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To what extent has the leadership and security structures influenced the rise and fall of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria

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Title:

To what extent has the leadership and security structures influenced the rise and fall of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria.

Hypothesis:

Has the security structures of the Buhari regime led to the decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria?

Author's Name:

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Thesis Statement:

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of International Relations at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

_____

(Signature of Candidate)

_____ day of _____ 20___ in _____

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DECLARATION

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1.1 Introduction:

"Nigeria is one of the most resource endowed and richest nations in sub-Saharan Africa, and it has the second-largest economy, smaller only than that of South Africa, yet its people remain among the poorest in the world."[1] Boko Haram insurgency has plagued the state of Nigeria since 2009 but in recent years, the growth and power of the Islamic group has dwindled. This paper will concentrate on the rise and decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. The factors that have impacted the rise of Islamic extremism in the country will be further analysed, specifically looking at governance and corruption, poverty, development (social and economic), religion and ethnicity, and security. The main aspect of this paper will look at a comparative analysis between the reign of Goodluck Jonathan and current President Buhari, and how their different leadership styles and tactics against Boko Haram has led to the past rise and recent decline of the insurgent group.

The rise of Boko Haram escalated during the Presidential term of Goodluck Jonathan. The factors that contributed to the rise of Islamic group during the period of 2010 to 2015, was attributed to poor governmental structures; high levels of corruption; religious divisions; financial, social and political insecurities; and high levels of unemployment. Poor Governance in Nigeria has played a central role in the development and growth of Islamic extremism on the African continent. The level of corruption in the governmental structures has caused discontent and frustration among the people, which has led to other avenues being explored in order to gain the trust and assurances that the governments do not provide. Religion in Nigeria is diverse and has played a key role in the instability that plagues the country today. Religious inequality and fragmentation has been a part of the states' social structure since independence and has adhered to Islamic extremism that now exists in the region. Financial, social and political insecurity has been present in Nigeria for centuries. Unemployment and numbers of uneducated people within the country, is one of the key factors that has led to the growth and development of Islamic extremism in Nigeria. President Muhammadu Buhari who came into power in May 2015 and is still the leader of Nigeria today, has played an instrumental role in the decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. President Buhari's new focus on enhanced collaborative efforts with neighbouring countries and increased assistance from western powers

[1] Akanle, O., "The Development Exceptionality of Nigeria: The Context of Political and Social Currents", in Indiana University Press, Vol. 59, No. 3, 2013, p. 32

in the fight against the extremist insurgency, for example the creation of the MJTF (Multinational Joint Task Force), has significantly reduced Boko Haram's popularity and hold on the Northern states within the country. The use of different tactics and the implementation of these tactics, by President Buhari in recent years, has played an instrumental role in the slow decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. The specific strategies and tactics applied by President Buhari will be further elaborated on in the body of the paper. In addition the concluding remarks will focus on recommendations on how Nigeria can move forward and the newly formed initiatives that will continue the sustainable growth of the country, particularly in the Northern regions.

1.2 Brief Historical Narrative:

History has shown that Islamic extremism in Nigeria started centuries before the appearance of Boko Haram. "The Sokoto Caliphate, which was formed through Jihad, to combat corruption and despotism within Northern and Southern Nigeria between 1804 and 1808"[2], which marked the start of Sharia Law being implemented in Northern Nigeria and some regions in the South.[3] The Sokoto Caliphate remains to this day and is an important part of Muslim history in Nigeria and how the implementation of Sharia Law and Jihad could unite a region that is so divided.[4] In one instance of radical and extreme behaviour taken by the Sokoto Caliphate was in "1949, when the Sultan ordered the destruction of certain Tijaniyya mosques"[5].

The Caliphate did however come to an end through British colonial rule in 1903.[6] The British colonial era within Nigeria made significant judicial, political and cultural changes, limiting Sharia Law and banning any extremist tendencies within it.[7] The Muslims in the North saw this as a rise of 'Christian Jurisprudence over its Islamic Judicial heritage'[8]. The growth of religious tensions and divisions between the North and South of Nigeria was as a result of British colonial rule.

"In 1960 both the predominantly Muslim North and the predominantly Christian South was united as one, a secular constitution was drawn up and independence was granted."[9] Nigeria's

[2] Thomson, V. "Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria" in Global Security Studies, Vol. 3, Iss. 3, 2012, p. 47
[3] Loc cit.
[4] Loc cit.
[5] Alao, A., Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria, http://www.securityanddevelopment.org/pdf/ESRC%20Nigeria%20Overview.pdf, February 2009, p. 8
[6] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[7] Thomson, V. "Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria" in Global Security Studies, Vol. 3, Iss. 3, 2012, p. 48
[8] Loc cit.
[9] Loc cit.

population consists of 50% Muslims, 40% Christians and 10% animist, the animist population lives predominantly in the South.[10] Nigeria's "first Republican rule was replaced by the military, who ruled over the state for 13 years"[11]. The second leader of Nigeria, Shehu Shagari[12] remained in power from 1979 to 1983, following another military rule for a further 15 years.[13] 1999 marked the beginning of civilian rule in Nigeria, Nigeria became a democratic state.[14]

Military rule for over thirty years in Nigeria inevitably transformed the culture and norms of the state and the people. 'Militarized psyche'[15] is one of the many affects the long period of military rule in the country has left behind. This has in turn affected the post 1999 democratic state of Nigeria. In the post 1999 democratic state many military men become politicians, another reason for the over flow of military rule into the democratic political life of Nigeria.[16] "The moral content of democracy includes that of freedom, inclusion, equality, equity, welfare, negotiations and compromise."[17] The past military rule in Nigeria has rejected the implementation of these morals and instead had operations that include "combat rather than dialogue, disregard of court orders and violation of human rights"[18].

