with widespread poverty and suffering in the region (Zenn et al., 2013). As Yusuf's former deputy, Mamman Nur, stated prior to 2009: "Dan Fodio, founder of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1804, and other Islamic scholars carried out the jihad and ensured that Quranic laws were implemented". He also argued that Allah did not interfere with this situation until Muslim leaders accepted the secular constitution from the Europeans. Since that time, there has been a universally accepted ideology that Allah took away the comfort and peace the Muslims used to enjoy and replaced it with suffering and poverty (Zenn et al., 2013:50).

Many scholarly arguments have shown that Boko Haram's ultimate objective is to overthrow the Nigerian government and create an Islamic state under the supreme law of Sharia – a goal which the group claims is inspired by Dan Fodio's Caliphate (Zenn et al., 2013). In July 2013, Boko Haram Islamists stormed a boarding school in Yobe in north-eastern Nigeria and set 29 students and one teacher ablaze. Following the killings, Abubakar Shekau, the current leader of the group, stated that the Quran teaches "that we must shun democracy, we

must shun the constitution, and we must shun Western education" (Agbiboa, 2013b:62). Akanji (2009:60) argues that Boko Haram members believe that "the best thing for a devout Muslim to do is to 'migrate' from a morally bankrupt society to a secluded place and establish an Islamic society under a strict form of Sharia devoid of political corruption and moral deprivation". Adesoji (2010) argues that, "while the implementation of Sharia in twelve northern states appeared to have pacified some conservative Islamic elements in the north, its limited application was still condemned by the Boko Haram group". According to Keller (1983:274), "an overreliance on threatening techniques not only present [sic] the image of a state which is low in legitimacy and desperately struggling to survive, but also in the long run, can do more to threaten state coherence than to aid it". Agbiboa (2013b) finally submits that an effective counterterrorism policy in Nigeria must go beyond an exclusively security-driven logic to embed counterterrorism in an overarching national security strategy that does not only appreciate the ideological context in which Islamist radicalization occurs, but that also tackles poverty and the corruption-driven alienation felt by many in northern Nigeria. These factors contribute to Boko Haram's support and justification for state insecurity.

More importantly, Onuoha (2012:7) argues that "the religious illusions masterminded by the ruling class to divide members of the public will only materialize as much as the socio-economic well-being of the people improves. Otherwise, such illusions would become a time bomb that will tear the society apart in the nearest future". According to Onuoha (ibid), "the acute poverty, unemployment, untold hardship and misery that were inflicted by the military on Nigerians vis-à-vis the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) [and] that were left unaddressed by the later democratic regime are evolving to impinge upon the consciousness of broad-ranging layers of the population". The layers of the society that have been most affected by the socio-economic crisis are the working class and the lumpen class, and thus economic hardship finds expression more predominantly in northern Nigeria than in the southern parts (Onuoha, 2012). It is in this context that the response to widespread disenchantment with the Nigerian state and its ruling class has been exploited by Boko Haram. Mohammed Yusuf—the founder of Boko Haram−was an Islamic scholar and cleric who criticized Nigerian leadership, especially in the North, for its failure to develop Nigeria and improve the socio-economic livelihood of the people. He specifically blamed Western education for training the Nigerian ruling class in the act of looting treasury (FIRA, 2011). Boko Haram's demonization of Western education can be seen as a socio-political response

to corruption and poverty brought by successive Nigerian leaders. Drawing its ideology from the Quran, Boko Haram's leaders believe that the enthronement of an Islamic state on the basis of Sharia law remains the only solution to the crises caused by corruption, unemployment, poverty, moral decadence and socio-economic problems in Nigeria (Danjibo, 2009). For example, to enthrone an Islamic state, Mohammed Yusuf posited that modern state institutions such as the civil service, government departments, security formations—police, military and other uniform personnel−should be destroyed (Danjibo, 2009:7). He then began his radical and provocative preaching against other Islamic sects, scholars and established political institutions (ibid).

The Boko Haram ideology of Mohammed Yusuf, coupled with his teachings, found appeal within the ranks of frustrated members of the lumpen class in northern Nigeria. According to Adesoji (2010), Yusuf capitalized on the dwindling economic situation and the Almajiri system in order to attract a large number of followers, especially from among commoners (i.e., the lumpen class). Criminology posits that when gangs emerge, they fill vacuums that have been left vacant by society. In the Nigerian society that is plagued by a notoriously corrupt and repressive police force, a corrupt judiciary, a crumbling infrastructure, corrupt politicians and officials, and a ruling class that has created a grotesquely unequal society vis-à-vis its backward neo-liberal capitalist policies, the alienated members of the lumpen class have found solace in sectarian groups such as the Odua Peoples' Congress, the Niger-Delta Militant group, and Boko Haram. It has been argued that frustrated members of the lumpen class are alienated victims of society rather than the exceedingly violent, opportunistic criminals they are said to be (Adesoji, 2010). In fact, the quest by the northern ruling class to maintain their hold on society and the vacuum they created by not seeing education as a priority has been exploited by the Boko Haram sect (Adesoji, 2010). Mohammed Yusuf also capitalized on the Muslims' resistance to Western education through strengthening the deeply entrenched Islamic educational system by establishing mosques and Islamic schools in which many poor Muslim families from across Nigeria and neighbouring countries enrolled their children (Ekanem, Dada & Ejue, 2012:233). This ploy has been described by critics as a recruiting centre for jihad and jihadists and to fight the state by establishing a training school for fanatics, die-hard members, and future suicide bombers. By capitalizing on the dwindling socio-economic situation in the north-eastern part of Nigeria, the Boko Haram sect grew in leaps and bounds within the short space of seven years.

It is therefore no wonder that Adedeji (1989, cited in Ninalowo, 2004:163) argues as follows:

> "*The ultimate goal of development in African societies, particularly in Nigeria, is to ensure the overall well-being of the people through the sustained improvement in their standards of living. It is this quintessential human aspect of development that underlies all other objectives that Africa will have to pursue, be it economic, socio-cultural or political. Regrettably, the realization of the objective of raising the welfare of the people has proved elusive, particularly in north-east Nigeria. Instead, immiseration and suffering impact the majority of the population in this area with an increase in the number of people who live in abject poverty and those who are perpetually vulnerable and threatened by the adversities of nature as well as the malaise of socio-economic disruptions*" (Adedeji, 1989:10).

Moreover, human conditions in north-eastern Nigeria have been exacerbated by the greed and corruption of minority leaders, thereby leaving a large number of the citizens in perpetual poverty and frustration. It is in this context that this study attempted to demonstrate that Boko Haram terrorism has been a by-product of the dehumanization of the people living in the north-eastern parts of Nigeria.

2.1.3. The rationale for Boko Haram's revolt

The philosophical understanding of Boko Haram's rebellion is closely associated with quasi-religious, socio-economic and political issues. Solomon (2013) provides evidence that the Boko Haram leader, Yusuf, was co-opted in 2002 by the then Borno state gubernatorial candidate, AliModu Sheriff, for the support of his large youth movement in exchange for the full implementation of Sharia and promises of senior government positions for his followers in the event of an electoral victory. The latter author stresses that, as the group rose to prominence, "the state's religious commissioner made an arrangement to fulfil the promises of the government as earlier declared in their political manifesto. Unfortunately, he was accused of providing resources to Yusuf, while the government had never implemented full Sharia" (African Report, 2014 April 3). However, having used Yusuf's support as a vote-catching device, the politicians then discarded him. "Feeling used and embittered, Yusuf went on to form Boko Haram in 2002 with the sole intention of making it the mouthpiece for an innumerable number of aggrieved citizens" (Solomon, 2013).

Studies have shown that the evolution of the Boko Haram crisis is closely knit with the hiring and arming of youths for political ends in Nigeria (Aniekwe & Agbiboa, 2014). According to the latter authors, "more often than not, these jobless youths are used for political and economic gains and [are] later dumped". For example, evidence from the 2003 elections in Nigeria shows how the then incumbent governor of Rivers state, Peter Odili, through the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), subverted the electoral process by exploiting youths and later discarding them. In an interview with Human Rights Watch, Tom Ateke, a leader of the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) movement, acknowledged the role he played in the 2003 elections when he noted: "Governor Odili had promised cash and jobs in great quantities for me and my boys, and in return, any place he sent me I conquered for him" (Aniekwe & Agbiboa, 2014:10). In Gombe state, a group of boys known as 'Kalare' proved to be "easy prey for politicians who offer[ed] them small amounts of money, drugs, alcohol and weapons in exchange for engaging in acts of intimidation and assault or simply to accompany their campaign in a demonstration of muscle" (ibid). Gaskia (ibid) notes that, with the elections in the Niger Delta in 2003, politicians from the major political parties "mobilized and surreptitiously armed groups of unemployed and disenchanted youths and deployed them to cause mayhem and manipulate the electoral process". In this manner the party which controlled the state government got the upper hand. These political elite rivalries, coupled with a struggle for turf, contributed immensely to the rise of armed militancy and inter-militant armed violence which preceded the 2003 elections and became consolidated in the period between the 2003 and 2007 during the general elections in the Niger Delta (Aniekwe & Agbiboa, 2014:10).

The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria states that there will be no state religion. This means that society is guaranteed freedom of religion and that any form of discrimination on the basis of religious belief is forbidden. Section 10 of the Constitution also specifies that Nigeria, or any of its sub-units, shall not adopt any religion as a state religion (Nigerian Constitution, 1999:24). This stated position presupposes that Nigeria a secular state. However, the Nigerian experience is parallel to secularism in continental Europe which tends to ban religion from public life and confines it to the private sphere. In principle, secularism calls for the separation of government institutions and personnel from their religious counterparts. Put in political context, it means the separation of religion and government (Idahosa, 2015:18).

A more recent study by Thurston (2016) reveals that the separation of the state and religion is fundamental to the understanding of the rise of political Islam in Nigeria. Christianity and Islam are two major influences on the socio-economic, cultural and political life of the country. Each believes it has a special relationship with God that excludes other religions. This struggle for superiority is reflective of differences that belie a collective response to the violence behind religious fundamentalism in Nigeria. Rather than have a common platform for engagement, each perspective revolves around a domestic agenda that seeks greater access to resources and political influence. Though much has been written on political Islam, there is no general agreement on a single definition. This has created not only the problem of conceptualization, but also poses a corresponding problem of prefixing, as argued by Idahosa (2015). However, the issues generated by these polemics were not the focus of this study, yet this creates an assumption for the position of a conceptual plurality that is necessary for an understanding of political Islam, militant Islam, radical Islam, extremist Islam, fundamentalist Islam and revolutionary Islam. An understanding of these categories becomes necessary as they are believed to characterize political Islam with a high tendency for political polarity (Idahosa, 2015:19)

Many studies that focus on Boko Haram activities in Nigeria make a clear-cut assumption that the rise of the sect occurred as a result of state neglect owing to corruption and the relative deprivation of a large percentage of the citizens by the government (Lukman, 2007;Rogers, 2012;Onuhoa, 2014; Awojobi, 2014). Central to this argument is that escalating poverty in Nigeria is accentuated by unabated trends in youth unemployment and political corruption. The resultant cost is what is deemed to have created the right conditions for the rise of radical Islamist terrorism as is experienced with Boko Haram terrorism. According to Isa (2010:329), "the rising popularity of militant Islamist movements in northern Nigeria can be attributed to a combination of factors, including: increased inequality, injustices, poverty, failed social services as well as a failed Structural Adjustment Programme". However, this perspective is fraught with over generalization in that it could explain the rise of militant Islamic groups in some countries while it fails to do so in others. For example, it does not fully explain the conditions that led to the spill-over effects of the activities of Boko Haram in Cameroon (officially the Republic of Cameroon; French the *République du Cameroun*) (Isa, 2010:330).

Beyond the state neglect perspective that was expounded above, Isa (ibid) argues that the idea of a civilization clash between opposing socio-cultural entities is a powerful metaphor

with which to interpret the rise of radical Islam. Huntington (1996) warns that the victim of modern conflicts will not be empires or states, but civilization itself, and argues that there are eight categories of civilizations and purposes that have the potential to threaten global peace. Fundamentally, this conflict will occur between the Islamic and the Judeo-Christian faiths. The primary attachment of those who are caught up in the Islamic civilization is to their religion and not to their nation-state. This is currently exemplified by the philosophy that underpins the Islamic states in Iran and Syria (ISIS). According to scholars and observers such as Adesoji (2010),Pham (2011), Olagunju (2012), Pham (2016) and Thurston (2016), Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is a product of an attempt by some northern states to Islamize the entire country. According to Olagunju (2012:10), it is thought that Boko Haram fundamentalists frown on Western education and, for this reason, many think that its members are actually illiterates. However, it has come to light that they are not illiterate, but are embarking on an ideological war to accomplish a set of stated goals. However, the findings of this study fully demonstrate that Boko Haram's targets are Christians, Muslims and innocent Nigerian citizens regardless of their religious denomination, and this assertion makes the position of the authors listed above (Adesoji, 2010, Pham, 2011; Olagunju, 2012;Pham, 2016; Thurston, 2016) inadequate to fully explain the Islamic fundamentalism of Boko Haram terrorism within the Nigerian context. More specifically, widespread confusion about the rationale behind Boko Haram terrorism has caused numerous analysts to seek reasons for the sect's revolt (Onuoha, 2012; Mustapha, 2012; Kukah, 2012; Agbiboa, 2013a; Zenn et al., 2013). These scholars have collectively suggested a number of reasons for this phenomenon, namely: (a) A feeling of alienation among northern citizens from their more developed Christian southern counterparts in Nigeria; (b) rampant government corruption; (c) incompetent and brutal state security services; and (d) the belief that relations with the Western world breed a corrupt influence on citizens' socio-economic needs. A theory that has evolved among southern Christians is that Boko Haram is the handiwork of disgruntled northern Muslim politicians who desire to make life unbearable for a southern Christian president. This conviction was peddled by Nigerian Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka, during an annual African Studies lecture delivered at Oxford in 2011(Agbiboa, 2013e). Conversely, among Muslims in the north the conspiracy theory is that the actions by Boko Haram cannot be attributed to Muslims, but that they should rather be attributed to the machinations of enemies of Islam who desire to bring the religion into disrepute. There is also another conspiracy theory in the north, which argues that President Goodluck Jonathan's administration is funding Boko Haram "either to make Islam look bad or to

depopulate the north ahead of the 2015 elections" (Adibe, 2014). Another conspiracy theory of local provenance is the claim that Boko Haram is the work of the Americans because studies by US institutions have predicted that Nigeria would collapse by 2015 or 2030 (Mustapha, 2012). However, quite often leaders in Nigeria abuse these conspiracy theories "to shift the blame for violence elsewhere, away from poor records of governance, state capacity, and representation" (Dowd & Raleigh, 2013:498).

A recurrent issue in the Boko Haram literature is the extent of relative poverty and inequality in the north which has led some analysts to argue that underdevelopment is the main reason why extremist groups such as Boko Haram become so rebellious. For Mustapha (2012), "Boko Haram is the symptom of the failure of nation-building and democratic politics in Nigeria. It is the misguided cry of a disgruntled youth crushed by the socio-economic system on the one hand and then [being] repressed by the state on the other". The northern cleric-scholar, Rev. Matthew Kukah (2012:3), argues that a nuanced movement away from the poverty-conflict nexus to the bad governance-conflict nexus can explain Boko Haram's rationale for revolt in Nigeria. For instance, Kwaja (2011:1) argues that "religious dimensions of the conflict have been misconstrued as the primary driver of violence when, in fact, disenfranchisement and inequality are the root causes of the phenomenon" Kukah states that religion is used to mobilize against modernity, which is seen as the root cause of social anomalies. According to Kukah, "in the eyes of the Boko Haram sect members, the persistence of corruption, collapse of public morality, injustice and so on could only be attributed to those who govern the nation. In their reasoning, those who govern us (*yan boko*) do so because they have acquired their tools by gaining Western education [*boko*]" (ibid). Kukah finds a kindred spirit in Christopher Clapham (2004:200), who argues more broadly that "the breakdown of law and order in African states was basically the result of the legacy of bad governance". Similarly, Evans (1994:3) argues that "a downward spiral of economic decline, often exacerbated by official corruption and mismanagement, has created governments that are at or near the point of collapse and that are being challenged, often violently, by their own citizens".

Economic decline has hastened the process of national disintegration and vice versa. Explanations such as the above tend to draw on the human needs theory of social conflict which holds that all human beings have basic needs which they seek to fulfil, and that failure to meet these needs could lead to the outbreak of violent conflict (Rosati et al., 1990:156-190 cited in Agbiboa, 2013a). According to Gurr (1970), "conflict is caused and escalated

to a considerable degree to unfulfilled needs – not only material needs, but also such psychological needs as security, identity, self-esteem, recognition, autonomy and a sense of justice". He argues further that parties in conflict as well as in pursuit of their own security, interest, identity and related needs, undermine and threaten the security and identity of others.

The human need theory resonates with the theory of relative deprivation which links economic disparity with the propensity of individuals to resort to violent political action. Gurr (1970) puts it succinctly, stating that "misery breeds revolt". However, the nexus between relative deprivation and the onset of conflict has been criticized as simplistic because it fails to explain why some poor people or places do not participate in violence, and because it offers very little in the way of clear recommendation for policy-makers (Agbiboa, 2013b). People can in actual fact be advantaged while experiencing group-based relative deprivation (Leach et al., 2007:191−204). Conversely, people can be comparatively disadvantaged without experiencing their inequality as deprivation (Jost & Banaji, 1994:1−27). Perhaps this explains why findings in social psychological research place relative deprivation as a likely contributor to radicalization (King & Taylor, 2011:610). This critique is bolstered by Krieger and Meierriek's argument that "there is only limited evidence to support the hypothesis that economic deprivation causes terrorism…poor economic conditions matter less to terrorism once it is [sic] controlled for institutional and political factors" (cited in King & Taylor, 2011:3). Instead, they argue that "terrorism is closely linked to political instability, sharp divides within the populace, country size and further demographic, institutional and international factors" (ibid). Similarly, James Piazza (2006:171), who employed a series of multiple regression analyses on terrorism incidents and casualties in 96 countries from 1986−2002, argue that "variables such as population, ethno-religious diversity, increased state repression, and most significantly, the structure of party politics are found to be more significant predictors of terrorism than the 'rooted-in-poverty thesis'". To complement this argument, this thesis adds that socio-economic factors cannot simply be wished away in the quest to understand Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Every social indicator one can think of puts the northern states at the bottom of the Nigerian social pile. For example, one legacy of disunity that was bequeathed to Nigeria by the British colonialists is the unequal educational development of the north and the south (Akinola, 2014). At independence in 1960, northern Nigeria had only been loosely administered by the British colonial authorities and had not approximated the economic and educational

development of the south (Cook, 2014:5). In 1965 the north, comprising more than half of the national population, had only 10% of the national primary school population. In terms of higher education, northerners made up 8% of the total student population compared to 48% of the East, 5% of Lagos, and 39% of the West (Agbiboa, 2013a: 51). Akinola (2014) claims that the assumption of the iniquitous Boko Haram ideology that 'Western education is evil' has its genesis in the once hostile attitude of northern traditional rulers to Western education. The hostilities of the Emirs and Islamic clerics of the north to Western education and *yan boko* were appreciated by Sir Lord Frederick Lugard (first Governor General) and his colonial successors, not least because of the need to preserve the prestige and authority of the Emirs (ibid). In other words, the disparity between the two regions (north and south) emanated from the fact that the activities of Christian missionaries, *de facto* pioneers of education in the colony, were restricted to the south and the pagan areas of the north (ibid). According to Akinola, most of Nigeria's political leaders since independence from Britain in 1960 have come from the north. If they had been visionary, they would have appreciated the need to redress the historic imbalance in education between the regions of the Nigerian federation. It is not that they do not know that education is important. In fact, their own children receive education at the best schools and universities Europe and America can offer. Akinola thus finds it amazing that "they seem comfortable with the poverty and servitude that surround the populace" (Akinola, 2014).

In early 2013, Nigeria's Bureau of Statistics (NBS) figures revealed that, despite favourable economic performance, Nigeria's poverty rate increased from 54.7% in 2004 to 60.9% in 2010. In 2011, 100 million Nigerians lived in absolute poverty and 12.6 million more were moderately poor. The worst hit by poverty are young people, especially in northern Nigeria (Onuoha 2014:6). Given the level of poverty in the north, it appears that Boko Haram terrorism is being used as a form of protest with a view to drawing attention to the region's plight as well as bait to draw the most impoverished into the group. According to Elegbe, "unemployment is higher in the north than in the south. Mix this situation with radical Islam, which promises a better life for martyrs, and you can understand the growing violence in the north" (Agbiboa 2013:52). Similarly, as Komolafe argues, even if unemployment and poverty are not the main factors in radicalization in Nigeria, the tendency to produce suicide bombers is greater in a community defined by mass misery and joblessness than one in which the basic need for food, education, health, housing, and sanitation are met for the majority of the people (Komolafe, 2012; Omonobi & Marama, 2014; Onuoha 2012:6). While feelings

of disenfranchisement from mainstream society are not uncommon among the youths, in a few cases such emotions prompt them to adopt the identity of a terrorist or suicide bomber. Yet, as Schwartz et al. (2009:540) contend, feelings of disenfranchisement, when coupled with fervent adherence to traditional, dichotomous 'us versus them' religious principles justifying violence against those perceived to threaten one's religious or cultural group, a strong prioritization of the group over the individual, and a belief that one's group is morally superior to the group being attacked, may combine to make terrorism considerably more likely. Erikson wrote some four decades ago about the lure of terrorism for youths who perceived their personal and group identities as being threatened. However, historical and technological development have severely encroached upon deeply rooted or strongly emerging identities (i.e., agrarian, feudal, patrician) on a large scale, and youths feel endangered individually and collectively, whereupon they become ready to support doctrines offering a total immersion in a synthetic identity (e.g., extreme nationalism, racism, or class consciousness) and a collective condemnation of a totally stereotyped enemy of the new identity. Moreover, the fear of loss of identity which fosters such indoctrination contributes significantly to the mixture of righteousness and criminality which, under totalitarian conditions, becomes available for organized terror and for the establishment of major industries of extermination (Arena & Arrigo, 2006:21).

Focusing on the poverty-terrorism discourse, Okoro (2014) submits that after more than fifty years of independence (1960−2014), the majority of Nigerians still cannot meet their basic human and socio-economic needs. A large percentage of the youth lacks access to food, quality education, effective healthcare service delivery, pipe-borne water, proper shelter, and employment opportunities. Yet, in the face of these deprivations, the political elites embezzle public funds and engage in ostentatious living. The inability of the government to bring about good and effective governance for its citizens, particularly in the northern regions of Nigeria, has thus created what Omede (2011:93) refers to as "frustration of rising expectations" which has in turn resulted in various forms of violence in the region, including such crimes as kidnapping, armed robbery and terrorism, which have reached their acme in recent times.

Okoro (2014) argues that government corruption and its attendant mass poverty are rampant throughout the country, but that the rate of poverty in the northern region is higher than the national average. Indeed, several studies clearly indicate that about 75% of Nigeria's northerners live in poverty compared to 27% in the south (Pothuraju 2012:3). Similarly, a

study on national poverty levels by the Central Bank of Nigeria also offers that the ten states with the highest levels of poverty are located in the northern region. Conversely, the ten states with the lowest levels of poverty are all southern states; as a result, 70% of the people living in the north live on less than US$1 per day (US$1 = N150) (Lukman, 2007).

Sadly, the data presented by Lukman (2007), Rogers (2012) and Okoro (2014) paint a pretty dismal picture of the socio-economic situation in Nigeria, which reinforces the argument of this thesis that citizens are repulsed by the government's weakness and failure to provide in people's basic human needs. This argument is supported by the example of Niger-Delta militants who utilize violence as a bargaining chip to obtain concessions from the government. This violent approach is presumed to come in the aftermath of the failure of non-violent strategies such as protests or negotiations that were initially adopted to negotiate the provision of improved means to address the socio-economic needs of the citizens. All the above factors, strengthened by the youth's disillusionment, caused youths in the northern states to join armies that are in the hands of extremists such as Abubakar Shekau. In fact, it is undeniable that this is the platform upon which the Boko Haram terrorists base their arguments for the rationale to destroy lives and property as a way of reacting to the corrupt governance by the nation's political leaders, particularly in north-eastern Nigeria. The chart in Figure 2.1 essentially buttresses the argument that poverty cannot be wished out of those socio-economic variables that have led to the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
■ Food poverty	25	35	35	25	22	20
■ Absolute Poverty	40	50	50	45	45	38
■ Relative Poverty	50	55	55	50	50	44
■ Dollar Per Day	40	50	50	45	45	40
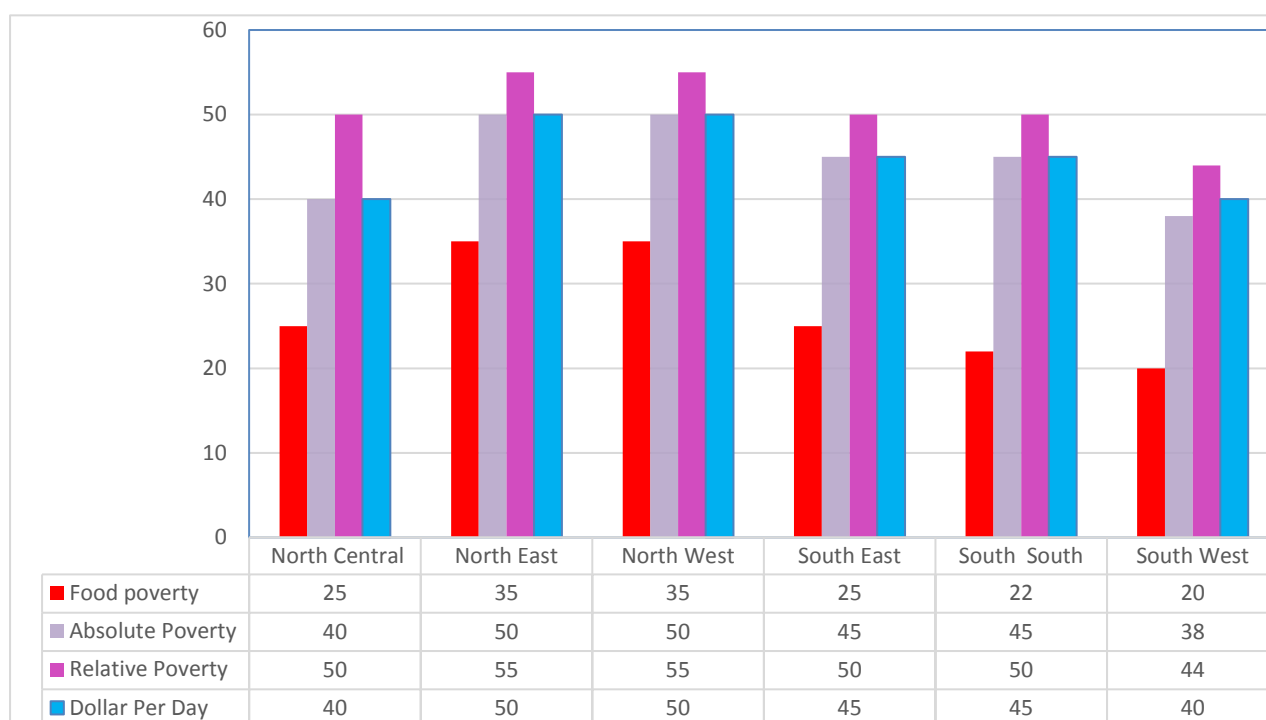
Figure 2.1*:* **Zonal incidence of poverty in Nigeria by different poverty measurements. (Source: Rogers 2012:3).**

2.1.4   Youth membership of Boko Haram terrorism

Boko Haram is an extremist sect in Nigeria that has caused devastating damage in northern Nigeria and threatens the stability of Nigeria as a whole. Boko Haram draws its members mainly from across a broad spectrum of societies, but a preponderant number of members are poor, disaffected youths, unemployed high school and university graduates, and former 'almajiris', or destitute children (Adesoji , 2010). In his study of Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, Adesoji (2010) found that the sect was able to attract more than 280 000 members from across northern Nigeria as well as from Chad and the Niger Republic. Its membership also includes some wealthy, educated and influential people (Suleiman, 2007:25). The group is known to sustain its operations through diverse sources of funding, including membership dues, donations from politicians, financial assistance from foreign terrorist groups, raiding of banks, and ransom from kidnapping (Suleiman, 2007). The sect also extorts money from residents of the areas it controls as well as from wealthy persons whom they intimidate into paying protection fees to avoid being attacked by them (Onuhoa, 2012). In support of Suleiman's (2007) submission, Tonwe and Eke (2013) stress that the sect draws followers from across the 19 states of northern Nigeria, the Republic of Niger, Chad and Sudan. Its

membership is extended by the phenomenon of 'almajiris' (street children), which is a popular practice whereby children are sent to live with and study under renowned Islamic teachers in some cities in northern Nigeria. As pointed out by Onuhoa (2012), "these almajiri live and study under appalling conditions, thereby making them vulnerable to recruitment into extremist sects like Boko Haram, largely through indoctrination".

According to a 2010 survey, "the almajiris in Nigeria number up to 9.5 million and are predominantly located in northern Nigeria" (Agbiboa & Okem, 2011). A recent analysis of 144 imprisoned Boko Haram members suggests that the median age of the sect members is thirty years (ibid). Boko Haram members are also drawn from the Kanuri tribe, which makes up roughly 4% of the Nigerian population, and is concentrated in the north-eastern states of Nigeria, including Bauchi and Borno. Members are also recruited from the Hausa-Fulani group (making up 29% of the northern population) which resides throughout most of the northern states. More interestingly, John Campbell (2013:14) argues that "revolted foot soldiers are likely drawn from unemployed youths in northern Nigeria, [which is] a region of profound poverty. Many of them attended Islamic schools where they learned little other than to memorize the Quran. They are most often children of peasants, rootless and homeless people in a big city. They can bond through a common radical Islamic sensibility, inchoate rage, and the prospect of earning little money as terrorists". Mustapha (2012) argues that Boko Haram provides education, basic services and informal-sector jobs to its supporters, most of whom are marginalized people with little education, or lower middle-class elements with some education but with few prospects in the oppressive competition and corruption of Nigerian society. The Governor of Borno state, Kashim Shettima, once explained that, despite Boko Haram's "misguided ideology, its slain leader – Mohammed Yusuf − retained the loyalty of his supporters by providing one meal a day to each of his disciples. He also had a youth empowerment scheme, under which he helped his disciples to go into petty trading and wheelbarrow pushing. He also arranged cheap marriages between sect members, which enabled many of them to marry, which gave them personal dignity and self-worth" (Shettima, cited in Mustapha, 2012). It would seem that Schwartz's (2009) argument that "the terrorist identity offers the individual a role [model] in society, albeit a negative role model, which is commensurate with his or her prior expectations and sufficient to compensate for past losses" is justified. According to Arena and Arrigo (2006:23-24), group membership provides a sense of potency, an intense and close interpersonal environment, social status, potential access to wealth and a share in what may be a grandiose but noble

social design". Schwartz (2009:3) further argues that "the powerful psychological forces of conversion in the group are sufficient to offset traditional social sanctions against violence. To the terrorists, their acts may have the moral status of religious warfare or political liberation". Moreover, reports in 2012 strongly linked some senior members of the Nigerian security sector to Boko Haram (The Punch, 2012; Vanguard, 2012). In February 2012, Commissioner for Police in charge of criminal investigations in Abuja, Zakari Biu, was dismissed from the Nigeria Police Force for his role in the escape of a Boko Haram suspect named Kabiru Sokoto, who was believed to have masterminded the bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla, Niger State, in which more than 40 people died. Sokoto's escape also led to the dismissal of the former Inspector General of Police, Hafiz Ringim (Agbiboa, 2013a:5). The sacking of Ringim generally had to do with his inability to check the Boko Haram onslaught. In 2013, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan claimed that Boko Haram was the enemy within his government. In his words: "Some members of Boko Haram are in the executive arm of government, some of them are in the parliamentary/legislative arm of government, while some of them are even in the judiciary. Some are also in the armed forces, the police and other security agencies" (Agbiboa, 2013a:23).

It is undeniable that, since Nigeria's return to democracy in May 1999, armed non-state groups have significantly weakened the country's internal security milieu, largely using young men as foot soldiers (Walker, 2014). Among these groups, Boko Haram, has grown to become a serious national and international concern to national security with estimates of the death toll from Boko Haram attacks ranging as high as ten thousand fatalities. With Boko Haram and other groups seemingly gaining strength, questions arise as to why young men join them in the first place and what the government and other actors can do to prevent it.

Nigeria commissioned a study in 2013 by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP, 2013) in collaboration with the CLEEN Foundation. The resultant report, entitled *Why Youths Join Boko Haram?* present the findings of surveys, interviews and focus group discussions that were conducted in north-eastern Nigeria. The findings suggest that poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, abuse of power, false religious teachings and weak family structures may contribute to making young men vulnerable to radicalization and Boko Haram terrorism. According to Onuoha (2014), in all six the states of north-eastern Nigeria that were surveyed by USIP (2013), there was unanimity that the initial ignorance of religious teaching is the leading factor that influences the adoption of extreme religious views, especially among the

youth who are profoundly influenced by negative perceptions of Islamic doctrines. The lack of deep knowledge of true religious teaching is partly related to three observable threats in the recent practice of religion in Nigeria, namely the proliferation of sects in both Islam and Christianity, the proliferation of independent preachers in both religions, and the increasing reliance on preachers rather than on the holy books themselves. As a result, young people become vulnerable to recruitment and radicalization by independent and roaming preachers, extremist groups, and religious ideologues who often distort religious injunctions. Moreover, National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) figures that were released in early 2013 also identified a high incidence of unemployment and poverty that prevailed in the northern state as the second most important reason why the youth engaged in radicalization and Boko Haram terrorism.

Findings of the United State Institute of Peace also suggests that children with difficult upbringings are more vulnerable to extremist views. The growing number of children without adequate parental guidance is a societal condition that has contributed to the problem of youth radicalization in northern Nigeria. It is argued that children who lack a protective social environment are more likely to be exploited and cheaply recruited into terrorism. Komolafe (2012) argues that children from broken homes, abandoned and orphaned children, and children who are in the custody of relatives are the most vulnerable to being used to perpetrate extreme violence. Komolafe stresses further that it is not surprising that terrorist groups such as Boko Haram are tapping into this situation to achieve their violent objectives (ibid).

The outcomes of this study buttress the findings by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP, 2013) and the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2013) that the poor democratic government in Nigeria provides a breeding ground for unemployment, poverty, corruption, false religious interpretations of Islamic doctrines, illiteracy, abuse of power, and poor family structures, all of which predispose numerous youths in the north of Nigeria to embrace Boko Haram terrorism as a means of survival.

However, sufficient evidence has been found to show that human conditions during the military regime were not as miserable as the picture portrays shortly after Nigeria's transition to democracy in 1999. But it is also undeniable that the advent of democracy laid a dark foundation for the denial of fundamental human rights vis-à-vis unequal distribution of power, privilege and resources that are contrary to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution

of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It was established by this study that one of the terrible aftermaths of the democratic government is undue autonomy and the power vested in bloodthirsty civilians all because of political offices within their domain. This created a wide avenue for law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, to unleash their brutality on innocent citizens. With the transition to a democratic government, discipline disintegrated within the socio-political system and was replaced by corruption, exacerbation of adverse human conditions, as well as the intermittent enthronement of more severe poverty that led to various replications of anarchies across Nigerian societies. Consequently, armed groups such as Boko Haram terrorists, Niger-Delta militants, Fulani herdsmen, and the recent Niger-Delta Avengers (NDA) could then leverage on this platform to recruit and train the youth for activities ranging from errand running to illicit killings and suicide bombings (Walker, 2012). According to Cook (2014), rather than address the crisis of capitalism that compels more and more frustrated members of the lumpen class to join sectarian groups, the ruling class has turned on stepping up its repressive use of a state terrorism strategy by arming the police and other securities forces against the sect. The response of the Nigerian state to the orgy of violence and threats by Boko Haram has thus created the implication that the Nigerian ruling class is not ready for peace-making; rather, it is prepared to clamp down on the sect given the state instrument of terror that is at its disposal to wipe out the group (Cook, 2011; Cook, 2014).

Onuhoa and Ugwueze (2014) opine that Boko Haram activities demonstrate the urgent need to address youth radicalization and religious extremism in northern Nigeria, as they have resulted in the destruction of private and public property, grievous bodily injury and death, and the displacement of thousands of people. Ignorance of true religious teachings is the most important condition for the youth to acquire radical views of religion, and such flawed teachings are often propagated by roaming, independent preachers. USIP (2013) submits that poverty and unemployment, false religious doctrine, political corruption, brutality and abuse of power by members of the security forces, illiteracy, poor parental upbringing, and neglect of children are factors that influence young people's vulnerability to falling prey of violent extremism. Boko Haram has leveraged on this vulnerability to deepen their process of recruitment and radicalization, especially in northern Nigeria. Thus, any attempt to effectively weaken the insurgency in northern Nigeria must consider these factors. Finally, addressing the conditions that make it possible for terrorists to recruit youths from the pool

of young men in Nigeria can significantly diminish the strength of terrorism, if not completely eradicate it in the region (Onuhoa & Ugwueze, 2014).

2.1.5. Constitutional issues and Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria

Idahosa (2015) argues that the primary motive behind Boko Haram's deadly insurgency in the north-east of Nigeria is to enshrine Sharia laws as state laws. Idahosa stresses that section 1, sub-section 1 of the Nigerian Constitution (1999:15) specifies that "the Constitution is supreme and its provision shall have binding force on all authorities and persons throughout the Federal Republic of Nigeria". Also, in sub-section 2, the Constitution specifies that "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall not be governed, nor shall any person or group of persons take control of the government of Nigeria or any part thereof, except in accordance with the provision of this Constitution". Furthermore, section 38, sub-section 1 stipulates that "every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom (either alone or in community with others and in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance" (The Nigerian Constitution, 1999:39).

However, the Constitution does recognize the role of the judiciary in section 6, sub-section 5 by giving recognition to (a) the Sharia Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja; (b) a Sharia Court of Appeal of a state; (c) the Customary Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja; (d) and a Customary Court of Appeal of a state". Given the constitutional provisions stated above, a daunting problematiqe in Nigerian politics surrounds its secularity. Secularism as used in this context and as explained by Idahosa (2015) is the separation of religion and government. This implies the primacy of the rules of secular society over their religious equivalent.

One of the most toughly debated and so far unresolved issues in Nigeria today centres on the secularity of its constitution. While section 10 of the Constitution states that "the Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as state religion" (See the Nigerian Constitution,1999), the controversy over the status of Sharia laws has generated much heat in the country. This has been complicated by the adoption of Sharia laws in nine northern states in the country. However, non-Muslims in these states have argued that the imposition of Sharia laws violates the right to freedom of religion and affects non-Muslims, although they are supposed to be exempt from such laws. At the last Constitutional Conference held in the country, the Christian Association of Nigeria's (CAN)

delegates argued vehemently that the current Nigerian Constitution is Islamic rather than secular (Idahosa, 2015).

As argued by Bagobiri and Bosun (2014), "Islam is mentioned in the Constitution 28 times, Muslim 10 times, Sharia 73 times, Grand Khadi 54 times but Christ, Christians and the church were [sic] never mentioned". In these authors' opinion religion is being used as a manipulative tool to truncate the Nigerian state. Conversely, advocates of Sharia legal codes have referred to the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution as a justification for the application of Sharia laws as an integral part of Islam. Some have described attempts to stop or curb the implementation of Sharia laws as a violation of their right to freedom of religion as Muslims. In fact, they view the current Nigeria penal codes as Judeo-Christian. To adherents of neither the Christian faith nor the Muslim beliefs, the greatest culprit is the Nigerian government which annually spends tax-payers' money on religious pilgrimages. They fault the above practice on the ground that it tends to exalt two religions (Christianity and Islam) above all others in the country. By implication, it means Nigeria is not a secular state but a dual-religious state.

Given the complicated nature of the interpretation accruable to the execution of the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution, attempts at supplanting it by the Boko Haram sect appear palpable; at least to the members of the sect and those favourably disposed to their beliefs. However, the complexity of the issue, as well as its intensity, seems to be mutually inclusive. This is particularly so because the problems generated by the holistic application of the Nigerian Constitution across the country tend to be seen as illegitimate. The attempts to extend the application of Islamic laws outside its domain have historically occupied a contentious position in Nigeria. This intensifies the corresponding problem of the fusion of religion and politics, which re-emphasizes the position of Sharia laws and their unconstitutionality within the Nigerian context (Idahosa, 2015)

2.1.6. A panoramic and chronological overview of Boko Haram activities in Nigeria

Boko Haram has been described as a dynamic phenomenon and a persistent societal problem that ravages the Nigerian state. The activities of this organisation have resulted in one of the worst holocausts and greatest calamities of cataclysmic proportions in human history (Nkwede, Abah & Nwankwo, 2011). Since 2009, the Nigerian Joint Task Force (JTF) has been deployed to the north-eastern parts of Nigeria to quell Boko Haram violence. Unfortunately, the role of and abuses by this security force have conspired to worsen the

dire security condition in the area. In addition to the failure of the JTF to protect lives and property, it has also lost the trust of the people (which is an important resource in the battle against the insurgent group), as communities have also been abused by this armed force. Also, the high-handedness with which members of the JTF have prosecuted the fight against insurgency has helped diffuse membership of the group from urban centres to the rural areas, which has exacerbated collateral damage (Nkwede, Abah, & Nwankwo, 2011).

At the closing quarter of 2009, mass graves were discovered across the north-eastern regions of Nigeria. Some of these graves held hundreds of shallowly buried corpses. Moreover, Nkwede et al. (2011) found that over three million Nigerians had been displaced, thousands had been abducted, and over a 100 000 were killed within a couple of years of Boko Haram's insurgency in Nigeria. The rise of Boko Haram has therefore heightened the state of insecurity in Nigeria and beyond, triggering deadly bomb attacks on police forces, government officials, places of worship, public institutions and innocent civilians (Nkwede et al., 2011).

Following its re-emergence, Boko Haram carried out its first terrorist attack in Borno state in January 2010, claiming the lives of four people with many people injured. In June of the same year its new leader, Abubakar Shekau, instructed members of the group to commence retaliatory attacks of security forces and traitors but to spare civilians. This dramatic change of events was the watershed of a chain reaction of suicide attacks that extended beyond Borno state for the first time. In September 2010, Boko Haram broke 105 of its members out of prison in Maiduguri along with over 600 other prisoners. This later transcended to several areas of northern Nigeria (Martin, 2013; The Guardian, 2012; Peace and Security Council Report, 2012). Since then, Boko Haram has increased the frequency and intensity of its attacks with increased suicide bombings and assassinations. Many believe that Boko Haram is leading an armed insurgency against corruption, abusive security forces and economic disparity in northern Nigeria and feeding off tension that has existed between the Muslim dominated north and the Christian dominated south of Nigeria.

In 2011, with improved operational capabilities, Boko Haram launched a series of attacks against both soft targets and security posts. For example, in June six police officers were killed at the Abuja police headquarters. However, the group's attack on the United Nations building in Abuja in which 11 UN staff members and 12 other people died, with more than 100 injured, seemed at the time to suggest that the group's ambitions were broader than

initially believed (Richard, 2012). In fact, the group carried out a further 115 attacks in 2011, killing 550 innocent citizens. At the end of 2011, Boko Haram had maintained a steady rate of attacks with individuals, groups, security forces and religious leaders as their prime targets.

In 2012, the implementation of the emergency rule in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states in Nigeria marked a turning point in Boko Haram terrorism in the country. A few days after the state of emergency had been declared, the group embarked on a series of small-scale attacks on Christians and 'strangers' (non-indigenes) resident in northern Nigeria (Richard, 2012). Members of the police force who had been drafted in by government to protect fleeing southerners became prime targets. In Kano, Boko Haram carried out a deadly assault on the police building on 20 January, killing 190 members. Given the upsurge of their 'success' against security forces, many began to question the loyalty of the members of the Nigerian security force. This came to a head on 8 January 2012, when the Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan, announced that Boko Haram had infiltrated the army and the police as well as the government (The Guardian, 2012). The year 2012 thus marked the significant progress of Boko Haram terrorism into even more terrible and catastrophic ventures than ever before.

The year 2013 witnessed the introduction of a new dimension of terror as Boko Haram terrorists engaged in transnational insurgency. Early in that year, the conflict spilled over the Nigerian national borders to involve all four geographically contiguous countries in the sub-region, namely Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. Added to this innovation is the fact that Boko Haram, in association with its splinter group Ansani, was linked to a number of kidnappings. The group kidnapped on different occasions seven French nationals in the north of Cameroon in February, a French priest and a further eight French citizens and obtained ransom payments for their release (Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2014). Furthermore, the increased insecurity in north-eastern Nigeria led the government to extend the state of emergency in May 2013. This development was welcomed by increased tension in the three affected states (Adamawa, Borno and Yobe) as Boko Haram heightened the tempo of its insurgent activities. As such, the total number of internally displaced persons increased from 250 000 to 650 000 – an increase of 309% − with thousands of others fleeing the country (Adrian, 2014).

The most notorious act of Boko Haram so far took place on 15 April 2014, when about 276 girls from Chibok town in Borno state were kidnapped (The Punch, 2014). Although over 50 of them managed to escape, the incident brought the group pervasive global attention. The girls' plight featured on 'Bring Back Our Girls' posters all over the world. Within the same period, Boko Haram announced the formation of Islamic Caliphate which included Gwoza, a strategic town in north-eastern Nigeria. The town of Bama, 70 kilometres from Maiduguri, was also captured, which increased the reach of the new caliphate. Despite the aggression of the Nigerian security forces against Boko Haram and its alleged collaborators since 2009, the group has continued to recruit new members to this day. The upward trend in violence suggests that the more the security forces intervened, the worse the crisis became.

At the dawn of 2015, Boko Haram grew in magnitude and controlled about 20 local government areas in north-eastern Nigeria (a territory the size of Belgium). Assisted by its foreign allies, the Nigerian army declared in recent times that it had pushed back the insurgent group out of all but three local government areas in Bornu state (Braun, 2015). President Jonathan was criticized for not doing enough to tackle the insurgency in the north-east. In a pre-election campaign, his main challenger, Muhammadu Buhari's chance was boosted by a reputation for toughness gained when he was a military ruler in Nigeria between 1983 and 1985 (Braun, 2015).

Indeed, more than 13 000 people have been killed and some 1.5 million made homeless in the Boko Haram conflict since 2009 (Wall Street Journal,2015). In addition, cross-border attacks launched from Boko Haram strongholds in Nigeria have threatened to destabilize the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger in the sub-region with increased security threats. To combat this menace, a sub-regional coalition force supported by the African Union Force was created. After a series of negotiations, on 30 November 2014, a coalition force made up of soldiers from Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria was formed. Its task was primarily to fight Boko Haram terrorism in the sub-region (The Wall Street Journal, 2015).