The effects of the extended military rule in Nigeria has had lasting effects on the new democratic systems, as well as cultures and social behaviour within the state. The Military rule in addition played a role in subduing societal and religious grievances. As a result of this after the civilian rule was granted in 1999, all the repressed feelings of the past exploded into Nigerian society.[19]

An example related to the overflow of military tactics into democratic systems in Nigeria can be related to the "authorized deployment of military troops to 'Odi' Bayelsa State"[20]. The deployment allowed governmental troops to massacre innocent civilians without any consequences to the National Assembly, contrary to section 217 (2) C of the 1999 constitution.[21]

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[10] Loc cit.
[11] Hamilton Millard Kirk-Greene, A., Nigeria, http://www.britannica.com/place/Nigeria, May 2015
[12] Nigeria: Heads of State: 1979-2015, http://www.archontology.org/nations/nigeria/00_1963_td_s.php, June 2015
[13] Loc cit.
[14] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[15] Frank, E.O. & Ukpere, W.I., "The Impact of Military Rule on Democracy in Nigeria" in Journal of Social Science, Vol. 3, No. 33, 2012, p. 288
[16] Loc cit.
[17] Loc cit.
[18] Loc cit.
[19] Ibid., p. 287
[20] Ibid., p.288
[21] Loc cit.

> "Section 217 (2) C: Requires first for some conditions to be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly for the use of military force in that regard."[22]

"The violence and religious conflict that has plagued Nigerian history during Nigeria's return to civil rule in 1999, highlights the important role of religion in both the politics and identity of the country and its people."[23] Civilian rule has further intensified the religious and ethnic divide that already existed in Nigeria. As the majority of the population is Muslim, the Christian population feared further repression and inequality in the South because Muslim leadership was inevitable or so the Christian population thought.

Following the transformation of Nigeria into a democratic state in 1999, "the Governor, Alhadji Ahmed Sani, proclaimed that his state would henceforth be governed by Sharia Law"[24]. Following this proclamation between 1999 and 2000, twelve other Nigerian states followed suite.[25] In response to this the Christian community became uneasy and thought this was the start of transforming Nigeria into an Islamic state.[26] In retaliation some Christian states in the South implemented Canon Law in order to counter the increase in popularity of Sharia Law.[27]

> Canon Law: "A body of laws and regulations made by or adopted by ecclesiastical authority, for the government of the Christian organization and its members."[28]

The Nigerian Niger Delta is another factor contributing to the religious and social divisions in Nigeria.[29] The Niger Delta is located in Southern Nigeria, this has resulted in lower unemployment and higher levels of education in the South in comparison to the North.[30] The oil wealth of the South only flows to the elite and powerful in Nigeria, and therefore puts a hindrance on the development of social services, public safety as well as education.[31] "The poverty rate in the Muslim north is 72%, in the Christian south it is sitting on 27%."[32]

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[22] Loc cit.
[23] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[24] Genasci, A.J., Overt Indicators of Islamic Extremism in Nigeria, http://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CBwQFjAAahUKEwjZg7uUgLPHAhULuxQKHWjeCmY&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhandle.dtic.mil%2F100.2%2FADA451891&ei=flbTVdnMKov2Uui8q7AG&usg=AFQjCNEps88tLD2QAWyZFfXywYnVv9msnA, 2006, p. 33
[25] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[26] Loc cit.
[27] Loc cit.
[28] Canon Law, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09056a.htm, August 2015
[29] Thomson, V. "Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria" in Global Security Studies, Vol. 3, Iss. 3, 2012, p. 49
[30] Loc cit.
[31] Loc cit.
[32] Loc cit.

The declining social and financial environments for the people in the North is one of the 'pull factors' towards Islamic extremist groups in order to gain what they have lost and to support their families. The financial and security incentives are two of the main reasons why people in Northern Nigeria have joined extremist groups like Boko Haram in order to survive.

In Northern Nigeria the main sources of income are, the agricultural and manufacturing sectors (cotton farming and textile production).[33] In 2010 these sectors collapsed leaving the Northern economy in a dangerous downward spiral.[34] The increase in unemployment throughout Northern Nigeria further increased the push towards an informal sector of the northern state, which included "trafficking, prostitution, kidnapping and criminal behaviour"[35]. Criminality and corruption serves as a viable resource in which Islamic extremism grew and developed.

Educational systems in the North have reinforced Islam, generation after generation. "Madrassas, is an Islamic educational system that serves as a recruitment, indoctrination and training mechanism for Islamic extremists to promulgate Islamic extremist ideology."[36] The increased popularity of Sunni Islam Wahhabism, created a more extreme educational system in the North.[37] The religious schools in Northern Nigeria were financed by Saudi Arabia and Iran[38], who pushed for a more Wahhabist way of life in the North.[39]

> Wahhabism "made the central point of his reform movement the principle that absolutely every idea added to Islam after the third century of the Muslim era was false and should be eliminated. Muslims, in order to be true Muslims, must adhere solely and strictly to the original beliefs set forth by Muhammad. In contrast to popular superstitions, Wahhabism emphasized the unity of God (tawhid)."[40]

"The main aspects of the schools that were ideal for the exploitation by extremist movements are; firstly, the schooling involves children having to relocate away from their homes and families; secondly, it is restricted almost entirely to boys; third, the school curriculum is

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[33] Loc cit.
[34] Loc cit.
[35] Genasci, A.J., Overt Indicators of Islamic Extremism in Nigeria, http://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CBwQFjAAahUKEwjZg7uUgLPHAhULuxQKHWjeCmY&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhandle.dtic.mil%2F100.2%2FADA451891&ei=flbTVdnMKov2Uui8q7AG&usg=AFQjCNEps88tLD2QAWyZFfXywYnVv9msnA, 2006, p. 38
[36] Ibid., p. 8
[37] Loc cit
[38] Alao, A., Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria, http://www.securityanddevelopment.org/pdf/ESRC%20Nigeria%20Overview.pdf, February 2009, p. 22
[39] Genasci, A.J. Op Cit. p. 38
[40] Cline, A., Wahhabism and Wahhabi Islam: How Wahhabi Islam Differs from Sunni, Shia Islam, http://atheism.about.com/od/islamicsects/a/wahhabi.htm, 2015

primarily concerned with teaching the sixty chapters of the Koran by route memorization; and finally, each school serves 25 to 500 students, varying from aged six to twenty-five."[41] The schooling system in the North is a perfect environment where extremism can be taught and developed from a young age. "The religious schools in addition are completely autonomous from government oversight and control."[42]

There has also been a presence of Islamic extremists in universities. This is intensified by the intellectual backing these students find within the educational system, in order to become radicals.[43] An example of the strategies used in universities is the 'Muslim Students Society (MSS)'[44], which has gained popularity in recent years. The growing popularity of a religious based educational system in the North rather than other formal educational channels has in turn resulted in the growth of informal and criminal sectors, as well as increased unemployment. This has similarly created the perfect environment for Islamic extremism to flourish. Along with poor governmental structures and insecurity, the role of extremist's group's gain momentum, as the people are further repressed and frustrated by governmental failures in Nigeria.

1.3 Thesis Organization:

The first section of this paper will focus on the brief history on the rise of Boko Haram in north east Nigeria and how they became the most dangerous extremist group in Africa. The following section will show an analysis of the key factors that led to the growth and continued occupation of Islamic extremism in Northern Nigeria. This will include further examination on the extent of governance failure and corruption, the lack of development within the Northern region of the country, the extent of poverty and deprivation, the complexity of religious and ethnic diversity in Nigeria, as well as the security or lack thereof in the northern regions of the country. The security structures that have been adopted by President Buhari in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency include, the creation of the MJTF, the effectiveness and contributions made by the Amnesty deal that occurred in June 2009, and the effects of President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of a state of emergency in three Northern States within Nigeria in May 2013. Section three will incorporate a comparative analysis of the reign of former President Goodluck Jonathan and current President Muhammadu Buhari. Looking at their specific policy

[41] Genasci, A.J. Op Cit. p. 38
[42] Loc cit.
[43] Alao, A. Op Cit. p. 63
[44] Loc cit.

choice in connection with the Boko Haram insurgency. To conclude an overview of the findings will be assessed in order to interpret the specific factors that have led to both the rise and decline of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria.

Boko Haram

The methods and concepts of Boko Haram in Nigeria have "derived from a combination of the Hausa word for book, 'boko', and the Arabic word for forbidden, 'haram'"[45]. The final meaning of Boko Haram is "Western culture is forbidden"[46]. The Islamic group were not as radical prior to 2009. There were less violent attacks by the group, and the ideology stated the expulsion of corruption from the government and increased security within the state. The brutal attacks by the police force against Boko Haram and its members included violent killings, raiding of mosques and attacks during funeral precessions.[47] The extreme stance the government took against the Islamic group was one of the main reasons for its transformation towards radicalization in 2009, following the "extrajudicial killing of their founder, Mohammed Yusuf, and other Boko Haram members while in police custody"[48]. The constant abuses of 'arbitrary arrests, torture and the persecution of its members', brought a change in strategy from combating corruption to revenge killings in order to defend their existence in Nigeria.[49]

The radicalisation of Boko Haram brought about the use of suicide bombings, car bombs, the releasing of martyrdom videos and attacks on police stations in order to avenge their former leader.[50] In addition the group claimed allegiance to Al Qaeda, which confirms the extremist and radical nature of the group's intensions in future attacks.

1.4 Methodology:

The dependent variable is Boko Haram insurgency and the independent variable is Governance and security. In order to prove causality this paper uses process tracing, which is the 'explaining of particularly puzzling historical outcomes by building minimally sufficient explanation in a case study'. This paper will seek to understand the reasons for the rise and current decline of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria from 2009 till today.