Apart from the foregoing, on March 6 in 2015, the African Union endorsed the creation of an additional regional force of up to 10 000 soldiers to join the fight against Boko Haram. This regional force claimed a series of successes in rebel-held territory as part of an operation to clear and control north-eastern Nigeria in time for the country's general elections rescheduled for March 28 after an initial postponement from March 14. These were

particularly active in the Gamboru area of Nigeria on the border with Cameroon. A parallel joint Niger-Chad offensive retook Damasake from the insurgent group on March 27 in 2015 (Nossiter, 2015). This came in the wake of the announcement by the Nigerian military that its troops had recaptured the town of Gwoza from Boko Haram on March 20, 2015. Gwoza is important to the extent that it was in this town that the terrorists declared their caliphate in 2014.

As the onslaught against Boko Haram intensified, Abubakar Shekau pledged allegiance to the Islamic State (IS) on 7 March 2015. While on the one hand the declaration could be seen as an attempt by the group to rescue its sinking ship (given the fact that its previous allegiance was with al Qaeda), on the other hand Boko Haram has the potential to raise the spectre of violence and a stronger propaganda campaign that the Nigerian army, even with its influx of new weapons and African Union support, is much less equipped to combat (Braun, 2015).

President Jonathan's optimism about the recapture of towns initially seized by Boko Haram within a month passed for a swift victory after six years of bloody conflict. Two weeks before the rescheduled elections in Nigeria, Boko Haram was said to have suffered more than it had for years (Braun, 2015). Though there was public relief that the insurgency was being blunted by the change in fortune for the group, it was unclear how effective the military operation had been. The rapid chains of success by the Nigerian army in partnership with its allies left many Nigerians wondering why it took until the final days of the election campaign to begin submerging the insurgent group. Many questions were asked how the government managed to repress the insurgent group within a few weeks as it could not accomplish this in the previous several years (Braun, 2015).

An important lesson should be learnt from the experiences of the Nigerian armed forces in dealing with Boko Haram. One lesson is that, after the declaration of the state of emergency in the north-east, Boko Haram went underground only to re-emerge later with more sinister tactics. Once again, the coalition forces should be mindful of a repeat performance. While the efforts of the multi-national forces should be applauded, it should be borne in mind that because none of the group's leaders has either been captured or killed, the campaign of the multi-national force ran the risk of breaking the group into splinter units. The argument is that each sub-unit could resort to guerrilla warfare to promote the ideology of the group. Consequently, Boko Haram may retreat from rural areas (where it currently faces intensive

bombardment by the allied forces) to infiltrate urban areas where it may regroup as multiple cells which will eventually become conduits for insurgency (Idahosa, 2015)

At the opening of 2016, the threat posed by Boko Haram loomed larger, not only over Nigeria's national security, but also over the Nigerian citizenry and its neighbouring countries, with people having their daily lives subjected to frequent incidents of stress, danger, fear and death. However, with the advancement of a multinational task force in the wake of 2016 under the administration of General Muhammadu Buhari, the strength of the terrorist sect dramatically waned, with many members of the sect killed while the most powerful and notorious kingpins of the sect were arrested in a swift military operation by multinational troops (Ngwaogu,2016). Moreover, the appointment of Abu Musab Al-Barnawi as the new leader of the sect by the Islamic States (IS) on 5 August 2016 precipitated an unprecedented dichotomy within the group, which resulted in a split in the group and thus a further weakening of the terrorist force (Ikuomola, 2016).

However, at the beginning of 2017, the 7 January Boko Haram attack on the Nigerian army base in the Buni Yadi area of Yobe state in which five soldiers lost their lives debunked the fast-spreading rumour that the sect had been submerged in Nigeria. There has been no concrete evidence hitherto that Boko Haram has been defeated in Nigeria. In fact, as it is driven out of some territories, it establishes colonies in new geographical areas. In the past, Boko Haram managed to melt into the countryside and the slums of urban centres where it regrouped and eventually resurfaced. Therefore, although regional onslaughts by a multinational task force might have truly turned the tide against Boko Haram, the truth is that it still poses a significant threat to designated sub-regions in Nigeria. Realistically, before there could be any evidence of Nigeria winning the war against Boko Haram terrorism, Boko Haram's most notorious leader, Abubakar Shekau and his deadly guerrilla force must be apprehended and the last of the Chibok girls must be recovered from captivity.

Clearly, the Boko Haram era of terror outbursts shows no signs of abating, despite Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari's New Year address which claimed that Boko Haram had been 'beaten' (News24, 2017). However, the overarching focus of the current thesis was not on the activities of the sect, but on the myriad of contributory factors that fan the flames of the insurgency of this terrorist group. Factors such as community support, international organization support, lack of an adequate information system, security deficiency, pervasive elite and political corruption, military and police brutality against citizens, continued

economic challenges, decrepit and underdeveloped infrastructures, as well as inadequate and deceptive reporting were closely scrutinized. From the standpoint of Maiangwa et al. (2016), one way of resolving the Boko Haram impasse would be to address the causal efficacy of each of the foregoing trigger factors. The study envisioned that, should these issues be addressed, the strength of the terrorist force might become drastically weakened and the likelihood that the discontented, aggrieved and frustrated youths of northern Nigeria who gravitate towards terrorism as a livelihood option will become significantly reduced, if not completely eradicated in the region. Table 2.1.6 presents a synopsis of the panoramic and chronological overview of Boko Haram activities from 2009 to 2017 both in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries.

S/N	DATE	NATURE AND PLACE OF ATTACK	NUMBER OF CASUALTIES
		Table 2.1.6: A Panoramic and Chronological Overview of Boko Haram Activities from 2009 to 2017. Sources: (i) Nkwede et al. (2015). (ii) Onuoha & Ugwueze. (2014).(iii) "Who are the Boko Haram Islamists?" (2016, July 05). (iv) Boko Haram activities: Timeline of Boko Haram Insurgency (2017, July 25)	
1	26 Jul, 2009	First clash with the security agencies in Bauchi state after an all-night attack on Dutse-Township police station	42 people killed including 39 sect members, 2 policemen and 1 soldier
2	27 Jul 2009	First attack in Yobe state during an invasion of the Potiskum Divisional Police Headquarters	4 killed including 3 policemen and 1 fire service officer
3	29 Jul, 2009	Confrontation with security men at Mamudo village, along Potiskum/Damaturu Road, Yobe State	33 members of the sect killed
4	29 Jul, 2009	An all-night battle with combined security operatives at Railway Terminus, Maiduguri	Unreported scores killed and operational base of the sect destroyed
5	13 Mar, 2010	Attack in Northern part of Jos, Plateau state	300 people killed
6	8 Sept 2010	Attack at Bauchi central prison	No record of death but prisoners were freed unlawfully
7	24 Dec, 2010	Bomb explosion in Barkin Ladi, Jos, Plateau State	30 people killed
8	31 Dec, 2010	Explosions at Mogadishu mammy market, Abuja	About 10 people killed
9	28 Jan, 2011	Attack on the ANPP governorship candidate's convoy at Lawan Bukar ward, Maiduguri	7 people killed including the governorship candidate
10	2 Mar, 2011	Attack on DPO Mustapha Sandamu's residence at Rigasa area of Kaduna	2 policemen killed
11	30 Mar, 2011	Bomb explosion in Damaturu	A policeman was injured
12	2 Apr, 2011	Bomb explosion at Dutse-Township police station	A policeman was injured

13	4 May, 2011	Attack at Maidugari prison on Kashim Ibrahim Way.	A prison warder was killed
14	5 May, 2011	Attack in Maiduguri Government House	2 people killed including the Duty Officer and a 13-year-old boy with another injured
15	9 May, 2011	Attack on the residences of 2 Islamic clerics, sheikh Goni Tijani and Mallam Abur,a t Mairi and Bulabulum warse in Bauchi state	The 2 Islamic clerics were killed
16	9 May, 2011	Chairman of NURTW Bauchi state was Attacked	1 person died – the chairman
17	13 May, 2011	Bomb explosion at London Chinki, Maiduguri	2 people killed
18	15 May, 2011	Bomb explosion at Lagos street, Maiduguri	5 people injured including 2 soldiers and 3 policemen. Also, a police man was shot dead same day in the city.
19	29 May, 2011	Bomb explosion in Bauchi military Barrack	14 people killed
20	29 May, 2011	Bomb explosion at Zuba, a suburb of Kubwa in Abuja	8 people lost their legs
21	31 May, 2011	Attack on Shehu of Boron's brother	1 person killed – the Shehu's brother
22	1 Jun, 2011	Attack on police station in Maiduguri	5 people killed
23	12 Jun, 2011	Attack on a drinking joint in Bulumutu, Maiduguri	4 people killed
24	16 Jun, 2011	Bomb explosion at police Headquarters, Abuja. Also, bomb explosion at Damboa town, Maiduguri	2 people killed, 4 children killed
25	20 Jun, 2011	Attack on Kankara police	2 people killed
26	9 Jul, 2011	Clash between Boko Haram and the military in Maiduguri. Alos, bomb blast in a church at Suleja, Niger state	31 people killed. 4 died in that of Suleja with scores injured

27	11 Jul, 2011	Bomb explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados street, Kaduna	Unreported scores killed with many more injured
28	12 Jul, 2011	Attack on a moving military patrol vehicle with IED in Maiduguri	5 people injured
29	15 Jul, 2011	Bomb explosion in Maiduguri	5 people injured
30	23 Jul, 2011	Bomb explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno	3 soldiers injured
31	25 Jul 2011	Bomb explosion near the palace of a traditional ruler in Maiduguri	8 people killed
32	26 Aug, 2011	Attack on the United Nations building in Abuja	25 people killed with about 60 more injured
33	12 Sept, 2011	Bomb explosion in a police station in Misau, Bauchi state	7 people killed including 4 policemen
34	13 Sept, 2011	Attack on the military after a raid in Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi state	About 4 soldiers injured
35	17 Sept, 2011	Attack on Mohammed Yusuf's brother-in- law two days after paying host to Obasanjo	1 person – Babakura Fugu killed
36	3 Oct, 2011	Attack at Baga market in Maiduguri	3 people killed
37	4 Nov, 2011	Attack in Damaturu, Yobe state	About 150 people killed
38	27 Nov, 2011	Attack in Geidaam, Yobe state	7 people killed
39	18 Dec, 2011	Bomb detonation in Shuwari, Maiduguri	3 sect members died
40	22 Dec, 2011	Bomb explosion and gunshots in Borno State	4 people killed and several others injured
41	24 Dec, 2011	Bomb explosion in Jos	About 80 people killed
42	25 Dec, 2011	Bomb explosion at St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla, Niger state	About 50 people killed and several others injured
43	30 Dec, 2011	Attack in Maiduguri	7 people killed
44	5 Jan, 2012	Attack in a church in Gombe	6 people killed
45	6 Jan, 2012	Attack in Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa state. Also, attack at Mubi, Adamawa	17 people killed. Also, 20 Igbo people were killed Mubi

46	20 Jan, 2012	Multiple attacks in Kano	About 250 people killed
47	22 Jan, 2012	Attack at 2 churches and the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa LGA in Bauchi state	About 10 people killed
48	26 Jan, 2012	Bomb explosion in Sabon Gari, Kano State	Untold number of people injured
49	28 Jan, 2012	Attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno State	1 killed
50	29 Jan, 2012	Attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno state	2 killed
51	30 Jan, 2012	Attack in Maiduguri environs	6 killed including 2 Air force officers
52	4 Feb, 2012	Attack in Damboa town, Borno state	2 killed
53	5 Feb, 2012	Attack in Yobe	An SS man killed
54	7 Feb, 2012	Attack at Kano market and military Barrack	5 people killed
55	7 Feb, 2012	Another attack in Kano	10 people killed
56	10 Feb, 2012	Shoot out with soldiers in Maiduguri	4 people killed
57	10 Feb, 2012	Attack in police station in Shagari Quarters, Kano state	No casualty recorded
58	12 Feb, 2012	Tip-off in Maiduguri	Some members of Boko Haram killed
59	15 Feb, 2012	Prison break in koton karji prison, Kogi state	A warder killed and 199 prisoners freed
60	15 Feb,2012	Attack on policemen in Minna, Niger State	2 policemen killed
61	17 Feb, 2012	Attack I Geidam, Yobe state	2 people killed
62	17 Feb, 2012	Attack in Maiduguri metropolis	5 people killed
63	19 Feb, 2012	Bomb explosion near a church in Suleja on the outskirt of Abuja	5 people killed
64	11 Mar, 2012	Suicide bomb attack in a church in Jos, Plateau state	4 people killed with 38 others injured
65	8 Apr, 2012	Bomb explosion on Easter Sunday near a church in Kaduna	36 people killed with 13 others injured

66	29 Apr, 2012	Bomb attack at a lecture theater used as Christian worship in the University of Kano	19 people killed including 2 professors
67	3 Jun, 2012	Suicide car bomber drove into a church in Yelwa during Sunday service	About 12 people killed
68	10 Jun, 2012	Attack on a church congregation in Biu town, Borno state	Unreported number of people killed
69	1 Oct 2012	Attacks at Adamawa state University, Federal Poly, and the school of Health Technology and also University of Maiduguri in Borno state	About 43 students killed
70	1 Oct, 2012	Attack in Minna, Niger state	2 policemen killed
71	7 Oct, 2012	Confrontation between the military and the sect members in Damaturu, Yobe state	About 32 people killed including 30 members of the sect and 2 civilians
72	8 Oct, 2012	Reprisal attack for the death	10 people killed
73	14 Oct, 2012	Attack at Dongo Dawa village in Gwari L.G.A of Kaduna state	24 people killed
74	28 Oct, 2012	Attack in Kaduna	8 people killed and 100 injured
75	28 Oct, 2012	Suicide bomber struck at St. Rita's Catholic church in Angwar yero, Kaduna state	8 people killed
76	29 Oct, 2012	Attack at a drinking bar in Gindin Akwati Barkin Ladi, Plateau state	6 people killed
77	21 Nov, 2012	Attack in Maiduguri by the sect	10 people killed
78	22 Nov, 2012	Attack on ladies believed to be on miniskirts in Maiduguri	20 women killed
79	24 Nov, 2012	Bomb explosion in St. Andrew's Anglican church at the Armed forces command and staff college Jaji, Kaduna state	15 people killed
80	26 Nov, 2012	Attack on SARS headquarters in Abuja	2 officers killed and 30 detainees freed

81	1 Jan, 2013	Shootout in Maiduguri	4 people killed including 13 sect members and a soldier
82	2 Jan, 2013	Attack on a police station at Song town of Adamawa state	4 people killed including 2 policemen and 2 civilians
83	4 Jan, 2013	Attack on a military check-point in Marte town of Adamawa state	7 people killed including 5 sect members, a soldier and a policeman
84	19 Jan, 2013	Attack on a contingent of Mali-bound Nigerian troops, in central Kogi, Kogi state	2 soldiers killed and 5 others injured
85	19 Jan, 2013	Attack on Emir of Kano's convoy	5 people killed mostly the Emir's security Guards
86	21 Jan, 2013	Attack of a market in Damboa town	18 people killed mostly local hunters
87	23 Jan, 2013	Attack at Gwange area of Maiduguri	5 people beheaded
88	27 Jan, 2013	Attack of Gajiganna village near Maiduguri	8 civilians killed
89	1 Feb, 2013	Clash with the military in two forests outside Maiduguri	17 sect members killed
90	8 Feb,2013	Attack on 2 polio clinics in Kano	10 polio immunization workers killed and 3 others injured
91	10 Feb, 2013	Attack in potiskum, Yobe state	3 North Korean doctors killed
92	15 Feb, 2013	Bomb attack against military patrol vehicle in Maiduguri	2 suicide bombers dies and 1 soldier injured
93	16 Feb, 2013	Attack on a construction company in Bauchi State	1 security employee killed and 7 foreign nationals abducted
94	19 Feb, 2013	French family taken hostage in Cameroon near the Nigerian border	No casualty reported but the family members were abducted

95	20 Feb, 2013	Attack of a military patrol vehicle in Maiduguri	3 people killed including a suicide bomber and 2 civilians
96	18 Mar, 2013	Bomb explosion in a luxurious bus park in Kano	More than 70 people killed and several Others
97	16 Apr, 2013	Clash between the JTF and the sect members in Baga, Borno state	Over 200 people killed mostly civilians
98	18 Jun, 2013	Bomb blast at Maiduguri, Borno State	22 people mostly civilians were killed
99	6 Jul, 2013	Attack on government boarding school in Mamudo village Borno state	Sporadic shooting and throwing of explosives. At least 43 people were killed, mostly, students
100	29 Jul, 2013	Coordinated bomb blasts in Sabon Gari, Kano state	At least, 6 people died and 6 others injured
101	4 Aug, 2013	Military base and police post in Bama, Borno state	12 soldiers and 7 police officers were killed
102	11 Aug, 2013	Ngom village near Konduga, Borno state	Shoot-out, 12 people were killed
103	11 Aug, 2013	Mosque in Konduga, Borno state	Coordinated attacks including shooting and throwing of bomb, 44 worshippers killed and 26 others injured
104	28 Nov, 2013	Attacks on residents of Sabon Gari village in Damboa District, Borno state	More than 17 people were killed
105	30 Nov, 2013	Coordinated attacks at Baga in Ningi Villages	Scores of people were killed including 7 Fishermen
106	2 Dec, 2013	Around 200 Boko Haram gunmen dressed in military uniform launched coordinated attacks on an air force base in Maiduguri	Scores of people killed
107	20 Feb, 2014	Coordinated attacks at Bama	More than 115 people killed
108	22 Feb, 2014	Coordinated attacks at Izge village	More than 100 people were killed

109	25 Feb, 2014	Attacks on Federal Government Boarding School at Buni/Yadi	About 59 people mostly students were killed
110	15 Mar 2014	Boro Haram clash with the military at 21 Armoured Brigade, Nigerian Army, Borno	More than 350 people were killed
111	5 Apr, 2014	Attacks on Buni/Gari village mosque	More than 17 people were killed
112	9 Apr, 2014	Multiple attacks on Dikwa, Kala Balge, Gambugla and Gwoza villages in Borno	More than 210 people killed
113	14 Apr, 2014	Bomb blast at Nyanya motor-park, Abuja	More than 100 people killed ,over 200 others badly injured
114	15 Apr, 2014	Attack at a Government Senior Secondary School, Chibok, Borno state	Over 275 girls were reportedly abducted
115	26 Apr, 2014	Attack in military unit at Blabili, Dandoa, Borno state	More than 44 people killed
116	1May, 2014	Bomb explosion in a Taxi Park at Nyanya Abuja	More than 25 people killed and above 71 others injured
117	2 May, 2014	Attack on commuters along Maiduguri Beneshiek-Damaturu Road.	About 10 people killed
118	5 May, 2014	Book Haram attack in Gamboru village, a border town with Cameroon	About 300 hundred people killed and 11 girls abducted
119	19 May, 2014	Bomb explosion in Sabon Gari Kano	Over 10 people killed and several others injured
120	20 May, 2014	Bomb blasts at Jos Terminus market, Plateau state	About 150 people killed
121	21 May, 2014	Attack on Alagarno, a village in Borno state close to Chibok	About 17 people killed
122	24 May, 2014	Bomb explosion in Jos football viewing Center	Unspecified number of people killed
123	28 May, 2014	Attack by gunmen at Gurmushi, Borno state	More than 40 people killed

124	2 Jun, 2014	Bomb blast at a bar and a brothel in military base, Mubi, Adamawa state	More than 60 people killed
125	3 Jun, 2014	Boko Haram attacks at Attagara, Agapalawa and Agamjara, Gwoza Local Government Area of Borno state	More than 100 people were killed
126	15 Jun, 2014	Attack at Borno market	More than 15 people were reportedly killed
127	17 Jun, /2014	Bomb blast at football viewing center at Damaturu, Yobe state	About 21 killed and others seriously injured
128	23 Jun, 2014	Suicide bomb attack at Kano School of Hygiene Technology, Kano state	About 8 people killed and many others injured
129	25 Jun, 2014	Bomb attack at a shopping mall in Abuja	About 24 people killed and many others badly injured
130	29 Jun, 2014	Gunmen attack at some churched in Chibok community, Borno state	Actual number of deaths yet to be unraveled
131	14 Jul, 2014	Attack in Borno	About 26 people were killed
132	23 Jul, 2014	Boko Haram attack in Kaduna	About 39 people were killed
133	24 Jul, 2014	Suicide bomb attack on Buhari's convoy in Kaduna	More than 82 people were reportedly killed
134	31 Jul, 2014	Boko Haram attacks in Yobe mosque and another female suicide bomb attacks in Kano	About 18 people were reportedly killed
135	2 Jan, 2015	Attack on WAZA Town	11 people killed and six others injured
136	3 Jan, 2015	Boka Haram insurgents Attack on Baga Massacre,Town, Borno State	2,000 people killed, the entire town razed
137	24 Jan, 2015	Boko Haram burnt down Kambu village near Maiduguri, Borno State	15 people killed and several others injured
138	25 Jan, 2015	Book Haram rebels launched a large offensive attack on Nigeria forces in Maiduguri, Borno State	8 civilians, 53 militants and unknown number of soldiers killed
139	28 Jan, 2015	Attack on a town in Adamawa State	40 people killed

140	2 Feb, 2015	A female suicide bomber attacks minutes after the president of Nigeria leaves an election rally in city of Gombe State	1 person killed and 18 people injured
141	15 February, 2015	A suicide bomber attacks a city of Damaturu	16 killed and 30 people wounded
142	20 Feb, 2015	Boko Haram attack on Chibok town, Borno State	34 killed 21 injured
143	22 Feb, 2015	A suicide bomber attacks a market in Potiskum, Yobe State	5 killed and dozens wounded
144	7 Mar, 2015	Bomb blast at Maiduguri, Borno State	54 died and 143 injured
145	28 Mar, 2015	Boko Haram attack on Dukku town in Gombe State	15 voters including House of Assembly candidate killed
146	1 Apr, 2015	Attack on Mubi town, Adamawa State	Many buried alive, houses razed, thousands displaced
147	22 Jun, 2015	Maiduguri Mosque Bombing, in Borno State	30 killed and several others injured
148	2 Jul, 2015	Mosque Massacre in Kukawa Borno State	48 killed and unknown number wounded
149	5 Jul, 2015	Bomb attack in a church Potiskum area of Yobe State	5 killed
150	6 Jul, 2015	Bomb attack on the central city of Jos, Plateau State	44 people died and may others injured
151	15 Jul, 2015	Attack on Bosso town	16 civilians killed
152	25 Jul, 2015	Boko Haram attacks Maikadiri village in Maiduguri,Borno State	21 persons killed and many injured
153	26 Jul, 2015	Bomb attack at Damaturu market, Yobe State	19 persons died and several others injured
154	6 Aug2015	Boko Haram attack at Tadagara and Dunbulwa villages in Yobe State	9 persons shot dead and looted thatch-roofed mud houses and shops
155	19 Aug, 2015	Boko Haram attach at Kukuwa-Gari village in Yobe State	150 villagers killed and many injured

156	17 Nov, 2015	Bomb blast in the northeastern city of Yola	32 persons and 80 others wounded
157	27-28 Jan, 2016	Bomb attack on the north eastern city of Maiduguri & Dalori village	Death toll of at least 65 persons killed
158	29-31 Jan, 2016	Bomb attack on the north eastern city of Maiduguri & Dalori village	Death toll of about 100 persons reportedly killed and about 62 injured.
159	14Feb, 2016	Boko Haram Gunmen attack on Yakhari & Kachifa Villages of Kano	About 30 people killed and many others injured & At least 92 militants were killed & over 850 villagers were freed
160	16 Mar, 2016	Suicide female bomb attack on Umarari Village, Maiduguri, Borno State	22 persons killed and many injured
161	19 Apr, 2016	Boko Haram ambush on army general officer's Convoy (Brig. General Victor Ezugwu), Borno State	1 soldier killed and 2 others injured.
162	20 Apr, 2016	Boko Haram ambush on army contingent at Kareto Village, Borno State	1 soldier killed and 24 others injured.
163	21 Apr, 2016	Boko Haram landmines attack in Yobe State	5 persons killed and 9 others injured.
164	13 May, 2016	Boko Haram suicide bomb attack in Maiduguri, Borno State	15 persons killed and many others wounded
165	21 May, 2016	Boko Haram gunshot attack at Bosso village	6 persons killed
166	3 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on Mafa/Dikwa road at Ajiri village of Borno state.	1 soldier killed and 1 JTF civilian injured
167	4 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attacked the city of Bosso and areas in Niger. Many places in the city were torched and shot at.	There were also several deaths and injuries on the attackers' side. At least 32 people were killed and 67 injured.
168	6 Jun, 2016	*Boko Haram attack on Darak, Cameroon*	Ten fisherman were cut down and brutally killed.

169	7 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on Bosso village in southern Niger	26 soldiers killed and 50,000 fled the region
170	12 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on various homes in Mairari, Nigeria	4 women were dragged out of their houses and killed publicly
171	14 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on Lake Chad in Cameroon	10 fishermen were killed by the militants, and soon after 42 more were killed
172	15 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on Katuva Village, Damboa town	6 vigilantes killed
173	17 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram gun battle in the region of Diffa southern Niger town of Bosso.	7 policemen killed and many injured
174	18 Jun 2016	Boko Haram attack at funeral at Kudakaya village, Madagali LGA of Adamawa State	18 mourners, mostly women, killed and some declared missing
175	20 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram militants attack on Wumbi in Nigeria making the second attack in a week	At least 2 people were killed and many were seriously injured.
176	25 Jun, 2016	A series of attacks by Boko Haram militants in Gouzoudoum and Kaldjiwa,Cameroon	At least 4 civilians were killed.
177	26 Jun, 2016	Boko Haram attack on four remote villages in northeast Borno state (Zangebe, Maiwa, Algaiti and Mainar)	1 JTF civilian died and 5 000 persons rescued
178	30 Jun, 2016	Suicide bomb attack targeted at a mosque and a video club in Djakana, Cameroon	At least 15 people were killed and dozens injured
179	4 Jul, 2016	Boko Haram Attack in northern Nigeria.	Two people were injured and three female suicide bombers were killed
180	8 Jul, 2016	Suicide bombing attack on a Mosque in Borno	At least 9 people were killed and dozens injured
181	9 Jul, 2016	Boko Haram militants raided a town with guns and explosives in Borno	killing 7 people and damaging buildings

182	12 July 2016	Boko Haram attack in Borno state involving the Nigerian Army	Resulting in the deaths of 25 militants. Two soldiers were killed during the attack
183	20 Jul, 2016	Boko Haram ambush on Borno Gongo village	3 civilian JTF and 16 soldiers missing
184	1 Aug 2016	Boko haram village raid on Borno Gongo village	9 Christian villagers cut down, 3 churches burned
185	10 Aug, 2016	Boko Haram militants attack Borno village square	burned 60 houses, shot four villagers dead, and abducted one child
186	19 Aug, 2016	Boko Haram battle with the Multinational Air Force in the village of Taye in Borno state	No casualties were recorded but Boko Haram's leader (Abubakar Shekau) killed reported wounded while about 300 militants including three senior Boko Haram commanders (Abubakar Mubi, Malam Nuhu and Malam Hamman) reportedly killed
187	20 Aug, 2016	Boko Haram attack on the village of Kuruburu	7 people killed with machine guns and dozens abducted
188	21 Aug, 2016	Boko Haram attack on a village called Kuburvwas between Chibok and Damboa, Borno state) Boko Haram suicide bombing attack on a market in the city of Mora	11 persons killed and women raped; at least 3 people killed and another 24 injured.
189	27 Aug, 2016	Boko Haram attack on a military patrol near Chad's border with Niger[ ]	4 Chadian soldiers brutally killed and some injured
190	4 Sep, 2016	Camel-riding Boko Haram assailants near Chad's border	5 people killed and many wounded; houses burned
191	14 Sep, 2016	Boko Haram clashes with Niger armed forces near the village of Toumour in Niger's southeast Diffa region	at least 30 Boko Haram militants and 5 Niger

			armed forces soldiers killed
192	17 Sep, 2016	Boko Haram clash with Chad and Niger soldiers in Niger	At least 38 insurgents from terrorist group Boko Haram were killed and two soldiers were also injured in the operation.
193	18 Sep, 2016	An attack by Boko Haram fighters in Borno state.	The Nigerian army dispelled reports that 8 people were killed in the attack.
194	19 Sep, 2016	Boko Haram attack on soldiers battling in Malam Fatori	40 Nigerian soldiers reported dead
195	22 Sep, 2016	Boko Haram suicide bombing attack in Cameroon's far north in Djakana.	Three civilians were killed and a few were injured.
196	25 Sep, 2016	An ambush on the army by the insurgents in Borno towns of Miyanti and Dareljamal in Kaduna state	Four soldiers and civilian JTF members died.
197	25 Sep, 2016	Boko Haram members attacked a Chad National Army position near the border with Niger.	Four soldiers were killed and six others were injured. Seven terrorist were killed.
198	26 Sep, 2016	A landmine attack and ambush by Boko Haram on Sunday in Borno forest near the Sambisa forest	The Nigerian army lost an officer and three soldiers in the operation.
199	11 Oct , 2016	Suspected members of the Boko Haram attack a village in Borno state	Five persons were killed in the attack.
200	12 Oct, 2016	Boko Haram explosion in Maiduguri, Borno State	About 18 people were reported dead.
201	17 Oct, 2016	Boko Haram attack on Monday in north-eastern Nigeria	20 soldiers reported dead
202	24 Oct, 2016	Boko Haram suicide bombing in the far north region of Cameroon. The other attack was carried out in the northern locality of Waramide.	Three people were killed in Cameroon, five people were wounded while three people were killed in the other attack.

203	29 Oct, 2016	Suicide bombers attack on Saturday in the northeastern Nigerian city of *Maiduguri*	at least eight people killed
204	1 Nov, 2016	A car bomb exploded near a military checkpoint in Northern Nigeria in Gubio.	Nine civilians were killed and many were wounded.
205	5 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram militants in a gun battle with the Army in Borno state, Nigeria	An army officer and six soldiers were killed.
206	8 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram gunmen attacked a remote area of northern Nigeria in Maru. Two Boko Haram suicide bombers exploded improvised explosive devices in Maiduguri. A terrorist attack was launched in Banibagou, Niger. Boko Haram fighters raided a village in the far northern region of Cameroon.	More than 30 gold miners were killed. Four people died and six others were injured. At least five Nigerien soldiers were killed and three others injured. Two civilians were killed, three soldiers injured and 100 houses were set on fire.
207	11 Nov, 2016	An early morning bomb blast in the Umulari area of Maiduguri.	Two persons were killed
208	12 Nov, 2016	240 Boko Haram fighters surrendered in south-west Chad.	They had killed an innumerable number of people.
209	16 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram ambush on the military troops	One soldier died and eight others were injured. This was the event that led to the death of B.U. Umar, a Lieutenant Colonel.
210	18 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram suicide bombing attacks in Maiduguri, Borno state	It caused the death of six persons, injuring many more in multiple bomb blasts.
211	22 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram attack on a military base. A woman with explosives also tried to enter an army post next to the Kolofata camp on Monday, but she was shot down.	Six soldiers were killed while the surrounding houses were burned.

212	23 Nov, 2016	A suicide bomb attack in Maiduguri	At least two persons were killed.
213	24 Nov, 2016	Two young female suicide bombers attacked a town in Cameroon's far north region of Mora early on Thursday .	At least four people were killed and some injured.
214	28 Nov, 2016	Boko Haram ambush on the military troops in Borno state	About 30 insurgents were killed by soldiers while many soldiers were severely injured.
215	9 Dec, 2016	Madagali suicide bombings	The incident killed 57 and injured 177.
216	11 Dec, 2016	Two suicide bombing attack in Maiduguri	3 people were killed
217	13 Dec, 2016	Boko Haram militants attacked a military base in Borno state village of Kamuya	scores left dead
218	17 Dec, 2016	Boko Haram deadly attack in Sambisa Forest against the the JTF	A member of the civilian Joint Task Force (JTF) was injured during the operation.
219	23 Dec, 2016	Boko Haram militants with the Nigerian army in the Sambisa forest.	Terrorists are on the run. No casualties were recorded
220	25 Dec, 2016	A suicide bombing attack in Mora, Cameroon	left at least 2 people dead and injured 5 others
221	26 Dec, 2016	2 suicide bombers struck in Maiduguri.	Only one of the attackers was said to have died, the other was reportedly captured before striking.
222	28 Dec, 2016	Boko Haram battled with the army in southern Niger	31 Boko Haram fighters surrendered, many wounded but none reported dead
223	4 Jan, 2017	Suicide bombers attempted to detonate their vests at a market in the northeastern Nigerian city of Madagali.	3 girls killed

224	7 Jan, 2017	attack on a Nigerian army base in Buni Yadi of Yobe state	5 soldiers killed. 15 Boko Haram militants killed after the army launched retaliatory strikes
225	10 Jan, 2017	Two female bombers attack residences in the Kalari area - disguising as visitors	3 people cut down
226	13 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram militants in Kangarwa village, Borno state.

Another four suicide bombing attacks in Madagali town | Nigerian soldiers killed and 27 injured at least 9 people and 10 Boko Haram militants killed |
227	14 Jan, 2017	Roadside bombing by Boko Haram terrorists in Borno state	5 soldiers and 10 attackers killed
228	14 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram militants' operation in Gnam-Gnam, Cameroon	At least 17 people killed
229	16 Jan, 2017	Two teenage suicide bombers attacked Nigeria's University of Maiduguri	3 people including a professor killed
230	21 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram attack on a military base in southeast Niger	2 soldiers killed and 7 wounded
231	23 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram invaded a village in Borno state	8 people killed and abducted an unspecified number of women and children
232	25 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram in multiple suicide bombing attacks in Maiduguri, Nigeria	Killed 4 and wounded 2
233	29 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram attacked a convoy of motorists along a recently secured highway in Borno state, Nigeria	Killing at least 7 people and injuring many others
234	30 Jan, 2017	Boko Haram militants in Maiduguri, Nigeria. Boko Haram attack on the same day in Fotokol, Cameroon	15 people killed 1 man killed and 3 injured
235	31 Jan, 2017	A suicide bomber stormed the Dalori quarters mosque, in Maiduguri, Nigeria during morning prayers.	1 prominent member of the mosque killed

236	2 Feb, 2017	Dreaded Boko Haram attack along Cameroon's border with Nigeria	A UN independent contractor and 4 others killed
237	7 Feb, 2017	Boko Haram village attack in Borno state	A security member and a civilian killed
238	11 Feb, 2017	Boko Haram ambush in Borno state. Boko Haram on the same day invaded a village in Borno State.	7 soldiers killed and 19 injured Setting ablaze dozens of residential houses injuring many
239	13 Feb, 2017	Boko Haram invaded Mifa community in Chibok Local Government Area of Borno state	An Islamic scholar killed and breaking the hands of a boy
240	17 Feb, 2017	Boko Haram suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno state.	2 civilians were killed and 8 attackers killed by the police
241	13 Mar, 2017	Boko Haram militants' operation in Maiduguri, Borno state.	3 Nigerian men executed and 3 and men accused of being Nigerian military spies
242	30 Mar, 2017	Boko Haram Islamists exhibited two separate raids in north-eastern Nigeria	About 22 girls and women were abducted in the exhibition.
243	5 May, 2017	Boko Haram attack on Kaiga army post in the Lake Chad region. On the same day, two female suicide bombers attacked in northeastern Nigeria, Maiduguri	9 Chadian soldiers killed; some 40 Boko Haram militants also killed as the army responded to the attack at the Kaiga post 5 people confirmed dead
244	13 May, 2017	Suicide bombing at the University of Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria	1 person killed and 1 injured

245	15 May, 2017	Nine members of the insurgent group attacked on motorcycles in Amarwa, a suburb of Maiduguri	11 farmers killed on their land with machetes; killers escaped into the forest
246	16 May, 2017	Three female suicide bombers attacked a herding community in northeastern Nigeria.	2 people killed and 7 injured
247	19 May,2017	Three suicide bombers on Friday detonated explosives inside a university campus in Maiduguri, northeastern Nigeria.	Killing four people and few were wounded
248	20 May, 2017	Suicide bombing and gunshot attacks within recently liberated Borno communities.	At least 7 people were dead and more than 40 injured from gunshots in separate attacks by Boko Haram.
249	2 Jun, 2017	Attack by Boko Haram extremist. Violence erupted in the region bordering Chad and Nigeria.	11 people were killed by two suicide bombers.
250	8 Jun, 2017	Boko Haram suicide bombers staged multiple attacks targeting mosques where Muslim worshippers were praying. The attack occurred while soldiers were trying to repel another group of Boko Haram fighters, who were trying to invade the city	14 persons killed and 24 injured
251	9 Jun, 2017	Explosion attack by a bomb concealed in a polythene bag. Bomb explosion attack in a military base by a female suicide bomber.	2 teenaged boys killed, 3 others injured. A soldier was killed during the attack.
252	10 Jun, 2017	Ten members of the Nigerian jihadist group raided the village of Hambagba, near Gwoza, on the Cameroon border.	They kidnapped six people and killed four others.
253	14 Jun, 2017	Boko Haram raided the villages of Komdi and Tuyan, near Chibok.	They kidnapped six people and killed ten others.
254	16 Jun, 2017	Boko Haram suicide bomber in the Far North Region.	Two civilians were killed in the attack.

255	18 Jun, 2017	Suicide attack in the Nigerian state of Borno, in the northeast of the country.	At least 12 people died and 11 others were wounded in attacks by five suicide women.
256	20 Jun, 2017	Suspected Boko Haram militants in an ambush on a police convoy in northeast Nigeria's Borno state.	They killed two people and wounded six others.
257	22 Jun, 2017	A double suicide attack on Wednesday in Cameroon's restive Far North.	Six civilians were killed.
258	26 Jun, 2017	Suicide bombers in multiple blasts in northeastern Nigeria, Maiduguri.	Nine people were killed and 13 others wounded.
259	29 Jun, 2017	Suicide bombers in two blasts in a refugee camp near the city of Diffa, in Niger.	Two people were killed and 10 others wounded
260	30 Jun, 2017	Two Boko Haram suicide bombers blew themselves up in the city of Kerawa, in Niger	A civilian was killed.
261	1 Jul, 2017	Four Boko Haram suicide bombers blew themselves up in the city of Mora, in Cameroon.	A civilian was killed and four were injured.
262	3 Jul, 2017	Boko Haram Islamist militants in southern Niger. A suicide bomber exploded his bomb in the middle of a group of people, a locality in the Mora subdivision of the Far North region.	Militants killed nine people and abducted dozens killing 4 in Homaka
263	11 Jul, 2017	Boko Haram public attack in northeast Nigeria Four Boko Haram suicide bombers in the northeast Nigerian city of Maiduguri	Eight villagers were executed 19 people were killed and 23 injured

2.1.7 Attempted measures to submerge Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria

The Nigerian state has responded to the Boko Haram crisis with what Agbiboa (2013e) describes as both "soft-hand" and a "heavy-hand" approaches. These two approaches are best understood as running concurrently rather than sequentially. The soft-hand approach has involved attempts to engage Boko Haram members in political negotiations or dialogue. At the state level, the soft-hand approach has involved overtures and rapprochements to Boko Haram insurgents. For example, the former governor of Borno state, Ali Modu Sheriff,

allegedly paid the sum of N100 million, or US$ 620 000, to mollify the anger of the group when their leader was killed in 2009. The then current Governor Kashim Shettima, who came after Ali Modu Sheriff, called on Boko Haram to come forward for dialogue on July 16, 2011 (Aghedo 2012:866). According to Integrated Regional Information Networks (INRIN, 2012), "Datti Ahmad, President of the National Supreme Council on Sharia, who is believed to have had the respect of Yusuf, attempted to reach out to the group; but contact was broken off by Boko Haram who accused the Nigerian state of terrible faith after the media got wind of the talks".

More recently, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan established a 26-member amnesty Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North. The committee was headed by Nigerian Special Duties Minister Kabiru Tanimu who had a three-month mandate to try to convince Boko Haram to surrender its arms in exchange for a state pardon and social integration (IRIN, 2013). According to a presidential statement, the committee was given the task "of identifying and constructively engaging key leaders of Boko Haram and developing a workable framework for amnesty and disarmament of members of the group" (Agbiboa 2013d). The committee was composed of former and current government officials, religious authorities, and human rights activists (ibid).

However, Shekau responded to the amnesty entreaties by saying that his group had done no wrong and that an amnesty would not be applicable to them, arguing that it was the Nigerian government that was committing atrocities. In his words: "Surprisingly, the Nigerian government is talking about granting us amnesty. What wrong have we done? On the contrary, it is we that should grant you pardon" (Chiles, 2013; Agbiboa 2013c). In a video released on 13 May 2013, Shekau vowed not to cease his group's violent campaigns to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria (IRIN, 2013). Barely a week after Boko Haram refused Nigeria's amnesty offer, the group launched two devastating back-to-back attacks in the north of the country. In the first attack, members of Boko Haram, disguised in military uniforms and driving buses and machine gun-mounted trucks, laid siege to the town of Bama in Borno state, killing 55 people, mostly police and security forces, and freeing over 100 prison inmates (Fox News, 2013). In the second wave of attacks that came days later, Boko Haram members killed 53 people and burnt down 13 villages in central Nigeria's Benue state where violent confrontations between pastoralists and nomads had been commonplace (BBC News, 2013).

The violent attacks led the Nigerian president to declare a state of emergency (BBC News, 2013) in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe – three northern states where Boko Haram had been most active – in an attempt to restore order and reclaim control of the territories (Agbiboa 2013a). In a pre-recorded address broadcast to the Nigerian public on 14 May 2013, President Jonathan said, "What we are facing is not just militancy or criminality, but a rebellion and insurgency by terrorist groups which pose a very serious threat to national unity and territorial integrity" (BBC News, 2013). Jonathan further stated that "it would appear that there is a systematic effort by insurgents and terrorists to destabilize the Nigerian state and test our collective resolve" (Fox News, 2013). Jonathan's speech threw the ongoing Islamic insurgency into stark relief, at one point describing how fighters had laid waste to state buildings and had taken women and children hostage (Agbiboa 2013c:65). According to Jonathan, the actions of the insurgents "amounted to a declaration of war and a deliberate attempt to undermine the authority of the Nigerian state and threaten its territorial integrity. As a responsible government, we will not tolerate this" (ibid).

Against this backdrop, the Nigerian president vowed to "take all necessary action to put an end to the impunity of insurgents and terrorists" by arresting and taking into detention suspects, launching assaults on Boko Haram hideouts, locking down suspected Boko Haram enclaves, initiating raids, and arresting anyone possessing illegal weapons (IRIN, 2013).

The second response of the Nigerian state can be referred to as a heavy-handed approach (Agbiboa, 2013e) which has always been the preferred option against insurgents, as it involves the use of state security forces to mount an aggressive pursuit and crackdown of Boko Haram members (Onuoha 2012:5). To this end, the Nigerian government established a special Joint Task Force (JTF) and launched Operation Restore Order (JTORO). In the biggest campaign to date against Boko Haram, President Jonathan ordered some 8 000 soldiers to the region in a direct military offensive against Boko Haram members, making it the largest military deployment since Nigeria's Civil War (Agbiboa, 2013a).

However, members of the JTF have often been accused of killing innocent people in the name of counter-terrorism. In Borno state, for example, the JTF resorted to extralegal killings, dragnet arrests, and intimidation of the hapless Borno residents (HRW, 2012). As noted by Solomon, "far from conducting intelligence-driven operations, the JTF simply cordoned off areas and carried out house-to-house searches, at times shooting young men in

various homes" (HRW, 2012:9). After a series of interviews with residents in the city of Maiduguri, Human Rights Watch reported the following:

> "*During raids in communities, often in the aftermath of Boko Haram attacks, members of the security forces have executed men in front of their families; arbitrarily arrested or beaten members of the community; burned houses, shops, and cars; stolen money while searching homes; and, in at least one case, raped a woman. In addition, government security agencies routinely hold suspects incommunicado without charge or trial in secret detention facilities and have subjected detainees to torture or any other physical abuse*" (HRW, 2012:58*).*

In a firefight between the JTF and Boko Haram in Baga, a village in near Lake Chad near Nigeria's border with Cameroon, up to 187 people were reportedly killed and 77 were injured (Premium Times, 2013). At least 2 000 houses, 64 motorcycles and 40 cars were burnt in the wake of the attack (ibid). Baga residents accused the JTF, and not Boko Haram, of firing indiscriminately at civilians and setting fire to much of the fishing town (Chiles, 2013). According to Marchal, in incidents like these "the Nigerian state apparatus kills even more civilians than Boko Haram does" (JTF, 2012:1). Recently, US Secretary of State, John Kerry, issued a strongly-worded statement that read: "We are deeply concerned by credible allegations that Nigerian security forces are committing gross human rights violations which, in turn, only escalate the violence and fuel extremism" (Al Jazeera, 2013). Yet some have argued that the US is in no credible position to be 'deeply concerned' about the use of violence and disrespect for human rights in Nigeria, because the US itself continues to apply an arguably similar or even worse strategy in its self-declared 'global war on terror' in regions in Africa and the Middle East, especially since the epochal 9/11 attacks (Gow, 2013 cited in Agbiboa, 2013e). In the final section of this article, Agbiboa argues that a declared war on terror has only a limited capacity to make a real difference because it can never address the underlying conditions that shape groups like Boko Haram and al-Qaeda who reject the prevailing order and develop radical positions, or opt to use extreme violence in the first place. It is therefore necessary to appreciate the broader context in which radicalization occurs.

According to Agbiboa (2013e), it is equally important to note that the soft- and heavy-handed approaches of the Nigerian government have divided Nigerians into two groups: those who support the use of coercion on the one hand, and supporters of conciliation on the

other. Advocates of a coercive approach to tackling terrorism argue that force rather than dialogue is more effective in dealing with terrorist organizations, and therefore some argue that the Nigerian government had no choice but to take military action against Boko Haram. As argued by a prominent Nigerian constitutional lawyer, Yahaya Mahmud, "No government anywhere will allow a group to usurp part of its territorial sovereignty. The declaration of a state of emergency was necessitated by the constitutional obligation to restore a portion of Nigeria's territory taken over by Boko Haram terrorists, which involves the suspension of constitutional provisions relating to civic rights" (IRIN, 2012). Other observers, however, worry that the stick response of the Nigerian government will force Boko Haram to shift their bases, with grave consequences for Nigeria and neighbouring countries. As Nigerian political scientist Kyari Tijani argues, "Boko Haram cannot face Nigerian troops in conventional war; the troop deployment to northern Borno means they will move out to other towns and cities with less military presence and launch a guerrilla war, which is deadlier" (ibid). Tijani's statement seemed prophetic when, on 6 July 2013, alleged Boko Haram fighters attacked a boarding school in Potiskum (a small city in northeast Nigeria) before dawn, killing 41 people and leaving 29 students burnt alive while university administrative blocks and hostels were also terribly affected. The alleged Boko Haram gunmen were reported to have emerged from caves in the Rocky Mountains (Adamu, 2013). Following this strike, Shekau released a 15-minute video on YouTube expressing full support for the violent attacks, denying that Boko Haram fighters killed children. Wagging his finger, Shekau warned, "School teachers who are teaching Western education: We will kill them! We will kill them!" In the video that was received by the Associated Press through intermediaries, Shekau also denied that he was negotiating a ceasefire with the Nigerian government: "We will not enter into any agreement with non-believers or the Nigerian government," he said, speaking in his native Hausa language. Shekau added that the Qur'an teaches that "we must shun democracy, we must shun Western education, and we must shun the Constitution". At the end he expressed himself in the English language to denounce the Western world, blaming it for accusing him of trying to destroy Islam and working tactically to make the Qur'an insignificant and unimportant (Elombah, 2013).