[45] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[46] Loc cit.
[47] Loc cit.
[48] Loc cit.
[49] Loc cit.
[50] Thomson, V. "Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria" in Global Security Studies, Vol. 3, Iss. 3, 2012, p. 53

The epistemology will be a post positivist or the interpretative approach seeking to understand an International Relations phenomena. The collection of data will be done via primary (ACLED - Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project) and secondary sources, which includes books and journal articles. The primary data collected from ACLED will be used to verify my findings of the rise and slow decline of Boko Haram today. Graphs and statistics will be incorporated from the ACLED Country reports, the rates of violence in the region, including the involvement of the government security forces in the dismantling of the Boko Haram insurgency. The data that will be assessed from 2009 till 2017, allowing for a comparative analysis between Boko Haram's rise and slow decline in today.

The interpretation of the data collected for my research paper will be using a mixed method approach incorporating both qualitative and quantitative data collection. This paper will incorporate primarily qualitative with a quantitative component within it, in order to come to more concise conclusion over what impacted the rise and decline of Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria The case study selected is Nigeria, and for this research paper has been chosen for its unique and violent link to Islamic extremism through the insurgency of Boko Haram. This single case study was specifically chosen, as to determine what factors have led to the rise and decline of Islamic extremism in Northern Nigeria. The case selected has had both stable periods but ongoing ethnic and religious divisions within the state, yet nothing as extreme as Boko Haram. Boko Haram is an interesting case, as it is known as the most violent extremist group, more so than ISIS and is one of the only Islamist extremist groups in Africa to deny any affiliation to Al Qaeda. The excessive killings and abductions this group is known for, creates a very interesting study trying to understand why and how Boko Haram became so destructive and the reasons behind the recent decrease in violent attacks today. The themes that have been highlighted and will be addressed in this paper are the political, economic, social, educational and religious aspects of each country. How these themes have impacted the rise and decline of Boko Haram will be assessed and analysed in order to further understand the reasons for this phenomena. Choosing an inductive research approach is suitable for my paper as it "involves the search for patterns from observations and the development of explanations for those patterns." Thematic analysis, document analysis and interpretation will also benefit the identification, analysis, and findings within the patterns (themes) that have been acknowledged in the data collected.

1.5 Literature Review:

When looking at the factors that have influenced Boko Haram's rise and recent decline in Northern Nigeria, it is first essential to understand the particular causes which created a positive environment where Islamic radicalisation can flourish. The main themes I have identified that impact on the growth of Boko Haram in Nigeria, are that of development (economic, political and social), poor government and corruption, poverty, religion and ethnicity, security and globalization. Looking at all these themes individually, analysing the arguments literary scholars have put forward and finding out why these themes are vital in this field of study will form the basis of this literature review and I will go into them in detail and form links between the various debates that have occurred in each article.

1.5.1 Development

Shehu states how deeply Boko Haram has impacted the economic, political and social development of the Nigerian state.[51] Shehu also highlights how the issues of "poverty, inefficient health care delivery system, pipe-borne water, unemployment, unqualitative education and other issues that include armed robbery, kidnapping, ethnic crisis, assassination, militancy, terrorism and recently the insurgency of Boko Haram"[52] have all negatively impacted the countries development. The issue of social, economic and political development has influenced the rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria as the distribution of wealth and riches gained from the abundant natural resources is unequal, favouring the Southern regions of the country over the North.

Shehu outlines that there are three main factors that have impacted the rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. Firstly Shehu explains "the economic impact of Boko Haram on Nigeria's development, which has brought a serious paralysis to business, banking sector, markets, tourism, transport system, hospitality, internal and external investment, companies and other economic activities"[53]. Economic development has been and still is declining in the north of the country, as a result of the frequent attacks on the commercial areas, which has in turn led to an increased number of internally displaced people within the country. Secondly, Shehu mentions "the political impact of Boko Haram on Nigeria has reduced its performance in the affected areas where its visions and missions have declined and became unrealistic due to the

[51] Shehu, S., The Impact of Boko Haram on Nigerian National Development, Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin, https://www.unisza.edu.my/icic/images/Fullpaper/06_-_Sani_Shehu.pdf, September 2015, p. 40
[52] Loc cit.
[53] Ibid. p. 46

terrible militant activities which jeopardized the whole society and put the nation into trauma as well as the political performance of politicians and other activists."[54] The political impact additionally notes that the Boko Haram insurgency has jeopardized Nigeria's relationship with other nations, as a result of the ongoing kidnappings of foreign nationals leading to the decrease in foreign visitors to the region. Lastly Shehu states "the social impact on Nigeria's development in the north eastern part of Nigeria, is a region which has suffered from serious underdevelopment and lagging behind in terms of infrastructure, education, security and other development indices, this vicious cycle of poverty and underdevelopment paved a simple way of embracing Boko Haram mission and activities by youths due to the high tension of daily life stress"[55]. All these factors have had a significant impact on the creation and continued growth of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. The main influences of the Boko Haram insurgency are that of economic and political underdevelopment within the country that has paved the way for majority areas within Nigeria, particularly the North, to feel dissatisfied. The economic underdevelopment has created a gap within Northern societies where people are desperate, desperate enough to turn to extremism in order to earn money in order to provide for their families. Poor governance has led to a governance gap within the Northern region of Nigeria, paving the way for religious ideology to take the forefront of power.