It is obvious that all efforts made by the Nigerian state to submerge the Boko Haram crisis have not had the desired effect, but have failed gallantly. In particular, the concerted efforts by the Joint Task Force to restore social order and to recover the Chibok girls and bring peace back to the northern region have seemed to fail dismally. Consequently, current

President Muhammadu Buhari resorted to opening a second-term negotiation agenda with the Boko Haram sect by requesting the assistance of the United Nations (UN) as negotiator. President Buhari told the United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, that Nigeria would welcome intermediaries from the global body as part of his administration's commitment to swapping the abducted schoolgirls from Chibok with Boko Haram fighters in custody. Speaking during a bilateral meeting with the UN scribe during the 71st UN General Assembly in New York, President Buhari said that the Nigerian government "would be willing to bend over backwards to get the Chibok girls released from Boko Haram's captivity". He stressed that the challenge that they faced was to gain access credible and bona fide leaders of Boko Haram with whom they could discuss the situation. According to the President, the split in the insurgent group was not helping matters. Government had reached out, ready to negotiate, but it became difficult to identify credible leaders of the sect. He stated that the government would welcome intermediaries such as UN members to intervene and address the impasse (Ehikioya, 2016).

2.1.8. Conclusion

An intensive review of relevant literature on Boko Haram terrorism has demonstrated that previous studies focused all their attention on the historical, ethno-religious and quasi-political contexts of the crisis. These studies also elucidated the rationale for rebellion, youth membership of Boko Haram terrorism, its ideology, and the activities of the sect, chiefly from 2009 to date. There was relatively little attempt by previous studies to dig deeper into the socio-economic context of the crisis and to raise a constructive response to the reasons why Boko Haram terrorism has been maintained for such a long period of time, and why it has been able to sustain such violent and brutal attacks on the Nigerian state and citizenry despite all efforts to stamp it out. Therefore, this study made a scholarly attempt to systematically investigate how Boko Haram terrorism was maintained in Nigeria from 2009 to 2017. To date, there still remains widespread assumptions about the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

This study therefore endeavoured to examine the root cause of the crisis from a critical examination of people's perceptions across a sampled group of different stakeholders in Nigeria. This approach was deemed necessary to shed light on the many hypothetical submissions about the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in the country. Moreover, because none of the recommendations put forward by previous studies has resulted in the desired outcome of a peaceful Nigeria, this study was necessary as it adopted a completely

different approach towards addressing the Boko Haram crisis. The focus of the study was on the development of culturally appropriate and acceptable conflict-resolution strategies. Against the backdrop of the gaps in the literature on Boko Haram terrorism discourse, this study sought to illuminate empirical evidence to address crisis. In this context, relevant research questions were advanced to address the research problem of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the study by illuminating relevant theoretical models which served as a blueprint according to which Boko Haram terrorism could be better investigated, explained and understood. The chapter explores the social exchange, social conflict and rational choice theories to account for the wide variety of factors that prompted and sustained Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. In addition, the study also reviewed a number of theoretical approaches that share a related but distinct point of view with the current study. The theories were discussed to compare and juxtapose the different theoretical approaches that the previous scholars have adopted to explain the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Terrorism, regardless of the lens through which it is viewed, is adjudged to be one of the greatest threats that humanity faces. Therefore, the causes of this phenomenon remain a controversial debate among citizens globally. One of the prominent assumptions of the behaviourist school of thought is the notion that the root causes of terrorism, war and violence are entrenched in human nature, human want and human behaviour, and this creates a significant relationship between intra-personal conflict and conflict that pervades the external social order, such as the phenomenon that is manifested in Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria (Eneanya, 2015). Acts of terrorism have always been described as the by-products of unresolved conflict and the incapacity of the government or authorities concerned to submerge these challenges. The reflection that the root causes of such conflicts are not completely identifiable and that appropriate strategies to resolve or manage the scourge are elusive, was what gave impetus to this current study. Scholars have, at different times, propounded various theoretical models to explain the causes and prevalence of terrorism in human society. In this process, scholarly attempts to search for a peaceful and stable society have led to the emergence of various predominant theories to explain the trend of intrastate violence and social insecurity, namely the frustration-aggression and the relative deprivation theories (Dollard et al., 1939; Maiangwa et al., 2016; Gurr, 1970, 2000), the state failure theory (Rotberg, 2002, 2003; Zartman, 1995), and the resource curse theory (Bannon & Collier, 2003; Collier, 2003; Collier & Hoefller, 1998; Le Billon, 2005). Adekanye (2007) highlights a number of factors that largely explain the processes that metamorphose into

conflict situations and that can as well give birth to terrorism. These factors are structural background conditions as well as precipitating and trigger factors. Maiangwa et al. (2016) advance that the state failure and frustration-aggression theories explain the grievances that propel Boko Haram members to resort to terrorism. Eneanya (2015) attempts to explain the cause of Boko Haram insecurity through the lens of the instinct theory of frustration-aggression, the relative deprivation theory, the social learning theory, and the social identity theory. Faleti (2006) adopted a completely different approach to examine the causes of terrorist acts in Nigeria by looking through the lens of the psycho-cultural perspective. He asserts that psychological, religious and other cultural contradictions are the fountain of conflict and that such conflicts are intractably perennial. He stresses that religious influences in terms of Islamic jihads and solidarity with global Islamic fundamentalists motivate other jihadists to engage in violent acts. Faleti adds that the terrorist activities of Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Al-Shabaab and ISIS in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Mali and the Middle East motivate others to learn their mode of operations and military tactics, which are eventually imported for domestic insurgencies (Faleti, 2006). Festinger (1951) developed a theory about the communication of social influences, which he refers to as cognitive dissonance. This is one of the most significant psychological concepts that sheds light on terrorist behaviour. Cunningham (2003) observes that "men prefer a situation of stability in respect of values, behaviour and their environmental conditions. When people experience a difference between what they perceive and what they desire (cognitive dissonance), they seek to reduce this dissonance by reducing this gap through actions, filtering information or altering perceptions". To Cunningham, cognitive dissonance is therefore experienced whenever there is a polarity between preferred value and actual value states. Such a situation has the tendency to produce hatred, anxiety, fear and the desire to hurt or eliminate the source. The polarities that manifest within economic, social, cultural, political and religious spheres form the micro level of analysis that could be regarded as the structural background conditions for generating violence in society.

3.1.1 Understanding Boko Haram terrorism: a liability shift perspective

Cunningham Jr. (2003) stresses that the liability shift theory serves as the root of terrorist strategy. This theory assumes that governments view states and local government areas within their jurisdiction as an asset that must be defended against internal or external aggression. The theory further proposes that acts of terrorism will cost the government valuable lives and money and that it needs to defend its asset against a sustained terrorist

campaign, such as the losses that are experienced through Boko Haram insurgency. The theory assumes that after a government has suffered significant losses, its asset will become a liability instead and the government will decide to forfeit the asset and cut its losses. In this context, the goal of Boko Haram terrorists is to destabilize the country and make it ungovernable, as this could lead to the collapse of the state, leaving them room to impose an Islamic way of life on the populace. This goal is anchored in the assumption that, during anti-terrorist campaigns, government will overreact and become oppressive in order to combat terrorism, and that this will expose weaknesses in the government to the populace, as was evidenced by the extra-judicial killing of Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of the Boko Haram sect. In turn, the populace will withdraw its support for and allegiance to the government and develop sympathy for the sect. Although this theory has been criticized, it offers a significant reflection on the philosophy that drives the Boko Haram sect and engenders an appreciation for the reasons why the government has been unable to overcome the challenges posed by the sect.

3.1.2 Understanding Boko Haram terrorism: a poverty-breeds-conflict hypothesis

In his bid to unravel the cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, Awojobi (2014) adopted the poverty-breeds-conflict hypothesis to establish a correlation between poverty and insecurity. He based his argument on the finding brought forward by various scholars that most of the conflicts in developing countries are caused by the prevalence of poverty. Also prominent among these scholars is Kanbur (2007), who argued that there was causality from high poverty rates to conflict when he was trying to establish the inequality link between poverty and conflict. Ford (2007) and Bellows and Miguel (2006) also reveal that poverty is the major cause of conflict in Africa. Rice et al. (2006), Collier and Hoeffler (2002), Fearon and Laitin (2003), and Walter (2004) posit the poverty assists to protract a conflict once it has started. Various research findings have shown that, when income drops, there is a probability for conflict to surface or become reignited. According to Collier and Hoeffler (2004), studies by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (Oxford University), James Fearson and David Laitin (Stanford University), and Professor Nicholas Sambanis (Yale University) have given credence to this hypothesis by stating that poverty cannot be left out of those factors that generate violent conflict in society. Despite the significant contribution of this theory to the understanding of violence across human societies, scholars like Solimano and Formisano (2005), Sanchez and Nunez (2001), Sanchez, Rubio (2000) and Gaitan (1995)

raise an objection to this hypothesis, contending that it is not only poverty that can generate violence. They stress that violence, particularly terrorism, could also be influenced by men of the ruling class who hold a high social status in society. Conversely, empirical evidence from the works of Collier and Hoeffler (2002). For example, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) examined conflicts in Africa and the outcome of their studies indicated an interface between income and conflict, which signifies that low income can generate conflict. Gurr (1970) and Burton (1997) argue that insecurity, terrorism, conflict and violence are caused by a high poverty rate in most societies. Sarmiento and Bacerra (1998) and Sarmiento (1999) are the leading scholars on the poverty- breeds-conflict hypothesis

Ted Gurr's deprivation theory also subscribes to this assumption. This theory explains the reasons for youth involvement in violence and radicalization. According to the deprivation theory as submitted by Leeds (1978), "aggression is always an attendant consequence of frustration" and "frustration always lead [sic] to aggression". Odumosu (1999) shares Lead and Gurr's idea and submits that "the poor are led to violence due to the relative deprivation of human basic needs". Awojobi (2014) argues that "frustration, lack of income and unemployment must have prompted the youth in northern Nigeria to become the foot soldiers of Boko Haram terrorists".

Many theoretical approaches may be applied to blame Boko Haram terrorism on the high rate of poverty in Nigeria, yet these submissions have constantly been debunked by the coercive security apparatus of the state as well as some security experts who claim that Boko Haram terrorists have representatives within the government and cabinet (Richard, 2012; Guardian 2012). However, Kastina (1999) argues that although much controversy surrounds the cause of Boko Haram terrorism, the fact remains that even if the sect has its antecedents in religious injunctions, its springboard is a huge reservoir of poor, unemployed urban youths from diverse parts of the country. According to him these youths, who have completely become disenfranchised and whose lives have been battered by abject poverty, are readily available to be employed as foot soldiers who commit all sorts of atrocities such as maiming, brutal killings and suicide bombings in the name of religion. This assertion is also pronounced in Onuoha's (2014) empirical study entitled *Why do youth join Boko Haram?* The latter author submits that poverty plays a major role in luring law-abiding youths into Boko Haram terrorism.

3.1.3 Understanding Boko Haram terrorism under the lens of Freudian political psychology

The contributions of early psychologists (such as Freud's political psychology) in understanding why people tend to exhibit violent behaviours cannot be underestimated as they postulate that there is a human instinctive impulse (*Thanatos*) which sometimes instinctively predisposes humans towards aggression, destruction and death. Freud refers to this as the 'death instinct'. In contrast, the second instinct (*Eros*) is a human instinctive impulse that strives for self-preservation, pleasure, leisure and comfort, and it also has an aversion to danger. Freud refers to this as the 'life instinct'. With particular reference to *Thanatos*, Marcuse (1966:29) states that "the death instinct is destructiveness not for its own sake, but for the relief of tension and aggression. The descent towards death is an unconscious flight from pain and want. It is an expression of the eternal struggle against suffering and repression". Thus, from the standpoint of the Sigmund Freud-Marcuse thesis, in response to situations the death instinct (*Thanatos*) always strives to gain dominance and ascendancy over the life instinct (*Eros*), thereby generating violence in place of peace and harmony. Boko Haram terrorism can therefore be understood within the nexus of the Sigmund Freud-Marcuse thesis rather than through the lens of the poverty-aggression thesis and other theoretical perspectives upon which this thesis is premised. This is because, under the exigencies of oppression or the violation of fundamental human rights, the death instinct may prevail over the life instinct under concrete situations of severe dehumanization, a breach of social contract, and the indignity of social life. Such conditions may then produce, reproduce and sustain acts of terrorism by the Boko Haram sect.

Herbert Marcuse (1966) explains that both sets of instinct are to be understood dialectically. It is expressed that these instincts are shaped by culture which, in turn, influences individual characteristic predispositions (or personalities) as well as social behaviour (Ninalowo, 2011:150). The dynamics of social structure, whether oppressive or liberative, would shape the prevalence of the type of instinctual impulse within the socio-cultural realm (ibid). However, this theory has been discredited by biologists who do not believe that such a mechanism exists. It has also been argued that neither of these theories lays adequate emphasis on unequal hegemonic power exchange as expressed in socio-economic, political, ethno-religious and cultural forms, which all form the basis for the experience of a failed state which, in turn, breeds poverty and the exacerbation of poverty across the civil society. It is within this context that frustration may arise to ignite a class conflict that will eventually engender high levels of violence in society.

3.1.4 Understanding Boko Haram terrorism from the perspective of the general strain theory

In their book entitled Criminology theory and terrorism: new applications and approaches that was published in 2016, Freilich and LaFree opine that terrorism can be better understood from the lens of the general strain theory. This assertion is one of the most recent approaches in essays on terrorism across the social and behavioural sciences. Based on the conceptual and empirical argument of Freilich and LaFree, Robert Agnew developed his general strain theory in the 1980s, which is a theory that builds upon the foundation of Merton's strain theory but encompasses a much larger range of behaviours by focusing on the middle, upper and lower classes of society and can also be applied to societies outside the United States of America (see also Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015).

As new focuses on the assumption that frustration is an aspect of the daily life of members of all societies, social classes and economic backgrounds, and it is people's ability, or lack thereof, to deal with these frustrations and the manner in which they do so which are of major importance to the understanding of terrorism (Freilich & LaFree, 2016). Freilich and LaFree's work supports the argument of the current study which contends that the Nigerian youth are living in frustration resulting from poor democratic governance and the long-lasting aftermath of a combination of years of corruption and mismanagement that have characterized the historical development of the Nigerian state. These situations that cause frustration seem to have caused a good number of the youth to fall prey to Boko Haram's lure. The strain theory also focuses on individuals' inability to achieve the positive goals set out by society. According to Merton, society teaches its youth to attain these goals by means of hard work. Agnew takes this even further by suggesting two additional sources of strain, namely "presentation of noxious stimuli and [the] removal of positively valued stimuli" (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015). The reference to noxious stimuli refers to bad events that transpire in the lives of individuals. Such events are usually beyond their control, such as an abusive parent or an excessively demanding workplace superior (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015). Such bad experiences then remove positive stimuli which causes the sudden absence of something positive in a person's life, such as the loss of a job or a loved one, poverty, unemployment, material deprivation, and the denial of fundamental human rights. Drawing upon the conceptual arguments of Freilich and LaFree (2016), the current study thus argues that most youths in north-eastern Nigeria, including those with good educational attainment, have no other option but to respond to the cheap recruitment of terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram. Such youths include those who cannot secure a job, who have lost their jobs

due to political corruption and the socio-economic instability of the country, who have low educational qualifications, who come from poor socio-economic backgrounds, and whose lives have been battered by abject poverty. Agnew postulates that both these categories contain activities that have the ability to cause undue stress and frustration at any stage of an individual's life (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015). It is noteworthy that not all individuals respond to these sources of strain in the same way (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015).

The general strain theory also postulates that these two categories of strain have the potential to result in a person feeling a significant amount of frustration which ordinarily leads to high levels of anger. Such feelings could subsequently lead to criminality (Freilich & LaFree, 2016; Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015). However, Agnew also states that this is usually only the case when an individual is unable to utilize some form of positive coping mechanism to deal with anger and frustration. Those individuals who are able to find and utilize a positive coping mechanism – such as exercise – reduce their predisposition to criminal activity while those who cannot do so are easily predisposed to criminality. Examples of negative coping mechanisms are drug use and increased aggression (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015).

The general strain theory is exceptionally useful in evaluating youths' susceptibility for recruitment into terrorist organizations, not only in Nigeria but on a global scale (Freilich & LaFree, 2016). Young people in Nigeria, particularly those from an Islamic background, experience a great deal of strain and frustration due to either discrimination against or sympathy towards those of the Muslim faith who are victimized by both Western powers and acts of terrorism. This strain is a major factor which contributes to the inclination of the Islamic youth to join a terrorist organization. The general strain theory also accounts for the successful recruitment of non-Muslim youths, as these young people face other forms of strain and frustration which are fuelled by their desperate need for inclusion and acceptance into a group. This need consequently drives them towards the false promises and religious teachings of terrorist organizations.

Furthermore, young people who may not live up to societal standards of success may find the promise of glory and honour within a terrorist organization a welcome substitute (Gardener, 2016; House of Commons, 2016). This is in line with the strain theory's prediction that those who are unable to achieve in society may seek criminal means as an avenue to release their frustration (Tibbets & Hemmens, 2015). According to Gardener (2016) and *Freilich and LaFree (2016)*, terrorist organizations utilize expert

cinematography, graphics and extreme violence to draw in individuals with psychopathic tendencies. It is important to note that Boko Haram not only draws in young people, but also those who already have families, as is illustrated in the propaganda video which claims the organization provides education and resources to children of recruits (Heavy.com, 2015; Winter, 2016). This often results in young children being raised as jihadi fighters and being used in propaganda videos to achieve a strong and emotional response from the public (Winter, 2016). This phenomenon could be linked to the strain theory as the absence of acceptance or sudden maltreatment of an individual in a society (presentation of noxious stimuli) would likely lead to significant amounts of frustration, anger and resentment. Boko Haram terrorism can be viewed through Agnew's theory of the removal of positively valued stimuli, where social acceptance, socio-economic goals, honour and esteem are removed from those who have criminal tendencies, thus making them cheap preys to terrorism.

3.2 Short Essays on the Causes of Terrorism: an Overview

Essays on the causes of terrorism are always bound to lead to controversial academic discourse. Many scholars regard the discourse of the underlying causes, motivating factors, and grievances of terrorism as being accompanied by a sort of justification for extremism and violence (Brynjar & Katja, 2000). Any study of terrorism and its future potential must rely upon causalities and explore impartially all essential factors leading to changes in the occurrence and manifestation of terrorism in society. More specifically, issues surrounding the post 9/11 era have made things more significant than ever before in the philosophical understanding of the driving forces behind terrorism across a wide array of societies.

Brynjar and Katja (2000) submit that the literature on terrorism research has previously suffered from a dearth of concrete findings about the causes of terrorism. They stress that over the past years, there has not been significant progress in testing hypotheses about the causes of terrorism. Nevertheless, the theories reviewed in this thesis are well grounded in theoretical and empirical studies, and they limelight critical factors that account for the propagation of terrorism across a wide range of human societies.

New research on the causes of terrorism has equally demonstrated that causal relationships between economic and political conditions and terrorism are in several areas quite similar to those previously found in civil war studies (Quan Li a & Schaub, 2004). Therefore,

findings from this field of research will allow scholars to fill gaps in terrorism research literature (Brian, 2004). Still, the relationship applicability to terrorism studies is not necessarily direct and straightforward, and will have to be discussed at every stage of life (Engene, 1998). When analysing the causes of terrorism, people are confronted with different levels of explanations (Kegley, 1990) such as at the individual, group, psychological, and socio-psychological levels that assist scholars in identifying why individuals may join a terrorist group (Brian, 1985). Explanations at the societal or national level primarily attempt to identify non-spurious correlations between certain historical, cultural, economic and socio-political characteristics of the larger society and the occurrence of terrorism. For example, the impact of modernization, democratization, and economic inequality on terrorism falls into this category (Brian, 1985). Moreover, explanations at the world system or international level seek to establish causal relationships between the characteristics of the international state system and relations between states on the one hand, and the occurrence of international terrorism on the other (Brian, 1985).

A myriad of situations is capable of generating terrorism in human societies. On this note, terrorists may either be deprived or aggrieved, frustrated or provoked, disenfranchised or denied, religiously fanatic or politically desperate, economically unstable or affluent, uneducated or well educated people. Although young males are usually highly over-represented in most terrorist organizations, terrorists are also found among people of both sexes and of all ages (Cunningham, 2003). Cunningham argues further that terrorism occurs in rich as well as in poor countries; in the modern industrialized world and in less developed areas; during a process of transition and development, prior to or after such a process; in former colonial states and in independent ones; and in established democracies as well as in less democratic regimes. This list could easily be extended, but it suffices as a demonstration of the wide diversity of conditions one needs to consider when trying to develop an understanding of terrorism. Apparently, this diversity makes it difficult to generalize academic argument on terrorism, because there are different forms of terrorism (Cunningham, 2003). Different forms of terrorism also have different causes and different effects on the populace and on ecological environments. We may distinguish between international and domestic terrorism; socio-revolutionary terrorism; separatist terrorism; ethno-religious terrorism; state and non-state terrorism, etc. It is also equally important to recognize that what gives rise to terrorism may be different from what perpetuates terrorism over time and space, and the degree at which this occurs varies from one society to another.

In essence, all theoretical debates on terrorism have been dominated by three major schools of thought:

(i) Psychology: Which is an approach that focuses on the personality, psycho-pathology and psycho-social traits of terrorists;

(ii) Orthodox: The realism and liberalism approach that focuses on non-state actor terrorism; and

(iii) Critical terrorism studies: Which is an approach that focuses on state terrorism (Ogunrotifa, 2013).

Such theoretical studies seem to adopt a general point of view on terrorism, irrespective of the fact that they are strongly marked by socio-cultural, bio-psychosocial, economic and institutional contexts that give rise to terrorist acts. Based on their general approach to the understanding and explanation of terrorism, this study has found none of these models suitable for engendering an in-depth approach towards a socio-economic and class analysis of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Consequently, the theoretical thrust of the study became dispassionately eclectic in the sense that it derived its strength from the integration of three sociological theories.

At this juncture, it becomes paramount to note that this chapter particularly explores the theoretical framework that underpinned the study. The theories were advanced in an attempt to answer the following research questions that this study proposed. These are:

(i) What are the public perceptions on the root causes of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria?

(ii) What patterns characterize Boko Haram terrorism and how do they maintain this form of terrorism in Nigeria?

(iii) What are the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria?

(iii) How can Boko Haram terrorism be resolved in Nigeria?

On this note, a combination of the social exchange, the social conflict and the rational choice theories was advanced to identify the gaps in the literature on the discourse of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria and to address the research questions that were developed during the course of the research inquiry. The integration of the three theoretical models that were selected was considered adequate to address the foci of this study, as they complemented

rather than contradicted one another in the critical analysis of the factors that produced, reproduced and sustained Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. These theories, which are discussed in the next sections, were generated by the following scholars:

(i)   The social exchange theory: George C. Homans and Peter Blau

(ii) The social conflict theory: Karl Marx

(iii) The rational choice theory: George C. Homans

3.2.1   The social exchange theory

Social exchange theory has been described as a socio-psychological and sociological perspective that explains social change, orderliness and stability as a process of negotiated exchanges between parties. The social exchange theory posits that human relationships are formed by the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives (Karen, Cook, Erick, & Rice, 2014). The theory has its roots in the works of Levi-Straus (Structural Anthropology), B. F. Skinner and Albert Bandura (Behavioural Psychology), D. Ricardo, Adam Smith, J. S. Mill (Utilitarian Economics), Thibaut and Kelly (Social Psychology), and Sociology (George Homans and Peter Blau). The social exchange theory features many of the main assumptions found in the rational choice theory and in structuralism. It is also used quite frequently in the business world to imply a two-sided, mutually contingent and rewarding process involving transactions or simply exchange (Lambe, Jay, Wittmann, Michael, Spekman, & Robert, 2001).

In the sociological parlance, the social exchange theory was first introduced in 1958 by George C. Homans with the publication of his work Social behavior as exchange (Karen, Cook, Erick, & Rice, 2014). He defined social exchange as "the exchange of activity, either tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons" (Homans, 1961). After the introduction of the theory by Homans came other prominent theorists who continued to write about it, particularly Peter M. Blau and Richard M. Emerson who, in addition to Homans, are generally thought of as the major developers of the exchange perspective within sociological theorizing. Homans's work emphasizes the individual behavior of actors in interaction with one another. Although there are various modes of exchange, Homans centres his philosophy on dyadic exchange (Cook, Karen, Rice,

& Eric, 2010). John Thibaut and Harold Kelley are recognized for focusing their studies within the theory on the psychological concepts, the dyad and small group (Emerson, 1976). Lévi-Strauss is recognized for contributing to the emergence of this theoretical perspective from his work on anthropology that is focused on systems of generalized exchange, such as kinship systems and gift exchange (Emerson, 1976).

Peter Blau focused his early writings on the social exchange theory more towards the economic and utilitarian perspective, whereas Homans focused on reinforcement principles which presuppose individuals and base their next social move on past experiences. Blau's utilitarian focus encouraged theorist to look forward, as in what they anticipated the reward would be with regard to their next social interaction (Cook, Karen, Rice, & Eric, 2010). Blau felt that if individuals focused too much on the psychological concepts within the theory, they would refrain from learning the developing aspects of social exchange (Emerson, 1976). Blau emphasized technical economic analysis whereas Homans concentrated more on the psychology of instrumental behaviour (Emerson, 1976). Richard Emerson's early work on the theory intertwined with both Homans' and Blau's ideas. Homans believed that the social exchange theory was based on reinforcement principles, but according to Emerson, exchange is not a theory but a framework from which other theories can converge and be compared to structural functionalism. Emerson's perspective was similar to Blau's since they both focused on the relationship power had with the exchange process (Cook, Karen, Rice, & Eric, 2010). Emerson argues that the social exchange theory is an approach in sociology that is described for simplicity as an economic analysis of non-economic social situations. According to Emerson (1976), the exchange theory brings a quasi-economic form of analysis into those situations.

Lambe, Wittmann, Michael, Spekman, and Robert (2001) submit that the basic concept of the social exchange theory views exchange as a social behaviour that may result in both economic and social outcomes. The social exchange theory, according to Cook; Karen, Rice, and Eric (2010) has been generally analyzed by comparing human interactions with the marketplace. They stress further that a study of the theory from a microeconomic perspective is attributed to Blau. Under his perspective, every individual is trying to maximize his wins. Blau states that once this concept is understood, it is possible to observe social exchanges everywhere; not only in market relations, but also in other social relations like friendship (Burns, 1973). The major difference between social and economic exchange is the nature of the exchange between parties. The neo-classic economic theory views the actor as dealing

not with another actor, but with market and environmental parameters such as market price (Cook, Karen, & Emerson, 1978a). Unlike economic exchange, the elements of social exchange are quite varied and cannot be reduced to a single quantitative exchange rate (Encyclopaedia of Public Relations, 2013). According to Stafford (2008), social exchange involves a connection with another person; it involves trust and non-legal obligations that are more flexible and rarely involve explicit bargaining. However, when putting together different scholarly ideas about the social exchange process and what it stands for as a binding force that puts human society together, especially when the exchange is equal on both sides, one could see that the theory brings satisfaction and peace when people receive fair returns for their expenditures, while it generates fundamental conflicts of interest when people receive the other side of the exchange (Cook, Karen, & Emerson, 1978b).

Several sociological theorizings have made it clear that the social exchange theory is a major theoretical perspective in the scientific study of human societies. In considering the multi-dimensional perspective of the social exchange theory, this study chose to advance the theoretical underpinning and conceptual arguments of George C. Homans' and Peter Blau's global unequal power exchange to explain the fundamental basis behind Boko Haram's rational decision to embark on terrorism in Nigeria.

As first espoused by George C. Homans (1961a) and Peter Blau (1964), the theory emphasizes the "norms of reciprocity" (i.e., the principle of something for something and nothing for nothing). The idea behind this theory suggests that, for peace and orderliness to exist in human society, the norms of reciprocity must always remain intact. This is a vacuum that is left unfilled in the Nigerian state and recurrently generates the continuous mayhem entrenched between the government and the Boko Haram insurgents. This study thus found this theory highly suitable for the explanation of Boko Haram terrorism in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. This is because Boko Haram terrorism has been conceived as an attendant consequence of an unequal hegemonic power configuration as expressed in political, socio-economic, ethno-religious and cultural forms that are implicit in the hidden structure of oppression against a significant number of Nigerian citizens, particularly in north-eastern societies. Consequently, the possibility of resistance and challenge against the sovereign authority is exacerbated, which is a condition that sustains Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Such a form of resistance could be deemed by subaltern actors as moments of an emancipatory struggle against the shackles of oppression. By the same token, such struggles for liberation may well be conceived by others as acts of terrorism (Martin, 2003; Kashima,

2003; Mandani, 2004). Therefore, what is depicted as Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria today may well be perceived by some as being within the nexus of counter-hegemony; that is, an emancipatory struggle or collective action against the shackles of oppression that are infringed on citizens by the political state (Ninalowo, 2004; Gramsci, 1971).

We can also look at the relevance of this theory to the study through the sociological lens of the global historical notion of a 'symbiotic social contract' between the Nigerian political state and the citizenry, as was first explicated by John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean Jacque Rosseau, among others. In this regard, the political state of Nigeria is expected to provide instrumentality towards the sustenance and amelioration of the human condition in the north-east, chiefly by providing for the basic needs of the citizens such as formal education, political representation, housing, nutrition, health, clothing, a public transport system, and internet and communication facilities. By the same token, the citizenry is expected to fulfil their own part of the social contract by paying their taxes regularly, discharging their communal obligations, and obeying the clarion call to national services. These are unequivocally entrenched in the Nigerian Constitution and the Bill of Rights of 1999. However, numerous citizens of the Nigerian state have been denied many of these rights by the political state. Moreover, the non-fulfilment of or deficits in respect of the terms of the social contract between the two parties could have culminated in conflicting factors that eventually engendered the crisis of increasing levels of insecurity in the affected Nigerian communities. The continuous anarchy between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram might probably have emanated from the non-fulfilment of the social contract on the part of the Nigerian political state (such as failure to provide in the basic needs of the citizens, material deprivation, fragmentation and marginalization of political rights, unequal power configuration, or failure of the government to ensure uniform distribution of resources across the geo-political zones of the nation). But whatever pattern this chaos has taken in Nigeria, this theory firmly establishes the fact that it is a legitimation crisis, as members of the Boko Haram sect are deemed to be revolting against the ruling class as a way of expressing their grievances and a means of correcting the political errors of their rulers.

3.2.1.1 Critiques of the social exchange theory

Despite the merits of this theory with regards to its ability to provide a critical analysis of people's rational, conscious and calculated decisions to embark on terrorism as a punishment for the non-fulfilment of the social contract between the state and citizens' need to meet

socio-economic, political and religious goals, many scholars critique this theory for presuming that people always make rational decisions. Critics also point out that this theoretical model fails to capture the power that emotions and frustrations play in our daily lives and in our interactions with others. A case in point is the appreciable number of aggrieved youths who fall victim to Boko Haram recruitment in the north-east of Nigeria. Moreover, this theory also undercuts the power of social structures and forces which unconsciously shape our perception of the world and our experiences within it and which play a strong role in shaping our interactions with others. According to Miller (2005), the theory reduces human interaction to a purely rational process that arises from economic theory. Hence the theory is highly criticized on the basis that it primarily addresses conflict that arises from economic transactions that emanate from unequal exchange between two or more parties. Although it favours openness as it was developed in the 1970s when ideas of freedom and openness were preferred, there may be times when openness is not the best option in a relationship. It further assumes that the ultimate goal of a relationship is intimacy, but this might not always be the case. Also, the theory places relationships in a linear structure, when some relationships might skip steps or go backwards in terms of intimacy (Miller, 2005).

However, the fact that this theory critically explains that the mode of exchange in all contexts could be productive, negotiated, reciprocal, unequal, or generalized is a milestone achievement; and this account thus describes what becomes of human societies in terms of stability, orderliness, peacefulness and workability of all its structural components.

3.2.2 The social conflict theory

The social conflict theory of Karl Marx is a macro-oriented paradigm in sociology. It views society as an arena of inequality that generates conflict and social change within the social structure (Marx, 1867). According to Karl Marx, the key elements of this perspective are that society is structured in ways to benefit a few at the expense of the majority. This theory sees social life as a competition (or class struggle) and focuses on the unequal distribution of resources, space, and power within the social structure (Marx, 1867). To a social conflict theorist, it is all about dominant versus minority group relations. Marx therefore opined that there was a tainted history of class struggle in all pre-existing societies and that these conflicts created the impetus and tonic for the transformation of those societies. However, the primary theme of this theory that focuses on class conflict arises from the ways human societies produce their material goods and fail to distribute these uniformly within the social

structure. Consequently, in place of communal ownership of property or material values, there is a constant increase in the privatization of property and the means of production, thereby leaving active members of the civil society in abject poverty, frustration and misery. Based on this theory, it is argued that the conditions of people in northern Nigeria are undermined and worsened by a few leaders, thereby leading to the dispossession and social dislocation of the poor masses (i.e., the oppressed). This study viewed social conflict as an elongation and attendant consequence of the unequal exchange between Nigeria's political leaders and the citizenry. It is in this context that members of the Boko Haram sect emerged in their quest to revolting against the oppression of the minority in the form of violence and radicalization. Their actions have thus eventually led to the illicit disruption of the political state and the brutalized termination of lives and the destruction of property in the north-eastern part of Nigeria.

More specifically, the social conflict theory posits that when a group's shared grievances about its oppressive marginalization and unequal distribution of resources are combined with a strong sense of group identity, there is a tendency for the outburst of violent responses against the source of their marginalization, either real or imagined (Gurr, 1994:347–377). This caveat applies to the situation in Nigeria that has been created by the Boko Haram sect. The argument here is that frustration among the poor masses, precipitated by factors such as severe poverty, unemployment and corruption among the ruling elite, has generated a fundamental conflict of interest within the affected masses who constantly feel oppressed, alienated, deprived, frustrated, and abandoned. They may thus either find refuge in their religious groups, or are manipulated to wage an insurgency war against the political state (Adibe, 2012b).

Another relevant application of the conflict theory in this study is closely knit with the frustration-aggression framework which came into being after the reintroduction of Sharia law in twelve northern states. As a corollary, there was widespread disillusionment at the way it was implemented, and members of the sect simply tapped into that frustration (Adibe, 2012a). The relevance of the frustration-aggression thesis for this study is underlined by the fact that Boko Haram members have embarked on a revenge mission since the clampdown on their members and the extrajudicial killing of their leader by security forces in a bloody episode in July 2009. Since then, most of the sect members have been harbouring intense anger and aggression towards the Nigerian government and its security forces. There also appears to be ample evidence that their increased frustration and disillusionment are closely

linked with growing religiosity (Uzodike & Whetho, 2011). When faced with a mélange of social challenges and severe poverty, citizens of unresponsive state intervention often turn to religious institutions as a solution and redress. By the same token, such people may become extremists and zealots in their religious practices. In Nigeria, as well as anywhere else in the world, such religious extremism is often associated with the failure of the state to meet its people's basic needs. This is evident in the capacity of Boko Haram to recruit and convert poor citizens into terrorism (Jackson, 2007:599). It is within the context of the conflict, state-failure and frustration-aggression theses that the Boko Haram reign of terror in Nigeria is situated in this particular thesis. This study found evidence to argue that the democratic dispensation in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, has provided a breeding ground for various sectors and social groups to articulate their concerns more forcefully and effectively than ever before. Their voices are raised not only through the ballot box, but also through protest activities and even forms of violent resistance against the political state. This thesis thus acknowledges the potential connection of Boko Haram terrorism to the issues of class conflict, state failure, and the frustration-aggression context that currently characterize the Nigerian state.

The theory presents Boko Haram terrorism as "an expression of an unending class struggle implicit in the hidden structures of oppression by the political state as well as the structured contradictions of a global capitalist system" (Ogunrotifa, 2013:1). The antagonistic class relations between the ruling class and the lumpen class translate into state and individual terrorism that has manifested prominently as Boko Haram terrorism in recent times in Nigeria. Through this perspective, it is argued that the discursive framework of terrorism cannot be analyzed in isolation of its class nature and the socio-economic conditions that give rise to it. Boko Haram terrorism is a potentially useful model for the case discussed, thereby making it possible to develop an analytical construct and explanation for terrorism across global societies.

3.2.2.1 Critiques of the social conflict theory

The social conflict theory has demonstrated the inclination to argue that human societies cannot exist without going through some form of fundamental conflict of interest, which forms the fulcrum for the manifestation of various societies. Nevertheless, the theory appears to place over-emphasis on economic relationships as the most constant and indispensable source of conflict generation in society. On this premise, the theory is accused of being too

economically determinist. This implies that Marxists over-exaggerate the importance of economic relationships (i.e., relationships that are seen to determine the shape taken by all other relationships such as family, education, friendship, religion, and so forth) as the basis of social conflict and the need to transform societies. It is argued that by concentrating on economic relationships, this theory tends to either overlook other forms of non-economic conflict or that it attempts to explain these conflicts as ultimately having economic roots.

The theory is thus heavily criticized as it states that conflict arises from economic inequality that emanates from an unequal exchange which is implicit in the hidden structure of oppression by a capitalist society through its political state. The theory fails to acknowledge the impact of "value consensus" upon which the human society is structured, as impressionably explicated by Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism which submits that all the components of human society must work together as a whole (i.e., his organismic model) in order to achieve stability, solidarity and orderliness within the social system .

According Marxists, this theory unfolds that human societies are defined by inequality that produces conflict rather than order and consensus. However, the relevance of this theory to the current study was that it was able to pinpoint Boko Haram terrorism as an attendant consequence of the class conflict that stemmed from the non-fulfilment of the socio-economic goals of members of the Boko Haram sect in the north-eastern part of Nigeria.

3.2.3   The rational choice theory as it is related to terrorism

It has for a long time appeared in the academic domain that economics is the most successful of the social sciences. It is widely acknowledged that people are motivated by money and material things and by the possibility of making a profit from every social relationship, and this has allowed it to construct formal, and often predictive, models of human behaviour (Becker, 1976). This apparent breakthrough has led many other social scientists to cast envious eyes in this direction. They are of the opinion that if social scientists could only follow the economic approach, they could as well record similar achievements in their own studies. Therefore, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists, criminologists and any other social scientists that deal with the study of human behaviour have tried to build theories around the idea that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do, when to do it and how actions will be carried out. This approach to theory is known as the rational choice theory, and its application to terrorism takes the form of

punishment reward. This argument is extensively espoused by the exchange theory, which posits that rational and calculated decisions are taken to institute violence in society as a response to the non-fulfilment of socio-economic needs.

The fact that people act rationally has indeed been recognized by many behavioural scientists, but they have seen rational actions alongside other forms of action and human action as involving both rational and non-rational elements. Such perceptions of action recognize traditional or habitual action, emotional or affectual action, and various forms of value-oriented action vis-à-vis the purely rational types of action. Max Weber (1920), for example, built an influential typology of action around just such concepts. His ideas were taken up by Talcott Parsons (1937) and became a part of the sociological mainstream. In the same vein, the social anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) and Marcel Mauss (1925) looked at how social exchange was embedded in structures of reciprocity and social obligation. The rational choice theory of terrorism is argued to have emerged from economics and applied mathematics. A pioneering figure in establishing this theory in sociology is George Homans (1961b), who devised a basic framework of the exchange theory which he grounded in assumptions drawn from behaviourist psychology. While these psychological assumptions have been rejected by many later writers, Homans' formulation of the exchange theory remains the basis of all subsequent discussions. During the 1960s and 1970s, Blau (1964), Coleman (1973), and Cook (1978) extended and enlarged his framework, and they helped develop more formal, mathematical models of rational action (see also Coleman, 1990).

In terms of terrorism, the rational choice theory assumes that terrorist acts usually emanate from rational, calculated and conscious decisions. These decisions represent an optimal strategy to fulfil the socio-economic, political and religious goals of such perpetrators (Crenshaw 1992; Sandler & Lapan, 1988; Victoroff, 2005; Wilson, 2000). In other words, according to this theory, terrorism might represent a pathological or illogical behaviour, but could also represent the best means to fulfil personal needs in some circumstances. The rational choice theory thus sees terrorism as a deliberate act with the sole intention to destroy life and property in order to achieve some form of socio-economic, religious and political goals (Wilson, 2000).

This theory is often applied to predict the utility of various policies. According to this theory, individuals are motivated by their personal wants and goals and are driven by personal

desires. Because it is not possible for individuals to attain all of the various things that they want, they must make choices related to both their goals and the means for attaining those goals. Individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate which action will be best for them. In the end, rational individuals choose the course of action that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction. However, one key element of the rational choice theory is the belief that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character. This distinguishes it from other theories because it denies the existence of any kind of action other than the purely rational and calculative. It argues that all social actions can be seen as rationally motivated however much of it may appear to be irrational. The current study found this theory relevant to the understanding of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria because it provided a sound platform from which to argue that members of the sect would not abruptly turn inimical to the growth and development agenda of the country. Rather, it would be observed from their modes of operation that their activities were 'rationally' geared towards achieving a common goal. The rational choice theory of terrorism thus facilitated the gathering of evidence to argue that most of the responses of the Boko Haram terrorists seemed to be intended to maximize their common goals.

Looking further into the rational choice perspective for the explanation of terrorism, Perry and Hasisi (2015) made use of criminology's rational choice theory to analyse the motivations of jihadist suicide attackers. They argue that suicide attackers engage in self-destructive forms of behaviour which are mostly driven not by altruistic motivations, but by the anticipation of future self-gratifying benefits. It is in this context that Boko Haram terrorists seem to be motivated to continue with their deadly activities in Nigeria, as they may hope to achieve their envisaged optimum benefits. Perry and Hasisi are of the opinion that there are no fundamental differences between the motivations that drive terrorists and those of more ordinary criminals. Persistent with the rational choice perspective, both sets of offenders are committed to maximizing self-gratifying, beneficial behaviour (Perry & Hasisi, 2015).

In terms of the rational choice theory, Perry and Hasisi (ibid) also argue that the 'rational' concept stresses the notion of strategic thinking and presumes a phenomenon whereby information is analyzed, situations are defined from a subjective perspective, opportunities and alternatives are evaluated, and all actions are directed towards the optimum achievement of expected benefits. To them, the concept of 'choice' fortifies the position that criminals consider and make decisions which suit their situation. They argue further that people

commit crimes if they expect that the benefits of the offenses will exceed the benefits they may obtain by investing in alternative feasible activities, be they legal or non-legal (Perry & Hasisi, 2015:56).

Some of these instances are quintessential to the response that terrorism does sometimes increase the likelihood that perpetrators will accomplish their socio-political goals. For example, the bombings perpetrated by Irgun (a paramilitary Zionist group) facilitated the independence of Eretz Israel from the British. Terrorist attacks by the IRA also expedited the formation of the Irish Free State. Furthermore, suicide bombings by Hezbollah during the mid-1980s enabled Shia to control parts of Lebanon and incited the withdrawal of American, French and Israeli forces from the territory (Victoroff, 2005). Terrorist acts that were committed by the ANC hastened the abolishment of apartheid in South Africa and the recent terrorist acts by the Niger-Delta militants in Nigeria gave birth to civil emancipation from the shackles of oppression, material deprivation and political marginalization of power and wealth in the region. However, terrorist attacks such as the infamous September 11 attack in New York and Washington DC seem to attract more recruits for terrorism (Whittaker, 2001).

In conclusion, this theory thus firmly entrenches the fact that frustration resulting from the non-fulfilment of socio-economic goals may cause members of the Boko Haram sect to embark on rational and calculated decisions as a punishment reward to disrupt activities in Nigeria as the only optimum strategy to achieve their common goal.

3.2.3.1 Critiques of the rational choice theory of terrorism

Some rational choice theorists have viewed rationality as an attendant consequence of a psychological state of being. Others have accepted the position that it is simply essential to assume that individuals act as if they were completely rational. Nevertheless, one major flaw of the rational choice theory is that it denies the existence of any kind of action other than the purely rational and calculative action. To buttress this argument, some behaviourist terrorists seem to contradict this assumption that such acts represent optimal attempts to fulfil socio-political goals. Crenshaw (2000), for example, maintains that the goals of terrorists are sometimes implausible. Their acts, therefore, will not fulfil their goals, and thus cannot be regarded as a rational attempt to pursue these objectives (see also Brannan, Eslerm, & Anders Strindberg, 2001). Nevertheless, the goals of terrorists might not be as tangible as overthrowing a government, but might merely correspond to the recruitment of

support or assistance to terrorist family members (Azam, 2005; Brooks, 2002; Jain & Mukand, 2004). Moreover, the theory does not seem to accommodate the pronounced effects of impulsive actions, emotional experiences, or flawed cognitions on the behaviour of individuals. Profound feelings of revenge, ambition, and trust in leaders can thus skew behaviours from the forces of rational processes (Victoroff, 2005). Only these more transient and idiosyncratic forces can explain why few individuals living in similar conditions can ever commit these acts.

Finally, Post (1998) argues that if terrorism were strategic and rational, such groups would be more likely to disband after they have achieved their victory. That is, if the benefits have been achieved, the incidences of terrorist acts should diminish and or vanish immediately. Scholars have also debated the fact that terrorists often sabotage their own success moments before a deal can be reached. Moreover, to maintain the group, to meet their sense of purpose and to fulfil their need to belong, terrorists often sustain risky ventures regardless of the outcomes. To this end, terrorist acts often become mindless as violence is incited not to fulfil a strategic goal, but to create a state of disorderliness for human existence.

3.3   Generalizability of the Tripartite Theoretical Model

The study adopted a tripartite theoretical model as a useful construct for explaining the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The advancement of the model provided a logical account of the interactive schematic pattern of the likely factors that were adjudged to have led to the emergence and sustenance of the Boko Haram crisis in north-eastern Nigeria. The model explains that every citizen stands an equal chance of achieving the socio-economic goals of his or her society, but because human goals are always unlimited and the chance of accomplishing those goals sometimes appears very slim due to structural inequality embedded within the social structure, people are compelled by societal pressures to make a choice in order to accomplish some of the stated goals. Consequently, during the course of choice making, there must definitely be a rational process of exchange. If, however, the exchange is unequal and the fulfilment of socio-economic goals is no longer realistic between the parties involved, this would spontaneously engender class conflict that will eventually lead to a rational and calculated decision by aggrieved members of the civil society to pioneer violence with increasing levels of insecurity.

3.4 Conclusion

The theoretical analysis of the schematic model draws the conclusion that, as long as the endemic socio-economic problems caused by global capitalism vis-a-vis unequal hegemonic power exchange persist in the Nigerian society, the use of individual terrorism will recurrently remain an inevitable enterprise; indeed it will be sustained as a normal social reaction to every state of affairs. The diagram in figure 3.3 presents the above argument diagrammatically.

BH Increasing Level of Insecurity

Rational Decision

[Rational Choice Theory]

Class Conflict

[Social Conflict Theory]

Non-fulfilment of Socio-economic Goals

[Social Exchange Theory]

Unequal Exchange

Government & Political State

Law-abiding Citizens

Socio-economic Goals
1. Job Opportunities
2. Education & political goods.
3. Food, Clothing, & Shelter.
4. Health Care Facilities
5. Mass Transit System & Communication Network.
6. Religious & Cultural Practices.
7. Fundamental Human Rights

Figure 3.3 An Interactive Schematic Model For Boko Haram Terrorism In Nigeria

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1   Introduction

This section describes the methodological strategies that were employed in the execution of the study. The research design and methods are described and justified and the study setting (or study location) is discussed. The section also underlines the various steps that were undertaken in generating and analysing the qualitative data. The discourse entails a detailed discussion of the ethical considerations that underpinned the study, with particular reference to participant anonymity, confidentiality, privacy and informed consent that were adhered to in the processes of selecting the participants, retrieving and analysing the data. The chapter presents the strengths and limitations of the study and discusses how the challenges that were encountered were overcome in order to achieve the stated objectives of the research. More importantly, the section also gives a brief description of research methods as an integral part of research inquiry.

Effective research methods are the tools by which information about the social world is gathered (MacDonald & Headlam, 2011:2). The latter authors argue that, without the appropriate design and use of research methods, researchers are unlikely to gather quality information and, as such, create a shaky foundation to any research inquiry, evaluation, as well as future strategy. In any form of research, studies have shown that it is either required to count things or events by ways of quantification or measurement and/or talk to people by way of interviews through explanation, description or interpretation of ideas. These methods can be broadly classified into quantitative and qualitative research methods. This distinction provides a yardstick for defining research methods in social research.

According to MacDonald and Headlam (2011), these two types of research methods and their output data are classified as quantitative and qualitative methodologies. As the name implies, a quantitative approach is concerned with trying to quantify things: it asks questions such as 'how long?', 'how many?' or 'the degree to which'? Quantitative methods attempt to quantify data and generalize results from a sample of the population of interest. They may measure the incidence of various views and opinions in a chosen sample or aggregate results. Quantitative methods are research techniques that are used to gather quantitative data, which are data that can be sorted, classified, and measured. A qualitative approach, on the other

hand, is concerned with the quality of the information that has been gathered. The methods are used to gather qualitative data – i.e., information that is required to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for actions and to establish how people interpret their experiences and the world around them (MacDonald & Headlam, 2011). Qualitative methods provide insights into the setting of a problem as they generate ideas and/or hypotheses. Therefore, in order to give this study a more distinct and thorough research approach, the qualitative research method was preferred and employed to gather high-quality data from which appropriate findings could be generated.

In any research project, the researcher is accountable for his or her "starting point, methods, applications and findings" (Van der Walt et al., 1977:159). The ultimate value of a research is dependent upon the methods, procedures and techniques that are utilized. This chapter presents an elucidation of the procedural steps undertaken to achieve the aim and objectives of this study. Due consideration was therefore given to the research procedures, with particular emphasis on the sampling procedures to acquire appropriate participants for the interviews. The primary data gathering tool was in-depth, semi-structured interviews that were prompted by an interview guide. Data analysis and interpretation followed the data collection phase. The study closely adhered to all ethical considerations and took cognisance of the limitations that impacted the data collection and evaluation procedures.

4.2   Research Design

A research design is a blueprint or plan to guide data collection and data analysis; in other words, to answer a study's research questions (Steyn, 2016:9). It comprises the exact techniques that will be employed in a research, including the type of sampling procedure, and the data collection and analysis methods. The research design of a study depends on the following four criteria:

(a)   The purpose of the research (e.g., is it descriptive or explanatory?);

(b)   The chosen paradigm;

(c)   The context in which the research will be conducted; and

(d)   The research techniques that will be used to collect and analyze the data.

The research design of a study is the investigator's plan of action for answering the most suitable research questions in order to achieve the stated objectives of the research (Oyefara, 2011:88-89). The objective of selecting a research design for this study was to minimize

possible errors by maximizing the credibility and dependability of the data. The adoption of the research design provided an opportunity to formulate strategies that examined the topic under investigation and specified the most appropriate procedures employed for gathering the richest possible data for the research. The study employed a qualitative methodological approach comprising one key method of investigation, namely in-depth semi-structured one-on-one interviews to interrogate the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. In executing this methodological approach, participants for the interviews were selected as key informants. This was necessary to facilitate the collection of rich data as the participants could be probed beyond the capacity of questionnaires. This minimized possible errors of interpretation and enhanced the trustworthiness of the research as high-quality data could be collected to the point of saturation. The comprehensive and explicit research design that was adopted is illustrated by the flowchart that is presented below.

Research Problem

Research Questions

Data Collection

Primary Data Collection
-In-depth Interview,
- Key Informant Interview
- Semi-structured Interview

Secondary Data Collection
-Review of Published Journal Articles
- Review of Newspaper articles,
-Medial Reports & Google Sources

Data Analysis, Interpretation, Presentation & Discussion of Findings

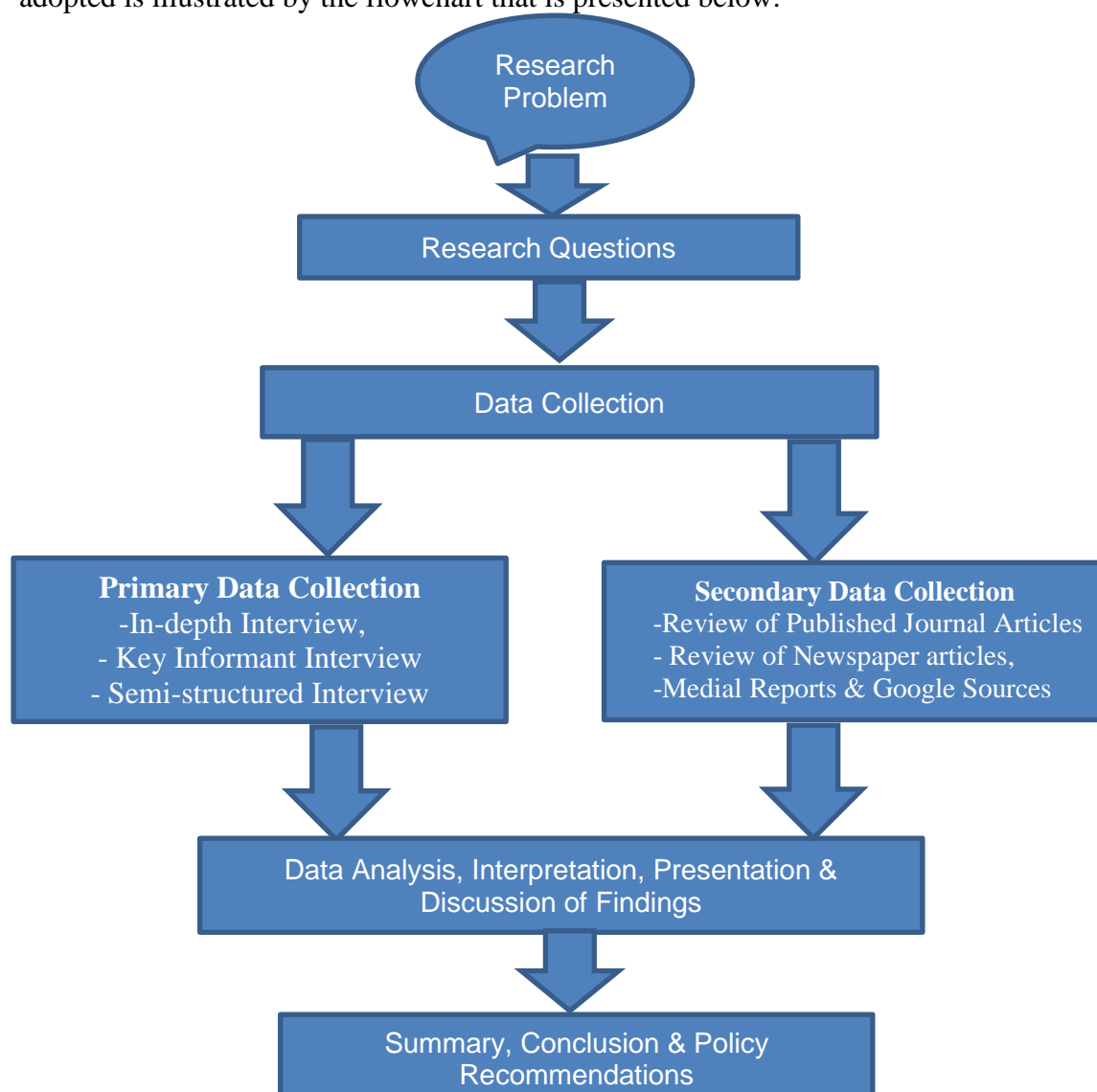Summary, Conclusion & Policy Recommendations

Figure 4.2 Flowchart of Research Design for the Study

4.3 Study Location and Description of the Study Setting

The study was conducted in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. The territory currently comprises six local government councils, namely: Abuja Municipal, Abaji, Gwagwalada, Kuje, Bwari and Kwali. The research did not span all these local council areas but was strictly confined to Abuja Municipal Area Council for the following reasons: (i) The enormous size of the territory which would have been too cumbersome to cover in its entirety for the study; (ii) Abuja city is the core area of the territory where some of the most notable activities of the Boko Haram sect have taken place since its inception; (iii) Abuja is in the northern sector of Nigeria where it is home to many government officials, students, religious leaders, business men and women, as well as coercive security members of the state who have long been at the forefront of the Boko Haram warfare. This scope facilitated the best possible access to obtain relevant information from the two categories of stakeholders who were recruited for the interviews. More importantly, a significant justification for choosing Abuja as the study location was to ensure the safety of the researcher and his assistants given the fact that the growing intensity of Boko Haram activities had been reduced in Abuja in recent times, while other zones in northern Nigeria were still at very high risk of Boko Haram insurgency. It was therefore not feasible for any researchers to embark upon fieldwork in these regions at the time of the study. This consideration of the safety of all stakeholders became mandatory in order to adhere to the ethical considerations that guided the fieldwork phase of the research as stipulated by the School of Higher Degree of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. On a more critical note, the fact that study seeks public perceptions on the emerging socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism has concretely justified the researcher's choice of Abuja as the study location.

Abuja is also the capital city of Nigeria. It is located at the centre of Nigeria and is situated within the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Abuja is a planned city which was built mainly in the 1980s. It officially became Nigeria's capital on 12 December 1991, replacing Lagos, although the latter remains the country's most populous city. Abuja's geography is defined by Aso Rock, a 400 metre (1 300 ft) monolith left by water erosion. It also contains the presidential complex, the National Assembly, the Supreme Court and the Zuma Rock (a 792 metre [2 598 ft] monolith), all of which lie north of the city on the road to Kaduna state.

The 2006 census revealed that the city of Abuja had a population of 776 298, making it one of the ten most populous cities in Nigeria. According to the United Nations, Abuja grew at

the rate of 139.7% between 2000 and 2010, making it the fastest-growing city in the world (Euromonitor International, 2015). As of 2015, the city has been experiencing an annual growth of at least 35%, still retaining its position as the fastest-growing city on the African continent and one of the fastest-growing in the world (Euromonitor International, 2015). Abuja has witnessed a huge influx of people into the city. This influx has led to the emergence of satellite towns such as the Karu urban area, Suleja, Gwagwalada, Lugbe, Kuje and smaller settlements towards which the planned city is sprawling. The unofficial metropolitan area of Abuja has a population of well over three million, making it the fourth largest metropolitan area in Nigeria, surpassed only by Lagos, Kano and Ibadan. In 2015, the metropolitan area of Abuja was estimated at 6 million persons (Euromonitor International, 2015). Major religious sites include the Nigerian National Mosque and the Nigerian National Christian Centre. The city is served by the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport. Abuja is known for being one of the few purpose-built capital cities in Africa, as well as being one of the wealthiest.

The indigenous inhabitants of Abuja are the Gbagyi (Gwari) whose language is the major language of the region, and the Bassa, Gwandara, Gade, Ganagana, and Koro. In light of the ethnic and religious divisions of Nigeria, plans have been devised since Nigeria's independence to have its capital in a place deemed neutral to all major ethnic parties, and also in close proximity to all the regions of Nigeria. The location was eventually designated at the centre of the country in the early 1970s, as it signified neutrality and national unity. Another impetus for Abuja came because the Lagos population boomed which made that city overcrowded and conditions squalid. As Lagos was already undergoing rapid economic development, the Nigerian regime felt the need to expand the economy towards the inner part of the country, and hence decided to move its capital to Abuja. The logic was similar to the way Brazil planned its capital, Brasília. Construction broke ground and was dedicated in the late 1970s but, due to economic and political instability, the initial stages of the city were not complete until the late 1980s.

The master plan for Abuja and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) was developed by international planning associates comprising a consortium of three American firms: Planning Research Corporation; Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd; and Archisystems, a division of the Hughes Organization. The master plan for Abuja defined the general structure and major design elements of the city that are visible in its current form. More detailed design of the central areas of the capital, particularly its monumental core, was accomplished

by Kenzo Tange, a renowned Japanese architect, with his team of city planners of the Kenzo Tange and Urtec company.

Looking at the rapid development and beautiful scenery of the city, most countries relocated their embassies to Abuja and many maintain their former embassies as consulates in Lagos, the commercial capital of Nigeria. Abuja is the headquarters of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the regional headquarters of OPEC. Abuja and the FCT have experienced huge population growth; it has been reported that some areas around Abuja have been growing at 20% to 30% per year (World Bank Conference, 2007). Squatter settlements and towns have spread rapidly in and outside the city limits, and tens of thousands of people have been evicted since former FCT minister, Nasir Ahmad el-Rufai, started a demolition campaign in 2003 (Polgreen, 2006).

Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) is made up of six district areas within which the research was conducted. These include the Central Business District, Garki District, Wuse District, Maitama District, Asokoro District, Gwarinpa District, with Durumi District seemingly situated near the districts but located southwest of Abuja. In addition to the district areas, there are five sub-urban districts: Nyanya, Karu, Gwagwalada, Kubwa, and Jukwoyi. The latter is the zone that is most traumatized by Boko Haram in Abuja. Along the airport road are clusters of satellite settlements, namely: Lugbe, Chika, Kuchigworo and Pyakassa. Other satellite settlements are Idu (the main industrial zone), Mpape, Karimu, Gwagwa, and Dei-Dei (which houses the International Livestock market and also the International Building Materials market).

4.3.1   Central Business District

Abuja Central District, also called Central Area, spans from the foot of Aso Rock across the Three Arms Zone to the southern base of the inner ring road. It is like the city's spinal cord, dividing it into the northern sector with Maitama and Wuse, and the southern sector with Garki and Asokoro. While each district has its own clearly demarcated commercial and residential sectors, the Central District is the city's principal business zone where practically all parastatal and multinational corporations have their offices. An attractive area in the Central District is the region known as the 'Three Arms Zone'. It is so called because it houses the administrative offices of the executive, legislative and judicial arms of the federal government. A few of the other sites worth seeing in the area are the federal secretariats alongside Shehu Shagari Way, Aso Hill, the Abuja Plant Nursery, Eagle Square (which is

of important historic significance as it was on this ground that the present democratic dispensation had its origin on 29 May 1999) and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier across the road facing it. The National Mosque and the National Church of Nigeria are opposite each other on either side of Independence Avenue. A well-known government office in this area is the Ministry of Defence, colloquially nicknamed "Ship House".

4.3.2 Garki District

The Garki District is the area in the southwest corner of the city, with the Central District to the north and the Asokoro District to the east. The district is subdivided into units called 'Areas'. Garki uses a distinctive naming convention of "Area" to refer to parts of Garki. These are designated as Areas 1 to 11. Garki II is used to differentiate the area from Garki Area 2. Visitors may find this system confusing. Garki is presently the principal business district of Abuja. Numerous buildings of interest are in this area. Some of them include the General Post Office, Abuja International Conference Centre along the busy Herbert Maculay Way, Nicon Luxury Hotel (formally known as Abuja Sofitel Hotel and Le Meridian), Agura Hotel and Old Federal Secretariat Complex Buildings (Area 1). A new five-star hotel, Hawthorn Suites Abuja, is in Garki. Area 2 is mainly used for residential purposes, although a zoological garden as well as Garki Shopping Centre are in Area 2. Several banks and other commercial offices are located along Moshood Abiola Way in Area 7. The headquarters of the Nigerian Armed Forces – the Army, Airforce and Navy – are all in the Garki District. The tallest building in this district is the Radio House, which houses the Federal Ministry of Information and Communications and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). The Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) station and corporate headquarters are based in Garki. The Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA), which oversees and runs the Administration of the Federal Capital Territory, has its offices in Garki.

The Office of the Minister of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja is in Area 10. Other places of note include the Arts and Culture Centre and the Nigerian Police Mobile Force headquarters in Area 10. The Abuja Municipal Area Council, which is the local government administration, has its headquarters in Area 10. The new United States Embassy is in the Garki District.

4.3.3 Wuse District

Wuse District is the north-western part of the city, with the Maitama District to its north and the Central District to its south. The District is numbered Zones 1–8. The Wuse Market is

Abuja's principal market (Zone 5). The second most important post office in the city is here. This district houses the Sheraton Hotel and Towers (Zone 4), Ibro International Hotel, the Foreign Affairs Ministry Headquarters (Zone 3) and Nigerian Customs Services Headquarters, Federal Civil Service Commission (Zone 3), Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), National Agency for Food and Drugs Administration (NAFDAC) (Zone 7), Wuse General Hospital, and the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation. Just as Garki District has Garki II, Wuse has Wuse II. This is distinct from Wuse Zone 2.

4.3.4   Maitama District

Maitama District is to the north of the city, with the Wuse and Central Districts lying to its southwest and southeast respectively. This area is home to the top bracket sections of society and businesses, and has the reputation of being very exclusive and very expensive. Interesting buildings include the Transcorp Hilton Hotel, Nigerian Communications Commission Headquarters (NCC), National Universities Commission (NUC), Soil Conservation Complex, and Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The British High Commission is located along Aguiyi Ironsi Way, in Maitama. Also, the Maitama District Hospital is another notable building in Maitama. Maitama District is home to many of the European and Asian embassies.

4.3.5   Asokoro District

Asokoro District, commonly referred to as the 'doyen' of all the other districts, houses all of the state's lodges/guest houses. The ECOWAS secretariat is a focal point of interest. Asokoro is to the east of Garki District and south of Central District. It is one of the most exclusive districts of Abuja and houses virtually all of the federal cabinet ministers; in addition, the Presidential Palace (commonly referred to as the Aso Rock) is in Asokoro District. By virtue of this fact, Asokoro is the most secure area of the city.

4.3.6   Gwarinpa District

Gwarinpa is the last district in the Abuja Municipal Area Council. It is a 20-kilometre (12 miles) drive from the central district and contains the largest single housing estate in Nigeria, the Gwarinpa Housing Estate. The estate was built by the administration of General Sani Abacha and is the largest of its kind in Africa. It provides residence for the majority of the civil servants in federal ministries and government parastatals. The

ECOWAS Court has official quarters for the President and members of the court in Gwarinpa.

4.3.7 Durumi District

Durumi District is not located within the local council but situated southwest of Abuja and is bordered by Garki Districts I and II to the northeast. Its borders are the Oladipo Dia Road to the southwest, the Nnamdi Azikiwe Express Way to the northeast, and Ahmadu Bello Way to the southeast. The American International School of Abuja is located in the Durumi District.

According to the World Meteorological Organization (2012), the Abuja climate under Köppen climate classification features a tropical wet and dry climate . The FCT experiences three weather conditions annually. This includes a warm, humid rainy season and a blistering dry season. In between the two, there is a brief interlude of harmattan occasioned by the northeast trade wind, with the main feature of dust haze and dryness. The rainy season begins from April and ends in October, when daytime temperatures reach 28°C (82.4°F) to 30°C (86.0°F) and night-time lows hover around 22°C (71.6°F) to 23°C (73.4°F). In the dry season, daytime temperatures can soar as high as 40°C (104.0°F) and night-time temperatures can dip to 12 °C (53.6 °F). Even the chilliest nights can be followed by daytime temperatures well above 30°C (86.0°F). The high altitudes and undulating terrain of the FCT act as a moderating influence on the weather of the territory. Rainfall in the FCT reflects the territory's location on the windward side of the Jos Plateau and the zone of rising air masses with the city receiving frequent rainfall during the rainy season from March to November every year (WMO, 2012). The Abuja vegetation falls within the Guinean forest-savannah mosaic zone of the West African sub-region. Patches of rain forest, however, occur on the Gwagwa plains, especially in the rugged terrain to the south south-eastern parts of the territory, where a landscape of gullies and rough terrain is found. These areas of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) form one of the few surviving occurrences of the mature forest vegetation in Nigeria.

The Abuja skyline and landmark are made up of mostly mid-range and a few tall buildings. Only recently have tall buildings begun to appear. Most of the buildings are modern, reflecting that it is a new city. Plans were made to build skyscrapers such as the Millennium Tower which was completed in 2015. This structure looms 170 metres (560 ft) above the city. The tower is part of a huge cultural development complex called the Nigeria National

Complex that includes the Nigeria Cultural Centre, a 120 000 m^2 (1 300 000 sq ft) structure dedicated to the art and culture of Nigeria. The Cultural Centre and the Millennium Tower were designed by the Italian architect, Manfredi Nicolette.

Landmarks include the Millennium Tower, the Central Bank of Nigeria headquarters, the Nigerian Presidential Complex, the Ship House, the National Stadium, National Mosque, the National Church, Aso Rock and Zuma Rock. Below is the map of Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) showing the study location.
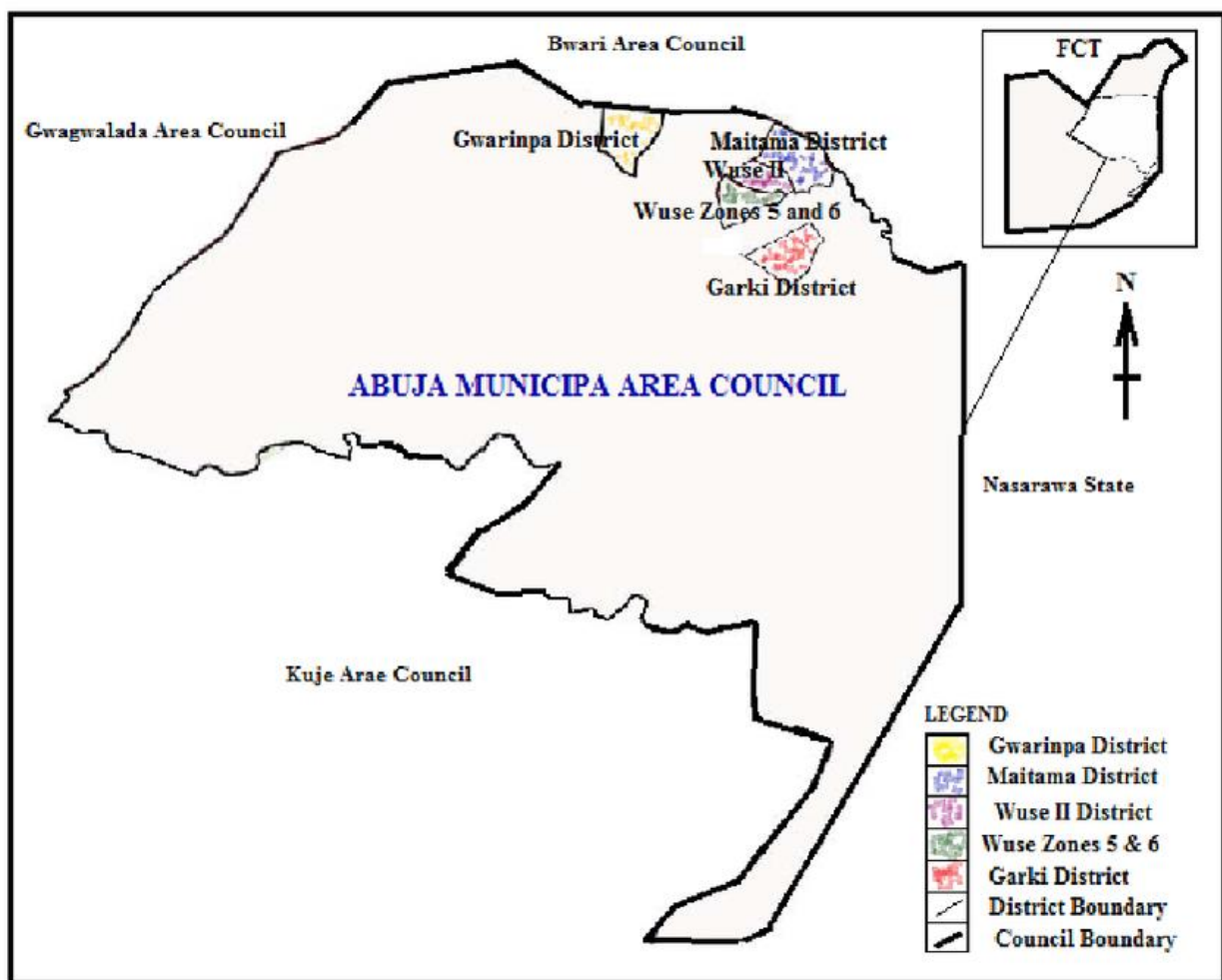
Figure 4.3a: Map of Abuja Municipal Area Council Showing the Study Location
Source: Abuja Geographic Information Systems (AGIS), Abuja FCT, Nigeria

Figure 4.3b: Map Showing the Location of Abuja (FCT) in Nigeria

Source: Abuja Geographic Information Systems (AGIS), Abuja FCT, Nigeria

Notation

North-central Zone	🟢
North-western Zone	🟡
North-eastern Zone	🔴
South-eastern Zone	⭕
South-south Zone	🟤
South-western Zone	🟣
Boko Haram Affected Zone	🟥
Boko Haram Unaffected Zone	🟦
Boko Haram Mostly Affected Zone	🟥🔴
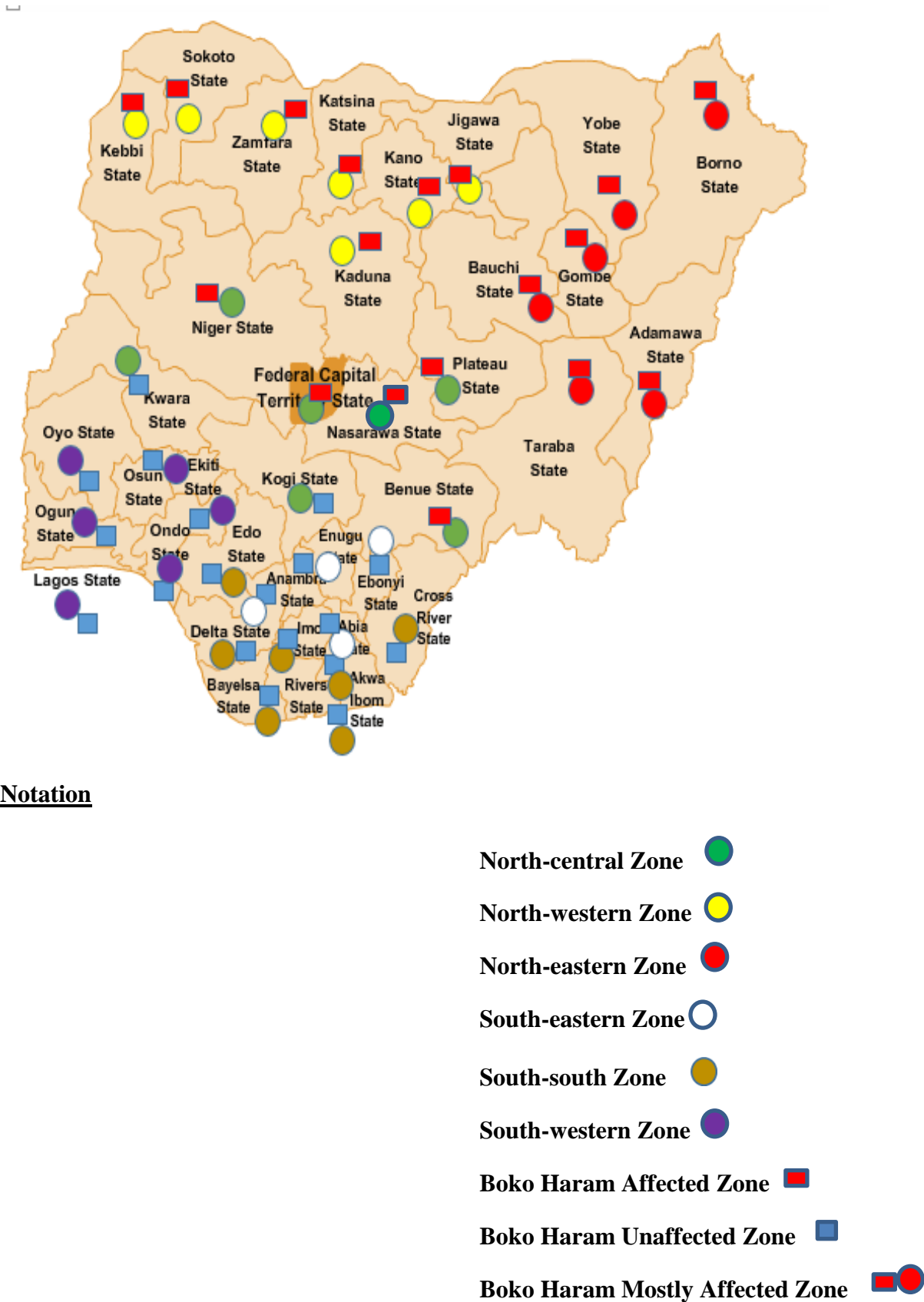
Figure 4.3c: Map showing the six geo-political zones and Boko Haram affected Areas in Nigeria

4.4 Study Population and Sample Size

The study population covered two different categories of stakeholders with their age bracket ranging from the penal age of 18 and above. The age criterion was based on the participants' perceived maturity and their ability to articulate their experiences of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. These were:

(1) Government Officials:

    (a)   Security Operatives (specifically officers in the Police Force, the Nigerian Army, State Security Service (SSS), Prison, and Customs);

    (b)   Political office holders.

(2) Civil Society Organizations:

    (a)   Business men and women;

    (b)   Students from tertiary institutions;

    (c)   Religious leaders (both Christianity and Islam); and

    (d)   Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee members from within the area council.

Gender equality was also considered within the study population to avoid confining the entire study to a particular sex. Although this study was not a comparative gender study of participants, the study deemed it important to establish an approximate gender balance in the sample. On this account, 40 participants comprising 12 female and 28 male individuals were sampled for the study.

Of the total of 40 participants, 5 informants were selected as representatives of each stakeholder group in order to allow for a more comparative research study. The technique for determining the sample size for the study was based on a tentative judgement considering the pragmatic and redundancy criteria which could, to a large extent, influence the choice of the qualitative sample. As a general rule of thumb, qualitative samples for a single study involving individual interviews often lie under 50 (Ritchie & Lewis, 2014). On this basis, 40 participants were sampled for the study. This selection technique was observed to moderate the interviews against becoming too difficult and complex to manage in terms of the quality of the data that were collected and analysed.

4.5   Sampling Techniques

Sampling as it relates to social research is the selection of individuals, categories, specimens, units, and/or settings to be studied (Hagan, 2006). In any research study, the sample is a small part of the whole or population from which information, facts or ideas about the whole are generated. Therefore, a small population of the participants was selected from the larger population of Abuja residents. A purposive sampling technique was utilized to select participants for the interviews. This selection method was based on motive, the key criterion and relevance of the respondents to the theme of the study. In the purposive sampling approach, the selection of participants, settings or other sampling units is criterion-based or purposive (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). It is stressed that "the sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and questions which the researcher wishes to study" (Bryman, 2012). Sometimes these characteristics may be socio-demographic or they may relate to specific experiences, behaviours or roles. Some even label this approach as "judgement sampling" (Hagan, 2006).

The recruitment of participants for the research took place from a pool of government officials and civil society organizations, thus forming two categories of stakeholders for the study. Five representatives of various designations were purposively selected as key informants from a pool of security operatives and political office holders in Nigeria. Five leader representatives from the Islamic and five from the Christian religions were also selected for the study by purposive sampling. Five representatives were purposively selected from businesses comprising both male and female, five representatives from students of tertiary institutions, and five members of the Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee in the area council were also selected. Table 4.5 presents a tabular presentation of the participants for clarification.

Table 4.5: Tabular Presentation of Participants Sampled for the Study

Stakeholders	Number Sampled for an Interview
Security Operatives (Police Officer, Army Officer, SSS, Prison Officer, Customs Officer)	5
Political office holders	5
Islamic leaders	5
Christian leaders	5
Business representatives (male)	5
Business representatives (female)	5
Students	5
Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee representatives	5
Total Number of Participants Sampled	40

4.6   Selection of Key Informants for the Interviews

Key informants are those individuals whose social positions in a research setting give them specialist knowledge about other people, processes or happenings that are more extensive, secretive, sensitive, detailed or privileged than those of other people. Such participants are therefore particularly valuable sources of information to a researcher (Payne & Payne, 2004; Rossi et al., 2004). Simply stated, key informant interviews involve the interviewing of a selected group of individuals who are likely to provide the needed information, ideas, and insights on a particular subject.

Payne and Payne (2004:12) argue that "the quality of key informant interviews rests largely on choosing the right informants". Undoubtedly, one of the most important considerations of this research was that the selected informants should possess intimate knowledge of the subject on which they would be interviewed. Such knowledge was based on the informants' special socio-political and religious positions, careers, experiences, participation in a previous related project or program, and/or professional expertise, to mention a few. A typical key informant is very different from any other potential respondent, particularly in sample surveys because of the depth of his or her knowledge and experience. It is paramount to point out that the prominent members of the target population that were selected, as highlighted in Table 4.5, were appropriate key informants for this research inquiry.

Three characteristics underpinned the key informant interviews in the study. First, a relatively small number of informants was sampled and interviewed. These informants were selected because they possessed information or ideas that could be solicited by the investigator and that would address the key research questions. With reference to the nature and scope of this inquiry, the researcher identified appropriate groups from which the key informants were drawn, and then selected five individuals from each group. The literature suggests that the number of key informants for a study of this nature should range from 15 to 45 for one complete qualitative study (Payne & Payne, 2004). For this study, 40 individuals were selected and successfully recruited as key informants. It should be noted at this point that key informant interviews should not be confused with formal or informal surveys in which a relatively large number of people are interviewed.

The second characteristic was that the interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis as recommended by (Ritchie & Lewis, 2014). In this process the researcher could probe for in-depth data on a personal level, while the data that were inter- and intra-group specific could be compared for credibility and dependability.

The third characteristic required that the key informant interviews be essentially qualitative in nature. They were thus conducted with reference to an interview guide that listed the topics and issues to be covered during each interview session. Referring to the interview guide, the researcher framed the actual questions in the course of the research interviews. The atmosphere during these interviews was usually informal, resembling a conversation among acquaintances. It is also imperative to note that participants for the in-depth interviews were drawn from all six of the district areas of the local council.

After the successful recruitment of the informants, the researcher scheduled an appointment with each participant. During the interviews, the informants were subtly probed for adequate information. Extensive notes were taken in corroboration of the tape recorded conversations. Sometimes all the relevant information was not covered in an interview session. This compelled the researcher to reschedule another interview with some participants in order to probe for more detailed data.

4.7   Semi-structured Interviews and the Interview Guide

A semi-structured interview is a commonly used interview technique that follows a framework in order to address key themes rather than specific questions (Ritchie et al., 2003). At the same time, it allows a certain degree of flexibility for the researcher to respond to the answers of the interviewee and therefore to develop themes and issues as they arise during the course of the interview (MacDonald & Headlam, 2011). By definition, a semi-structured interview needs to have some structure, although that structure should be flexible, and for this reason open-ended questions are posed to each participant. This flexible structure is normally provided by an interview guide that lists the key questions for the interview. The interviewer is normally free to add questions or change the order if necessary (Ritchie & Lewis, 2014).

The most useful interview format for conducting qualitative research, according to Ritchie et al. (2003), is often semi-structured, moderately scheduled. This means the interview is not highly structured, as is the case of a structured interview that consists of closed-ended questions, nor is it unstructured, such that the interviewee is simply given license to talk freely about whatever comes to mind. Semi-structured interviews offer topics and questions to the interviewee, but are carefully designed to elicit the interviewee's ideas and opinions on the topic of interest, as opposed to leading the interviewee towards preconceived choices. In such an interview the interviewer follows up with probes to elicit further in-depth information on the topics of interest (Ritchie et al., 2003).

As stated earlier, semi-structured interviews utilizing lead questions were conducted to collect data for the study. This process employed the use of an audio recorder and field notes to validate the data that were obtained and processed. The interview guide was structured in such a way that adequate information was elicited to address the research questions and objectives of the study. The interview guide was arranged in sections as follows:

Section A

This section contained the date of the interview, the starting time, the time the interview was concluded, the name of the interviewer and interviewee, and the language in which the interview was conducted.

Section B

The section contained questions on the personal socio-demographic characteristics of each participant. These included questions on age, gender, profession, religious affiliation, ethnic background, educational attainment, marital status, and state of origin or nationality. The total number of questions in section B was six.

Section C

This section contained questions on the participants' perceptions on and experiences of the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The questions probed people's awareness and experiences of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, their source/s of information about the terrorist sect, their religious orientation (e.g., Muslim, Christian, or Traditionalist), perception whether the insurgency had a cause or not, as well as their opinion about the Islamic religion as a cause of the crisis. The section also contained a total number of six questions.

Section D

Questions on the patterns that served to maintain Boko Haram terrorism were asked in this section. The enquiry elicited responses about the survival potential of the sect since 2009/2010. Information on whether the terrorist group had government and community support or was affiliated with international organizations was confined to this section. This section had a total number of four questions.

Section E

This section addressed the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Questions that probed the adverse effects of the menace on the socio-economic development of the country were tackled. Effects such as poor standards of living, health hazards, political instability, religious misconceptions, youth degeneration and brain-washing, ethnic segregation, cultural discrimination, a declining economy, unemployment,

poverty, the conditions of internally displaced citizens, and low educational standards were examined. Six broad questions were posed and thoroughly discussed in this section.

Section F

This section contained questions on possible techniques to address the menace of Boko Haram terrorism and how this could enhance sustainable development in Nigeria. For example, the questions pertained to the effects of a military approach and whether peaceful negotiations or partnerships with international organizations could best resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The questions also probed the participants' opinion of community policing as a remedy for Boko Haram insurgency. The open-ended questions invited views on possible solutions other than those highlighted in the interview guide. The section contained a total number of eight questions.

The interview guide contained a total number of thirty open-ended questions that were centred on the research questions and the objectives of the study.

4.8   In-Depth Interviews

Several research inquiries have persistently demonstrated that qualitative research can be conducted by utilizing a variety of data collection techniques or by employing one technique in particular. Marshall and Rossman (1999) submit that data collection methods in qualitative research could be classified into four types: (a) participant observation, or otherwise regarded as participating in the setting; (b) direct observation or non-participant observation; (c) in-depth interviews; and (d) document analysis. For the purpose of this research, an in-depth interview technique was adopted as the primary method of qualitative data collection. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggest that data collection and analysis are best conducted simultaneously in qualitative research to allow for the necessary flexibility. Therefore, data collection and analysis occurred in a cyclical process until concepts and themes became detailed and saturated and new information ceased to emerge (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

In-depth interviews are described as a powerful method for generating descriptions and interpretations of people's social worlds, and as such are a core qualitative research method (Ritchie & Lewis, 2014). To this end, classic ethnographers such as Malinowski stress the importance of talking to people in order to understand their viewpoint (Burgess, 1982). The

power of in-depth interviews to illuminate research topics is emphasized by Rubin and Rubin (2012:3) as follows: "When using in-depth qualitative interviewing, researchers talk to those who have knowledge of or experience with the problem of interest. Through such interviews, researchers explore in detail the experiences, motives, and opinions of others and learn to see the world from perspectives other than their own".

The in-depth interview is often described as a form of conversation (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Lofland et al., 2006), while Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in their classic text on interviewing, describe this interview method as "a conversation with a purpose" (Webb & Webb, 1932:130). They stress that there are some obvious differences between a normal conversation and an in-depth interview, particularly in terms of the objectives and the roles of the researcher and the participant (Berg & Lune, 2012; Miller & Glassner, 2011; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Silverman, 2010). Therefore, a good in-depth interview may appear like a conversation but will not seem like an ordinary conversation between the researcher and the participant, as both are serious and meticulous about eliciting the required information from the participant's honest and authentic viewpoint.

In-depth interviews also express the exploratory or micro-approach utilized to generate qualitative data on the theme of the study. According to Caldwell et al. (2000:13), the micro-approach (which is a long discursive semi-structured conversation which may go on for hours) is a good and major instrument for studying change in behavioural research. It is flexible and pursues what the respondent takes to be important, with occasional conversational nudges from the researcher so as to maintain the general direction. Shariff (1984) also refers to the advantages of the micro-approach in behavioural enquiries. According to this scholar, many aspects of human life are very complex, and therefore the best way to study such complex relations is the use of a micro-approach. Shariff argues that having an in-depth understanding and knowledge of a society is possible only from a prolonged conversation during innumerable contacts, connected and interconnected questioning, probing and observations. He also asserts that the personal, cordial and relaxed atmosphere of the micro-approach enhances credibility as well as authenticity of information and interpretation. Clearly, the micro-approach can draw attention to important areas that may otherwise not be investigated at all. This is in addition to producing an adequate and largely correct picture instead of thin partial, often erroneous one. Because the current study did not utilize a cross-sectional survey method, a series of interviews was conducted in the

study location with key informants in order to balance the large body of empirical data that might have been obtained from a questionnaire survey approach.

The study sample comprised 40 participants who had been recruited for interviewing using a purposive sampling technique. The respondents were representative of a range of stakeholders with knowledge of the Boko Haram insurgency as was illustrated in Table 4.5 above.

This selection technique and the compilation of the sample facilitated a comparative research approach as each representative sample group offered their opinions on the subject under investigation from a particular vantage point. This selection technique was highly appropriate as it was able to subside the redundancy effects associated with qualitative data collection of a larger scope. The process of data collection reached saturation point when sufficient credible and dependable data had been collected and when no further new insights could be provided by the participants. It is also reiterated that participants for the in-depth interviews were drawn from all six the district areas of the local council. This process ensured that the data that were generated from the interviews represented a comprehensive picture that addressed the research questions and the findings thus supported the objectives of the study.

4.9   Justification for a Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative methodological approach that was adopted for generating data for this study aimed at examining the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Thus, the selection of a qualitative approach was the most suitable option for this study as it aimed to producing what Mason (2002:3) connotes as "a rounded and contextual understanding on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data". More significantly, it has been argued that qualitative research is best suited for an enquiry that seeks rich descriptions of individual experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003:16). Similarly, qualitative methods of generating data have often been recommended for studies that intend to elicit the contextualized nature of experience and action and that attempt to generate analyses that are "detailed, thick and integrative" (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005:2).

A significant justification for selecting a qualitative research design was that, because of the sensitive and potentially dangerous nature of the enquiry, this study was motivated by a desire to move beyond the inadequacy of questionnaires (a closed-ended approach) and to

avoid any possible errors that are usually generated by a dominant quantitative approach based on a positivist paradigm. Moreover, most research inquiries into Boko Haram insurgency have engaged in a review of related literatures and a cross-sectional survey approach according to which most of the findings may either have been manipulated, over-emphasized, undermined or altered in some way, or the data may not have been adequately corroborated by empirical data due to the nature of the research instruments used. The findings of such methods may have provided limited explanations for understanding the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Therefore, the adoption of a qualitative approach in this study was highly suitable for in-depth probing into the research problem by generating high quality data that would throw more light on the conflicting factors behind the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in this part of sub-Saharan Africa.

With reference to Creswell's (1998) assertions on qualitative research, eight factors (or rationales) were considered before the selection of this method. The first was whether the research questions started with 'how?' or 'what?' in the attempt to explore the research phenomenon in comparison to quantitative approaches. The second was whether the research topic was exploratory in nature rather than descriptive. The third was whether a study sought to present a detailed view of the topic. The fourth was the requirement to study people in their natural settings. The fifth was whether the study would recognize the author's presence in the inquiry process. The sixth was whether there were sufficient time and resources to generate/collect and analyze the data. The seventh condition was whether there was an audience (for instance, the study supervisor and other wider disciplines) that would be receptive to the qualitative research method and the findings. The eighth rationale for selecting a qualitative research approach was the researcher's need to position himself as "an active learner rather than expert". In as much as the present study met all the aforementioned criteria, justification for and validation of the study were attained.

4.10 Negotiating Access for the Recruitment of Participants

Negotiating access for the recruitment of participants was a crucial step in the research design of this study. Blaxter and Tight (1997) note that one of the factors that determine a successful research study is the researcher's consideration of how to obtain approval from the institutions or individuals that govern (or are the gatekeepers of) a research setting. The consent of the institutions concerned with this research study was sought and formal approval was obtained in writing (i.e., a gatekeeper letter) to conduct the research (Appendix

B: Gatekeeper Letter). The starting point for the preparation of the fieldwork commenced with the approval of this research by authorities of the selected institutions. The next step was to obtain ethical clearance approval from the higher degree committee of the School of Applied Human Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Appendix A: Ethical Clearance Certificate).

Thereafter, the researcher proceeded to undertake the fieldwork. This enabled the researcher to proceed to the different sites where the research participants were located. Thus accessing and recruiting participants on arrival in the field where the primary data collection phase of the research would be conducted were enabled.