Loimeier highlights that "the development of the Boko Haram movement shows yet again that Muslims in Nigeria do not form a homogeneous block but are divided into numerous larger and smaller movements and groups that mirror social, political and religious orientations and divisions"[56]. Over the years, as a result of these divisions there have been many ethnic and religious conflicts throughout the Nigerian state, this instability led to the development of Boko Haram, creating a perfect environment of chaos in order for the groups to flourish. In concluding his paper, Loimeier observes that, "as long as the basic social and economic context does not decisively change — specifically, Nigeria's on-going inability to achieve sustained economic growth as well as some degree of social justice - militant movements such Boko Haram will rise again"[57]. This statement is justified, as Nigeria is a country with abundant resources and is one of the richest countries in Africa, the people of the country however are

[54] Ibid. p. 47
[55] Loc cit.
[56] Loimeier, R., "Boko Haram: The Development of a Militant Religious Movement in Nigeria", in German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Vol. 47, No. 2/3, September 2012, p. 152
[57] Loc cit.

some of the poorest in Africa, this shows that social unrest is inevitable unless the leadership and elites of the country equalise the distribution of wealth.

1.5.2 Poor Governance and Corruption

"Mega corruption has grown to a level of impunity in the last two decades, with the country being variously rated as the most corrupt in the world"[58], according to ActionAid's report published in 2014. Nnonyelu and Briscoe and Van Ginkel argue that bad governance and government failure has a direct link in the formulation of Islamic extremism on the African continent.[59] Nnonyelu states that, "serial governance failures at all tiers of governance have cast doubts about the capacity, vision and mission of successive ruling regimes in Nigeria.,"[60] all have influenced the creation of Islamic extremism in Nigeria. In Nigeria, Nnonyelu states that government "mismanagement of the country's resources"[61] and the unequal distribution of wealth by the government to the people can influence the distrust and disapproval of the government by the people. Moreover, Nnonyelu underlines that "the Judiciary, as well as many other public and political institutions have become infected by corruption, justice has come to be a cash and carry commodity given to the highest bidder,"[62] understanding further the extent of corruption within Nigeria and why the people feel desperate enough to explore other avenues in order to create change.

Briscoe and Van Grinkel, have also emphasised that the source of conflict in Islamic extremism in Nigeria also relates to bad governance and corruption.[63] Briscoe and Van Grinkel states that the "marginalisation, no access to decision-making and the levels of social exclusion"[64] within some states, enforced by specific governments, has influenced and forced the people to create different approaches in order to, create a better life for themselves within their country. Islamic extremism creates an avenue that allows previously marginalised groups to have security, social

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[58] ActionAid, Corruption and Poverty In Nigeria: A Report, ActionAid Nigeria, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/pc_report_content.pdf, 2015, p. 6

[59] Nnonyelu, A. N., "Governance Failure, Poverty and Ethno-Sectarian Conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for Sustainable Development", in , Vol. 15, No. 4, 2013, p. 99
Briscoe, I. & Ginkel, B. V., The Nexus between Development and Security: Searching for Common Ground in Countering Terrorism, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), https://www.icct.nl/download/file/Briscoe-van-Ginkel-Nexus-between-Security-and-Development-March-2013.pdf, March 2013, p. 4

[60] Nnonyelu, A. N., Ibid. p. 112

[61] Nnonyelu, A. N., Ibid. p. 101

[62] Nnonyelu, A. N., "No Light at the End of the Tunnel: Corruption and Insecurity in Nigeria", in Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter), Vol. 2, No.6, January 2013, p. 183

[63] Briscoe, I. & Ginkel, B. V., The Nexus between Development and Security: Searching for Common Ground in Countering Terrorism, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), https://www.icct.nl/download/file/Briscoe-van-Ginkel-Nexus-between-Security-and-Development-March-2013.pdf, March 2013, p. 3

[64] Ibid. p. 4

inclusion and opinions, which the government previously withdrew. Briscoe and Van Grinkel, underline that the "causes of radicalisation can be found on multiple of levels, and include a sense of grievance and discrimination that can be shared by entire population groups"[65]. This can be a causal factor as a result of bad governance within the state. Finally, Nnonyelu stated that "any government that detracts from the welfare of the people, ensuring their safety, and protecting their lives and property is not worth the term"[66]. Nnonyelu has outlined the main aspects of what constitutes bad governance and the reasons for the people within a state turning their backs and wanting change.[67]

Williams-Elegbe expands the notion that Nigeria, as a democratic state is not producing the right kind of leadership that can essentially "translate political rhetoric into developmental benefits"[68] for the people. In addition, Williams-Elegbe discusses the reasons for the lack of political and economic development is as a result of; "the underdevelopment of the education sector, which affects the quality of leaders and public servants generally; the culture of impunity which formed part of military rule, the remnants of which still plague democratic governance; the high costs of participation in the political process, which excludes the middle class and the intellectuals from participation; the complex nature of the geopolitical dynamic in Nigeria; and the teething challenges that are faced by any nascent democracy"[69]. The failure of governments and the ongoing corruption by political personal and elites within the country, has further disenfranchised the population in many ways, including "poverty, crime, insecurity, economic deprivation and increased income disparities"[70], according to Williams-Elegbe. "Leadership failings can take the form of dysfunctional leadership or the inability of leaders to meet up with the expectations of the followers or masses"[71], in the case of Nigeria, the lack of accountability, transparency and development has led to ongoing mistrust between the people and the government.