4.11 Method of Primary Data Collection

The fieldwork for the study was conducted between January and July in 2017 in Abuja (Federal Capital Territory and the North-Central region of Nigeria). A pilot survey of the study location was conducted in January of the same year in Nigeria. This stage presented a pre-fieldwork training session of research assistants for the study. Two graduate students of the social sciences were recruited as research assistants for the interview, and they were rigorously trained for three days on how to collect qualitative data through the use of an ethnographic method during in-depth interviews. During the three days of their training, they were also adequately instructed and briefed by the principal researcher on the ethical matters that guiding research of this nature. Moreover, their skills were pre-tested before the commencement of the major interviews. The fieldwork was carried out by a team and the researcher consistently supervised and monitored the activities of the other two interviewers in each of the six sampled districts of Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC). Qualitative data were collected by in-depth interview method during semi-structured interviews. All the information was recorded on audio tape with the approval of the participants. This process was also supplemented with the use of field diaries in which various salient points were recorded during the interviews. The latter process was deemed vital and useful for validating the outcomes of the research inquiry.

At the end of each day of interviews, the principal researcher reviewed and edited the recorded interviews and field diaries to check for voice frequency, internal consistency, accurate recording, completeness, screening and other related issues. Because the principal researcher was always available in the study location throughout the period of data collection, all the problems encountered by the two interviewers were quickly reported to

him and the necessary steps were taken in order to get both credible and dependable data from the research participants. More importantly, consent for the use of a tape recorder was solicited from all participants in the interviewing process. The researcher also reminded them of the confidentiality of their conversations. They were pertinently informed that the study was for academic purposes only and that their identities would be protected. All the interviews were conducted in English, while the participants were allowed to express certain points in the language of their choice. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and those statements that had been expressed in local languages were translated into English by a competent translator. Each interview session lasted about one hour.

4.12 Method of Data Analysis: Qualitative Analytical Method

In carrying out a successful research inquiry, the collected data need to be analyzed efficiently to elicit valid and trustworthy findings. Because the data that were generated in the study were solely qualitative, a process referred to as 'thematic content analysis' was utilized to analyze and explain the data that had been compacted into manageable chunks. Content analysis is a qualitative methodological approach that is defined as "a systemic, replicable technique of compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Krippendorff, 1980:l-84; Weber, 1990). "This is a technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969:14, cited in Oyefara, 2011:105). In this process, the recordings and notes of the in-depth interviews were transcribed from English or a local language (i.e., Yoruba, Hausa, Nupe, Gwari, Igbo or Pidgin) to English text. The responses to each question were summarized and important quotations were reported verbatim for the sake of authenticity and to validate the findings of the study. It should be noted that content analysis was done manually in order to enhance the explanatory clarity of the findings. It is also paramount to note that the data analysis followed a set of five stages to ensure adequate and comprehensive analyses. With reference to Ritchie and Spencer (1994), these steps were as follows:

(a)   Familiarization: This entails the reading and re-reading of the transcripts, research notes and their translation to ensure data reduction. The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Thereafter, the transcripts were reviewed and typed to provide raw data for analysis. This process enabled the researcher to identify key words that formed key themes and ideas as they began to emerge from the initial readings of the transcripts.

(b)   Identification of themes: This process concerned the notification and identification of major themes. The themes were identified from key words or ideas in the data and were in turn used to examine the data. As new themes emerged during the interviews, they were added and examined in relation to the research questions. This process was followed by an open coding procedure which was utilized for the identification of all emerging themes that were deemed relevant to address the research questions.

(c)   Coding and Indexing: During this stage, the researcher applied data that emerged from the thematic framework elicited from the data. Each section of the text garnered form the interviews was marked with appropriate themes and coded with particular numbers or short phrases. This stage dealt with the identification of all emerging themes that were deemed relevant for an in-depth understanding of the data.

(d)   Charting: The data were re-arranged under main headings and sub-headings according to the themes that had been identified. All the statements belonging to a specific theme were arranged into a single file using Microsoft Word Excel. This was used to distinguish or note the similarities that existed in the opinions of the different stakeholders selected for the interviews.

(e)   Mapping and Interpretation: This was the final stage of the data analysis process. The range of responses, central themes and shared perceptions as well as dissenting viewpoints were condensed and interpreted. Significant quotes expressing the emerging themes were noted and highlighted.

4.13 Trustworthiness of the Research Findings

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that, "while quantitative research relies on measures of reliability and validity to evaluate the utility of a study, qualitative research can be evaluated by its 'trustworthiness'." The latter term is was embraced to represent several constructs that were adhered to in this study, namely: (a) credibility; (b) transferability; (c) dependability; and (d) confirmability. A description of each of these concepts is briefly presented below.

Credibility

The truth-value, or credibility of conclusions, in a qualitative study is comparable to the concept of internal validity in quantitative research. As suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Miles and Huberman (1994), research results should be scrutinized according to three fundamental questions: (i) Do the conclusions make sense?; (ii) Do the conclusions

adequately describe research participants' perspectives?; and (iii) Do the conclusions authentically represent the phenomena under study? This study relied on participants' in-depth data information and a comparative analysis of the findings with previous research inquiries that had been conducted by other researchers in related studies to enhance the credibility of the research. In this study, the credibility of the results was enhanced by providing thick and rich descriptions of the contexts, perspectives, and findings that were drawn from the participants' experiences of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria.

Transferability

Corresponding to the concept of external validity in quantitative studies, transferability seeks to determine if the results relate to and can be transferred to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Lincoln and Guba (1985) add that comparison and triangulation of research findings constitute the corroboration of results with alternative sources of data. Additionally, a review of relevant literature and media reports was utilized as an alternative data source to enhance the transferability of the findings of this study.

Dependability

Dependability is deemed similar to the concept of reliability in quantitative research. Dependability refers to whether or not the results of the study are consistent over time and across researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994). To address dependability in this study, a consultation with a peer debriefer was conducted. The peer debriefer was asked to comment on all aspects of the study, particularly the data collection and analysis processes, and to assess the results in order to determine if the conclusions generated the same results as those stated by the researcher. The peer debriefer was also asked to comment on the clarity of the research design and its potential for consistency over time and across research studies. The peer debriefer who had been employed agreed to review all aspects of this research project and thus worked very closely with the researcher. Weekly meetings, starting from the proposal and pilot stages of this research, were scheduled. At the commencement of the pilot study, the research procedures for the study were discussed and, as the study entered the data collection and analysis phases, the frequent meetings were gradually reduced to consultations that were scheduled to review the general progress of the study. This process also served as a tool to establish the trustworthiness and dependability of the entire study.

Confirmability

Confirmability implies that the findings are reflective of the participants' perspectives as evidenced in the data, rather than being a reflection of the researcher's own perceptions or bias. The confirmability of this study was kept intact by explicitly expressing only the views and opinions of the participants as recorded and transcribed verbatim from the audio tapes. It is also noteworthy that the research study was not at any level influenced by the researcher's own perceptions of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

4.14 Ethical Considerations

The guidelines for research ethics have been compiled to help researchers and the research community be cognizant of their ethical responsibilities, the relevant code of conduct, and their attitudes when conducting a research study. Ethical considerations guide researchers' awareness of conflicting standards, promote good judgement, and enhance their ability to make well-founded decisions in the face of conflicting considerations (NESH, 2003). The guidelines presented by NESH cover what are often known as cultural and social studies (i.e., the social sciences, the humanities, and law and theology). Research ethics in general embrace both personal and institutional morality. Accordingly, the guidelines contain standards that apply not only to individual researchers and research managers, but also to other bodies that exert an influence on research and the consequences of research. The obligation to respect research ethics is part of the responsibility for research in general. Individual researchers, project managers, research institutions and the appropriating authorities all share this responsibility. NESH's role in following up on the guidelines is to furnish advice and, upon request, to hand down opinions on questions of principle involving research ethics. The committee has no judicial function in respect of accusations of breaches of the guidelines for research ethics, nor does it have any authority to impose sanctions. The ethical responsibilities inherent in research are partly associated with standards related to the research process, including relationships between researchers, and partly with respect for the individuals and institutions being studied, including taking responsibility for the use and dissemination of the research findings. These standards as highlighted in the guidelines can broadly be divided into three main categories:

- Standards for freedom of research, good research practice associated with a researcher's quest for truth and independence, and the relationship among researchers.

- Standards that regulate relationships among individuals and groups that are directly affected by the research.

- Standards regarding social relevance and users' interests and regard for cultural reproduction and rationality in the public debate (NESH, 2003).

Ethics can therefore be conceptualized as "the practical study of the moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the way an activity is conducted" (Lochner & Zinn, 2015:3). As a concept, 'research ethics' refers to a complex set of values, principles, and standards and institutional schemes that help constitute and regulate scientific activity. Ultimately, the term 'research ethics' is a codification of ethics of science in practice. In other words, it is based on general ethics of science, just as general ethics is based on common sense morality. Conducting ethical research implies the application of fundamental ethical principles to scientific research (European Commission on Ethical Review, 2009:7). All possible domains of scientific research can raise ethical issues. Ethical adherence is thus not just about the theories and complex philosophical reasoning. Ethics is everywhere. In everything we do there can be an ethical component. When conducting research, there is a clear need to make a thorough ethical evaluation. Ethics is often misunderstood by researchers as hindering the scientific progress. While it is true that research ethics intends to put boundaries to what is and is not possible (under a certain perspective), it does not intend to regulate research or go against research freedom. The way research ethics is interpreted by the European Commission, it aims to be collaborative and constructive. Also, by considering ethics at the conceptual stage of the research proposal, the quality of the research is enhanced (European Commission, 2010).

It has been contested by various scholars and institutions that an interview can affect the people being interviewed and therefore moral and ethical considerations need to be observed before, during or after the interview (Kvale, 1996, cited in Uprety, 2014). Ethical considerations were therefore taken into account while gathering data during the interviews. Prior to the commencement of the interviews, the Abuja Municipal Area Council was contacted in writing to obtain permission to conduct the interview with the members of the Council. The organization endorsed the request and made arrangements for the researcher in the form of a written document. The ethical considerations that were taken into account while conducting the interviews were: informed consent, data protection and privacy, confidentiality and anonymity.

(a) Informed Consent

A critical component of respecting human participants is the informed consent process (Belmont Report, 2014:2). The consent document is a written summary of the information that should be provided to the participants. Many investigators use it as a guide for the verbal explanation of the study. The participant's signature on the form shows agreement to participate in a study, but that is only one part of the consent process. The entire informed consent process according to the Belmont report involves the following:

- Giving a participant adequate information about the study;

- Providing adequate opportunity for the participant to consider all options in responding to the interviewer's questions;

- Ensuring that the participant has comprehended this information;

- Obtaining the participant's voluntary agreement to participate (i.e, each participant is capable of making an independent and voluntary decision to participate based upon the given information and the individual's own preferences and values);

- Ensuring that the participant is capable of voluntarily communicating the decision to participate;

- Continuing to provide information as the participant or situation requires; and

- Making sure that a participant is competent and understands the project's purpose and the consequences of participation.

Informed consent is declared as one of the most pivotal principles in research ethics in many international conventions and guidelines (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966). Informed consent is meant to guarantee the voluntary participation in research and is probably the most important procedure to address privacy issues in research. Informed consent consists of three components: adequate information, voluntariness and competence. This implies that, prior to consenting to participation, participants should be clearly informed of the research goals, possible adverse events or consequences, and leeway to refuse participation or withdraw from the research at any time and without consequences. Research participants must also be competent to understand the information and should be fully aware

of the consequences of their consent. Although informed consent is often seen in the context of clinical research, this principle is important for all types of research, including the social sciences. Informed consent is required when the research involves the participation of human beings, when the research uses human genetic material or biological samples, and when the research involves personal data collection. In some cases, the 'traditional' informed consent procedure might not be sufficient to ensure that the rights and interests of the research subjects are fully respected. It is very important to take into account people's autonomy and vulnerability when deciding on how to organize the consent procedure. It must also be noted that some categories of people require special attention (European Commission, 2010:129-142). The way participants are informed is a critical part of the informed consent process. When participants are informed, it is crucial that they fully realize the impact of the research for themselves and for society. Numerous anthropological studies have pointed out that participants rarely recall what they agreed upon when signing an informed consent form (European Commission, 2010:129-142). A more interactive approach can address this issue. Good examples are making a presentation of the research project or conducting interviews with the participants to ensure that they understand all the issues at stake. Researchers might forget to explain what will happen with the research data and/or samples at the end of the research. If the data or samples are retained for further research, this needs to be included in the consent procedure. In the same vein, when research involves humans as the object of research, the researcher must follow the rules of informed consent. Advice should be sought from a regional or national committee on research ethics in cases where there are doubts about the need or formulation of informed consent (Ruyter 2003:15). In light of the foregoing, every participant of this study was briefed in a comprehensive manner on everything that pertained to his or her participation in this research project.

(b) Data protection

Data protection is meant to guarantee every person's right to privacy and refers to the technical framework and security measures designed to guarantee that all personal data are safe from unforeseen, unintended or malevolent use. Data protection therefore includes both the measures taken with regards to access to the data and the conservation of the data. Also, measures to assure the accuracy of the data can be included in a data protection strategy (World Medical Association, 2008).

(c) Privacy

Privacy can mean many different things in different contexts. Not all people have the same notion of the right to privacy, but most people want to maintain control over personal information and personal communications. If personal information is disclosed, we expect this information to be treated confidentially. In the context of research, privacy issues arise whenever data relating to persons are collected and stored, in digital form or otherwise. The main challenge for research is to use and share the data, and at the same time to protect all identifiable information to guarantee personal privacy. The personal data needed to keep confidential in research can include health information, genetic information, information on behaviour such as criminal records, financial information, travel records, information on religious beliefs and sexual orientation or ethnic identification records. Privacy and data protection are fundamental human rights which need to be protected at all times (World Medical Association, 2008). In the context of this study, the data that were collected were stored securely in a location that was accessible only to the researcher and his delegates. Moreover, the data tapes and transcripts will be securely stored for a period of five years, after which they will be destroyed.

(d) Confidentiality and anonymity

Any information about the research subjects must be handled with caution. The researcher must state how the information will be protected and stored and the confidentiality and anonymity of those who agree to participate in the research must be protected (World Medical Association, 2008). Confidentiality entails that information and materials are de-identified; i.e., no outside parties should know who provided the information to the researcher. This also implies preventing the possibility of linking information to any person(s). In terms of anonymity, not even the researcher knows which individual provided any given information and materials. This entails that the researcher respects their privacy in the form of the de-identification or anonymization of the research data. In other words, any interviewee will be rendered anonymous. Every effort was therefore made by the researcher to preserve the participants' confidentiality and anonymity by doing the following:

- Code names/numbers for participants were used on all research notes and transcripts.

- At the conclusion of the research study, the interview data will be kept in a securely locked cabinet that is the personal possession of the researcher. In other words, participant data will be kept confidential.

- In referring to particular comments or where quoting a participant's words verbatim, the participants are referred to be their designation or the organization they represented. This will also be adhered to when the findings are published in academic journals or otherwise distributed for review and consideration.

4.15 Code of Conduct and Ethical Considerations Observed During the Course of the Study

The researcher was aware of the ethical issues involved in this work and adhered to the following basic principles:

(a) Responsibility for all procedures and ethical issues related to the project rested with the principal investigator (the researcher) throughout the research process.

(b) The research was conducted in such a way that the integrity of the research enterprise was maintained, and negative after-effects which might diminish the potential for future research were avoided.

(c) The choice of research issues was based on the best scientific judgement and on an assessment of the potential benefits to the participants and society in relation to the risk to be borne by the participants. The study was related to an important intellectual issue and avoided inanity.

(d) The researcher considered the effects of his work, including the consequences or misuse, both for the individuals and groups with whom the fieldwork was conducted, as well as for his colleagues and the wider society.

(e) The researcher was always cognizant of any potential harmful effects of the research. In this regard, the methods required by the academic institution's ethical clearance application form were adhered to and no alternative methods during consultation with colleagues and other experts were employed contrary to the ones stated in the research proposal. Full justification for the selected research method was given.

(f) The research was conducted in a competent fashion, as an objective scientific project and without bias. All the research assistants and personnel were trained and qualified to apply the procedures for which they had been employed.

(g)   The research was carried out in full compliance with, and awareness of, local customs, standards, laws and regulations guiding the establishment of the study location.

(h)   The principal researcher and his assistants were familiar with, and respected, the host culture. The fact that the researcher and his assistants undertook research on the cultures, in geo-political zones and among ethnic groups other than their own made the research objectives was given cognizance, and all were particularly sensitive to remaining aware of the concerns and welfare of the individuals, communities and organizations under study.

(i)   The principal investigator's own ethical principles were made clear to all those were involved in the research to allow informed collaboration with the participants. Potential conflicts were also resolved before the research began.

(j)   The researcher avoided undue intrusion into the lives of the individuals and communities under study. The welfare of the informants was given the highest priority, and their dignity, privacy and interests were protected at all times during the course of the research.

(k)   Freely given informed consent was obtained from all the human subjects. Potential participants were informed, in a manner and in language they could understand, of the context, purpose, nature, methods, procedures, and sponsors of the research. The research team was made identifiable and contactable during and after the research activity.

(l)   There was no coercion of any participants during the continuance of the research. Participants were fully informed of their right to refuse and to withdraw at any time during the research.

(m)   The participants were protected against any potentially harmful effects and were informed of any potential consequences of their participation.

(n)   Full confidentiality of all information and the anonymity of participants were maintained. Participants were informed of any potential limitations to their confidentiality of any information supplied. Procedures were put in place to protect the confidentiality of the information and the anonymity of the participants in all the research materials.

(o)   The participants were promised access to the research results and recommendations in a manner and language they could understand.

(p)   The research findings that were and will be reported widely were and will be reported with objectivity and integrity.

(q)   The researcher made arrangements to provide adequate information about the research in all publications and to permit the methods and findings of the research to be properly assessed by his peers, colleagues and the public. The limits pertaining to reliability, accessibility and applicability were made clear.

(r)   The researcher took responsibility for properly acknowledging the unpublished as well as published works of other scholars cited in the study.

(s)   All the research materials were preserved in a manner that respected the agreements made with the participants.

(t)   In the process of interpreting and presenting the data, it was ensured that the identity of any respondents would not be revealed. All data generated were kept confidential and used strictly for academic purposes. Both the tapes and the transcribed texts were stored in a location which is only accessible to the researcher and the supervisor for at least a period of five years, which is in line with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethical guidelines.

(u)   The data were stored on a disc, flash drive/memory stick in two copies each. These will be disposed of by shredding and incineration, which are methods that guarantee an appropriate security level for destroying papers, CD/DVD or any memory sticks used in the research.

On the whole, ethics might seem a very abstract concept in social research, but when confronted with reality, ethics becomes the challenge to do what ought to be done. Although many of the rules and principles outlined above may seem evident, they were held sacrosanct in this research. Several recent examples of ethical breaches indicates that we need to remain alert and cautious when it comes to research ethics. Quite often and unintended, important ethical principle is inadvertently violated during the course of a research endeavour, and such incidences have been reported to have adversely affected the success of these research inquiries (UNESCO, 2005).

4.16   Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The University of Southern California (2016:n.p.) defines the limitations of a study as "the characteristics of design or methodology that impact or influence the interpretation of the

findings from a research carried out by the researcher. The limitations refer to constraints regarding generalizability, applications to practice, and usability of findings that result from the ways in which the researcher initially chose the design of the study and the methods used to establish internal and external trustworthiness." A number of limitations were encountered during the course of the research. However, the strength of this research lies in the fact that it was based on one of the most challenging contemporary global issues emanating from Nigeria. These limitations are presented below:

(a) Reluctance by relevant stakeholders to participate in the study

Due to the sensitivity of the topic and hesitations by the participants to talk freely on Boko Haram-related matters, the researcher had a hard time collecting information for the study. This problem was mostly encountered with the security operatives and some of the religious leaders selected for the research. Despite the fact appointments were made with them on several occasions, they often cancelled the appointment for reasons unknown to the researcher. Some were reluctant to provide information regarding the subject under investigation. Even the selected business representatives, the selected students, the political office holders, and members of Abuja Metro Police felt insecure and uncomfortable to participate in research connected with the Boko Haram insurgency. Nevertheless, the participants opened up eventually and much of the information was based on their real-life and case study experiences of the activities of Boko Haram terrorists in northern Nigeria. The exploratory methods (in-depth, semi-structured and key informant interviews) used in this study rendered the findings authentic and the findings presented in this report are wholly based on the descriptions obtained from participants with first-hand information and adequate knowledge of Boko Haram terrorism. More importantly, the findings were not manipulated or altered in any way. There is thus high quality assurance that the information can be used for a much broader future research in this field of study, particularly if a larger pool of the population is sampled.

(b) Financial constraints and stress due to travelling distances

A significant limitation of this research was a lack of funding as the research was self-sponsored by the researcher without having access to grants. This almost affected the success of the research because of the limited time-frame allotted for the research. However, regardless of this constraint, the study was not adversely affected, nor was the standard lowered in any way.

The study participants were selected from six district areas of Abuja Municipal Area Council, which required extensive travelling on the researcher's and research assistants' part. In certain instances, only two participants were interviewed per day after the researcher had travelled a long distance (e.g., from Asokoro to Gwarinpa or from the Central Business District to Gwarinpa). This quite often resulted in travelling to the same district on the following day, depending on the availability of the selected participants. The College of Humanities allocated funds in 2016 to aid this research, but it hardly covered to cost of travelling from Durban (South Africa) to Abuja (Nigeria) where the fieldwork was conducted.

(c) Refusal to audio-record interviews

A major problem that arose during the course of the interviews was that an appreciable number of respondents did not consent to have the interview recorded. They usually frowned at having their voices recorded on the tape for security reasons. This posed some threat to the research inquiry as there was no method other than a hastily written record of the interview, which was then impossible to verify with a back-up audio recording. However, after several persistent visits and persuasion by the researcher pieces of information needed for the qualitative study were released. The fact that the research assistants had been well trained also contributed to efficient written records of the data.

(d) Limited previous empirical research on the research topic

A review of the literature revealed a paucity of empirical studies on the research topic. Most of the previous research studies that had been conducted on Boko Haram terrorism were produced from a review of secondary data sources such as newspaper reports, the social media, archival materials, documentary analysis, and Google resources. Consequently, there was not enough empirical information for comparative analysis of the research findings, particularly in terms of primary data interpretation and a discussion of the research findings. Despite the availability of some local and international literature that could be accessed to validate the research findings, the study was still left with limited primary references to work with in terms of comparison and juxtaposition of findings.

(e) Restrictions in terms of the study location

Another prominent limitation of the study was that the research was strictly streamlined within the north-central senatorial district of Abuja, leaving the other two senatorial districts

(the north-east and the north-west where the most dire activities of the Boko sect had been recorded over time) uncovered. This restriction occurred as a result of the security and safety threats to the researcher, his assistants and potential participants in Boko Haram's deadliest and hottest contested zones which many participants labelled as 'Boko Haram no-go areas'. Nonetheless, data that needed to answer the research questions were obtainable from the participating army and police officers who had, on several occasions, been deployed to those deadly zones on special duty to defend and protect the citizens against Boko Haram attacks.

(f)   Limitation in terms of the research methods that were employed

Despite the appropriate nature of the research methods that were adopted for the study, the research could be considered limited in the area of quantitative research data. It is believed that such data could have supplemented the findings of the qualitative research by covering a larger population to elicit data through the use of questionnaires. Consequent upon the nature of the research questions and methods chosen for the study (i.e., it was solely qualitative), questionnaires were not administered, and thus the study could not involve the testing of any hypotheses. However, the choice of an in-depth interview method elicited sufficient credible and dependable case study and incisively perceptive data, which a survey method might not have been able to accomplish. The study also had access to published and unpublished studies, journal and newspaper reports, as well as the electronic media, the print media, an audio recorder, oral and institutional data, and data collected directly from the field as complementary sources of information relevant to the study.

(g) Defining the generalizability of the findings

Defining the generalizability of the findings was also enlisted as a limitation to this study. Actually, the fact that the study was relatively limited in scope in terms of the participants, locations and techniques employed for data collection makes this impossible to define. Also, two crucial participant groups (survival victims and Boko Haram insurgents themselves) were excluded from the study. Obviously, these groups could not be included due to the sensitive and dangerous nature of the investigation , but this fact should perhaps be briefly mentioned as a limitation that impacted a more complete and balanced picture of Boko Haram insurgency. There was also a recognition to the fact that the research was biased in the sense that the study participants were generally opposed to Boko Haram as a jihadist movement, and that the data in the quest to determine the root causes of Boko Haram insurgency might not have been skewed if the views and perceptions of Boko Haram

members were compared to the views of obviously biased participants. Irrespective of this array of limitations, this research can still be used as a baseline informative research for much broader future research inquiries on Boko Haram or related issues.

4.17 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the methodological and research design for this study. The qualitative approach adopted for the study was considered the most suitable methodological framework for meeting the purpose and aim of the research. The qualitative approach from a constructivist and positivist viewpoints, focuses on the in-depth account of the participants' perceptions on the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism, as it relates to the various factors that precipitated and sustain the insurgency in the Nigerian affected communities. The choice of the purposive sampling technique was rigorous enough to obtain balanced information from the stakeholders that are knowledgeable about the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism; and this helped greatly in answering the objectives of the study. This chapter also emphasized the ethical considerations of the study in ensuring that the principles of confidentiality, anonymity and informed consent were upheld throughout the study. Furthermore, this chapter considered the issue of reflexivity for enhancing credibility and trustworthiness of the findings. In sum, this chapter has dealt with the discussion and justifications of the methodological issues raised by the literatures reviewed in Chapter Two of this thesis. The chapter has also been employed to establish the link between the methodological approaches adopted and the broad social constructionist theoretical positions that guided the study and set out methodological strategies deployed in carrying out this research. In the next chapters, the researcher discussed and described in details the data analysis and emerging themes that were generated from this research process.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This section of the study is two-fold. First, it is centred on the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the raw data that were collected from the study location using a qualitative methodological approach that employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews as the research instruments. This section also presents thematic content analysis in the analysis of the data. This section is logically structured with a view to shedding rational understanding on the research inquiry. Thus, the thrust of employing thematic content analysis in the research inquiry is to strengthen the trustworthiness of the research by way of enhancing the credibility and dependability of the data and minimizing possible errors which may have affected the research process or the procedures that were employed. This procedure is crucial in shedding rational meaning on the subjective understanding and interpretation of the collected data so as to contribute widely to the existing body of knowledge.

The second part focuses on a discussion of the research findings using relevant themes that emerged from the data. This aspect provided the research with a sound conceptual framework that buttressed some of the arguments comparative to the findings of earlier studies as well as the theoretical framework within which the study was located. In this process the data and findings were given credibility and dependability through triangulation, as proposed by (Lincoln &Guba,1985)

5.2 Analyses, Interpretation and Presentation of the Data

The purpose of the study was to examine people's perceptions and experiences of the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The study was premised upon the socio-economic context of the insurgency and addressed four main research questions, which were thoroughly examined and answered with reference to the theoretical lens of the social exchange theory, the social conflict theory and the rational choice theory of terrorism. The research questions were: (a) What are the public perceptions on the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria?; (b)What patterns characterize Boko Haram terrorism and how do they maintain this form of terrorism in Nigeria?; (c) What are the socio-economic

consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria?; and (d) How can Boko Haram terrorism be resolved in Nigeria?

During the in-depth interviews, the study participants described their perceptions and experiences of the Boko Haram impasse. The interviews involved in-depth probing of the factors that propagated the emergence and maintenance of the terrorist group in Nigeria. The participants were also given an opportunity to offer critical analyses of the influential factors that, in their view, strengthened and sustained the insurgency since its emergence in Nigeria. They offered profuse discussions on the socio-economic impact of this scourge, giving examples from a wide variety of circumstances associated with Boko Haram terrorism that they had experienced and witnessed. They also emphasized various possible measures that could be taken to resolve the on-going problem in the affected societies in Nigeria.

The reader should note that the research findings that are reported in this chapter are based on a thematic analysis of the data that were obtained from the semi-structured interviews using selected key informants as the major source of primary information.

5.3   Thematic Analysis

After the interviews, the data analysis procedures commenced. The interview data were converted from the audio-taped recordings and field notes to transcribed text. Data reduction began with the reading and re-reading of the transcribed data. Themes began to emerge with the initial reading of each transcript. This process was followed by an open coding procedure which was utilized for the identification of all emerging themes that were deemed most relevant to understanding the research phenomenon. The four main emerging themes that emerged were the following: (1) Public perceptions regarding the root causes of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria; (2) Patterns that maintain Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria; (3) Socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria; and (4) Possible techniques that can be adopted to resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The development of themes as described by the voices of the participants provided thick descriptions of their experiences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. In the analysis of the findings, the discourse also considers the social exchange, the social conflict and the rational choice theoretical and conceptual arguments in explaining the socio-economic context of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. The tripartite theoretical model clarifies the understanding of those intriguing factors that produced, reproduced and sustained the Boko Haram violence and unrest in Nigeria. In particular, the data information provides an

understanding of different ways in which people perceive the incidence of Boko Haram terrorism in this sub-Saharan African country.

The section that follows presents the socio-demographic background of the participants as well as a full discussion of their experiences as expressed in the words of the participants. It is from these transcriptions that the major findings emerged and were evaluated in accordance with each theme that was identified. The transcribed words of the participants are presented verbatim and, to some extent, in everyday vernacular. Their perceptions are presented in this style to reflect the authenticity of the data and to enhance the reader's submersion into the reflections and thoughts of the participants.

5.4   Socio-demographic background of the research participants

During the interviews, the participants' biographic data were recorded. Their profiles emerged as a consequence and are presented in the table as follows.

Table 5.4: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Participants

Stakeholder (Participant)	Category (Occupation)	Age	Gender	Nationality/ State of Origin	Religious Affiliation	Educational Attainment	Marital Status
1	Police Officer	47	Male	Kaduna	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
2	Army Officer	49	Male	Niger	Islam	Tertiary	Married
3	SSS Officer	50	Male	Akwa Ibom	Christianity	Tertiary	Widower
4	Customs Officer	48	Male	Kano	Islam	Tertiary	Married
5	Prisons Officer	45	Female	Lagos	Christianity	Tertiary	Widow
6	Political Office Holder	52	Male	Ekiti	Christianity	Tertiary	Married

7	Political Office Holder	54	Male	Ondo	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
8	Political Office Holder	47	Female	Bayelsa	Christianity	Tertiary	Divorced
9	Political Office Holder	37	Female	Borno	Islam	Tertiary	Divorced
10	Political Office Holder	45	Female	Kogi	Islam	Tertiary	Married
11	Business rep (man)	56	Male	Lebanon	Islam	Tertiary	Separate
12	Business rep (man)	52	Male	Enugu	Christianity	Secondary	Married
13	Business rep (man)	54	Male	Anambra	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
14	Business rep (man)	44	Male	Gombe	Islam	Secondary	Married
15	Business rep (man)	54	Male	Cameroon	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
16	Business rep (woman)	53	Female	Adamawa	Islam	Secondary	Separated
17	Business rep (woman)	51	Female	Bauchi	Islam	Tertiary	Divorced
18	Business rep (woman)	50	Female	Benue	Islam	Tertiary	Divorced
19	Business rep (woman)	50	Female	Sokoto	Islam	Secondary	Married

20	Business rep (woman)	48	Female	Plateau	Christianity	Secondary	Separated
21	Student	31	Male	Gogi	Islam	Tertiary	Single
22	Student	25	Male	Kwara	Islam	Tertiary	Single
23	Student	20	Female	Kastina	Islam	Tertiary	Single
24	Student	22	Female	FCT	Islam	Tertiary	Single
25	Student	24	Female	FCT	Christianity	Tertiary	Single
26	Islamic Leader	61	Male	Kastina	Islam	Tertiary	Married
27	Islamic Leader	59	Male	FCT	Islam	Tertiary	Married
28	Islamic Leader	60	Male	FCT	Islam	Tertiary	Married
29	Islamic Leader	70	Male	FCT	Islam	Tertiary	Married
30	Islamic Leader	72	Male	Osun	Islam	Tertiary	Married
31	Christian Leader	67	Male	Kaduna	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
32	Christian Leader	65	Male	Ogun	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
33	Christian Leader	71	Male	Kwara	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
34	Christian Leader	72	Male	Edo	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
35	Christian Leader	60	Male	Kaduna	Christianity	Tertiary	Married

36	Community Police	40	Male	Borno	Islam	Tertiary	Married
37	Community Police	44	Male	Taraba	Islam	Tertiary	Married
38	Community Police	37	Male	FCT	Islam	Secondary	Married
39	Community Police	46	Male	FCT	Christianity	Tertiary	Married
40	Community Police	31	Male	FCT	Islam	Secondary	Widower

The above table presents the socio-demographic profile of the participants who were selected for and agreed to participate in the study. The table illustrates that the research interviews cut across a wide variety of stakeholders to allow for comparative research findings in terms of the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. As reflected in the table, the youngest age limit of the participants was 18 years, which means that only individuals of 18 or above were considered for the study. The age criterion was based on the participants' perceived maturity and their ability to articulate their experiences of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. Gender equality was also considered as a means of lending credibility to the study. Thus the perceptions of both genders were sought rather than restricting all sources of information to a particular gender. Forty (40) participants comprising 12 female and 28 male individuals were involved in the interview process. It is noteworthy that interviews were conducted with individuals of different educational backgrounds, although participants were not selected on the basis of a specific level of education. The relatively high educational attainment of the participants may be ascribed to the nature of the study and the relevance of the participants for the study. Apart from the students who were pursuing their tertiary education at the time of the study, the majority of the participants had achieved a tertiary level of education while only seven were held a secondary school education only. None of the participants recorded only a primary school education. In terms of religious affiliation, the interviews were not restricted to a particular religious group and interviews were thus conducted with members of both the Islamic and the Christian faiths. This was deemed necessary to avoid an exclusive religious slant which would have impacted the credibility and dependability of the findings through limited

comparative data. In terms of the participants' marital status, 25 were married, 4 were divorced, 3 were separated, 3 were widows/widowers while 5 were single. Those with a single marital status comprised the sample of students from tertiary institutions. The data on the ethnic background of the participants revealed that they hailed from various socio-ethnic groups and nationalities, although all resided in Abuja, Nigeria.

5.5   Data Presentation and Discussion of the Findings

5.5.1   Public Perceptions Regarding the Root Causes of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

There have been widespread assumptions across the globe that the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is religious rather than socio-economic. However, the data obtained in this study did not scientifically debunk this submission but comprehensively added that the evolution of the crisis was unabatedly accompanied and exacerbated by socio-economic phlebotomy, political and moral putrescence as well as dehumanization born from a combination of decades of mismanagement and pervasive corruption by the various Nigerian leaders. The study found evidence to argue that the socio-economic inclination of Boko Haram terrorism evolved from the non-fulfilment of socio-economic goals emanating from the violation of fundamental human rights, corruption, poverty, poor and unconstitutional democratic practices in the northern part of the Nigerian state. This argument is seemingly aligned with Njoku's (2011) postulation that the root causes of terrorism in the third world cannot be divorced from poverty, which is an end-product of the evil effects of globalization facilitated by the Bretton Woods industrialized capitalist states, leading to the expression of hatred through violent attacks on government institutions, both foreign and local. In support of the above argument, a prisons officer stated the following:

> *"To me, Boko Haram has its origin from economic crises in north-eastern Nigeria. In an interview with a Boko Haram commander in Kuje prison, he saw himself as a transformed man, which he ascribed to an Islamic team that came to preach the true Islam to them. When asked during the interview where does Qur'an justify killing of people and civilians, the commander repeatedly said he could not remember. It is like he doesn't want to explore that old frame of mind of their ideology of false Islam. He said and I quote: 'I've changed. I don't want to talk about justification now. But I have come to realize now that we have been manipulated and the centrality of our fight and ideology is baseless".*

When questioned on what he perceived the root cause of their violence against Nigeria was, he said: *"I don't know but I just joined the group because of my poor condition. I don't know when they started their crisis but because of my keen activeness on the battlefield, I was made a commander. As for the cause of the crisis, we used to hear Shekau say when addressing the camp, 'Our people are suffering under the rulership of political hypocrites…We must not relent! No retreat, no surrender. Our people must be freed from poverty and hardships. If our weapons fail us, we will fight with our souls'."*

To buttress the above information, an Army officer, a businessman and a Christian religious leader contributed the following:

The Army officer stated:

"As earlier said, Boko Haram crisis has many facets associated with socio-economic conditions of people…Severe corruption in the Borno state government could be seen as the root cause of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria."

The business man declared:

"Corruption of the northern political chiefs is a factor. They want to divert the attention of the masses from their inability to run the economy of the country efficiently and effectively, thereby enabling them to embezzle more money….It is not a religious issue at all. Islam! Hawusubillai!"

A Christian religious leader offered the following insight:

"No! to be honest, I don't think the Islamic religion has anything to do with Boko Haram terrorism…but it is only unfortunate that the group originated from a Muslim youth movement organization….That is why so many people believe they are Muslims and that they are fighting to Islamize the country….To me it is a socio-economic and political crisis caused by bad leadership in north-eastern Nigeria."

To complement the above argument, a businesswomen stressed the following:

"Boko Haram terrorism is caused by the way our leaders are squandering our resources and it does not cut across all the citizens. People are suffering and Boko Haram members believe that education made them to be self-centred and corrupt."

On the contrary, the religious inclination of the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism cannot easily be wished away considering the narratives and conceptual arguments of a number of the participants that were recruited for the study. Evidence in support of these assertions is captured in the statements of the following participants:

A 52- year-old business man offered this statement:

"Negative and misinterpretation of the Holy Quaran to some Muslims led to the emergence of Boko Haram".

A 54-year- old business woman added that:

"They want everybody to change to Muslim…which is difficult…no country practices entirely one religion…even if there is, Nigeria's own will be difficult".

A Christian leader declared that:

"They are Muslims but those with violent spirit for war and terrorism. You know Islam is highly associated with terrorism than Christianity….They are protesting because their Muslim brother was defeated at the poll for presidency and their level of education is about 20% compared to south east, south south, and south west".

A custom officer expressed that:

"The major factors surrounding the BH insurgency in Nigeria revolve around socio-economic and political issues in the north-eastern Nigeria. There is also viable connection with ethno-religious aspect of it. In fact, you cannot push religion away If you know the origin of Boko Haram, you will understand me better".

Taking a comparative look at the above data, one may conclude that socio-economic factors are critically viable for understanding the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. However, the fact that a number of participants interviewed during the course of the study attributed the sect's affiliation to Islamic religion has justified an appreciable number of the scientifically proven assertions that centred the root causes of the insurgency on Islamic religion. More specifically, a wide margin between the religious and socio-economic contexts of the argument is still created. Nevertheless, based on the examination of people's perceptions, this study premises its findings on the socio-economic factors as an additional

insight to the understanding of Boko Haram terrorism rather than debunks out rightly the several findings that blamed the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism on Islamic injunctions.

This finding seems to balance the intricacies behind the notion that religion, and specifically the Islamic faith, is the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria rather than socio-economic. An examination of the empirical data suggests that the Islamic religion is relatively not left out among the factors that pioneered and sustain the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. Carefully unfolding this finding, it appears that the sect actually portrays a particular kind of background affiliation to the Islamic religion – as probably expressed by speaking the language of Islam and making references to the Qur'an in the course of executing their activities − one thing that is clear is that Islam is actively harnessed by this terrorist sect as a platform from which its members vent their anger and grievances to the global community. Evidence of this assertion is supported by the statement of a prisons officer:

> *"They are not Muslims, but frustrated northerners. Interviews with some of the BH inmates in Kuje prison confirmed that these people are not Muslims because the majority of them are illiterate and can't even cite the Qur'an, yet they say they are doing 'jihad'. Few of them are learned… they have read the Qur'an and the Hadith, but they don't really understand Islam. I guess they are controlled by the devil. Interviews with them also show that Boko Haram terrorists are mostly men with little formal education, with hand-to-mouth jobs on the urban margins…they are people commonly looked down upon even by Muslims in their own community as 'riff-raff''. They are angry because of their miserable lives and religion is the platform to express that anger…. I can describe them as frustrated beings hiding under religion to perpetrate evils."*

A statement by an officer in the State Security Service corroborated this:

> *"Based on the information given to the State Security Service in line with our investigation, as you know we live on information. The cause of Boko Haram has much to do with economic crises in north-eastern Nigeria, aided by corrupt political leaders. We guess the political leaders initiated this insurgency by making use of the group for*

selfish political interests, after which they are now trying to curb it. Unfortunately, it is no more within their control. It is completely a political crisis, not a religious issue. They may be using Islam to reach out their grievances to the world. But if these people were truly Muslims, they would not be attacking fellow Muslims and Islamic communities".

On being probed further, this participant stated:

"Do you know the cause of the split of Boko Haram in 2016 during which Al-barnawi was appointed over Shekau as the new leader by the Islamic States? It is because Shekau attacked fellow Muslims in Chad-Niger regions and in Nigeria. Even ISIS terrorist organization frowns at Boko Haram attacking Muslim fellows. This is strong evidence to prove that Boko Haram terrorists are not Muslims...or they may be backslided Muslims. Take that from me!"

According to some scholars and researchers such as Adesoji (2010), Soyinka (2011), Cook (2011), Pham (2012), Olagunju (2012), Agbiboa (2013e) and Idahosa (2015), Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is a product of an attempt by some northern states' leaders to rule and Islamize the entire country. To Idahosa (2015), the primary motive behind Boko Haram's deadly insurgency in the north-east of Nigeria for the last six years has been to enshrine Sharia laws as state laws. According to Olagunju (2012:10), it seems that the Boko Haram fundamentalists frown on Western education and, for this reason, many thought they were really illiterates. It has indeed come to light that although some are poorly educated, not all Boko Haram members are illiterate, but that they are embarking on an ideological war to accomplish a set of stated goals. However, the finding of this study has not discarded the viewpoints of Adesoji (2010), Soyinka (2011), Cook (2011),Pham (2012), Olagunju (2012), Agbiboa (2013e), and Idahosa (2015) by demonstrating that the targets of Boko Haram are Christians, Muslims and innocent Nigerian citizens regardless of their religious denomination. This assertion did not in any way render the position of the listed authors in adequate in their respective attempts to fully explain the Islamic fundamentalism of Boko Haram terrorism within the Nigerian context. Understanding the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism from another perspective other than the religious lens from which the previous scholars and individuals have looked at this debate, the findings of the study, based on the narratives of the various participants, have unfolded the role of socio-economic constraints

as another significant and contributory factors that pioneered and sustained the emergence and escalation of the Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Addressing the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, an officer in the Nigerian Army offered the following opinion:

> *"Walahi, the cause is more socio-economic and political issues in north-eastern Nigeria, not Islam. Because if we look at the beginning of the crisis, it all started from north-eastern Nigeria where many people are living in abject poverty. The truth is that the northern political leaders are not doing fine; they are too corrupt and they deprive most of their citizens of their fundamental rights to socio-economic opportunities such as jobs, sound education, good health facilities, food availability and anything that humans need to make a life. Any opinion that Islam is the cause is far from reasonable thoughts."*

On being probed, he also stated:

> *"However, we all know that Boko Haram was formally an Islamic organization originating from this region – Borno − by Yusuf. We all heard of the good will of the organization in the early 2000s when they were making provisions for the needs of the citizens, helping government to perform their responsibility before they eventually accused government of severe acts of corruption and maltreatment of eligible Borno citizens. Now, their acts of killing Muslims and bombing mosques have proved them not to be Muslims any more. We have to realize this!"*

A 72-year-old Islamic cleric, a business woman, and an undergraduate student of a tertiary institution offered the following insights in answer to the same question. The cleric stated:

> *"Hmmm! What I think is that some political hoodlums have hijacked the group name as a tool of extorting and disrupting the government under the disguise of Boko Haram. The cause is not religious but I can say it is from corruption of the political leaders. They deny so many people, especially in that north-eastern Nigeria of their rights to live in good standard as against the Islamic teachings of Prophet Mohammed. Maybe the frustrations and agony of poverty in the region led to this crisis today. But I know the group has been influenced by some wicked and powerful leaders. My son, with my deeper understanding of Islam and time-long reading of the Holy Book, I want*

you to know that there is nowhere in the Qur'an that says you should have to kill for God."

A successful business woman was of the following opinion regarding the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria:

"Initially they were being used as political thugs and sponsored by politicians and when their leader failed election, they vowed to disorganize the country and the tenure of the new government. In my own opinion, there is nothing tangible they are fighting for other than to make trouble and meet ends needs through terrorism….Well, if I will be sincere with you, Boko Haram is caused by a political problem, not Islamic as many people think…It is just unfortunate that these people have a background history with Islam."

An undergraduate student stated:

"Boko Haram resulted from the socio-economic crisis in north-eastern Nigeria due to the corrupt governance of the political leaders. It is a socio-political problem now extended to all parts of the northern region."

In order to maintain further equilibrium between the socio-economic and religious contexts of the crisis, the following excerpts were offered:

An Islamic cleric stated that:

"They just want to cause trouble in the country by their request for the sharia law. They said they are against the way our government is putting the educated ones in political positions and they know they are corrupt and not good Muslims. The truth is that this crisis is heightened by the misinterpretation of Islamic doctrines".

A political office holder was of this opinion:

"I just know many factors are attached to the insurgency….Religion, politics and economic crises cannot be left out".

An officer in the State Security Service also added that:

"Numerous factors that have much to do with economic and political crises other than religion as many people think have worsened the crisis".

An analysis of the data strongly propels the notion that the widespread assumption that the root cause and rising insurgency of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria occur as the religious injunctions of Islam is not totally misleading and erroneous based on these findings. However, in the view of a cleric, true Muslim believers will never harm their fellow believers, yet members of the sect had been witnessed killing fellow Muslims as well as attacking religious institutions such as mosques and other Islamic centres. The study found that this assertion is not sufficient to render the attribution of the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism to religious injunctions of Islam erroneous. Moreover, Adebayo Ninalowo (2011:152) argues along the same direction, stating that no religious tenet anywhere in the world condones violence or termination of human life or destruction of life and property. He argues further that the best explanation for terrorism must be attributed to the existential factors of the human condition. Ninalowo's assertion is adequate to corroborate the findings of this study on the socio-economic propensity as a more viable cause of Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. On this note, this study suggests that the unequal hegemonic power configuration between the northern political state and civil society vis-a-vis the non-fulfilment of socio-economic needs as expressed in socio-political, ethno-religious and cultural forms may be more viable in promoting a lucid understanding of the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

From the vantage of the social exchange theory, this study conceived Boko Haram terrorism as an attendant consequence of unequal exchange resorting to possibilities of resistance and challenge against the northern sovereign authority. When putting together different scholarly ideas about the social exchange process and what it stands for as a binding force that draws human society together, chiefly when the exchange is equal on both sides, one can see that the theory argues that satisfaction and peace will exist when people receive fair returns for their expenditures, but that fundamental conflicts of interest are generated when people receive the bad side of the exchange. This theory is reflected in the situation between the northern political state and its citizens, where Boko Haram terrorists wage a war for a fairer deal. As an interjection, it may be argued that although their motives may find sympathy in many quarters, their tactics are deemed repulsive by observers and victims alike. Secondary data that were reviewed revealed that the living conditions in north-eastern Nigeria have been worsened by a minority of leaders in the region who cause a sizeable number of northern citizens to live in abject poverty, unemployment, hopelessness, backwardness, diverse recession, frustration, social dislocation, misery and underdevelopment. Therefore,

the accrued non-fulfilment of socio-economic goals resulting from unequal exchange between the northern political state and the frustrated citizens is conceived to have led not only to the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, but to its sustainability. This argument was validated during the interview with a 65-year-old Christian leader:

> *" The origin was more socio-economic and political in northern Nigeria where severe corruption and slavery of the poor masses exists. It is a legitimacy crisis…Boko Haram is just revolting against the government of the northern states, but the fight has gone out of hand now."*

Looking critically into the above data, the social conflict perspective supports the understanding that the Boko Haram insurgency is an elongation and attendant consequence of an unequal exchange between Nigeria's political state and the poor masses. It is in this context that members of the Boko Haram sect seem to have emerged with a view to revolting against northern leaders through forms of violence and radicalism that have escalated to illicit disruptions of the existing political states and the brutalization and termination of lives and property in the northern part of Nigeria. This study found credible evidence to buttress the findings submitted by Adibe (2012b) who asserts that the frustration of the poor masses, precipitated by factors such as severe poverty, unemployment, and elite corruption, generates fundamental conflicts of interest within the affected masses who constantly feel oppressed, alienated, deprived, frustrated, and abandoned. The study also radiates a great deal of symmetry with those of Kwaja (2011:1), Omede (2011:93) and Schwartz et al. (2009:540), who similarly argue that "the religious dimension of the Boko Haram conflict has been misconstrued as the primary driver of the violence when, in effect, disenfranchisement, ineffective governance and structural inequality are assumed to be the root causes of the phenomenon". For Mustapha (2012), Boko Haram could be best described as the symptom of the failure of nation-building and democratic politics in Nigeria. His argument that "the misguided cry of the disgruntled youth, crushed by the socio-economic system, is more viable than religion in any attempt to establish the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria" has thus been corroborated by the current study.

The current research inquiry also found evidence not to absolutely debunk Wole Soyinka's (2011) submission that Boko Haram is the handiwork of "disgruntled northern Muslim politicians who desire to make life unbearable for a southern Christian president (cited in Agbiboa, 2013e). However, the study agrees with Bintube (2015), who argues that socio-

economic factors are the major influences responsible for the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Bintube's assertion, coupled with the assertions in this section, validates the findings of this study in terms of the socio-economic causes of Boko Haram terrorism.

In conclusion, based on the comparative research approach adopted for the analysis and discussions of findings of this research and sharp comparisons with previous research inquiries, the study concludes that socio-economic factors vis-a-vis religious grievances are the key variables accountable for the emergence and maintenance of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In support it presents a broad range of factors such as poverty, joblessness, illiteracy, false religious doctrines, economic deprivation, state-actor terrorism, bad governance occasioned with leadership deficits and failures, non-fulfilment of the social contract with regards to the provision of basic amenities to the citizenry by the political state, corruption, greed, political deceit and injustice as the springboard for Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

5.6   Patterns that Maintain Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

Over the last seven years of Boko Haram re-emergence in Nigeria, the group has taken pre-eminence to present itself as the most intractable malaise ever known to ravage the peace and social fabric of the Nigerian society, particularly the northern geo-political zone of the country. The undue supremacy of the sect has not only earned it global notoriety, but has also generated a continuum of controversial academic debates on the patterns that maintain the sect as a terrorist stronghold in Nigeria. At this point it must be reiterated that the interest of this research shifted completely from the questions of who Boko Haram terrorists are or what the nature of their modus operandi and the number of casualties of their activities in Nigeria have been. Instead, the study focused on determining the influential factors that have fuelled the burning flame of the insurgency in Nigeria since their re-emergence in 2010 to date.

The research findings illuminated a high incidence of pervasive elite and political corruption within the Nigerian democratic system as the leading factor fanning the flame of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. When the participants were asked to share their views on how the Boko Haram sect has been surviving in Nigeria without being suppressed or curbed despite numerous official efforts to submerge the group, an officer in the Nigerian Army stated:

"Boko Haram terrorists survive in Nigeria because they have support from the community and international organizations. They have an adequate information system, more sophisticated and digitalized weapons to fight unlike us, as the Army is issued with old dilapidated and weak arms. So there is no way we can defeat them. The Boko Haram are parts of our society… they are here and there. We even hear that they are in the government and in politics. I must tell you, they have sponsorships and support from elite and political leaders. They are better trained and armed than the Nigerian Army and that is the truth of the whole matter. Our government would earmark some funds to train the army or to buy ammunition, but before you know the money is diverted by some political cabals to satisfy their own selfish interests. In fact, excessive corruption within the Nigerian system has made the fight against Boko Haram difficult. They have high-class people sponsoring their activities both in Nigeria and abroad. I pray that Allah will reveal those that are sponsoring the sect any moment from now."

Corroborating the points made by the Army Officer above, a detective from the Department of State Security stated:

"Corruption is a factor that helps the growth of BH terrorism. They keep winning the war against the military. It is not that our military force is weak, but even the Multinational Joint Task Force is still defeated. The reason is that the group has a good financial support − from where nobody knows. They use sophisticated and digitalized weapons to fight. In 2014, despite Goodluck Jonathan's determination to submerge the group through pumping of huge funds into the Army and other security agencies, those funds were siphoned by unknown people, including Army chiefs, so they say. The Army chiefs are even part of the corruption mess by collaborating with corrupt politicians to embezzle public funds meant for securing ammunition."

On being probed, he further stated:

"The worst of it all is that they presented to the public that they have bought new arms and weapons to fight Boko Haram [and bring them] down. Sometimes, funds approved by the government to train officers by international security bodies were diverted into private accounts. They will show old pictures of previous training to prove to the public that the training has been conducted. At the end of the day, [they] deployed them to BH zones to fight with only one AK-47 rifles, where they met with BH using

armoured tanks and bombs and various kinds of sophisticated weapons to fight. With this, now tell me…how do you want the military to win the war?"

An interview with a high-ranking community police officer revealed the following:

"Corruption within the Nigerian government is a factor that makes it difficult to curb Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. We know that the Boko Haram's leader in the forest there − Shekau, or what does he call himself? − is just a figurehead leader. The original leader is here, living with us in the community. They have representatives in all government sectors, giving financial strength and first-hand information to the sect. This is why it is difficult to submerge them. We have this information with us but because the police and even the community do not recognize us, we keep quiet and watch where things are going. The BH group has adequate support from the community and the government − even their affiliations to other world-rated terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda, Ansaaru, Al-Shabaab, Taliban strengthen the war force of the group from time to time…They make use of adequate information, intelligence plans to execute their objectives, where and the time to attack. This is what our military troops lack and the reason why they have failed in their pledge to rid BH out of Nigeria. I am sure the politicians who hide under their canopy are still there to frustrate the efforts of the government, and they are the ones financing Boko Haram activities and make them comfortable and surviving since 2010".

Comparing the responses of various stakeholders, the following was revealed by the excerpts:

A successful businessman stated:

"Some powerful people in the government are rejoicing, making money and prospering in the unstable situation of the country and thereby financing Boko Haram members."

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A 61-year-old Islamic scholar declared:

> *"Democracy nursed a good platform for them to survive. Our politicians cannot be vouched for. Many people believed they knew about this Boko Haram issue to cover their corruption mess and so if you follow the trend of their operations, you would believe they have support of some important people and that gave them the power of surviving in the continent."*

A postgraduate student of the University of Abuja had this to say:

> *"They have some people who give them money…they sponsor all their activities…they have a more adequate information system than the military. Corruption in the government causes all the money earmarked to fight Boko Haram to be diverted."*

A comparison of the responses affirmed the view that pervasive elitist and political corruption take the lead among the factors that create an enabling environment for the sustainability of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Support the findings of Agbiboa (2013a), Zenn et al. (2013), Onuoha (2012),Suleiman (2007), the study found evidence to argue that excessive corruption within the Nigerian system has made the fight against Boko Haram difficult to win. The study unfolded that high levels of corruption persist within the Nigerian government and among prominent individuals and political saboteurs who benefit from the existence of the insurgency by inappropriately diverting and sharing public funds earmarked for procuring weapons and ammunition to fight Boko Haram terrorists and bring their reign to an end in Nigeria. Based on the findings of this research, the corollary of these corrupt practices has given birth to security deficiencies and a weak security network within the military, specifically in terms of the availability of modern digitalized and sophisticated weapons to attack the Boko Haram war force. Moreover, there is a sad lack of electronic investigative devices to intercept and monitor the activities of the sect and its connectivity to sponsors and subversive elements in the broader society. Contrary to strengthening the armed forces against Boko Haram, the study found that corrupt individuals, both within the government and in the private sector, engaged in reinforcing the military-like force of Boko Haram terrorists through adequate funding, the provision of a powerful information network, and a technologically advanced infrastructure in the form of vehicles, clothes, food, shelter, digitalized electronic devices (such as remote sensing satellite imagery, a border movement control system, information linkage devices, video cameras, CCTV, and cell-phones). The insurgents were also said to be furbished with sophisticated weapons and arms with which

the terrorists recorded infamous victories against the country's ineffective armed forces over time. These findings resonate with Abubakah Shekau's statement on 7 March 2015 that "even as the onslaught by the multinational armed forces against Boko Haram intensifies every day with the influx of new weapons and African Union support, the multinational force is much less equipped to combat Boko Haram's war force" (Braun, 2015). This statement supports the finding that the victories of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria are sustained by an adequate security framework and fighting equipment that are obtained through the staunch support of corrupt individuals. Similar equipment is not made available to the multinational armed forces, who have to win the war with outdated rifles and a lack of sophisticated support weaponry.

A second leading factor that launches the boat of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is community support and its affiliations with supportive international organizations. Based on the information received from the participants, it became crystal clear that the Boko Haram terrorists have strong support from covert members of the civil society through whom they obtain adequate information and financial and economic resources which are pivotal to the sect's continued insurgency activities. Regardless of publicised claims to the contrary, attempts by the government to repress the group and rid the Nigerian system of this scourge have, on different occasions, proved futile. It was also suggested that the sect has connections within local communities where they operate. In support of Adesoji's findings (2011), individuals who participated in this research argued that Boko Haram terrorists had very strong affiliations with international organizations, particularly with global jihadist movements from whom they received physical, motivational and ideological support. The research inquiry also illuminated the complexities associated with the failure of the Nigerian system to subdue the sect and to sever it form its affiliations with world-class terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda, Ansaaru, Al-Shabaab, the Taliban and ISIS, all of which are believed to strengthen the war force of the organization from time to time. Empirical evidence in support of the above submission is captured in the statements of a political office holder and a detective who were interviewed:

The political office holder stated:

> *"Yes, they have support from some saboteurs in the government and from some community leaders who do not know their relatives are among Boko Haram members. They keep siding their relatives anytime police want to get them arrested."*

The detective expressed his views as follows:

> *"Yes, they are affiliated to other terrorist organizations of the world. I know of their affiliation to Islamic States and Al-Qaeda, because their leader, Shekau, used to hold forth his loyalty to ISIS on the video tapes that they usually send to government."*

To buttress the statement of the political office holder and that of the detective on the question of whether the Boko Haram terrorists have community support, a successful business woman stated:

> *"Yes! They must have the support of some citizens because military caught some citizens who supplied food items and drugs to Boko Haram."*

It was also suggested that Boko Haram's affiliation to international communities was a prominent factor that aided the transnationalism of Boko Haram terrorism in neighbouring countries. An excerpt in support of this finding is presented in the words of a community police member:

> *"Yes! There is no doubt that they have support from some neighbouring countries because that is where they usually run to whenever the military attacks them heavily and they used to harbour them. Take note of this. They have support from those neighbouring countries they usually run to in order to avoid attacks from the Nigerian Army. This gives us more reasons why the Multinational Task Force also failed to resolve the problem.*

A statement by a university academic was similar to that of an Islamic scholar, who said:

> *"Allahakubar inna satani robihin! Some wicked communities are in support of Boko Haram but I know Allah would expose them one day. They also have the support of other neighbouring countries like Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic, not only Nigeria…that is why they can penetrate those countries so easily."*

The study also identified that a powerful information network served as a lifeline of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Moreover, the adequate information system utilized by the sect was found to be an attendant consequence of their secret relationships with international organizations, secretive and probably affluent community members, and prominent figures in government and politics to whom it has always promised allegiance. The findings thus

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suggest that Boko Haram terrorists owe their success and existence in Nigeria to an adequate information network through which they obtain vital information as to when to strike, how to strike and where to strike, and this phenomenon accounts for their frequent victories against the armed forces. This statement was validated by a police officer and a 65-year-old Christian leader:

The police officer's opinion was expressed as follows:

> *"More so, they have support from government and the community as we know that some of them are even in the force…they are in politics…they are in government…they have representatives among students and lecturers. They have informants everywhere who provide them with an adequate information system. With corruption keep flourishing in the Nigerian system, it may be difficult to fight the war."*

The Christian religious leader said:

> *"Boko Haram has been surviving in Nigeria since 2010 because they have the support of powerful politicians and they live on powerful information sources which the military is seriously lacking."*

Furthermore, on the question of community support and an information network as a factor sustaining the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, a Customs officer added:

> *"I know they have community support. That is why they always have first-hand information about every step taken by the government to attack them. They are not spirits, they live on information from their supporters. That is why they are difficult to submerge in Nigeria."*

The study successfully linked the potential survival of Boko Harm terrorism to the soft, weak and porous administration of the former president, Goodluck Jonathan, whose governance was open to pathological corruption and irrational embezzlement of public funds that was much heavier and rigorous than any democratic government that had ever ruled in Nigeria. This anomaly in his government bore out a wide range of constraints that hindered every strategic plan put in place to submerge the terrorist group in Nigeria. Other pathological circumstances associated with the former administration which impeded the collective efforts of his government and those of the coercive security apparatuses of the state include a porous border security network which allowed free and unchecked migration of people in

and out of the country, excessive money laundering, inexperienced and corrupt cabinet members, inadequate and deceptive reporting by the security chiefs, and a decrepit and underdeveloped infrastructure, to mention a few. This finding was corroborated during the interview with a high-profile political leader:

> *"When Boko Haram first started in Nigeria, the then president of Nigeria did not know what to do to the extent that Boko Haram took over a whole local government. Collecting tax and revenue from the residents, blocking roads, and taking women captive from their husbands' houses and government did not do anything running to one year before they now broke into a government secondary school in Chibok, Borno state, and packed over two hundred final year students writing the West African Examination to Sambisa forest. That was when concerned Nigerians formed a human rights group called #bring back our girls#. Then the president and his cabinet did not find any solution, maybe because he did not have a military experience as a military. But when the present president assumed office, they switched into action and Boko Haram is reducing now because some of them have surrendered while some were killed. I think Boko Haram took the advantage of the former inexperienced and weak president to survive from 2010 to the time this present administration took over."*

The comments of a student substantiated the above data:

> *"As I told you, the former president had no knowledge of ruling this complex country. He kept sending money like Father Christmas to Boko Haram and so they found delight in it and kept throwing bombs, taking thousands captive, and our dear weak and inexperienced president kept paying for killing his people, thinking he was trying to settle the crisis with Boko Haram. He and his corrupt cabinet made Boko Haram comfortable instead of giving them a deadly attack. They were comfortable, that is why they could survive throughout his porous and weak government."*

A business man added that :

"Some powerful people in the government are rejoicing, making money and prospering in the unstable situation of the country and thereby financing boko haram members. This is very rampart during the president's Goodluck Jonathan's regime".

A customs officer expressed that:

"Their sustainability in Nigeria could be attributed to political influence in the North, corruption, community support and adequate information system available to the sect from people of the underground(that is, people whose identities and locations are not known). Weak security network of the military troops, Porous border security network, sponsorships by members of the government parastatals and ex-political figures also aid the sustenance of the insurgency. I believe the weakness of the former president Goodluck worsened this situation".

The credibility of this finding is further confirmed by the statement of an Islamic cleric:

"They have been surviving because the government is slow in action all because some government officials are in support indirectly...Especially during Jonathan's government, his reaction to the terrorist activities was slow, weak and nonchalant. This aided their success in the region".

The unabated expansion of Boko Haram's war force by the frequent recruitment of able-bodied youths in northern Nigeria gives momentum to the insurgency in Nigeria. Because young people's socio-economic needs remain unfulfilled as a result of the unequal social exchange between the political state and civil society (Homans, 1961; Blau,1964*),* a condition of anomie has been created in which they are compelled by frustration and aggression to violate the rules and norms of their land. In this context, they institute violence and conflict against the sovereign authority and are driven to join the Boko Haram sect as a means of compensating for their conditions of poverty, dehumanization, violation of fundamental human rights, unemployment, and societal neglect. The above *a*rgument finds support in the work of Freilich and LaFree (2016), by stating that Nigerian youths are living in frustration resulting from poor democratic governance and the long-lasting aftermath of years of corruption and mismanagement that characterized previous Nigerian regimes. Thus frustration and anger seem to motivate a good number of the northern youth to fall prey to Boko Haram's lure.

With reference to the arguments of Martin (2003), Kashima (2003) and Mandani (2004), this study also found that Boko Haram's persistent struggle for survival is a means of seeking freedom from the shackles of oppressions that are inflicted on them by the Nigerian system. A theoretical reflection on this submission conceives Boko Haram terrorists as 'freedom

fighters', particularly from the historical perspective of their frequent prison breaks and the granting of freedom to inmates. This view upholds the work of Wicker (1975), who observes that injustice, inequality and dehumanization bred the crisis of Yusuffiya Boko Haram insurgency which Nigeria is facing today. In his analysis of the Attica prison revolt, Wicker (1975) points out that "the inmates of Attica prison revolted because the system evolved into one of the most massive violations of human rights". The revolters took hostages and compelled the authorities into four days of desperate negotiations, which Wicker describes as "the grim sign of our dark times" (Bintube, 2015).

Taking a critical look at the previous findings as well as the narratives of participants in the present study, the disturbing trend of Boko Haram terrorism may be attributed to the youth's irrational behaviour that erupts from poor democratic practices, dehumanization, poverty and unemployment, socio-economic crises, frustration, aggression, disenfranchisement, political dissatisfaction, and human rights violations, which have prompted many youths to join the terrorist group, thereby inflating its numbers and exacerbating the magnitude and the war force of the Boko Haram sect which fights in large numbers and records continual triumphs against the official military force of Nigeria. The credibility of this statement is affirmed by a statement of a community police member:

> *"This democratic government is even the life wire and wheels pushing the crisis forward in Nigeria. As I said before, it provides a breeding ground for all kinds of socio-economic problems in Nigeria. Corruption, joblessness, absolute poverty, frustration, material deprivations, violation of human rights, police brutality are all attendant consequences of the democratic era in Nigeria. This accounts for more reasons why the youth are joining the BH sect in the north to ease the conditions of unemployment. Some also see it as an avenue to retaliate for all the sufferings they have experienced because of the government."*

He also added:

> *"There are so many factors associated with this. That is why it has been so difficult to stop them and because they are many in numbers and they receive support from some people in society, they have an adequate information system with which they operate. They also have funding and training connections with international terrorist organizations. Political corruption is another big factor to be considered."*

The in-depth interview with a Customs officer revealed the following:

> *"Boko Haram's sustainability in Nigeria could be attributed to political influence in the north, religious brainwashing of the youth, corruption, community support and adequate information system available to the sect from people of the underground − that is, people whose identities and locations are not known. The weak security network of the military troops, a porous border security network, sponsorships by members of the government, parastatals and ex-political figures also aid the sustainability of the insurgency. We also know of their affiliation to other terrorist groups of the world such as ISIS and al-Qaeda, which are highly connected with the financial power of the sect. So many things are connected with their surviving trends in Nigeria."*

Moreover, religious brainwashing, abuse of power by northern political leaders, state-actor terrorism, perceived societal neglect, unemployment and pervasive poverty among the youth of the northern states cannot be left out of those variables that predispose them to Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The preceding statement is supported by the perspective of the rational choice theory of terrorism which assumes that terrorist behaviour usually emanates from a rational, calculated and conscious decision to achieve socio-economic and political goals due to depravation. On the other hand, these youths' behaviour might reflect pathological or illogical behaviour as a means to fulfil their personal needs. On this premise, the study radiates a high sense of similarity with Akhain's findings (2012), contending that several scholars have attributed insecurity to the desire of man to satisfy his inordinate and immoral ambition and lust for materials, power and authority; this accounts for the irrational use of violence by the Boko Haram terrorists against the northern states, private organizations and the general public with the ultimate objective of achieving some particular selfish goals. With the war force of Boko Haram increasing on a daily basis, it has become difficult for the military to overwhelm such a large number of warriors. Hence the insurgency continues to evolve and re-evolve from year to year. Put differently, based on the theoretical and conceptual argument of Peter Blau's global unequal power exchange, this study is able to describe Boko Haram terrorism as a collective, social action or emancipatory struggle against the shackles of oppression and dehumanization. Therefore, the group may find it difficult and irrational to stop the fight because their motive for going into rebellion with the sovereign authority has not been addressed or removed. This may be another dimension of the sustainability of the insurgency in Nigeria.

5.7   Socio-economic Consequences of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

After more than half a decade of Boko Haram catastrophic enterprises in Nigeria, this phenomenon may be described as an anathema to sustainable development as well as the nation's most protracted standoff of recent times. The seven-year-old impasse is hitherto not close to being resolved, but continues unabated. Boko Haram insurgents continue to plaque the progress and peace of the most populous African country through its virulent activities. Its members ruthlessly destroy lives and property by means of bombings, killing, and attacks on innocent citizens. The height of the insecurity experienced on a daily basis due to the nefarious activities of the sect has bestowed upon the nation a host of setbacks that may linger and impact the progress of the nation forever if urgent action is not taken to arrest the awkward situation. The aftermath of these terrible attacks is fraught with a great deal of adverse effects that impact the socio-economic, political, religious, educational, agricultural, and health advancement of the country. Consequently, there is currently a gradual breakdown in the country's fiscal policy and national development because most resources have been channelled towards resolving the insurgency problem. In turn, the ineffectiveness of the state to curb and eradicate terrorism has bounced back to affect other important sectors of the nation's economic growth.

5.7.1 Effects of Boko Haram terrorism on socio-economic development

When people experience feelings of insecurity, their zeal to invest, purchase or lease from the product of investment is reduced and that is why, all over the world today, any country that radiates an environment of insecurity naturally repels investment initiatives from both the international community and its own local investors. Every society across the globe has its peculiar problems and challenges, and Nigeria is no exception (Ifijeh, 2011).

Today, the insecurity that Boko Haram inflicts of the country is one of the greatest problems that bedevils the Nigerian society to varying degrees. For example, it has affected government policies, economic growth and also retarded development in all spheres. The study shares Ifijeh's (2011) submission that the Boko Haram insurgency is not only a threat to the economic, political and social security of Nigeria, but it is also a significant factor affiliated with the gradual underdevelopment of the country and even the African continent, because the insecurity situation discourages both local and foreign investments. This has the effect of waning down the socio-economic development of the Nigerian state and, as a consequence, of the continent, because Nigeria (like South Africa) holds a pivotal position in the economic development of Africa. More specifically, the continued lack of security in the country has reduced the quality of life and standard of living of its citizens and exacerbated the conditions of poverty, wretchedness, unemployment, and health risks across the populace. Moreover, educational disruptions across different levels of academic pursuits, religious misconceptions and the loss of trust of one another have promoted kidnappings, unwanted pregnancies and teenage motherhood, day-to-day panic, loss of property, the deaths of numerous people, and incidents of internally displaced persons. The list goes on, as human and social capital has been destroyed and agricultural productivity in affected areas has been devastated. Political instability truncates the relationship between citizens and political states, undermines democracy and the rule of law, and stymies the capacity of the country to promote growth and development. The findings of this study thus support similar studies in illuminating the adverse effects of Boko Haram terrorism that have hampered the socio-economic development of the Nigerian state by truncating all prominent sectors of the economy which could have influenced the positive growth and development of the state. In addressing questions on the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism, the following responses were obtained from an Army officer and a 53-year-old business woman:

The officer stated:

> *"It has produced a lot of adverse effects on the country. Especially in the economic and agricultural sectors. So many times, the affected areas would lack some particular types of food or the other. It has greatly discouraged foreign investors and reduced fiscal policy in the Nigerian government, causing educational disruptions due to everyday closure of institutions, health problems, loss of loved ones, food scarcity, cultural discrimination, incidents of internally displaced persons, political instability, religious misconceptions, causing increased numbers of refugees to neighbouring countries, deaths of many innocent people, destruction of government and private, property, joblessness due to many people leaving the Boko Haram areas for a safer part of the country, unnecessary fear and national threat, to mention but a few."*

The business woman stated:

> *"It also affects the educational system as it is difficult for students in the north to go to school, and it affects business generally as citizens can no longer go out to purchase goods for their needs, thereby turning the economy of the north to 0%."*

More information about the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism was captured in the statement of a political office holder:

> *"Boko Haram has caused Nigeria all setbacks including poverty, unemployment, food scarcity, kidnapping of VIPs [Very Important Persons or dignitaries] and political instability."*

An evaluation of the above data suggests that the effects of Boko Haram terrorism on the economy and on society in Nigeria is multifaceted, as it has devastated all areas of the country's development and endeavours, and it has hindered its people from achieving the objectives of the national development plan for economic growth.

5.7.2 Political instability

The data also suggest that political instability is acknowledged as the most serious adverse effect of Boko Harm terrorism in Nigeria. This is because politics is the backbone of all nations as the political stability of a country determines progress, development, and the faith the people have in its leaders. It is a well-known fact that when the political situation of a

country is in a state of collapse and chaos, all other areas of the nation's economy are on the verge of collapsed. Therefore, the day-to-day disruptive activities of the Boko Haram sect destabilize democracy in all the Boko Haram-affected zones in Nigeria. The northern situation is so bad that people now hardly come forward to showcase their political enfranchisement during national and state elections because of the fear of being killed and bombed by the Boko Haram sect. Since Boko Haram stepped up its operations in 2010, the northern region has never been the same. It appears desolate and dry, and reports show that foreign direct investment (FDI) in the Nigerian economy has crashed owing to the political instability that the country has experienced due to terrorism. According to the World Investment Report (WIR) (2013), FDI that flows into Nigeria dropped by 21.3% within a year — from $8.9 billion in 2011 to $7 billion in 2012. This has dealt a great blow to the development of Nigeria as the giant of Africa as a country upon which so many neighbouring countries' economies depend.

Furthermore, the political insecurity in northern Nigeria has already impaired the service industries and foreign organizations, particularly those that have the bulk of their operations located in the region. The financial services sector is the most adversely affected as banks and other financial organizations such as telecommunication companies and big factories are closing down their branches because of the fear of Boko Haram attacks (WIR, 2013)

Political instability in the north has also resulted in the mass emigration of foreign investors and Nigerian citizens, particularly from the south-west, south-east and south-south areas. The participants suggested that a good number of people had left their jobs and closed their businesses in fear of falling prey to an untimely demise by the hands of dangerous Boko Haram terrorists Moreover, the exodus of people from the northern region not only seemed to them to constitute the depletion of economic affairs, in the north, such that was experienced in the Basque country of Spain but seemed to them to throw those who remained behind into financial and psychological trauma. A 67-year-old Christian leader spoke emotionally about the adverse effects of Boko Haram terrorism on socio-economic development:

> *"Very well. Boko Haram has had a lot of negative effects in Nigeria in terms of a poor economy, political instability, unemployment, unplanned departure of people from the region, infrastructural stagnation, poor health services, family breakdown, loss of jobs, closure of private and government institutions, destruction of Nigeria's*

and foreign property, deaths of innocent people, incidences of Nigerian refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries, health challenges, trauma among those who lost their jobs, businesses and loved ones [destroyed] by Boko Haram, kidnappings here and there, abuse of girls and street rape, a phobia of insecurity, affecting foreign investment and so on. Talk of any sector in Nigeria today, and Boko Haram has in one way or another affected it."

To buttress this point, a political office holder had this to say:

"Of course, Boko Haram has cost us a lot in this country. Millions of our children that [should have been] leaders of tomorrow have been killed and those involved were frustrated to leave the region for safety of their other children and their own lives; the psychological stress it has caused cannot be measured. More so, the country is suffering the hardship that Boko Haram inflicted on them because most big organizations in the affected areas have folded up tail! [i.e., they have left]."

5.7.3 Health problems

The advent of Boko Haram terrorism has worsened the health status of the northern region as both private and government hospitals have not been functioning properly because of the threat of Boko Haram operations on the streets of the northern states. Health practitioners live in fear, because Boko Haram will kidnap anybody suspected of being a nurse or a medical practitioners to take care of some of their captives, including the sick abducted girls, pregnant women, and warriors who were injured during a battle with security forces. It was in this context that the US Embassy in Nigeria alerted the State Chairman of the National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives (NANNM) and the Nigerian Medical Associations (NMA) headquarters in Abuja to caution all health care workers to remain vigilant of possible kidnappings (NANNM, 2014). This information created a great deal of fear in the hearts of nurses and medical doctors in the region, which caused an appreciable number of medical practitioners to resign their jobs and run for their lives. As a consequence, there are high mortality and morbidity rates in the northern region and an unabated increase in maternal and infant deaths at various hospitals. There is also day-to-day news on television and radio about the uncontrollable spread of communicable diseases across the region, because many primary health centres that should have been in charge of this phenomena have long closed down due to invasion and the Boko Haram menace. The streets of the north-eastern region are full of motherless children whose mothers died during labour

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as a result of the unavailability of nurses and doctors on call to attend to their agony during childbirth. Another tragic aspect of the health hazards created by Boko Haram is that many people have died of minor health problems that could have been prevented if doctors and nurses were on call. Second to this is the high rate of victims of accidents (fire, auto crash, drowning, poisoning, etc.) who have lost their lives in the region because of a lack of competent health workers to give them immediate medical intervention. The health hazards that Boko Haram terrorism has created have also produced a negative impact on the socio-economic development of the region as many foreign investors are afraid of coming to the region because of a fear of health security. This occasion has also contributed to the migration of people in large numbers out of the northern region to areas where the health of their dependants, particularly children and elderly parents, can be guaranteed. The study established that, as people are forced to move out of the region, their employment statuses are also at stake, which creates some psychological and emotional pressures on the affected individuals who have suddenly left their jobs and property to relocate in an unplanned manner. The negative effect of people's migration from the north is overpopulation in the receiving regions of Nigeria where the Boko Haram insurgency has not reached.

This current health situation in northern Nigeria has dealt a great blow to international organizations whose primary mission statement is to ensure an acceptable level of health for all the people of the world in order to fulfil the World Health Organization's objectives of the Alma Ata Declaration of 1978. Nigeria has a bad reputation in this regard among its contemporaries in the global village. When questions were addressed on the health challenges that Boko Haram terrorism poses, the responses reflected the statements above.

A 24-year-old student of the University of Abuja narrated the following:

> "*The negative effects of Boko Haram in Nigeria are many. No good medical services….people in the region are dying on a daily basis from diseases and accidents because no doctors and nurses are there to attend to them.*
>
> Interviewer*: Why?*
>
> Respondent*: Some of those hospitals are no more stable and some of their staff have resigned because of Boko Haram attacks and road blocks, no health development. Properties and lives were lost on daily basis and there is fear everywhere.*"

A successful business man offered this opinion:

> *"If we started analyzing the negative effects of Boko Haram in Nigeria, two days cannot be enough but I will just mention the most serious ones. It has caused health hazards because there is a high incidence of health workers resigning. Road blocks and hospital attacks by Boko Haram…nurses being kidnapped…the absence of drugs and medical facilities to take care of sick people…salaries of health practitioners are not paid regularly which in turn causes regular strikes and deaths of many patients. Many people lost their shelter and all their properties including their precious ones. A lot of children in school that are supposed to be the leaders of tomorrow were killed and some may not be able to think straight again in their lives because of scary incidents they have witnessed."*

The above data suggest havoc in the health services in northern Nigeria at the highest level. People in this region have reportedly been exposed to inhumane health experiences since the intervention of Boko Haram terrorists in the socio-economic and health affairs of Nigeria.

5.7.4 Disruptions in education

As stated by Nelson Mandela, education is the bedrock of all nations and the most powerful weapon that can be used to change the world (See Masuku, 2002) and is one of the most important indices to measure the development of any nation. However, since the evolution of Boko Haram terrorists in Nigeria, the educational system has remained epileptic with day the by day closure of educational institutions, from primary school level to the tertiary level. The situation became worse with the abduction of about 276 secondary school girls from Chibok, Borno in the north-eastern part of Nigeria. This was an event that generated global concern and a movement tagged "Bring back our girls". The event advanced Boko Haram's status as one of the deadliest terrorist organizations in the world (Global Terrorism Index, 2015). This miserable incident served to change the perceptions of most parents in northern Nigeria towards education, and caused a good number of parents to withdraw their children from school because of the fear of the return of Boko Haram terrorists to the region. The attendant consequence of this situation has created a high rate of school drops-out in the region. Moreover, the teaching and research productivity of most tertiary institutions around the northern region has been greatly affected due to incessant bombing of university campuses, maiming and killing of students and academics, and blocking of roads by the sect.

These and other activities of intimidation have tragically resulted in the closing down of academic institutions in the north. This study established that the effect of the disruption of education in the region has lowered the standard of education and the level of the academic development of northern societies.

Another formidable effect of Boko Haram terrorism on the education status of northern Nigeria has been felt by the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). Since Boko Haram stepped up its aggression on northern communities, the NYSC scheme has been experiencing problems with the deployment of new graduates to the region because so many university graduates lost their lives in Boko Haram crises during their postings. Young graduates in particular are required to serve their country as an integral part of their educational requirements and as enshrined in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). Because new graduates have started refusing to be deployed to the northern communities to fulfil their one year mandatory primary assignment of serving their country, northern communities have experienced a distressful setback in primary and secondary school education. Northern societies have long relied on the annual deployment of youth corps graduates to put their children through a sound education, but this system has now collapsed due to Boko Haram intervention. Equally important, tertiary institutions in the region have lost their funding relationships with international organizations that no longer offer loans and grants for the advancement of education as was done previously to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for education. When the participants addressed the questions related to the educational challenges posed by Boko Haram terrorism, the following responses were offered:

A clergyman stated:

> *"It has caused setback for youths in their education due to frequent closing down of their universities due to Boko Haram crisis. It also affects the Nigerian NYSC scheme.*

A Customs officer stated:

> *"It caused setbacks in the standard of education especially in the northern part because students from the north were moved to the south-west and south-east and it really affects them. It has also caused many people to be internally displaced and some ran to neighbouring countries."*

A 22-year-old student of a private university expressed the following:

"Honestly, this Boko Haram terrorism is a very bad thing that ever happened in Nigeria because it really affects everything. Students are not graduating in some places, they get transferred and some students have to waste one year because of Boko Haram. Youth Corps members are no more posted to those regions as before. Our parents in business can no longer get textiles and jewellery that they usually bought from Kano and Kaduna because of the insurgency. No one is willing to travel to the north."

A political office bearer stated:

"The negative effects are many. Children are no longer safe going to school while some have abandoned school totally. Government and international organizations have stopped granting financial aids to the northern institutions because of educational instability of the region.

Interviewer*: Why?*

Respondent*: Because the region is under crisis now, so pumping funds to them would just be like a waste of resources. The targets of government and those international organizations are to resolve their crisis with Boko Haram first before they can think of anything in education now."*

A member of Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee declared:

"...low standard of education. Some parents have even withdrawn their children from boarding schools because of the incident of Chibok girls held in Boko Haram's captivity."

By comparatively analysing and interpreting the above data, the findings suggest that Boko Haram's existence in Nigeria has dealt the northern education system a great blow. The effects of this destructive situation and the sect's continued threats to the region are keenly felt across the entire Nigerian society.

5.7.5 Low agricultural productivity

The adverse impact that Boko Haram terrorism has on society is reportedly also keenly felt in the agricultural sphere. Most of the land that was formally used for farming and grazing has been claimed by Boko Haram terrorists and converted to war zones where official armed forces and Boko Haram insurgents clash. Reports state that many local and professional farmers abandoned their farmland to ensure the security and safety of their lives. Consequently, agricultural productivity has been adversely affected with farmland lying barren as a result of the loss of fertility due to soil destruction and erosion by the militants and the nation's armed forces. Much of the farmland has also been affected by the chemicals released by weapons and animals, particularly cattle, are wasted in large numbers during operational cross-fire. Some innocent farmers tragically lost their lives when they were caught on their land during battle. Consequently, there has been a radical decrease in farm produce in the region, which has extended to other regions such as the south-west and the south-east of the Nigerian state. Northern Nigeria is an agrarian society where most people's livelihoods depend on farming activities. These farmers supply (or used to supply) food and dairy products across the entire country. However, all the regions of Nigeria have now been affected by the low agricultural productivity of the north, as food is no longer exported to other regions in former quantities. In light of this, it is not an overstatement to suggest that hunger and anguish, which impact entire communities in northern Nigeria, have begun to extend their tentacle to other parts of the country as well. The effect is so bad that Nigeria now has to depend on imported supplies of some food products at considerable cost, whereas Nigeria used to produce sufficient food before the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism. It is also noteworthy that agricultural schemes funded by the World Bank and the African Development Bank to help farmers through adequate loan facilities have been averted since Boko Haram commenced its supremacy and destruction in north-eastern Nigeria. When questions were asked about the effects of Boko Haram terrorism on the agricultural development of the affected region, the participants' responses reflected the dire situation in the north of the country.

A member of the Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee opined as follows:

> *"The negative effects are so many that some families can no longer feed their children, not to talk of paying their school fees because of the bad level of the Nigerian economy and the depreciation of the Naira."*

A political office holder stressed the following:

> *"Government has started importing fresh garri [cassava powder] from India because of the shortage of food, and those schemes put in place by the World Bank and the African Development Bank to help farmers through adequate loan facilities have been stopped since Boko Haram's arrival in Nigeria."*

It is important to note that the data suggest that the Boko Haram menace on agricultural productivity is not only restricted to the northern region, but has also spread to and is felt across all the geo-political zones of Nigeria where shortages and the scarcity of food products are experienced by the entire populace. In this context, it must be argued that Boko Haram insurgents do not only impact the areas where they operate in a military capacity, but that they impact the country as a whole where it hurts most: i.e., the ability of the state to feed its citizens.

5.7.6 Religious misconceptions

The Islamic fundamentalism of Boko Haram terrorists has made an appreciable number of people across the globe believe that the terrorists are fundamentally Muslims. It is this researcher's contention that one of the most important findings of this study is that this perception was balanced by the data. Scholars, politicians, economists and ordinary citizens reportedly believe that religious fervour is the cause of Boko Haram terrorism and that Boko Haram terrorists are Muslims whose activities are in accordance with the will of God as stated in the holy Qur'an. However, an empirical finding of this study, supported by a statement by Ninalowo (2011), states unequivocally that there is no religious tenet anywhere in the world that condones the illicit and wanton termination of lives and destruction of property. The fact that Boko Haram terrorists were seen on the streets of northern communities where they killed fellow Muslims and set mosques and other Islamic centres ablaze is not a sufficient evidence to argue that these militants are not Muslims in the true sense of the word, and that they could therefore not be waging a 'holy' war based on Muslim teachings. The study discovered that these people have a kind of background affiliation to the Islamic religion rather than to any other religious denomination, because on most occasions they speak the language of Islam and accord their atrocities to the will of Allah in statements and video clips. The leadership thus seems to deliberately create the highest level of confusion about Islam as a religion that upholds violence, radicalization, termination of human life and the destruction of property. Their volatile situation has also given birth to a

religious segregation and, in some instances, ill-will between Christian and Muslim associations in Nigeria, whereas the Constitution is clear on the nation's right to freedom of religious association. In light of this finding, the researcher contends that until the Nigerian society is able to re-examine its religious conceptions based on this particular finding of this study, relationships among the Nigerian population will continue to exude suspicion and people will experience daily threats due to religious misconceptions. Sadly, until such a time, many religious believers, both Christian and Muslim, will wallow in the doldrums of ignorance caused by false religious teachings. Empirical evidence that generated this finding was expressed in the statements of many of the participants. Some are highlighted below.

A community police member stated:

> *"Another more prominent effect includes religious segregation and racial discrimination as people now see anybody coming from the north or Muslim population as Boko Haram."*

Being further probed, he continued:

> *"Whatever cause/reason they may be fighting for should not warrant killing fellow human beings. Besides, they are political instruments who advanced to become Boko Haram. Never think they are Muslims, they are not according to Islamic doctrines. That is why I said the other time that by the time they turned terrorists, they are no more Muslims. But the fact that they speak the language of Islam has confused a lot of people making them believe they are Muslims. I must tell you the pioneers and founding fathers of Boko Haram cannot control them any longer because they have turned to a mad dog in their hands."*

A 67-year-old Christian offered the following insight:

> *"We [originally] thought their intention was to reduce the Christian population by their Islamic state declaration, but when they now started to attack their fellow Muslims and Islamic centres, we got confused, and with this we began to doubt if they are truly Muslims. As for the cause of the problem, I don't really think it is an Islamic crisis, as it is more political."*

A 72-year-old Islamic leader contributed the following:

"If I won't be biased, Boko Haram are Muslims, but they are not good Muslims! Because I don't think any religion in the world could condone the killing of fellow human beings."

An officer in the Nigeria Police Force opined as follows:

"I don't know who they are except that they showcase their ideology to be of the Muslim faith. They preach Islam and demonstrate Islamism each time I listen to their leader, Shekau, on video tapes. But I don't believe they are Muslims. Initially I thought they were Muslims but with their mode of operations and activities, it shows clearly that they are not Islamic faithfuls. We have seen them kill Muslims, destroy Islamic centres and kill people regardless of their religious denomination. In fact, nobody can say actually anything about their religion. But it is unfortunate that they hide under Islam to do evil. Nobody can say they are Christians as they have nothing to do with Christianity since they began their evils in Nigeria. To me, they are neither Christians nor Muslims. They have their own ideology which has nothing to do with Islam that they claim they are."

An officer in the Nigerian prison service shared the following:

"They are not Muslims but frustrated northerners. Interviews with some of the the Boko Haram inmates in Kuje prison confirmed that these people are not Muslims because the majority of them are illiterate and can't even cite the Qur'an, yet they say they are doing 'jihad'. Few of them are learned. They have read the Qur'an and the Hadith, but they don't really understand Islam. I guess they are controlled by the devil. Interviews with them also show that Boko Haram terrorists are mostly men with little formal education, with hand-to-mouth jobs on the urban margins. They are people commonly looked down upon even by Muslims in their own community as 'riff-raff'. They are angry because of their miserable lives and religion is the platform to express that anger. I can describe them as frustrated beings hiding under religion to perpetrate evil deeds."

When the data were compared and analysed, it was revealed that Boko Haram terrorists have a specific ethno-religious link with Islamism but that this does not suggest that these

terrorists adhere to the Muslims faith and that the spate of their terrorist activities in Nigeria has its root in Islamic doctrines as laid down by Prophet Mohammed.

To sum it up, a comparative evaluation of the findings of Adesoji (2010), Ifijeh (2011), Nkewede et al. (2011), Aro (2013), and Peterside (2014) and the narratives of the participants of the present study leads to the conclusion that Boko Haram has instigated an unprecedented number of adverse effects that have enormously hampered the economic growth of the Nigerian state. Other most prominent effects include the destruction of viable institutions such police headquarters, recreational and sports centres, schools and universities, mosques and churches, private and public organizations, and so on. Their continued existence in the northern region has given the country the nomenclature of a bad reputation as one of the world's deadliest terrorist insurgencies in any country. The bombing of the UN building in Abuja and the abduction of foreign expatriates and foreign ambassadors to Nigeria are prominent symbols of the bad nomenclature that Boko Haram has caused Nigeria. These terrorists have destabilized economic development, lowered educational standards, caused food scarcity in affected areas, created health hazards, caused the untimely death of many innocent souls, raped and caused unwanted pregnancies, adolescent motherhood and parentless children, increased the number of Nigerian refugees in neighbouring countries, created ethno-religious segregation, caused cultural discrimination, instigated unity dissolution, religious misconception, loss of confidence and a threat to national security. It has obviously hindered foreign investment, truncated economic development and facilitated the recent economic recession that Nigeria is currently facing. On the whole, the agglomeration of socio-economic consequences of Boko Harm terrorism is seen to have propagated an ecosystem of gradual underdevelopment across a wide range of the Nigerian society. From the perspective of the rational choice theory, this study considers the socioeconomic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism as a deliberate and sustained punishment meted out to political leaders and the government (national and local) for their failure to fulfil their social contract with civil society in respect of making provision for the needs of all the citizens of the country.

The Nigerian Democracy and the Terroristic Menace of Boko Haram

6.1 Introduction

Evidence procured by this study showed that the rebirth of democracy in Nigeria may have motivated a wide range of terrorist activities in the country in recent times. Since Nigeria's return to democracy in May 1999, political gladiators have abused the democratic government by significantly undermining the country's internal security environment and employing young men as foot soldiers to fulfil a host of their selfish goals (Onuoha, 2014). Among these groups, Boko Haram has evidently grown to become the most serious national, transnational, regional, and international organization of concern, because estimates of the death toll from Boko Haram attacks since 2010 are in the thousands (Global Terrorism Index, 2015).

6.2. Conceptualizing Democracy as a Breeding Ground for Predisposing Factors that Lure the Youth into Boko Haram Terrorism

With Boko Haram rapidly gaining strength in Nigeria, a question that was addressed by this research was: *What are the predisposing factors for youth recruitment into the sect and what can government do to mitigate or arrest the situation?* Salient comments from some participants are presented below:

The following was the opinion of a political office holder:

> *"If I may say the truth, the human welfare during the military government was better than this. The economy was better, and truly corruption was lessened as compared to this democratic government we are into now. Government then was controlled by a 'decree' rather than today's constitution. Consequently, there was some level of discipline in the government and people enjoyed some degree of moral justification in the state of affairs, which expressed some concern on the welfare of the citizens. I personally believed that we don't practise our democracy the way it is instituted. That is why you see most of we politicians abusing our positions, particularly by deceiving and employing some of our young ones who are jobless as political thugs. I must tell you, this was not the situation during the military era. I want you to understand*

something: We political office holders cannot be there forever. So, some of us are also worried about the situation of things in the country, particularly the ways the youth are trooping out to be political thugs. We are praying that all this must stop so that our young ones must think of what they want to do with their youthful lives. To answer your question, I can agree that democracy created a pathway for youth recruitment into all sorts of terrorist activities, including Boko Haram. The only way out of this problem is for governments at all levels to revisit their agenda for the citizens."