[65] Ibid. p. 5
[66] Nnonyelu, N. A., "Governance Failure, Poverty and Ethno-Sectarian Conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for Sustainable Development", in Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2013, p. 103
[67] Loc cit.
[68] Williams-Elegbe, S., "Citizens' Response to Irresponsible (or Constrained) Leadership as a Catalyst for Change: A Critical Assessment of Leadership and Followership in Nigeria", in The Journal of Corporate Citizenship, No. 60, December 2015, p. 27
[69] Ibid. p. 28
[70] Loc cit.
[71] Loc cit.

Afoaku goes on to say, "contemporary discourse on governance holds the state to be the principal provider of public goods"[72]. The government of Nigeria is responsible for the "protecting of citizens' lives and property against external and internal threats; safeguarding citizens' rights to participate freely, openly, and fully in politics and the political process; adjudicating disputes and regulating the norms and prevailing mores of a particular society; and providing physical infrastructures such as hospitals, schools, roads, railroads, airports, and harbours"[73]. The population has not received such protection by the political elite of the country, and so an alternative was created through religion and ethnic orientation. The people of Nigeria have more of an alliance and devotion with their respective religious and ethnic ties than with the Nigerian state including the government that governs them. "Accordingly, Boko Haram has effectively exploited the self-centred politics of Nigeria's Western-educated elites, who have been largely responsible for the country's political and economic ills"[74].

Campbell states that the increasing income inequalities and decreasing social statistics are as a result of the institutionalization of corruption in Nigeria.[75] Akanle includes, "Nigeria is ranked among the most corrupt nations in the world, and mismanagement has undermined its development in many ways"[76]. "The political economy favours personal relationships rather than institutions, causing national sentiment to decline in favour of religious and ethnic identity"[77]. In Nigeria there is "widespread frustration with Nigeria's poverty, corruption, insecurity, and inequality, as well as with the inability of successive governments to address these ongoing issues"[78] and the lack of accountability for not addressing them, Campbell notes.

The scholarly statements made above all have very convincing arguments and I agree that one of the main sources of the rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria is poor governance and corruption. On the other hand, however, which will be discussed further in this paper, is the main reasons for the decline of Boko Haram in recent years, has been as a result the new leadership structure and tactics President Buhari has brought to the playing field. The Presidents

[72] Afoaku, O. G., "Islamist Terrorism and State Failure in Northern Nigeria", in Africa Today, Vol. 63, No. 4, Summer 2017, p. 22
[73] Loc cit.
[74] Ibid. p. 26
[75] Campbell, J., "Nigeria's Battle for Stability", in The National Interest, No. 118, March/April 2012, p. 32
[76] Akanle, O., "The Development Exceptionality of Nigeria: The Context of Political and Social Currents", in Africa Today, Vol. 59, No. 3, Spring 2013, p. 33
[77] Loc cit.
[78] Ibid. p. 35

main aim is the decrease of corruption within the country and effectively bridging the governance gap within the Northern regions.

1.5.3 Religion and Ethnicity

In Nigerian society, ethnicity tends to be understood as "the employment and or mobilisation of ethnic identity or differences to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation"[79], according to Osaghae. Religious diversity and ethnicity is also one of the main factors that have influenced the creation of Islamic extremism within states, in Africa and the Middle East[80]. Agbiboa identifies that "religious pluralism"[81] plays an important role in creating a collective identity within a state or specific groups within a state, as well as the "mobilisation"[82] of Islamic extremist groups. The Muslim communities in Nigeria have created divided groups[83] as opposed to unity, and as a result, Islamic extremism. Nigeria constitutes one of the most divided nations in the world in terms of religion and ethnicity. Agbiboa, points out that religion plays a key role in the legitimization of the government of specific countries, like Nigeria, which is a "pluralist state"[84]. He also emphasises that "perceptions of power lead to the contestation for political leadership along religious identities"[85]. The statement above explains why when there is a political appointment in Nigeria, the links between religion and politics comes to the fore[86]. This results, in most cases, to ethno-sectarian and religious conflicts within the state if one sect is chosen above another.

Geertz outlines that religion can be defined as:

> "(1) a system of symbols that act to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing those conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods an motivations seem uniquely realistic."[87]

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[79] Osaghae, E., (1995), Structural adjustment and ethnicity in Nigeria, Uppsala, Sweden: Nordic Africa Institute, 1995, p. 11

[80] Agbiboa, D. E., "Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria", in Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 44, No. 1, January 2013, p. 5 & 8

[81] Ibid. p. 19

[82] Loc cit.

[83] In Nigeria there are the Muslims in the north and the Christians in the south and within Somalia the diverse clan and sub-clan structures that make up the country have created divisions that are ungovernable for one specific unified leader to take control.

[84] Ibid. p. 20

[85] Loc cit.

[86] Loc cit.

[87] Geertz, C., The Interpretation of Cultures, Basic Books, New York, 1973, oft-cited passage.