An Army officer stated:

"The present democratic government in Nigeria favours their existence. The point is that democracy helps the recruitment strategies of the BH terrorists which rapidly increases the magnitude of the Boko Haram war force. The ugly situations of corruption created by the democratic government do not favour the youth because the majority of them are living in poverty, unemployment and frustration, which make them consider joining Boko Haram as an option out of their conditions of penury."

A member of Abuja Municipal Community Police Relation Committee had this to say:

"The military regime was far better this government. Democracy is a setback for Nigeria. It gives room to all sorts of problems we are experiencing today. It generates severe corruption that affects people's conditions of living. This is why we have many youths who are jobless and are now joining the Boko Haram group to have their daily food."

A successful business woman commented aggressively towards the question whether democracy influenced the youth to join Boko Haram terrorism. She stated the following:

"Democracy is not working in the country. In fact, it is an avenue for wrong people to rule the affairs of the country, hijack our economy and bring recession to every nook and cranny of the country. Democracy is indeed a ghastly mistake in Nigeria. Our political leaders don't have the technical know-how to practise democracy. Since they began their democracy, patterns of our businesses have changed totally due to corruption as we have to settle people in high positions in order to have a successful business enterprise. For instance, I engaged in importation of goods. My brother, if you see the tariff placed on my goods by customs, you would pity me; and all these started since democracy began in 1999. Things are no longer functioning in Nigeria.

Universities are closing down every day due to ASUU strikes, graduates of universities are no longer getting jobs after graduation, police brutality is pervasive, poverty and youth unemployment here and there. This is why some of them have become evil tools in the hands of wicked politicians so that they can also have their daily bread. I must tell you! It is not only the youth that suffer the bad influence of democracy, we business people also have our business enterprises affected by the trend. Until we can change our perception of politics in Nigeria, corruption will continue to bring down the country and the youth will continue to degenerate and join all sorts of terrorist groups to compensate for their conditions of unemployment and poverty."

To buttress the above statements, a 22-year-old undergraduate student added the following:

"Some people in the government are in support of Boko Haram and that is why it has been difficult to get rid of them. Truly, democracy is a contributory factor for Nigeria's experience of increased Boko Haram violence and crisis. Our democracy is not helping the matter as human conditions are getting worse on a daily basis. I am certain Boko Haram cannot survive under a military government."

Based on the above expressions, it was obvious that human conditions during the military regime were not as miserable and austere as the picture portrayed shortly after Nigeria's transition to democracy in 1999. The study thus found evidence to argue that the advent of democracy lay a dark foundation for youth unemployment, frustration, abject poverty, high rates of illiteracy, corruption, political deceit, brainwashing, and the inculcation of false doctrines into the youth so that they can be used as thugs for political parties and state terrorism. Democracy seems to have introduced the denial of fundamental human rights, unequal distribution of power, privilege and the unequal distribution of resources, all of which are contrary to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Awojobi and Onuoha (2014) do not essentially emphasize the role of a democratic government as a breeding ground for factors that predispose the youth to crime and terrorism (i.e., factors such as frustration, unemployment, poverty, and illiteracy). However, having probed this possibility into more depth, the current study found justification to agree with them that "frustration, lack of income, poverty and unemployment must have prompted the youth in northern Nigeria to become foot soldiers of Boko Haram terrorists". According to the findings of this study, some destructive elements in the aftermath of democracy are undue autonomy and the unchecked power that is vested in common civilians through the

political offices they occupy within their domain. This has created a wide avenue for law enforcement agencies, particularly the police who happen to be an instrument in the hands of politicians, to unleash their brutality on innocent citizens. With the transition to a democratic government, discipline has disintegrated within the socio-political system and has been replaced by corruption, exacerbation of human conditions, as well as the radical enthronement of severe poverty that has led to an outpouring of frustration, the replication of anarchy, and the encouragement of normlessness among the youth in Nigerian societies. Consequently, armed groups such as the Boko Haram terrorists, the Niger-Delta militants, the Fulani Herdsmen and the Niger-Delta Avengers (NDA) have the leverage to recruit formerly law-abiding citizens into terrorism. These findings buttress Walker's (2012) submission that terrorist organizations take advantage of poor human conditions to recruit and train the youth for activities ranging from errand running to illicit killings and suicide bombings. The study findings seem to suggest that, rather than curb such atrocities, the current democratic system in Nigeria inadvertently fuels and sustains them.

6.3. Democratic Leadership and Youth Recruitment into Boko Haram Terrorism

The findings of the study suggest that poor democratic leadership may be highlighted as a leading and foundational factor for youth recruitment into Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The data suggest that some young men and even women in Nigeria are used as political foot soldiers on the promise of incentives such as contracts, jobs, political positions and huge amounts of money that may liberate them from poverty. These promises are made by revolutionary forces in exchange for their reactionary services in destabilizing the country. The politicians, secure in their positions in office, seemed to have turned away from their pledge to serve the country and all its people within the mandate of 'social exchange'. It is in this context that the social exchange theory finds application, as it posits that, for society to experience stability and orderliness, the exchange process must be equal on both sides. However, when the exchange is unequal as experienced in terms of the position of politicians and the Nigerian youth, the situation of necessity engenders a fundamental conflict of interest which eventually perpetrates disorderliness in society, as has been witnessed by the large numbers of youth who have willingly joined terrorist groups in reaction to the perceived denial of their rights. According to the rational choice theory of terrorism, these aggrieved youths have adopted violence as their tool of protest in a process of rational choice-making. This implies that their retaliatory actions are fundamentally rational as they

seemingly decided to join the Boko Haram group in order to embark on a vendetta as a punishment reward for the political leaders who betrayed their trust. The participants were almost unanimous in their opinion that democracy was a predisposing factor for youth recruitment into terrorism. Salient comments to illustrate their assertive views in this regard are offered below.

An Army officer commented as follows:

> *"Yes! I agree that democracy was the origin of all these crises we are experiencing with Boko Haram terrorism. As an officer of the Federal Republic during the 2010/2011 elections, I was always on the campaign fields with some of these politicians when they deceived these young men to work for them as political thugs to support their elections, promising them all sorts of things which they could never fulfil. Some of these boys were not even well educated yet they would promise them jobs and huge contracts meant for people with high educational qualifications. At the end of the day, when they won the elections, they failed miserably to fulfil their promises to the boys. I told one of my friends then that what these politicians were doing would backfire on them, not knowing that Nigeria was gradually coming up to experience terrorism from Boko Haram. I am of the opinion that the unfaithful attitudes of the politicians could have pushed some of the boys to join the Boko Haram terrorists, particularly those highly frustrated ones among them. Before I conclude my position on this matter, I must let you realize that the strength and magnitude of Boko Haram terrorism is an attendant consequence of bad democratic practices in Nigeria."*

A Nigerian Customs official expressed similar sentiments:

> *"I must tell you that democracy was the root of all the problems that the youth of Nigeria today confront. It gave birth to corruption, political deceptions, assassinations, unemployment, joblessness, state terrorism, widespread poverty, economic deprivations, incidences of school drops-out and other factors that anyone can think of as a predisposing factor for youths to join terrorist groups. Frustrated youths with all these aforementioned characteristics indeed have no option but to join any group that can fend for their needs."*

Upon further consideration, he continued:

"I am now 48 years of age and successful in my career as a Customs officer. I was employed in the Nigerian Customs services the very year I graduated from Ahmadu Bello University without knowing anybody. Today, without a political 'godfather', you cannot enter into the job. There was no job crisis like we experience today during the military political era. No democracy and the country was better than this. Corruption of the military regime was not as vigorous and deadly as today's democratic government. No news of university graduates being used as thugs or as agents of radicalization and destruction. Until we can painstakingly redefine what democracy means in Nigeria, the situation would always become worse for us."

A high-class business mogul expressed the following opinions:

"Hmmm! Democracy is a setback for Nigeria. The first and the second republic were even better off. I am a citizen of Lebanon with a successful business venture in Nigeria. I have the opinion that Nigeria has not understood what democracy really is. I have been in this country for more than 30 years so I can say a few things about the political history of this country. Truly, the military regime was better for business men and foreign investors. Our businesses were going smoothly but the advent of democracy, particularly in 1999, cracked down the progress of our business with numerous policies emerging from the new political dispensation. In addition, we experience on daily basis socio-political, ethno-religious and economic crises of different groups. On many occasions here in Abuja, our business centres are suddenly closed down on the information that a crisis has emerged somewhere, particularly during this era of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria."

He considered deeply and continued:

"The worst part of it is that before we can succeed bountifully in our businesses now, we have to settle some political figures. The situations were never like this in the 1980s and 1990s of the military regime. The truth is that Nigerian democracy carries an emblem of severe corruption which has eaten up the social and economic fabric of the nation and slowed [the development of] so many activities in the country. As a result of day-to-day closure of Nigerian universities, I had to relocate my children to Ghana to complete their tertiary education. It is true that many graduates in Nigeria today are jobless and living in poverty. It is a pity that we private business organizations can not employ all of them. As we can think, those populations that remain unemployed

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are used as instruments for political thuggery and later end up joining the Boko Haram sect out of frustration. This is why the Boko Haram war force grows day by day. Well, it's funny enough, but it is a bitter truth! I am sorry to say this. I suggest the country needs a recolonization or reorientation of political values that will cater for the needs of millions of their youths across the nation."

The perceptions of a 72-year-old Islamic religious leader on the impact of democracy on the youth were expressed as follows:

"Yes it helps…because it worsens the conditions of the youth which made some of them decide to fall prey of Boko Haram recruitment."

Also, according to a Christian clergyman, democracy failed the youth:

"Democracy is a promising platform for Boko Haram to survive in Nigeria. It provides a good space for them to replicate and advance through youth recruitment."

To buttress the argument on democracy as an influential factor for youth recruitment into terrorism, an officer in the Nigeria prison service stressed the following:

"Of course, the present political dispensation is a contributory factor. It provides a good platform for enlarging the war force of the sect through recruitment. It also gives room for corruption within the government and social system, which allows those alleged sponsors to divert public funds towards the sustenance of the insurgency."

Upon evaluating the insights of the participants as presented above, it was established that poor democratic practices were deemed a breeding ground for a wide range of adverse factors such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, a false religious doctrine, corruption, state terrorism and abuse of power that predispose and lure the youth of northern Nigeria into Boko Haram terrorism.

The findings thus suggest that conditions of widespread unemployment and poverty among the youth in many of the northern states are predisposing factors that make them vulnerable to recruitment as Boko Haram terrorists. This finding aligns with that of Onuoha (2014), who argues that poverty and severe unemployment of youths in northern Nigeria provide an avenue for radicalization and religious-based violence in the region. This assertion was

echoed by a 60-year-old Christian leader and a postgraduate student of the University of Abuja.

The Christian leader stated:

"My son! Poverty is rampart in Nigeria and unemployment has become a common malady of our children. We struggle to sponsor our children through schools. On graduation, they have nowhere to work and remain jobless. As for me, I have two daughters and one son who have been jobless for more than four years now. Having sponsored them from schools, I still remain the one to fend for their needs. The possibility of getting jobs depends on who you know; and I can hold this horrible situation to corruption of the ruling class. We all know that poverty and unemployment issues are more rampant in north-eastern Nigeria than any other regions. I know Borno very well. In fact, poverty has eaten every household despite all the constituency allocations given by the government to improve the lives of citizens over there. Frustration is everywhere on the streets of Borno state. So, I am not surprised their youths are joining Boko Haram. It is true that those youths who do not have adequate parental care and guidance to help their conditions of unemployment and poverty may end up joining the Boko Haram sect so as to improve their conditions of poverty and unemployment."

A postgraduate student of the University of Abuja had this to say:

"I am now 31 years of age. I finished my first degree at 23. Since then, I have been looking for jobs but none is available. After my NYSC, I tried all possible attempts to secure a job for four years but I could not, after which I went back for my Master's degree. After the completion of the higher degree, yet no job elsewhere all because my father or my uncle is not in the House of Senate or Representatives. Now, I have started my PhD with no hope of even getting a job on completion. This even made me remember few years back when some PhD holders were applying for a driving job at Dangote Group of Company. My brother, you can see the worst situation of the Nigerian state, because a situation whereby PhD holders are now becoming jobless. It shows that Nigeria is finished. This is not government of the people. Kai!"

Upon deeper reflection he continued as follows:

"The most interesting thing I want to tell you is that I did my first degree at the University of Maiduguri, which happened to be the source of Boko Harm terrorism. I could see back then when university graduates were tearing their certificates up and undergraduates dropping out of schools to join the Boko Haram sect in order to compensate for their conditions of need. Their conditions of poverty and unemployment made them also vulnerable to false religious teachings with which they are easily tricked and won into the sect. The truth is that the Nigerian system has collapsed in the hands of the corrupt leaders. This is why we have a large number of youths joining the sect."

To buttress the argument of the student above, a 60-year-old Islamic scholar had this to say:

"Do we have democracy in Nigeria? Democracy that has changed to 'corruptocracy'. The political leaders just inflict on the citizens 'sufferingtocracy'. That is why Boko Haram can use the youth's conditions of severe poverty and unemployment to brainwash them and turn them into members."

When further questions were asked on the influence of democracy as a breeding ground for youth recruitment into terrorism, the following excerpts were captured from the narratives of the following participants: A business man, a political office holder and a Christian religious leader.

A 52-year-old business man stated:

"Yes, democracy helps Boko Haram's existence in Nigeria. Some of their sponsors are said to be in politics and they strengthen the war force of the sect against government efforts. Can you imagine such high level of corruption of political office holders?"

A political office holder added:

"They get easy money from evil and wicked citizens that misuse our democracy through corruption and misappropriation of funds and offices and support from some government oppositions."

A substantial contribution to these arguments was also made by a Christian religious elder:

> *"The influence of democracy is a big factor that helps their survival in Nigeria. The democracy is too porous to corruption and all sorts of immoralities such that some people could be using money stolen from government and public [funds] to finance Boko Haram so as to disrupt government administration so that they can assume power."*

An Islamic scholar's narrative complemented the argument given by the religious leader above:

> *"The present democratic government is too corrupt, so it helps Boko Haram's sustenance, unlike the military regime which was better."*

A cross examination of the above data illuminated widespread corruption as a factor that is conducive to recruitment and radicalization of the youth into Boko Haram insurgency. The high rate of corruption in the Nigerian government and the neglect of citizens' welfare also nourish the extremist endeavour. Widespread corruption in Nigeria has not only deprived communities of the necessary amenities and infrastructure, but has created an environment that is conducive for the recruitment and radicalization of young men into terrorism. What is really alarming in terms of the political establishment in Nigeria today as revealed by this study is the situation where students, especially in tertiary institutions in Borno state, withdrew from school, tore up their certificates and joined the Boko Haram group. In the face of such drastic measures by the youth, the study is compelled to warn that the phenomenon of youth recruitment into Boko Haram terrorism will continue to escalate with the dire possibility of impending future disasters if the ruling class continues to turn a deaf ear to the jingles that cry against the awkward situations that characterize the country's democratic dispensation. This study found some similarity with the Cook's (2014) finding that the Nigerian ruling class seems to ignore that fact that the daily increase in the number of lumpen class people who join the Boko Harm sect is a time bomb that will undermine the nation's fragile structure in the near future.

The high incidence of illiteracy in north-eastern Nigeria is another prominent factor that was attributed by the participants to the youth's proclivity for recruitment into Boko Haram terrorism. It is a known fact that large numbers of poorly schooled and illiterate youths roam the streets of the northern states, which is a fact that was reiterated by the participants. It is

also obvious that people with low educational qualifications or no education at all can be easily manipulated and lured into criminal activities because of their state of social deprivation and socio-economic breakdown. A zero level of education is likely to deny many people the capacity and knowledge to critically question the narratives and doctrines of extremist groups like Boko Haram. It thus became evident in the study that poverty, wretchedness, unemployment, and the financial and socio-economic incapacity that illiteracy has bestowed upon many people made them vulnerable as cheap prey for Boko Haram recruitment and radicalization.

Evidence in support of this assertion was expressed by a learned Islamic scholar:

> *"Yes, the present democratic government has a role to play in this by giving room to Boko Haram to recruit more able-bodied youths. Of all the geopolitical zones in Nigeria, the northern region is undoubtedly the poorest and most educationally disadvantaged region so far, with the majority of the citizens living in absolute poverty. The zone should be the power house of Nigeria, yet the people are so illiterate and wretched compared to the south-western and other regions of Nigeria. I am of the opinion that loss of rightful access to educational opportunities is a factor that worsens their conditions of poverty. I am from Kastina and I know what I am saying."*

Upon consideration, he offered even deeper insights:

> *"The northern leaders are indeed so corrupt that they have to deny and deprive their citizens of the access to socio-economic and political goods such as formal education, free health facilities, internet and mass transit system, good shelters, food and clothing. These are the citizens' rights that they are enfranchised to enjoy because I believe some other regions of Nigeria, particularly the south-western and south-eastern regions are still managing to meet at least a moderate percentage of their people's needs. It is true that people with no formal education, no jobs and care increase the war force of the Boko Haram terrorists. Remember the adage that says, 'an idle mind is the devil's workshop'. You may not understand what I am saying because you have never been there to see how the majority of the population are living in abject poverty. If you look at their situations, you may not want to blame them for why they are joining the sect."*

An interview with a community police relation committee member revealed the following:

"It creates a wide space for many factors that make the youth join the Boko Haram war force. It worsens poverty and the almajiri situation of illiteracy in the north. Those children that are supposed to be sent to school for formal education are left alone to roam the streets, turning into criminals as a result of severe poverty."

To buttress the above argument, a business woman had this to say:

"Almajiris are many in the north and they have held thousands captive. They indoctrinated and trained them to become Boko Haram. So, as some are killed, some are emerging…this is encouraged by the corruption of political leaders who are supposed to give the children formal education so that they can be free from their inherent illiteracy that renders them vulnerable to false religious teachings."

The above submission unfolds that a high incidence of illiteracy in north-eastern Nigeria is accountable for a large number of their citizens wallowing in abject poverty and misery. Considering the opinions of the participants as expounded above, the findings echo Okoro's (2014) submission that government corruption and its attendant mass poverty are rampant throughout the country, but that the rate of poverty in the northern regions is higher than the national average. This finding also supports the arguments of Lukman (2007) and Rogers (2012) that the dismal picture of the socio-economic situation in Nigeria is repulsive because of the government's weakness and failure to provide in the basic human needs of the citizens, who are therefore encouraged to utilize violence as a bargaining chip to obtain concessions from the government.

Brutality and abuse of power by members of the security forces were also identified as a prominent factor that renders the youth vulnerable to Boko Haram recruitment. The Nigerian security and military forces deployed against Boko Haram have been criticized by an enraged local population, social commentators, students, opinion leaders, the National Orientation Agency (NOA), Christian and Islamic leaders, business executives, community police committees, civil society organizations, and the media for their harsh attitudes and high-handedness in dealing with innocent, law-abiding civilians(See also Onuoha, 2014; Agbiboa,2013b). The data also revealed allegations of rape, robbery, unlawful killings, dragnet arrests, extortion, and intimidation as common misdemeanours and irregularities perpetrated by some security force members who had been deployed to maintain peace and

order in regions traumatized by Boko Haram insurgents. The findings suggest an urgent need for appropriate authorities to address the pervasiveness of human rights violations by security forces so as to improve public confidence and support for the security forces deployed to counteract terrorism operations. Findings in support of this argument are reflected in the narratives of the following participants: a Police Community and Relation Committee member, a religious leader, and a police officer.

The Police Community and Relation Committee member stated:

> *"The police deployed to counteract terrorism operations in Nigeria are indeed sometimes deadlier than the terrorists with the ways they handle innocent and law-abiding citizens. Since the emergence of the Boko Haram crisis, I can tell you categorically that those police officers that were constitutionally enforced to protect the citizens and maintain order are the ones seen in public to initiate the death of many people, rape women and young ladies in the course of fighting Boko Haram and cause injuries to some through the usurpation of power vested on them. I saw on the street of Abuja where innocent people, students and civil servants going to their offices were arrested and accused of being an alleged Boko Haram member."*

A highly regarded religious leader stated the following:

> *"A video coverage from Borno also shows how innocent people were mistaken and killed by the security forces, all in the service of fighting Boko Haram. Some of these people were released safely while some did not return from police custody. Up till now, nobody knows the outcome of some of the arrest as they never returned to their community. The security forces mandated with the responsibility of protecting citizens end up killing more than the Boko Haram terrorists. As a community police officer, I hate the police and I don't always like having anything to do with them, not only because of their brutality, but also their inordinate culture of distrust and insincerity. At this level, our relationship with the police to fight any terrorist groups, including the Boko Haram, has not been made productive."*

He reflected and continued:

> *"This is one of the reasons why Boko Harm terrorism has been difficult to submerge in affected Nigerian societies. The community support is indispensable for winning the war against Boko Haram terrorism. The question is now, 'Why do people join the*

terrorist sect because of police brutality?' They join to launch a reprisal attack on the security forces who have either violated their rights or killed their relations. For us to lessen the crisis, a good partnership between the community and the police must be established so that people can rekindle some degree of trust and confidence in them. Police respect and fair treatment of the citizens must also be encouraged, then the fight against any form of terrorism may not be difficult to accomplish."

In conclusion of this section, a comparative analysis and the interpretation of the various participants' responses illuminated that the role of democracy as a breeding ground for a wide range of factors influences the Nigerian youth to join Boko Haram as terrorists. This dire finding cannot be wished away or ignored. Drawing upon the conceptual arguments of Freilich and LaFree (2016), it is reiterated that most youths in the north-eastern part of Nigeria are left with no other option than to respond to the recruitment of terrorist organizations like Boko Haram so as to be relieved of their perpetual frustrations and the pressures of life. Such youths include those with good educational attainment but who are unemployed, youths who have lost their jobs due to political corruption and socio-economic instability, youths with low educational qualifications and who come from poor socio-economic backgrounds, and youths whose lives have been battered by abject poverty.

At this juncture, it is noteworthy that this study buttresses the findings by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP, 2014), the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2013 cited in Onuoha, 2014), and Awojobi (2014). A further contribution of this study is that an ineffective and generally corrupt 'democratic' government in Nigeria constitutes a breeding ground for the prevalence of youth unemployment, poverty, corruption, lack of income, frustration, false religious interpretations of Islamic doctrines, illiteracy, police brutality and abuse of power, and poor family structures. Some of these elements were researched by USIP (2014), Onuoha (2014) and Awojobi (2014), who also found that these factors predispose many northern Nigerian youths to becoming Boko Haram terrorist supporters.

On account of the various findings that were presented and discussed above, it can be concluded that, until an amelioration occurs in the conditions of the vast majority of the Nigerian populace, and until such time as the human rights concerns of these people are placed at the top of the political agenda of all the democratically elected leaders of the country, there will always be a real danger of the systemic breakdown of the socio-economic

and political fabric of society, while many human resources will remain a hotbed for a wide variety of terrorist activities.

6.4. Intervention Strategies to Combat Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

More than seven years of Boko Haram supremacy in Nigeria has aroused the interest of many scholars and policy makers. One question that they all ask is why the crisis has defied all possible solutions for its resolution in northern Nigeria. Based on the findings obtained from the narratives of the participants of this research inquiry, techniques that can possibly be adopted to resolve the on-going problem do exist. One solution may be found in the development of more appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies. The study thus suggest three basic approaches that may be used to resolve the crisis in Nigeria. These are:

   (a)   Peaceful negotiations;

   (b)   Community policing; and

   (c)   Pre-emptive legal measures.

The viability of each strategy is briefly elucidated in the next sections.

6.4.1   A peaceful negotiation approach

The study identified the paradigm shift from armed conflict to peaceful negotiation as a solution for addressing the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. This approach to Boko Haram terrorism is what Agbiboa (2013e) describes as "a soft-hand approach". The Nigerian government once attempted this approach to resolve the crisis, but due to the negotiation committee's insufficient memorandum of understanding in their negotiations with the group, the negotiations failed to come off the ground. Shortly after Nigeria turned to a military approach to resolve the problem, which Agbiboa refers to as "a heavy-hand approach". Nigeria has subsequently witnessed more than half a decade of the so-called heavy-handed approach (otherwise referred to as the "fire-for-fire" approach) that was adopted by the Nigerian government to submerge the Boko Haram terrorist group. To date this approach has, regardless of the government's declarations to the contrary, not produced the desired result. Based on a comparative evaluation of the findings of this research, enough evidence has been elicited to transmit the message not only to Nigeria but to the world that terrorism cannot be fought by means of deploying conventional weapons alone. Two questions guide the proposed approach: *Are we winning the war against terrorism?* and *is the world a safer*

place after the execution of Osama Bin Laden of Saudi Arabia? If everyone's answer to this question is *No*, then the war against Boko Haram terrorism can only be won by diplomatic means and the adoption of psychological and ideological strategies through peaceful negotiations where combatants sit around a table on equal terms. In as much as this study has confirmed Boko Haram's affiliation to other international terrorist organizations, this study suggests that all countries of the world must first unite in the common goal to eradicate this scourge before terrorism will be defeated. This is something that the United Nations has failed to achieve for over 50 years since its inception. Moreover, if an approach of violence against terrorism is deemed efficacious, then the starting point would be to address the Palestinian question and resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. If this can be achieved, such an approach can be adopted to resolve the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. However, as violence has not been the answer for any lasting solutions to conflict, it is this researcher's contention that alternative approaches are the only option.

Going down memory lane, the effectiveness of peaceful negotiation as the only option to resolve the on-going crisis in Nigeria took root in April 2014, when the militant Islamist Boko Haram group abducted 276 schoolgirls from Chibok in Borno state in north-eastern Nigeria. This event made global news (Abubakar, 2014). Widespread concern generated by the incident soon culminated in a global social media campaign entitled 'Bring Back Our Girls', with the accompanying Twitter hashtag #BringBackOurGirls, which featured in Tweets from notable world leaders and international celebrities. The Nigerian security forces have been attempting to neutralize Boko Haram since 2009. The largest of these efforts was the establishment of a special Joint Task Force (JTF) in June 2011, codenamed Operation Restore Order (JTORO) to submerge the terrorist group. However, this initiative failed dismally (Olofinbiyi, 2017). JTORO's eight thousand soldiers were deployed to the region in a direct military offensive against Boko Haram members—the largest deployment of troops since the civil war in Nigeria (Agbiboa, 2013a). In spite of these efforts, Boko Haram and its suspected collaborators remained active and persisted their insurgency in regions of Nigeria bordering Niger, Chad and Cameroon (Onuoha, 2012).

In January 2015, Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria's then president, vowed to take every necessary action to halt the impunity of insurgents and terrorists by targeting every suspected enclave of Boko Haram (IRIN, 2013). Again, these efforts were in vain. The need for the Nigerian government to search for solutions to this problem from another dimension other than the military approach arose with the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari

during the last quarter of 2016 (Olofinbiyi, 2017). Subsequently, in September 2016, the newly-elected President expressed his willingness to work with the international community and local interlocutors to negotiate with a faction of Boko Haram for the release of the Chibok girls. Speaking during a meeting with the United Nations Secretary General during the seventy-first UN General Assembly in New York, President Buhari expressed the Nigerian government's willingness to negotiate, but admitted that it was struggling to identify "credible and bona fide leadership of Boko Haram to discuss [the issue] with". He stated that "the government had reached out, ready to negotiate, but it became difficult to identify credible leaders. We will welcome intermediaries such as UN outfits to step in" (Ehikioya, 2016).

The two-week negotiation session between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram, which was brokered by officials from the International Federation of the Red Cross and the Swiss government, among others, arguably led to the release of twenty-one of the Chibok girls on 13 October 2016 (Al Jazeera, 2016). As the negotiations continued, another cohort of eighty-two Chibok girls was released on 7 May 2017. These successes served as a point of hope that all the girls would be released as negotiations progressed in the right direction with the continued intervention of international organizations as mediators (Olofinbiyi, 2017). It is therefore posited through empirical evidence that the position of peaceful negotiations rather that a military approach is a better option to resolve the on-going insurgency of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Some participants adamantly supported this position during the in-depth interviews.

An officer in the Nigerian Army declared stated:

> *"Well, I'll say it's possible to resolve the issue through peaceful negotiations, but it may take a long time. Anyway, the government is on it and we can see that it is yielding some results, especially with the release of those Chibok girls. So I will encourage our government to continue with the negotiations since it is presently producing some positive results, unlike when we engaged them in armed battle. Let's wait and see the end of the negotiations. I believe there is no crime in trying an alternative option if one is failing. The most important point is to resolve the problem in Nigeria. Well, maybe because I'm a soldier, I believe those people need iron hands."*

To buttress the point on peaceful negotiation as an option to resolve the Boko Haram crisis, an officer in the Department of State Security (DSS) added the following:

"Yes, it will, if well managed. I want you to know that terrorism cannot always be fought by violence. Sometimes we may try the other option, which is peaceful negotiation. So let's try it this time around and see where it will lead us. No crime in trial. As we can see now, [there was] no news of Boko Haram attacks during the continuance of the negotiations. This means that if both parties could reach consensus, the crisis would end."

Upon being further probed, he stated:

"Negotiations could still be the best with the present situation in Nigeria. I think we should continue with the negotiation approach currently in progress since it appears to be more effective within a few weeks of execution. Look…over seven years of the military approach has not resolved the crisis. So, it will be best to try another option for a solution before our people are wasted away by the deadly group."

A community police offered the following insight*:*

"…to a large extent! They need to invite the international organizations that are better than us in security prowess and intelligence gathering. This is part of what the International Federation of Red Cross and the Swiss government are doing for us as mediators."

A successful business mogul also supported a new approach:

"The military approach has failed Nigeria already. Over seven years of their struggle with the Boko Haram yielded no good results. We hear on the news every day that soldiers killed 25 Boko Harams today, tomorrow they kill 90, yet they are still tormenting the country, going on shedding innocent blood. The media reports are also political and corrupt with their fake reports, and this is due to nothing but the Nigerian [political] system which is now corrupt beyond control. A peaceful negotiation approach will be better now that it is giving us positive results. Since the military has been fighting no single Chibok girl was released…can you see?"

A-60-year old clergyman contributed the following:

"Yes. Peaceful negotiations should be made with Boko Haram leaders and Hausa leaders as well. However, we are already in the line of negotiations with them and it

has been yielding some good results compared to the seven years of military approach with no positive result. So let's pray it works out well. However, in this kind of situation any alternative may be consulted. Nobody knows which one will work, but with prayers all things are possible."

A 61-year old Islamic university scholar argued as follows:

"Government should continue the peaceful dialogue with them to know what exactly they want. Government should put in place programmes that will reduce corruption and poverty among people, particularly in the northern zone…The military approach is not good because they kill innocent people in the course of fighting against Boko Haram. Even for over seven years of our military approach we have not won the fight, so let's try the dialogue approach going on with President Muhammadu Buhari. May God give him good health to continue what he started. I think there is hope in this dialogue direction."

A political office holder disclosed the following:

"The Military has failed [due] to corruption so let us try another approach which is currently going on with some good results. As we can see, no news of Boko Haram attacks throughout the process of negotiation. This means that if both parties could reach consensus, the crisis would end. Peaceful negotiation is making good progress, my brother, except that we don't want to be sincere. It is not a sin if we try any approach…the most important thing is for us to solve the problem."

A university postgraduate student contributed to the discussion in this way:

"Yes! Solution could come through peaceful negotiation if it were done through the right channels because that is what the "Bring Back our Girls" groups are talking about. Moreover, the government should negotiate with the real Boko Haram and meet their requests so that the killings can stop. The initial negotiation attempt failed due to government's injustice and corruption by those who spearheaded the negotiations. I even heard that government was negotiating with fake Boko Haram then. Now that an international organization is involved, we can see that the trend is making good progress. I think partnering with international organizations is a good idea since we have helped some in the past."

The findings based on a comparative data analysis and interpretation process suggest that the Nigerian government should continue with the on-going negotiations with the sect until a final positive outcome has been reached. It ascribes the failure of the first round of negotiations with the sect to political corruption, injustice, difficulties experienced in identifying credible leaders of the group, as well as failure of the government to involve the intervention of international organizations as a go-between. On the basis of these findings, it is strongly argued that the Nigerian government should continue to engage authentic Boko Haram members in political negotiations and dialogue so as to unearth the exact causes of their rebellion and suggest what can be done to bring the insurgency to a close in Nigeria.

The release of more than a hundred of the Chibok girls does not only represent a modest achievement for those campaigning for their release, but also shows that negotiations with moderate elements within Boko Haram offers one option, among several, in engaging with the group and similar extremist organizations in the world (Olofinbiyi, 2017). The release of the girls arguably marks a starting point for exploring forms of peaceful engagement with such groups.

To accomplish this goal, the Nigerian administration must not portray the success of the negotiations as a political triumph to boost its power and legitimacy, nor should it manipulate the negotiations over the release of the Chibok girls remaining in captivity as a form of political propaganda. The fight to free the remaining Chibok girls and rid the country of Boko Haram extremists must continue until these aims are fully achieved, and the painstaking processes of reconstruction, reconciliation, and peace are able to take root in the traumatized region.

6.4.2 A community policing approach

What is commonly understood to be community policing is a philosophy that could be traced back to the introduction of community constables known as 'Bobbies' by Sir Robert Peel in the newly created London Metropolitan Police District during the 19th century (Patterson, 2007; Brogden & Nijhar, 2005). For a clear understanding of the concept among global societies, Sir Robert Peel rationalized that "the police are the public and the public are the police". This statement became the key principle of community policing, implying that the police should not be separated from, but should rather join in partnerships with the community for more effective crime control and prevention (Fridell, 2004). Community policing as a concept was first inaugurated in the US in the 1960s to strengthen police-

community contact on crime reduction, control and prevention and it became a dominant policing strategy in this country, focusing on problem-oriented policing and problem-solving through community engagement.

The concept of community policing is a paradigm shift in policing. It began many decades ago in the United Kingdom and the United States, but it was not introduced in Nigeria until 2004. It was introduced into the Nigerian Police Force as a paradigm shift in combating crime. This became necessary as a result of the adverse relationship that existed between the police and the public in relation to crime control, prevention and reduction. However, the findings of this study suggest that this approach has not been very effective in Nigeria, because existing relationships between the public and Nigerian police officers are usually negative; this is primarily due to the attitude of the police officers in public. The effectiveness of the Nigeria Police Force has also not been accurately measured due to a lack of qualitative information to aid investigative studies on the police force. This lack of data has, in turn, greatly affected the efficiency of the Nigerian police as well as other security agents in execution of their civic and crime investigation, prevention and control duties. Moreover, the public are not favourably and psychologically disposed to giving out vital information, not only to the police but also to any security operatives that come their way. Cordner (1999) also argues that information collected from the community police always represents qualitative information to evaluate police effectiveness and efficiency and to assess their overall performance on a wide range of key indicators

Because this study emphasizes the need for the Nigerian government to respond to a new paradigm shift in resolving the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, community policing is premised as a nostrum for resolving the on-going threat of Boko Haram insurgency and for preventing the future occurrence of a similar crisis. When the participants were probed on their opinions regarding community policing as an antidote to resolving the on-going Boko Haram crisis, their responses were generally favourable.

An Abuja Metro Police Community Relation Committee member responded as follows:

> *"The Nigerian government still has a long way to go to resolve this problem and its future occurrence because presently, there is no security in Nigeria. The Nigerian government should procure modern technological devices that can track and identify culprits and Boko Haram hideouts. We, the community police, have a secret remedy to Boko Haram terrorism, but before this can work, we must have a good working*

relationship with the security operatives deployed to each terrorism operation. The military force has weapons, but they don't have the information weapon all because they ignore the local communities within which they fight Boko Haram. We have some hidden information that I cannot share with you, but note that sometimes the local communities prefer to give information to Boko Haram rather than the military. This is why they constantly lose the battle against the sect. Security officials should carry the community along in the fight in order to win."

He also offered the following insights when probed for more information:

"The problem is that societies underrate our capacity and efficiency, but I must tell you, a community police approach will make a better option in resolving the Boko Haram crisis than the military and peaceful negotiation approach. This is because we believe in a 'prevention is better than cure approach'. So let us address terrorism issues before it even invades our societies. But for the present Boko Haram crisis, our collaboration with the government will go a long way if they try us. I will also advise government to make unbiased provisions for the needs of all eligible citizens. This will form part of our recommended preventive measures to avoid the future occurrence of other forms of terrorism."

On the question of community policing support as a source of help, a Christian leader had this to say:

"But this idea of community policing can work! But the security operatives must be ready to work with the community police so that they can get good information from the local community about Boko Haram. One major problem is that our society does not really know how effective these people can be in terms of information gathering that will help control crimes."

Buttressing the above insights, an officer in the Nigerian Prison stated:

"Community policing may be a good idea, but the problem is that they are not effective in Nigeria now. But I heard in those places where they are effective, they solve more problems than the police. We may also consider solution from that perspective."

An analysis of the above data suggests that community engagement will be indispensable in the fight against Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Clearly, a solution can come from

community policing if governments (national and local) could put in place programmes that will strengthen community police forums and eradicate the trend whereby citizens condemn them as part of the security arm of the country. This particular finding submits that all the previous military attempts that the government has made could have resolved the crisis if the security operatives deployed to fight Boko Haram had worked with the local communities within which Boko Harm established their camp. Such as working relationship can only see the light of the day through community policing initiatives. Establishing a good working relationship with the community will restore people's trust in the police and other security agents, and the public will in turn give them viable information about the hide-outs of the sect, their sponsors, and their connections within the larger society. This idea shows high similarity with that of Flynn (2004) and (Farrell (1988), who also argue that police partnerships through community policing initiatives need to be based on trust so as to develop information exchange. It is only then when the community will provide the police with information about problematic conditions and locations, crime concerns, active criminals, and stolen property. In turn, the police will provide the community with information pertaining to community fears, problems, tactical information and advice about preventing and reducing crime. A comparative understanding of the findings of this study and those of Flynn and Farrell suggests that partnerships between Nigerian security operatives and a community police that are based on adequate information exchange will help resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

The study also confirmed that the sect thrives on information from various communities. Community policing may therefore be a magic counteractive formula to facilitate a good working relationship between security operatives and the community who will then supply them with adequate information that may guide them in manipulating strategies against the sect. The study blends with Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux's (1990) understanding of community policing as a powerful information network to assist the police system in its problem-solving agenda. According to Cordner (2007b), the utilization of problem-solving techniques has highlighted the requirement for community policing as a good source of information to aid in the identification and analysis of problems faced by the community, including the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS).

The study stresses that whether the government wants to continue with the negotiation process or not, one thing that has been clarified by the narratives of the participants is that community policing should be employed as a powerful information weapon for the police

and the Nigerian armed forces who are at the forefront of this war. If this is not done, it may always remain difficult to defeat the Boko Haram force, no matter how strongly the government reinforces the armed forces with new sophisticated weapons. And as long as Boko Haram maintains its relationship with local communities and their secret sponsors both at home and abroad, they will always have access to information that will advantage their strategies to defeat their opponents.

A strident question that raised a red flag in this inquiry into Boko Haram insurgency was: *How do Boko Haram insurgents get to know about an ambush or invasion plans by military troops each time they are about to attack?* Clearly, they have a powerful information network that includes local population and informants. If Nigeria wishes to cripple their strength and break their connectivity with the larger community, there is a need to fish out their sponsors in the various communities both at home and abroad. The government needs to block their sources of income that are used to sponsor the sect and close all channels through which Boko Haram receives information, food clothes, vehicles and the weapons they are using to terrorize Nigerian communities. If such a strategy is put into place, it is believed that Boko Haram's sponsors may be exposed and that their force will be reduced to nothing. The next option that might characterize their fate is that they will either surrender or abscond; but one thing that is certain is that the country will know peace again. Achieving this goal will require the government to strengthen community police forums around all Boko Haram's traumatized zones and to establish a close connection between Boko Haram's local supporters and security agents deployed in the zones.

When the participants were asked about their views on community policing as a remedy for Boko Haram insurgency, their responses were very positive. The following excerpts demonstrate their views.

A community police member stated:

> *"Community support is one factor that has made Boko Haram difficult to resolve in Nigeria. The possible solution could come from community policing. The reasons are: We are the community. We are the closest to government, politicians and the public − this is why we can help foster good relationships between the police, other security operatives and the community. We are the closest to the police and other security agencies − this is why we can help the police enforce the laws in society and help the army with information that will lead them to success by providing good*

authentic information. We assist generally in all areas that will enhance security within the society. We are well educated and intelligent − this is why we can help educate the public at large on community policing and to see the Nigerian police and other security agents as friends."

He also stated the following upon being requested to expand:

"We have a first-class information system because we walk with other local securities like vigilantes of the neighbouring states. We have double power to execute our jobs; i.e., we combine traditional power with the little government authority given to us to help fight crime. We know who is who in society. We have all the information to sources of crimes and societal irregularities and we know those who are mostly involved in crimes in this city. We hold community forum annual meetings where we have discussed Boko Haram issues. Therefore, we have also found out who Boko Haram's sponsors are in Nigeria. We know them and some of them know that we know them. They usually give out huge [amount of] money the moment they realize you know about them − this is why it is difficult to win the Boko Haram war".

Interviewer: *Sir, have you ever collected money from them or have they given your association any money*?

Respondent: *"I don't know about that, but that is what is happening currently. We are well educated and we exhibit intelligence gathering, collective actions, community participation in the execution and investigation of crime issues."*

A religious leader commented as follows*:*

"Like I said earlier, the military approach can be revisited if the present approach [peaceful negotiations] fails again, but peaceful and proper dialogue with the right people may be a permanent solution. Well, if we are going to revisit the military approach, I would suggest we bring on board the community police idea. These people may help the fighting squads with relevant information from the local communities, because the public does not like giving information to the security people. You know, these people have some people who give them information also. With adequate information, provision of modern weapons and partnership with the community police, the military may have the chance of winning the war."

A business woman had this to say:

"Yes! Brilliant of you to mention community police. They saved my husband three years ago when he was kidnapped by a group of hoodlums. My husband was held hostage by these criminals for a good two weeks, demanding a ransom of 10 million to release him. While I told them that I was already looking for the money, I reported it to the police, but they did not have a clue of their hide- out. Someone now advised me to report to the community police assuring me that they would know where my husband was kept. To my surprise, within three days they had fished out information as to where to see my husband was. The community police then gave the information to the police and both of them now went there and found those hoodlums and caught them, with my husband released to me. As I said, one approach may not be enough again to resolve the Boko Haram insurgency, so let us try the community police input and make sure that they work with the military, helping them with information as to the hideout and connectivity of the Boko Haram to our community. We should stop looking down on the effectiveness of these people in crime control because they know every corner and likely the hoodlums of their community and their information network cannot be underrated…this may help."

A postgraduate student also expressed his opinion on the viability of community policing to resolve the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria:

"If negotiations fail, the idea of the community police may be tested. It is like we have one forum in Maitama but the government does not really recognize them as a serious security forum that can help in crime control. I must tell you, these people are the closest to the community. They know who is who and they are local and traditional in their own ways of investigation. Because they are there in the community, they understand the local environments [better] than anybody. In fact, they would be the best for information gathering regarding Boko Haram hideouts. Up till now, our military troops do not know where they hide those abducted hostages. And I am sure some of the local villagers may know where we can find them. But because the police relationship with community people is poor, this information is not coming out. And until we can have adequate information about these people, channel through which food, finance, clothes and weapons get to them as well as their sponsors who also live within us, they will keep winning the war."

After some thought, he continued:

"So this is where we may need the involvement of community police to do homework investigation with the Boko Haram local communities. Later they can now give the military the information, which will help them in the fight. Remember that Boko Harm lives on information from people and sponsors in community. Because there is no good relationship between the security operatives and the local communities. Community people fear them because of the way they terrorize them and take them as Boko Haram suspects."

A political office holder offered this contribution:

"They are in my constituency…I know them very well. For instance, there was a time they wanted to give vital information to the security agents about this Boko Haram problem, but they shunned and ignored them. Our government, law enforcement agents, and even members of society look down upon these people as inexperienced, uneducated, security ignorant and a category of people that has nothing to offer the public in terms of crime control and prevention. We always think that solutions to all problems come from state terrorism. This is where we missed it on several occasions."

The comparative data analysis and interpretation of the participants' viewpoints in this instance suggest that the effectiveness of community policing in resolving the Boko Haram crisis could be adopted as a good litmus test, perhaps if the negotiations fail. The findings also point to the government and civil society as obstacles to achieving this goal, because they are not helping the matter as they look down on these people, calling them all sorts of names such as 'riff-raff', 'charlatans', 'unqualified', 'ineffective', and 'uneducated'. They are also seen as groups that cannot offer anything that will help in solving crime issues. The data strongly suggest that the government, society and official security forces should change their perception towards community policing and they should embrace them for the role they can play in public security and safety. It will only be then that they will be able to showcase their value and effectiveness towards resolving the Boko Haram problem in Nigeria.

The study argues that, without revealing the secret sponsors of Boko Haram who reside within the three geo-political zones of the north, it might be difficult to resolve the insurgency problem. Because information is vital to Boko Haram's ability to maintain its position among local communities, there is an urgent need for official agencies to use every

available information system against Boko Haram and to block all channels and sources through which information, food, clothing, finances, weapons and other materials reach them. Then, even without carrying arms and ammunition against them or ferreting out their sponsors both within the local communities and abroad, the sect will die a natural death. The study thus submits that, with an adequate information network, the provision of more sophisticated weapons, digitalized electronic detectors and, above all, partnerships with the community police, the state may stand a good chance of winning the armed war against Boko Haram terrorism. However, it is also strongly suggested that the armed war be replaced with peaceful negotiations and diplomatic interventions.

Whether military engagements or peaceful negotiations can solve the problem or not, whether it is a religious, economic or political crisis, the study emphasizes the need for the government to always do everything in its power to prevent the continuation of the crimes committed by groups such as Boko Haram. The study firmly established that the effectiveness of community policing in crime control is anchored in a "prevention is better than cure" approach which can only be facilitated by a powerful information network. Therefore this approach, if exercised, may work much better and more effective than the recent military and on-going negotiation approaches currently embarked upon. Until civil society and government can appreciate the value and effectiveness of community policing across all Nigerian societies, communities will continually remain vulnerable to all sorts of crime and violent insurgencies.