Abgiboa adds that "while adherence to belief systems can help to develop a sense of belonging and purpose, it can lead to intolerance, discrimination and violent actions"[88]. This statement directly relates to the case study of Nigeria, as religious affiliations within the country are stronger than that of national identity creating more risk for confrontation and in this case extreme action and division. To conclude Agbiboa adds that, Nigeria needs to divorce religion from politics in order to develop and grow as a unified nation in the future.[89]

I do not agree that ethnicity and religion are some of the main sources for the rise and decline of the Boko Haram insurgency, as there are many differences and divisions of ideological beliefs. The wants and needs of each different ethnic or religious group vary creating less cohesion and unity between them. I do agree, however the "divorcing religion from politics"[90] is essential going forward in order to increase national unity rather than religious affiliation. Equality and unity among the people of Nigeria will leave little room for violent and extreme acts within and among the population.

1.5.4 Security

Campbell highlights that, "the police, a national entity are underpaid and notoriously corrupt"[91]. This statement acknowledges that security in Nigeria has been broken-down and negatively influenced by the ongoing corruption and growing mistrust between the population and the authoritarian figures the ae meant to serve and protect. "President Goodluck Jonothan's heavy handed, even brutalizing, security forces are exacerbating Muslim alienation in the north and have failed to control the Middle Belt's ethnic and religious strife"[92]. Security is one of the main themes of this paper, as there has been little written about the differences in security initiatives between the previous President Goodluck Jonathan and current President Muhammadu Buhari. Security is one of the main sources of influences in the rise and decline of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. While economic, political and social factors are important security and previous insecurities have allowed for ethnic and religious conflicts to rise, including the Boko Haram insurgency. The lack of security and mistrust among the security forces and the people of Nigeria has allowed for the rise of Boko Haram and will inevitably be one of the main reasons for their downfall.

[88] Agbiboa, D. E., Ibid. p. 9
[89] Ibid. p. 24
[90] Loc cit.
[91] Campbell, J., Ibid. p. 31
[92] Ibid. p. 31-32

1.5.5 Poverty

A report published by ActionAid in 2015 shows that according to the National Bureau of Statistics indicates that poverty levels were at 69%, indicating that about 112.47 million Nigerians are living below the poverty line in 2010.[93] With respect to poverty, Briscoe and Van Ginkel, as well as Graff agree on how poverty in certain countries assist with the recruitment of Islamic extremists, however, it is not one of the main factors that influences its creation.[94] Graff, states that the unequal distribution of wealth and high unemployment rates do not have any correlation with the creation of Islamic extremism within a state. Graff on the other hand, does highlight that poverty and inequality does influence the recruitment of extremists within a country[95]. "Uneducated and impoverished young men with few employment prospects" are being coerced into becoming a part of extremists groups with the promise of "financial rewards", Graff points out.[96] Briscoe and Van Ginkel, also agree with Graff that poverty has very little influence in the formulation of Islamic extremism within countries.[97] Briscoe and Van Ginkel state that "Terrorists seemingly initiate their careers irrespective of material hardship and poverty."[98]

"Growth and modernisation can fall far short of meeting people's expectations"[99], in a sense, has also been said to influence people in certain countries and fall short of many expectations that Briscoe and Van Ginkel identified. The false hope that economic reforms and development gives to people in certain countries does not ensure the promise of a better life and greater opportunities. The lack of materialised individual or community change creates a gap in society, which in the case of Nigeria, leaves room for the creation of Islamic extremism. Graff identifies that "Muslims are more likely than other faith groups to have no qualifications (over two-fifths have none) and to be unemployed and economically inactive, and are over-represented in

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[93] ActionAid, Corruption and Poverty In Nigeria: A Report, ActionAid Nigeria, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/pc_report_content.pdf, 2015, p. 23
National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria Poverty Assessment, Abuja, 2007, p. 7

[94] Briscoe, I. & Van Ginkel, B., The Nexus between Development and Security: Searching for Common Ground in Countering Terrorism, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), https://www.icct.nl/download/file/Briscoe-van-Ginkel-Nexus-between-Security-and-Development-March-2013.pdf, March 2013, p. 4
Graff, C., "Poverty, Development, and Violent Extremism in Weak States", in Rice, S. E., Graff, C. & Pascual, C. (eds), Confronting Poverty: Weak States and U.S. National Security, Brookings Institute Press, New York, 2010, p. 45-46

[95] Loc cit.

[96] Ibid. p. 46

[97] Briscoe, I. & Van Ginkel, B., Ibid. p. 3-4
Graff, C., Ibid. p. 45

[98] Briscoe, I. & Van Ginkel, B., Ibid. p. 4

[99] Briscoe, I. & Van Ginkel, B., Ibid. p. 4

deprived areas"[100]. The statement above highlights that Muslims are more likely to become extremists, as a result of their deprived social class within countries.