Most importantly, government should look into this approach and engage intelligence officers both in the army and the police to work hand in hand with the community police in order to unearth the primary Boko Haram instigators and their sponsors both at home and abroad. This finding aligns with Reno et al. (1998), who argue that the implementation of community policing in crime control will be more successful if commanders and sergeants had a better understanding of community policing and are supportive of and committed to working collaboratively with them. Furthermore, Skogan (2005; 2002; 1996) argues in support of the viewpoint of Reno et al., believing that organizational support, structures and crime prevention should be measured in terms of the effectiveness and collaborative efforts of community policing rather than just focusing all efforts on the engagement of police officers. The latter author argues that we should also stop undermining the efficiency of these people in crime reduction and control. The current study affirms community policing as the best avenue to easily access and liaise with local communities where Boko Haram

activities are rife. These members can work more effectively with locals than security operatives and elicit vital information to strike down the notorious terrorist sect. This argument is also strongly supported by Mastrofski (2006), who contends that community policing is "the only channel to link the police more closely to the community in partnership arrangements, joint activities to co-produce services and desired outcomes, giving the community a greater say in what the police do, or simply engaging with each other to produce a greater sense of police-community compatibility"

There is evidence that community policing is a good source of information that is needed in security partnerships to help other security operatives re-strategize their operations against the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. The current study found that some village people within the regions traumatized by Boko Haram, whether they may be residing or hiding in Chad, Niger, or Cameroon, may know where the insurgents are hiding out, and getting this information depends on a good working relationship between the security operatives deployed in these regions and their local communities.

To conclude this section, the study recommends that, even with ongoing negotiations, the government should start looking at this solution as plan B in case the negotiations fail. The idea of community policing, if formally and officially incorporated into the security system of Nigeria, could eventually emerge as the best approach to resolve the Boko Haram scourge and prevent the future occurrence of crime, terrorism and other related social vices lurking dormant to plaque the peaceful coexistence of all people within Nigeria.

6.4.3 The pre-emptive approach

This approach is also closely related to the "prevention is better than cure" approach associated with community policing. It combines community engagement, institutional ability and legal procedures to respond to the needs that will cater for the prevention of any impending signals of crime, terrorism and other related offences. An overall review of all the participants' narratives on the contributions of international organizations to help resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism suggests that the numerous efforts made by United Nations Member States in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attack in the US to prevent terrorist acts both within American borders and across its regions should also be inaugurated into the Nigerian security system. This should occur either through constitutional reforms or creating public awareness. From the standpoint of the United Nations Member States, the study uncovered a number of measures that could be implemented by the Nigerian state to enhance

its legal and institutional ability to counter terrorist activities. The steps that could be taken in this direction are the following:

- Criminalize the financing of terrorism across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria.

- Freeze without delay any funds related to persons involved in acts of terrorism both at home and abroad. This will have to be done with the assistance of international organizations should the funds be lodged in foreign accounts.

- Deny all forms of financial support for terrorist groups. This can best be achieved through government efforts, institutional ability and community engagement.

- Suppress the provision of safe havens, sustenance or support for terrorists. This can best be facilitated through community policing and government efforts.

- Share information with governments, local and national, on any groups that practise or planning terrorist acts. This can best be facilitated through community policing.

- Cooperate with other governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition and prosecution of those involved in terrorist acts. This can best be facilitated through community policing and government efforts.

- Criminalize active and passive assistance for terrorism in domestic law and bring violators to justice. In this situation, people that support terrorism either directly or indirectly should have to face the wrath of the law (CTCED, 2015).

Arguably, the above measures alone cannot effectively end the war of terrorism in Nigeria. The question of amelioration of human conditions with respect to unequal hegemonic power configuration as expressed in socio-economic, political, ethno-religious and cultural forms should be considered as highly essential as an integral part of the United Nation's measures to prevent terrorism in Nigeria. By the same token, the government and democratic leaders should make information, basic needs and services available to the citizens so that they can understand the adverse consequences of insecurity on the quality of life of fellow citizens as well as its long-term effects on sustainable development. This will enable them to design and

adopt more appropriate policies and intervention strategies that will enhance the general well-being of the populace. More importantly, United Nations, European Union, African Union, government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should be sensitized towards making the special needs and concerns of global citizens a priority. Moreover, socio-economic and political infrastructure should be available to all the citizens of the country. This may safeguard our moral rectitude and ensure individuals' effective contributions to national development. Because the study exposed prevailing corruption as the number one public enemy in Nigeria, the government of Nigeria should, as a matter of urgency, put strict legal measures in place against individuals caught in the act of corruption so as to prevent future occurrence of terrorism and other related offences in Nigeria. Taking such positive steps would definitely deter terrorists and all terrorist sponsors from taking undue advantage of human conditions to lure and recruit law-abiding citizens into terrorism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1   Summary

The study encompassed a critical focus on the public perceptions on the emerging socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. Based on an extensive literature review and in-depth interviews, it was able to illuminate a constellation of factors that serve as the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The study addressed these influential factors as a patterned tapestry of the perpetuation of Boko Haram insurgency by examining the socio-economic consequences of the insurgency, identifying possible techniques that can be adopted to resolve the crisis (with particular reference to the development of more appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies), and offering suggestions for the eradication of the insurgency in order to bring peace and stability that will give credence to the dream of a democratic Nigeria. In order to achieve the aim of this research inquiry, secondary data in the form of published literature such as journal articles, newspaper reports, textbooks and academic studies were examined, while electronic media as well as oral and institutional data were also scrutinized. Data that were collected directly from the field were utilized as the primary source of information that was relevant to the study of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. By reviewing and comparing the data as well as the theories and ideas put forward by various scholars and theorists in the field of criminology, issues pertaining to research methodology, conflict studies, terrorism and counter-terrorism were elucidated and utilised as a springboard for the study. A theoretical integration of the social exchange, the social conflict and the rational choice theories was advanced to explain each of the research questions that gave impetus to the study. Primary data collection involved extensive fieldwork engagement which involved qualitative data collection by means of in-depth interviews to interrogate the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria through the lens of key informant perspectives. The data that had been collected were analyzed with consistent reference to the specific objectives of the research endeavour, using the transcriptions of the data followed by content analysis. The fieldwork exercise successfully elicited rich and saturated qualitative data by means of in-depth interviews using semi-structured interviews guided by lead questions. The participants were selected using the purposive sampling technique.

The study report was structured into six chronological and related chapters. In brief:

- Chapter One introduced the research topic and provided the background of the research, the statement of the problem, and the significance of the study. This chapter highlighted the aim, scope, objectives, and research questions. A clarification of key concepts was also provided.

- Chapter Two presented an in-depth review of a wide range of related literature.

- Chapter Three illuminated the theoretical framework and theoretical models that underpinned the study with the aim of providing a blueprint upon which Boko Haram terrorism could be better explained and understood.

- Chapter Four focused on a description of the methodological strategies that were employed in the execution of the study. The ethical considerations that guided the study and the strengths and limitations that impacted the study, and how these latter challenges had been overcome, were also put under a discursive lens.

- Chapter Five focused on the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the data. The findings were discussed with reference to emergent themes for comparison and scholarly reflection.

- Chapter Six also discussed part of the study findings with reference to emergent themes for comparison and scholarly reflection.

- Chapter Seven (the current chapter) concludes this thesis. A summary of the main findings is presented, conclusions are drawn, policy recommendations are offered and suggestions for future studies are made.

In summarizing the salient findings of this study, the 'whiskey and hotel' principle of investigation was applied. This translates as the 5xW+H questions principle, where the answers to the research questions (i.e., the who, what, when, where, why and how) of the study became central to information-gathering in order to shed light on the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism, the patterns that maintain this phenomenon, the socio-economic consequences of this phenomenon, and solutions for improvement. The 5xW+H principle facilitated a capturing of data to address all the research questions of the study. In summary, the questions were arranged as follows.

W$_1$: Who are the Boko Haram terrorists?

W$_2$: When did they emerge in Nigeria?

W$_3$: Where are they located in Nigeria?

W$_4$: What are the causes and consequences of the crisis in Nigeria?

W$_5$: Why is the insurgency still surviving in Nigeria despite all attempts to stamp it out?

H   : How can the problem be resolved in Nigeria?

The above guiding questions were advanced to facilitate a summary of the research findings according to each objective of the study. Therefore, the main findings of the research are summarized on the basis of the structure and objectives of the study.

7.1.1   The 'who', 'when' and 'where' of Boko Haram terrorism

This section briefly addresses the questions of who the Boko Haram terrorists are, when they emerged in Nigeria, and where they are located in this country.

Boko Haram is an Islamist jihadist terrorist sect whose activities are endemic to the northern geo-political zone of Nigeria, but the sect is predominantly domiciled in the six north-eastern parts of the region. The guerrilla force is known to have established its notorious colony within the Nigerian system as far back as 2009, from whence it emerged more powerfully in 2010. In light of its nefarious activities in Nigeria, the group has been described as the most dangerous insurgent group that has ever featured in Nigeria because it poses a great threat to national security by destructively attacking organizations, both local and international, and laying a veritable foundation for gradually undermining the Nigerian state. Taking into account the widespread controversies underpinning Boko Haram's credo, the study found that the ideology of the sect is not focused on turning the Nigerian state into an Islamic country as many researchers have submitted (Pham, 2011; Cook, 2011; Adesoji, 2011; Idahosa, 2015; Pham, 2016; Thurston, 2016), but that its insurgency efforts predominantly attempt to eradicate a Western-oriented state that is perceived as undermining the rightful place of all Nigerians in society. Their agitating ideology is that Western secular education should be forbidden as it is accountable for the prevailing corruption of political leaders who routinely inflict hardships on civil society. The findings strongly suggest that the Boko Haram terrorists believe that the implementation of Sharia laws in lieu of constitutional laws should function better to provide solutions to the attendant crises of

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corruption, poverty, youth unemployment, human rights violations, moral decadence, structural inequality, material deprivation and the socio-economic needs of people within the Nigerian system (see Danjibo, 2009).

7.1.2   Addressing the 'what' question pertaining to Boko Haram

The study addressed questions that endeavoured to unearth the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, and it was found that the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism is not only religiously inclined but also subject to the non-fulfilment of people's socio-economic goals emanating from the violation of their fundamental human rights, corruption, poverty, and poor and unconstitutional democratic practices in the northern part of the Nigerian state. The findings thus illuminate by adding that the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism is a response to socio-economic crises, political and moral decadence, and dehumanization that pervaded in the north of the country after years of mismanagement and corruption by northern so-called democratic leaders. The research findings, thus, do not debunk the widespread assumption that the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism is founded on Islamic injunctions. Rather, the study positions the Islamic religion as a platform from which Islamist terrorists vent their anger and grievances against what they perceive as a corrupt, westernized system that denies the Nigerian society its rightful place.

The study also concludes that socio-economic factors vis-à-vis religious injunctions are the key elements in the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Factors such as poverty, youth unemployment, illiteracy, human rights violations, a false religious doctrine, economic deprivation, state-actor terrorism, bad governance occasioned by leadership deficits and failure, non-fulfilment of the social contract as regards the provision of basic amenities to the citizenry by the political state, severe corruption, greed, political deceit and injustice are highlighted as the offshoot of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

7.1.3   Why is Boko Haram maintained in Nigeria?

The question was asked why Boko Haram seemed to grow from strength to strength in Nigeria despite all attempts to stamp it out. The answer illuminated various influential factors that fuel the pattern of their operations and the maintenance of the crisis in Nigeria. The findings identified a high incidence of pervasive elite and political corruption within the Nigerian democratic system as the leading factor that fans the flame of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Community support for and affiliations to international organizations were reported as further leading factors that keep the ship of Boko Haram terrorism afloat

in Nigeria. The study found evidence to suggest that a powerful information network is the lifeline of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The study also successfully linked the survival potential of Boko Harm terrorism to the soft, weak and porous administration of the former president, Goodluck Jonathan, whose governance was open to pathological corruption and irrational embezzlement of public funds. He headed a regime that committed acts of corruption that were much more rife and rigorous than the actions of any democratic government that has ever ruled in Nigeria. The sustainability potential of the sect was also attributed to the unabated growth of Boko Haram's war force through the frequent recruitment of able-bodied and willing youths in northern Nigeria. Evidence-based reports that were uncovered by this study also attribute the disturbing trend of Boko Haram terrorism to the youth's rational behaviour that erupts due to poor democratic practices, dehumanization, poverty and unemployment, socio-economic crises, frustration, aggression, disenfranchisement, political dissatisfaction, and human rights violations, which all seem to have prompted many youths to join the terrorist group, thereby increasing the magnitude of the Boko Haram force that fights in large numbers against the state's security forces, recording repeated triumphs against them.

The study also identified Boko Haram members as 'freedom fighters' whose rationale for erupting into rebellion against an existing authority is, according to the theoretical underpinning of this study, fundamentally rational. Consequently, the study submits that it may be difficult and irrational for the sect to surrender at this point because their motives for the revolt have not been addressed, and this may account for the reason why the insurgency continues unabated in Nigeria.

7.1.4   What is the socio-economic impact of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria?

Pertaining to this question, Boko Haram terrorism may be described as an anathema to sustainable development in Nigeria, causing the protracted stalemate of recent times. Boko Haram was found to be a significant factor in the gradual decline of the socio-economic conditions of the country. On the one hand it has apparently discouraged both local and foreign investments, thereby eroding the socio-economic development of the Nigerian state, and on the other hand the insurgency has dramatically reduced the quality of life and standards of living of the populace by exacerbating conditions of poverty, wretchedness, unemployment, and health risks across the nation. Moreover, it has caused education disruptions across different levels of academic pursuits; created religious misconceptions and loss of trust among people; promoted the phenomena of kidnapping, unwanted

pregnancies and teenage motherhood; generated day-to-day panic; caused the loss of property and the deaths of thousands of people and incidents of internally displaced persons; destroyed human and social capital; lowered agricultural productivity in affected areas; produced political instability by truncating the relationship between citizens and the political state; and undermined democracy and the rule of law as well as the capacity of the country to promote growth and development. The findings thus revealed the adverse effects of Boko Haram terrorism that have hampered the socio-economic development of the Nigerian state by truncating all prominent sectors of the economy that could have influenced the positive growth and development of the nation. The study suggests that the adverse socio-economic conditions of the country are the consequences of Boko Haram terrorism as a punishment reward for the government and the political state for their breach of the social contract with respect to the provision of basic amenities to all eligible citizens.

7.1.5   How can the Boko Haram crisis be averted and eradicated?

Three basic approaches are suggested for the resolution of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria.

- Peaceful negotiations should be used as a new paradigm shift in addressing the Boko Haram crisis.

- Community policing should be employed as a secret but concerted remedy to resolve the on-going issue of Boko Haram insurgency and to prevent the sustainability of the crisis in the near future.

- Pre-emptive legal measures should be taken as the third approach. This principle is premised on the 'prevention is better than cure' approach which is based on the proposed United Nations counter-terrorism measures. This approach will require the collaborative efforts of the community, the government and institutions for efficient implementation.

Generally speaking, the study submits that poor democratic practices in Nigeria have encouraged a wide variety of terrorist activities in recent times. Since the Nigerian state's conversion from a military to a democratic state in May 1999, political hoodlums, who present themselves as eminent personalities, have abused the democratic dispensation by significantly and ruthlessly undermining the country's internal security environment and employing young men as foot soldiers to fulfil a host of their selfish goals (Onuoha, 2014). On the whole, the study therefore recommends that the Nigerian state should respond, as a

matter of urgency, to a new paradigm in counter-terrorism strategies by shifting from its adopted violent military approach to adopting more appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies in order to win the war against Boko Haram terrorism. This can best be accomplished through intelligence gathering, an emancipatory struggle, collaborative efforts, peaceful negotiations, and partnerships with local communities through a strong community policing system.

7.2   Conclusion

It is envisaged that the findings of this study as a scholarly inquiry may be used as a platform to reach a broad range of role players in contemporary society who may embrace the thesis that terrorism, which is best viewed as the most notorious societal monster and whose presence will always remain inimical to the progress of any nation, is entrenched in global society. Based on the findings of this study, it is posited that terrorism will constantly move forward to survive and, indeed, to succeed across generations if extreme appropriate measures are not taken to change its course and to eradicate this scourge. Terrorism is perceived as a perennial and ceaseless struggle that has long characterized conflict in human society. It was in this context that the research focused on Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria in its endeavour to elicit suggestions for a new approach to replace the ineffectual armed struggle strategy that has been adopted in Nigeria to address and mitigate the sustainability of the Boko Haram insurgency in its affected societies. A review of the literature revealed that Boko Haram terrorism has existed for over seven years and owes its survival to its ability to adapt and adjust to multi-national challenges and countermeasures, as well as its capacity to continue to identify and exploit its opponent's vulnerabilities. Moreover, an unjust 'democratic' political dispensation in Nigeria has created sympathisers for the Boko Haram cause among local communities who serve as its ears and eyes in many instances. To achieve any successes against Boko Haram terrorism, the findings suggest that efforts must be as tireless, innovative, and dynamic as those of terrorism itself (also see Hoffman, 2002). This suggests that the adopted armed struggle strategy by security forces in Nigeria is outdated and will remain ineffective, regardless of the government's declarations to the contrary.

This study thus engaged in an extensive and in-depth research inquiry to unravel the intricacies surrounding the phenomenon of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. It dwelled on theoretical reflections of the social exchange, social conflict and rational choice theories to bring to the fore a better understanding of the socio-economic variables that produce,

reproduce and sustain the crisis in Nigeria. The outcome of the research confirms Boko Haram terrorism as a political crisis that stems from the failure of the Nigerian state to make socio-economic facilities available to all eligible and law-abiding citizens of the northern states – an effect that is now keenly felt across a wide range of the Nigerian society, with an extension to neighbouring states' communities as well. The study found sufficient evidence to argue that religious extremism and the evolution of the Boko Haram sect into terrorism can be associated with the failure of the government to engage in a uniform and fair distribution of socio-economic resources to the north-eastern citizens of the country. The findings furthermore attribute Boko Haram's infamous 'successes' over seven years of irrepressible and nefarious activities in Nigeria to a high incidence of pervasive elite and political corruption; community support; affiliations to international organizations; a powerful information network; a security deficiency in the country; the soft, weak and porous administration of an erstwhile president; poor democratic practices; and frequent recruitment of able-bodied and willing youths in northern Nigeria. The study suggests, at this juncture, that the only way to impede the progress of and the sustainability patterns of the insurgency group is to address the causal efficacy of each of the foregoing trigger factors that have for a long time fanned the flame of terrorist insurgency in Nigeria.

It was found that numerous efforts had been made and were being made at the time of the study to alleviate the various problems associated with Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. However, these efforts have been largely ineffective in curbing terrorism in Nigeria; thus the suggestions made by this study to eradicate the problem will certainly leave the door wide open for further contributions by societies, governments, and non-governmental and international organizations to the discourse so that the effects of all efforts can be maximized in resolving the affliction of the communities that are affected by terrorism in Nigeria. In this context, the essential contribution of the study to the terrorism discourse in Nigeria is that the conception of a religious Islamic fervour as the root cause of Boko Haram terrorism has not been contested, and that a paradigm shift in the counter-terrorism strategies to resolve the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria is recommended.

The study projects that, as long as the pervasive socio-economic problems caused by unequal hegemonic power exchange as expressed in socio-political, ethno-religious and cultural forms persist in the Nigerian society, the insurgency by terrorists will recur and will be sustained as an inevitable enterprise and a social reaction to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Nigeria. On the whole, whether military or peaceful negotiations resolve the problem or

not, and whether it is a religious, economic or political crisis, the study emphasizes the need for governments at various levels to put in place more effective life-changing programmes that will mitigate socio-economic hardships and prioritize satisfactory conditions of living for all law-abiding citizens. This will hopefully prevent the sustained perpetration of violence, terrorism and other crime-related social vices that may persist in plaguing the peace of the Nigerian state.

7.3 Recommendations

Following a wide array of calamities inflicted on Nigeria by the Boko Haram terrorist group and the failure of all attempts to resolve the problem and find lasting solutions, it has become pressing to design and subsequently implement effective, pragmatic and curative policy recommendations as well as prevention and intervention programmes that will resolve the problem and prevent the future occurrence of similar phenomena in Nigeria. On the basis of the findings of this study, the following recommendations are offered.

7.3.1 Provisions to address socio-economic needs

Because the study has identified socio-economic problems as a primary cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, governments at both national and local levels should ensure that socio-economic resources are uniformly distributed to the wider society. In this regard, the government of Nigeria is mandated to provide instrumentality towards the sustenance and amelioration of the human condition. This should chiefly occur through the provision of basic goods and services that will fulfil the needs of the citizens such as job opportunities, political recognition, formal education, housing, nutrition, health care facilities, clothing, an effective public transport system, internet facilities, communication and other resources needed to improve citizens' standard of living and quality of life. By the same token, local governments and democratic leaders should make information and basic services available to the citizens so that they can understand the adverse consequences of state of insecurity on their quality of life and on sustainable development. This will enable policy makers to design and adopt more appropriate policies and intervention strategies that will enhance the general well-being of the populace.

More importantly, government and NGOs should be sensitized towards making the special needs and concerns of common citizens a priority, as well as making socio-economic and political infrastructures available in all regions. This may safeguard moral rectitude and

ensure effective individual and group contributions to national development. Because the study exposed prevailing corruption as the number one public enemy in Nigeria, there is a need for the government of Nigeria to establish strict legal measures at all levels against individuals who are caught in the act of corruption, with particular reference to the embezzlement of public funds to sponsor terrorism. This will help in preventing the sustainability of terrorism and other related offences in Nigeria. Also, due to pervasive corruption that seems to be embedded within the government system and which hinders the efficiency of the armed forces, the government should start looking at solutions from socio-economic and political angles rather than maintaining a military approach in its efforts to eradicate terrorism. This recommendation is premised on the fact the cause of the crisis was shown to have had its origin in socio-economic and political issues rather than in a particular religious ideology.

By taking such positive steps, terrorists and all terrorist sponsors will be dissuaded from taking undue advantage of human conditions to lure and recruit law-abiding citizens into their web of terrorism.

7.3.2 Re-orientation of political values

There should be a re-orientation of political values in among members of the Nigerian government and potential leaders. The ruling elite must re-orientate their mindset to accommodate political and ideological values to serve the people selflessly and magnanimously in accordance with the interests of the populace. There is an urgent need to change the perceptions of political office holders towards democratic dispensations, making them believe that the interests of civil society are paramount and should be taken into consideration in decision-making. They should always remember that democracy implies a government of the people by the people and for the people. In this regard, they should be made to realize that they occupy that political position by election and not by selection. Therefore, it is mandatory that they give back to their respective societies who elected them. In the broader context, and based on lessons learnt in this study with reference to terrorist insurgency in neighbouring countries, politicians across the African continent should stop making politics a do-or-die affair or recruiting able-bodied youths as foot soldiers for political violence and radicalization. There is a need for people to stop being desperate for political positions with the ultimate intention of misappropriating public funds to the detriment of the poor masses. The fact that this study identified an African democratic government as a breeding ground for predisposing the youth towards terrorism demonstrates

that there is an urgent need for African leaders, particularly in Nigeria, to adjust this aspect of their political culture that tends towards corruption, youth brainwashing, hooliganism, oppression, and the dehumanization of the poor masses rather than serving their people through transparency and accountability.

7.3.3 Accountability and transparency among government officials and political office holders

Transparency and accountability among political office holders is a good recipe for the reduction and prevention of corruption, oppression, radicalization, misappropriation of public funds, and societal conflict that torment civil society. The principle of joining accountability and transparency should guide the activities of state functionaries, thereby making them answerable to the public and accepting accountability for their actions according to moral and ethical standards. This is what is referred to as 'accountability'.

Transparency is conceived as the process whereby government officials and political office holders are meticulously open and honest in the performance of their duties and functions. Conforming to the joint principle of transparency and accountability should help alleviate tendencies for widespread corruption among topmost civil servants and political office holders. However, government should make arrangement for appropriate incentives and motivations for officials as standard institutional practices. When the objectives of accountability and transparency of government functionaries are established across different government institutions, there is a high possibility of good governance and a uniform distribution of socio-economic resources which form the backbone of human existence. Hence there should also be a radical reduction in incidences of corruption and institutional conflict such as those that pioneered Boko Haram terrorism in north-eastern Nigeria.

7.3.4 Youth empowerment programmes

This has to do with the provision of equitable opportunities for young men and women who possess competence and abilities to enable them to participate in key aspects of life. Such empowerment programmes should incorporate decision-making strategies in political and economic aspects of social life, as well as the provision of vocational skills for able-bodied unemployed youths. The Federal Government of Nigeria should lift the embargo on employment and embark on a recruitment exercise for all categories of able-bodied youths who are willing to work, but who have remained unemployed through no fault of their own.

If jobs are made available to millions of unemployed youths, it is hoped that there will be a radical decrease in their involvement in terrorism and extremism in Nigeria.

Many effective policies should be put in place to combat violence and terrorism in Nigeria. These include economic policies aimed at eliminating poverty and hunger, which are the springboard of Boko Haram terrorism in the country according to the findings of this study. Other policies should address youth welfare. A rehabilitation and health policy should also address the needs of youths that need rehabilitation should they be released from the clutches of the likes of the Boko Haram group, and programs and support mechanisms should facilitate youths' full absorption into society as worthy citizens who will contribute to the sustainable development of the country in the future.

7.3.5   Collaborative fight against corruption

This study exposed corruption as the number one public enemy in Nigeria; its presence is pervasive and inimical to the progress of the Nigerian nation and sustains the Boko Haram crisis in the country. The government should therefore engage in collaborative efforts to fight corruption at all levels of government and to rid the Nigerian system of this menace. Strict legal measures should be taken against individuals (regardless of their socio-political status) who are caught engaging in any form of corrupt practices, who demonstrate an inordinate ambition to misappropriate public funds, and who violate the fundamental human rights or moral code of behaviour in favour of a selfish agenda to the detriment of the poor masses. Achieving this goal will require state governments to strengthen and reform anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). They should be compelled by regulations and regular evaluations to function more effectively in accordance with the motives upon which they were established. If corruption is totally wiped out of the Nigerian socio-political system, the possibility of people stealing public funds and government resources to facilitate and finance terrorism will be eradicated. More importantly, the study suggests that the important legacy of the Magna Carta of 1215 be enshrined, strengthened and enforced to function within the Nigerian social system so that everyone, including all leaders irrespective of socio-political status, should be made equal before the law. Implementing this time-honoured agreement will then serve as a renewed antidote to corruption, treasonable felony and the illicit violation of fundamental human rights across Nigeria and, eventually, across a broad range of African societies that may become inspired by the Nigerian success story of a true democracy.

7.3.6   Enactment of draconian laws against terrorism and terrorist sponsors

This study found that most terrorist activities are difficult to submerge because of their affiliation to some powerful group or groups of people and disreputable organizations in society who volunteer to sponsor them from their financial and information reservoirs. It is therefore unavoidable that, while a terrorist group has covert connections with its sponsors, terrorism will always be sustained and continue to eat deep into the social and economic fabric of a society. On this account, this study suggests that some draconian measures be enacted against anyone who is found guilty of, or who is even suspected of, sponsoring terrorism in Nigeria. Such measures may include the death sentence or life imprisonment; criminalizing the financing of terrorism across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria; and freezing without delay any funds or resources related to persons or organizations involved in acts of terrorism both at home and abroad. This will have to be done with the assistance of international organizations as the funds may be lodged in foreign accounts. All forms of financial support for terrorist groups should thus be blocked and withheld. This can best be achieved through governmental efforts, institutional initiatives, community engagement and cooperation, suppressing the provision of safe havens, and blocking any sustenance support for terrorists. This can be facilitated through community policing and governmental efforts and the sharing of information regarding any terrorist group or groups that plan to engage in terrorist acts. Community policing, cooperating among government departments and with other governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition and prosecution of those involved in such acts are practices that should be honed if terrorism is to be combated effectively. This can best be facilitated through community policing and governmental efforts. Taking such positive steps will discourage terrorism, terrorist sponsors and those who are still planning covertly to finance terrorism in order to achieve a number of selfish goals.

7.3.7   Enforcement of the rule of law

The government of Nigeria should engage in constitutional reform to ensure that everyone is equal before the law, irrespective of one's official position and social status in society. Therefore, anyone caught or suspected of encouraging terrorism should face the wrath of the law, regardless of the position he or she may be holding in society. More importantly, the supremacy and the enforcement of the rule of law must be adjudged sacrosanct and inviolable so as to ensure the sanctity of fundamental human rights and to mitigate against

the possibility for fundamental conflicts of interest which may eventually engender the eruption of crises such as Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

7.3.8 A paradigm shift in counter-terrorism measures: the peaceful negotiation approach

The comprehensive findings of this study suggest undeniably that the Nigerian government should engage in a new epistemological shift in its approach to counter-terrorism strategies. This implies that it should shift from the militarized, armed conflict approach to more culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies in order to fight Boko Haram terrorism effectively. The study argues that more than half a decade of the 'fire-for-fire' approach towards the terrorist group has not produced any desired results. This pragmatically suggests that terrorism cannot always be fought by means of deploying conventional weapons alone. On this note, it is suggested that the Nigerian government should, at this crucial point, seek remedies of another dimension. One such remedy is the adoption of a diplomatic approach involving psychological and ideological strategies such as peaceful negotiations on equal terms in order to achieve success in the fight against the insurgents. Empirical evidence to showcase the efficacy of this approach is reiterated: "The two-week negotiations between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram—brokered by officials from the International Federation of the Red Cross and [the] Swiss government, among others−arguably led to the release of twenty-one of the Chibok girls on October 13, 2016 (Al Jazeera, 2016) and "…as the negotiations continued, another cohort of eighty-two Chibok girls was released on 7 May 2017" (Olofinbiyi, 2017).

Conversely, the findings related to the military approach suggest that, over seven years of violent struggle with the terrorist group, the armed forces have not achieved any noteworthy successes other than the death of some terrorist, who must have been quickly replaced by the recruitment of more young people as the data revealed that many youngsters have become quite willing to join the insurgents for food, clothing, weapons and safety. Therefore, a growing intensity of Boko Haram terrorism has been experienced in the traumatized regions. The advent of relatively successful negotiations (the reader should note that not all the girls were subsequently released) thus serves as a point of departure and hope for all nations that negotiate with extremist groups such as Boko Haram. In brief, it is submitted that a 'soft-handed' option could be a better option than a 'hard-handed' approach in resolving violent radicalization and terrorism.

7.3.9   A community policing approach

This study identified a community policing approach as another practicable paradigm shift in the counterterrorism strategy. The study suggests that the Nigerian government should adopt this approach as a litmus test in resolving the Boko Haram problem should the negotiation strategy fail. The findings revealed that community policing holds a hidden secret as it is a powerful information channel which is a viable tool in criminal investigations. It therefore has high potential for achieving greater results in crime prevention, reduction and control than any other strategy. Based on this finding, the government should institutionalize and strengthen non-uniform community police forums across the northern region as an extended arm of the police force by, if possible, empowering them with a policing mandate but making them remain within their local communities where they can still have access to the information network that will help resolve crises and prevent the occurrence of any terrorist attacks that may pose a threat.

Secondly, the study urges the government to look into this approach and to engage intelligence officers both in the army and the police to discharge a collaborative plan with community police members to unearth authentic Boko Haram members and their supporters both at home and abroad. There is also an immediate need for government and civil society to stop undermining the efficiency of these people and to recognize their powerful role in crime reduction and control. It should be noted that these people have the potential to easily access and liaise with members of the local communities where Boko Haram operates. The study further suggests that the government should, even though negotiations are on-going, start looking in this direction as plan B in case the negotiation approach fails.

Thirdly, the government should strengthen community police forums across all states of the Federation by making them collaborate with the security forces. In this manner the military will be better prepared and informed as the community police will work with them as a powerful information weapon to augment the efforts of the military troops. The idea of community policing, if formally and officially incorporated into the security system of Nigeria, could eventually be one of the best approaches to prevent future occurrences of crime, terrorism and other related social vices that may disrupt the envisaged peaceful existence of the Nigerian populace. Though community police members are also human. However, potential for (for example) bribery, manipulation, intimidation and exploitation, which characterize the Nigerian system should be carefully addressed in achieving this goal.

7.3.10 Youth education, orientation and development

Several studies have shown that education has a strong capacity to modify the behaviour of the youth either negatively or positively, depending on the quality of the information provided. Thus, education has a high potential for influencing the minds of the youth in a positive direction if appropriate information and incentives are provided. The study thus urges the governments of the federal states to incorporate a new module into the curriculum that should focus on terrorism and conflict studies. This should be enough to provide the youth with information on the social, emotional and psychological ills of terrorism on society and youth development. Based on the findings of the research, the lack of access to formal education as a factor that renders a sizeable number of northern youths vulnerable to Boko Haram brainwashing and recruitment is highlighted. Because education stands out as a major factor that influences behaviour, it can be used effectively to introduce behaviour modification in youths and in society as a whole. With improved education, various aspects of human life will be addressed, thereby facilitating a positive perception of people's worldview and a rise in the general living standards of society. To achieve this goal, government should sensitize northerners to the importance of education and contribute more to education in order to change the perspectives of northerners on Western education in order to prevent future occurrences of terrorism. Secondly, there is an urgent need to implement programmes that will cater for the conditions of illiterate youths in the northern states by making formal education available to them all. This programme could be initiated and tagged "Operation flushing out ignorance from the North" with the primary objective of sweeping away high incidences of illiteracy and ignorance caused by a lack of access to educational opportunities in the region. The study pays tribute to the formal education efforts of the Almajiris in the north, stressing that they should be trained and empowered with educational facilities and good jobs. The study also adds that daily spiritual discussions that will question the basis of the ideology of violence should be encouraged among the youth who are most susceptible to terrorist recruitment. With these strategies in place, the possibility of youths falling prey to terrorists' false religious teachings and recruitment should become issues of the past.

Finally, it is hoped that by taking these positive steps towards solving the various problems of the youths of the north in terms of their educational development, their potential for degenerating into terrorism as a means of compensating for their conditions of hopelessness,

poverty and severe unemployment will be minimized. This could also result in a drastic reduction of the effects of terrorism on the region.

7.3.11 Fortification of the coercive security apparatuses of the state

This study found that the Nigerian security forces, particularly the armed forces and the police, are weakened by a lack of modern and sophisticated weaponry and a digitalized infrastructure to ensure effective and efficient operations in their effort to protect and defend the territory against internal aggression. These lapses are reportedly caused by severe corruption in the administration of the military, circumstances which can allegedly (and sadly) concern the army chiefs too. This implies that there is an urgent need for the government to formulate and implement appropriate policies that will ensure the provision of modern technology and improved weaponry to allow the armed forces to discharge their duties more effectively. Until state governments can review their policies and eradicate corruption, the military will remain the inefficient puppets of a corrupt regime. If the military is placed in a position where it has access to better technology, informed intelligence and security administration systems to fight terrorism, it will achieve the desired results.

The engagement of United Nations forces may also be cardinal in resolving the problem of terrorism in Nigeria. For example, intelligence training of members of the armed forces and the procurement of military aircraft or much cheaper modern drones to monitor and track down Boko Haram hideouts should be considered. Achieving this would go a long way in strengthening the security network of the Nigerian Army.

There is also a need to strengthen the border security network by sanctioning armed forces to secure the borders using sophisticated apparatus so that all immigrants coming into the country can be properly checked by detectives and powerful computerized investigative tools.

Finally, for the military approach against Boko Haram terrorists to be more efficacious, government should abide by the code that what the Nigerian Army does is 'secret till the day of execution'. By adhering to this approach, the media must be compelled to refrain from announcing on radio and television what the armed forces' strategies and plans of action are. Training more security forces and the deployment of military troops to the Sambisa Forest are also imperative. If the suggested measures are taken into cognizance, the

military will be afforded better opportunities to reposition their strategies for greater efficiency.

7.3.12 Community sensitization

Designing awareness programmes about terrorism and the adverse effects of such acts and disseminating the information among communities are vital requirements, particularly in deep rural communities that are most vulnerable to attack. The level of awareness of the implications of terrorism should be heightened among the populace. There should be more enlightenment programmes by the government, international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union, the African Union and NGOs. Such programmes should emphasize the extent to which terrorism can bring a nation and her future to ruin. The media, schools, churches, mosques, market centres and relevant associations should be actively involved in this campaign. Portable electronic devices such as cellular phones, tablets, and I-pads that are fast and reliable means of disseminating information across the country should be encouraged in creating awareness about terrorism and its perilous effects on sustainable development. This also implies infrastructural upgrading to ensure that these devices function optimally.

7.3.13 Rehabilitation of and care for terrorist abductees

A programme that involves the provision of psychological and emotional support to individuals who were abducted and set free by terrorists is vital. Based on the conceptual and theoretical argument of the differential association theory, this study suggests that there is a high possibility that these people were indoctrinated due to the long-term interaction that they shared with the insurgents. It is noteworthy that anyone who has been abducted by a terrorist group is like a time-bomb that can explode at any time. Therefore, state governments should not take their well-being after their release for granted, but they should put rehabilitation programmes in place that will constantly examine and re-examine the psychological and mental conditions of these people, particularly the released Chibok girls. Special attention should be given to these girls because there is a high probability that some may sympathise with their abductors and thus with further acts of terrorism if no adequate psycho-medical help is rendered to them. These efforts should continue from time to time until they are confirmed medically and mentally stable from the depression they suffer from, after which they can be fully reintegrated into society.

7.3.14 Discouraging the usurpation of power and authority

The illicit abuse of power and authority by government officials, political office holders and security operatives should be strictly discouraged and monitored. The study established that the undue abuse of power and authority is among the factors that usually pioneer non-state terrorism which led to the emergence and contributes to the escalation of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. There is therefore an urgent need to re-orientate all government officials, be it politicians or security operatives, to stop inflicting wickedness and unfair treatment on citizens. This will go a long way in establishing a good working relationship between security operatives and citizens, as well as averting any impending conflicts that may arise between the citizens and the political state.

7.3.15 Provision of pre-emptive safety measures

Pre-emptive safety measures that involve the use of modern technology should be placed at strategic points on the streets of each city to record any untoward activities. Safety measures such as emergency call boxes, cameras, emergency notification systems (phone, emails, and text messages), mounted speakers and sirens, access locks, remote sensing satellite imagery, a border movement control system, information linkage devices, video cameras in strategic places and CCTV will help promote an environment that is safe from crime and terrorism. The eradication of arms and ammunition dealings that result in illicit arms falling into the hands of civilians is another measure to prevent terrorism in society. For the effective functioning of this measure, it is suggested that the community police be mostly mandated with the responsibility of monitoring these devices so that they can alert the security operatives within their jurisdiction for rapid response in case of any emergency or impending crime-related challenges.

Finally, the study suggests a review of Nigeria's Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as well as the institutionalization of strict regulations that compel the federal government to monitor and evaluate state governments in order for some of the above recommendations to materialize and produce more effective and desired results that will give the country a facelift from all sorts of ethno-religious, political and socio-economic problems which have, on frequent occasions, rekindled and fuelled the flames of terrorism in Nigeria.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

It is important to do more research on the topic of this study because it will result in a greater understanding of why acts of terrorism are prevalent in human society in general, and in Nigeria specifically. Although terrorism may not be totally eradicated from society, having more knowledge will help security structures prevent acts of terrorism from increasing unabatedly. In addition, it may provide appropriate aid and support for those who have already been victims of terrorism. More specifically, systematic research in the area of terrorism and conflict studies is constantly needed to devise appropriate policies and laws that should curtail incidences of terrorism in Nigeria and elsewhere.

In this context, the nature, design and the findings of this study provide high quality assurance that the information that has been made available can be used for much broader research in this field, particularly if a larger pool of the population is sampled. Such a pool may include captured terrorists and surviving victims of attacks and kidnappings as well. Irrespective of the array of limitations encountered in the study, this research can be modelled as a baseline for informative inquiries by similar studies. It is thus believed that this research will inspire others to explore the gaps that were left by design or by accident in this study. For the benefit of such researchers, the areas in the northern geo-political zone which the researcher could not cover due to the growing intensity of the nefarious activities by Boko Haram should be attended to. Because the research participants were concentrated around the Abuja Municipal Area Council of the Federal Capital Territory alone, other interested researchers may extend their sample to include representatives from other senatorial districts and interest groups as well. This will open the door widely for future comparative research findings.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

15 December 2016

Mr Sogo A Olofinbiyi 216053646
School of Applied Human Sciences – Criminology & Forensic Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Olofinbiyi

Protocol reference number: HSS/1543/016D
Project title: Socio-Economic context of Boko-Haram Terrorism in Nigeria.

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 4 July 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanitities & Social Scinces Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Jean Steyn
cc Academic Leader Research:
cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbic@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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APPENDIX   B

ABUJA MUNICIPAL AREA COUNCIL
Area 10, Garki-Abuja, F.C.T
info@amac.com.ng.
OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC RELATION OFFICER

24th November 2016
Mr Sogo Angel Olofinbiyi (SN 216053646)
School of Applied Human Sciences
College of Humanities
Howard College Campus
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban, South Africa
Email: olofinbiyis@ukzn.ac.za -stynj@ukzn.ac.za

Dear Mr Olofinbiyi,

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research within the premises of Abuja Municipal Area Council, towards your postgraduate studies provided ethical clearance has been obtained from your institution.

Please note that Abuja Municipal Area Council will not contact your participants on your behalf. You will be required to recruit participants based on voluntary intent to participate. We note that your research topic is:

"Socio-Economic Context of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria"

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by performing interviews and /or focus group discussion with residents of Abuja Municipal Area Council.

Kindly ensure that all required information about the research is duly communicated to the participants and data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely,

SIGN: Public Relation Officer
AMAC

INFORMED CONSENT

TITLE OF STUDY
Socio-economic Context Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria
 PRINCIPALINVESTIGATOR
Sogo Angel Olofinbiyi
Criminology and Forensic Studies
University of KwaZulu Natal (Howard College)
[+27713870178]
[olofinbiyis@ukzn.ac.za]

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.
  The purpose of this study is to examine the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria with a view to achieving the following specific objectives:

 i. To examine public perceptions on the root causes of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.
 ii. To investigate the patterns that maintain Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria
 iii. To examine the socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.
 iv. To identify the possible techniques that can be adopted to resolve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria through the development of appropriate culturally acceptable conflict resolution strategies

STUDY PROCEDURES
This research will be done through an in-depth interview using semi-structured interview as research instrument to explore a subjective understanding of people's perception of the causes, maintenance, and consequences of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. A total of **40** participants is expected to be selected for the study to avoid any data collection and analysis problem that may result from larger samples. Five **(5)** informants are intended to be selected as representatives of all the stakeholders used for the study in order to allow for more comparative research study. As a participant you only need to flow freely as you like concerning the subject of the study. Secondly, we may seek your consent by making a request for your photograph or have your voice recorded on tape.

Your involvement in the study will be through answering the interview questions, which will take about 20- 50 minutes, thus it will not take much of you time. The interview will only be done once and once the research is done, the copy may be available on request.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses to this interview will be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the doing the following:

- Code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents
- When the researcher is done with the research, the interview findings/results will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher. In other words, participant data will be kept confidential.

CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have questions at any time about this study, or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study, you may contact the researcher whose contact information is provided on the first page. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the primary investigator, please contact the researcher's supervisor Professor Steyn at 0312607345, email steynj@ukzn.ac.za

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed

CONSENT

I hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.
I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire
Participant's signature _____ Date _____
Researcher's signature _____ Date _____

Audio-recording Permission (Please tick accordingly)
   i.   **I hereby consent to have this interview recorded** ☐

   ii.   **I hereby do NOT consent to have this interview recorded** ☐

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

SCHOOL OF APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY AND FORENSIC STUDIES

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

Introduction and Informed Consent Page.

Dear Participants,

Sincere greetings to you! I am Sogo Angel Olofinbiyi- a doctoral student in the Department of Criminology and Forensic Studies, School of Applied Human Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. I am working on an exploratory study to examine the socio-economic context of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. The study is purely for academic purpose and it is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctoral degree in Criminology and Forensic Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Your honest answers to the questions will help make the study successful. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and it will not be shown to other persons; and will not by any means constitute any danger to you. At this point, do you want me to go ahead?

Should you have any queries, please feel free to contact:

Sogo Angel Olofinbiyi   --------------- *+27713870178 / +2348062341964*

Email:sogoukzn@gmail.com

Thank You!

TOPIC:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY INVOLVING 40 PARTICIPANTS IN ABUJA,

NIGERIA

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

SECTION A
Date of Interview--
Start Time---
End Time---
Name of Interviewer---
Language of Interview ---

SECTION B: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF THE PARTICIPANTS

1.   What is your age/gender ---?
2.   What is your religious affiliation---?
3.   What is your occupation--?
4.   What is your current marital status---?
5.   What is your educational attainment---?
6.   What is your ethnic background/State of Origin / Nationality------------------------------?

SECTION C: PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROOT CAUSE OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA.
    7.   Are you aware of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria?
    8.   If Yes to question 7, how did you hear about them (Do responses include media, friends or internet? If not, probe further)
    9.   Who do you think these people are? Do you think they are Muslims or Christians? (Respondents may probe further).

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10. Do you agree that Boko Haram terrorism has a cause or they just emerged from no way?
11. If you agree, then what do you think is the cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria? Or what is your opinion of Islamic religion as a cause as people assume?
12. Is Boko Haram terrorism caused by one factor? if not, what are the other factors responsible for the cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria (Respondents may probe in-depth)

SECTION D: PATTERN OF MAINTENANCE OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

13. How do you think Boko Haram terrorism has been surviving in Nigeria from 2010 to date? (Respondents may probe further.)
14. Do you agree that Boko Haram terrorists have community and government support? If you agree, probe further.
15. Do you think they have international affiliation and support?(Respondents may probe further)
16. In addition to Questions 14 & 15, do you think the present democratic government also helps their maintenance in Nigeria? If Yes, how then do you think they have been surviving in Nigeria under democracy without being defeated despite all the government's efforts long put in place to arrest the situation?. (Respondents may probe further.)

SECTION E: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

17. Does Boko Haram terrorism have any negative effects on the country?

18. If yes to Question 17, can you please mention any effects you know ?(Do responses include poor standard of living, health hazards, political instability, religious misconception, youth degeneration and brain-washing, ethnic segregation and cultural discrimination, poor economy, unemployment, poverty, incidents of Internally Displaced citizens ,low educational standard. If not , probe further)

19. Do you think that Boko Haram terrorism can give the country a bad name? If Yes, how?

20. What effects does Boko Haram terrorism have on youth development in Nigeria? (Respondents may probe further.)
21. What effects does it have on national development? If any, please mention.
22. Does it affect our relationship with international organizations? If it does, how? (Respondents may probe further)

SECTION F: POSSIBLE TECHNIQUES TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF BOKO HARAM TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

23. Can there be any solution(s) to Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria ?
24. If Yes to Question 23, what do you think are the possible solutions?
25. If these solutions are implemented, do you think there would be an end to Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria ?
26. Or Do you see this military approach as the best solution to end the war of Boko Haram terrorism?

27.   Can solution come through peaceful negotiation with the terrorists? If Yes, how can it happen? Or what is your opinion about community support as a source of help?
28.   Do you think partnership with international organizations can solve the problem of Boko Haram terrorism?
29.   In your own opinion, do you think the present approach by the government can help solve the problem of Boko Haram crisis?
30.   If NO to question 29, what do you think can be done to resolve the Boko Haram problem and prevent future occurrence of such crisis in Nigeria?

Thank you for your co-operation and time!
Sogo Angel Olofinbiyi