Agbiboa notes that "while the overriding goal of Boko Haram is to wrest control from the Nigerian state and to impose Sharia legal code across the entire country, the cocktail of political corruption, chronic poverty, and youth unemployment in northern Nigeria continues to fuel members and supporters of Boko Haram. For many years communities located in Northern Nigeria have been experiencing increased poverty, deteriorating social services and infrastructure, educational backwardness, rising numbers of unemployed graduates, massive numbers of unemployed youths, dwindling fortunes in agriculture . . . and the weak and dwindling productive base of the northern economy"[101], according to Agbiboa. The ongoing insurgency of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria has "generated a psychological impact that transcends the actual physical damage caused"[102], however the many injustices and insecurities faced in the northern communities of Northern Nigeria need to be addressed before any reconciliation can occur within the region. Agbiboa adds that the common mentality of the people focus on "the perception in northern Nigeria that the wealthy elite throughout the country tend to be Christian, while the most impoverished communities in the country are found among the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, and other northern groups—all of them primarily Muslim"[103]. Equality among the people is vital to build national identity, with less divisions and to build a future where the Nigerian people are unified in order to build sustainable development and security for the future.

Poverty is an important source that has aided the rise of Boko Haram, as through the channels of deprivation and governmental mistrust, religious and ethnic groups have gained more power within the state. Boko Haram have taken advantage of the extremely high percentage of poverty stricken people, promising money for people's loyalty. According to ActionAid's report approximately more than half the population was living below the poverty line in 2010, linked to the rise of Boko Haram in 2009, further influenced there growth within the North. According to the National Human Development report on Nigeria in 2015, the level of poverty in the Northern region in Nigeria amounted to, 74.3% in the North-east, 73.2 in the North-west, and

[100] Graff, C., Ibid. p. 46
[101] Agbiboa, D. E., "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective", in African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 2013, p. 148
[102] Ibid. p. 146
[103] Ibid. p. 151

64.2 in the North-central area.[104] This justifies how poverty levels have drastically impacted the growth of Boko Haram insurgency within the Northern regions of the country.

1.5.6 Globalization

Mazrui, outlines how globalization has played an empirical role in the creation of Islamic extremism in Africa and the Middle East.[105] He divides globalization up into three main sections of analysis; economic globalization, political globalization and finally cultural globalization. The writer identifies that these subsections within globalization have played a pivotal role in the different "manifestations of Islamic identities of the revivalist type in Africa"[106]. Islamic extremism is, one can say, complimented by globalization, globalization means the dismantling of state sovereignty and the shrinking of both time and space. Islamic extremism defies national, ethnic, and gender boundaries.

Mazrui states that, "economic globalization has deepened the marginalization of Africa"[107]. In terms of marginalization what Mazrui is implying, is how the globalization of the economy has left certain groups, within the population of Africa, poverty stricken with misery and hardship following closely behind.[108] The government in Nigeria opened up its economy to the outside world too soon, and as a result the people of this country suffered more and more hardships. The Muslim population in Africa is significant and as a result of economic globalization some have turned toward the "Islamic moral code" in order to find directions on how to move forward from the tortures of "deprivation".[109] The creation of Muslim unity became prominent in many African countries, so as to alleviate the suffering and create further development within their communities.[110] The creation of organizations within the Muslim communities aided in the creation of extremist groups within the African continent.

Mazrui identifies how resources have created greater divides between religious groups within Africa.[111] The conflict over the oil field that sits on the border between the divided Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria, has created gaps in employment and infrastructural

[104] Human Security and Human Development in Nigeria: National Human Development Report, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Country Office in Nigeria, December 2015, p. 21
[105] Mazrui, A., Globalization and the Muslim World: Sub-Saharan Africa in a Comparative Context, The Ohio State University, Ohio, 2002, p. 1
[106] Loc cit.
[107] Ibid. p. 2
[108] Loc cit.
[109] Loc cit.
[110] Loc cit.
[111] Loc cit.

development within the respective societies that have paved the way for the formulation of extremist groups within the state.

The article includes ways in which political globalization has influenced and affected the rise of Islamic extremism in certain countries in Africa, like Nigeria. Mazrui writes that the recent spread of democracy has allowed certain groups to "affirm their presence and demand their rights"[112], giving rise to radicalised groups. The rise of democracy in specific countries in Africa has affected religions and ethnic minorities, as well as genders within states.[113] This has also impacted on furthering the divide between the minorities and diverse religions living in certain countries in Africa. Within Africa, repressed Muslim majorities and minorities have "thus taken advantage of the political space to express a new sense of identity in relation to the nation-state as part of a democratic struggle to inscribe themselves in a reconfigured national space"[114]. This new identity that is mentioned in the previous statement deals with Islamic extremism. This is so and creates a newly found space where the communities of Muslims living in states can live free and fair lives, where in the past, they were repressed.

Cultural globalization on the other hand, is the spreading and widening the influence of Western norms and rules within society.[115] Mazrui explains that in certain societies the "pollution" of values, morals, traditions and a sense of identity on "other" societies as a result of "cultural westernization".[116] The main reason for the cultural rebirth of Islamic fundamentalism is as a result of Western civilisation and its powerful dominance over the rest of the world. Some Muslims have called for a "reinterpretation" of the message of Islam as a result of the realities we live in today, in order to create better results and more power for the Muslim populations.[117] Islamic extremism has been fostered to ensure the freedom and survival of the Muslim people, the call for repression, inequality and poverty to end, and power and strength to take its place.

Many scholars have included poverty, unemployment and poor governmental structures, in contrary to the previous submission, as another feature that adds to the development of Islamic extremism. Modernity is the transformation of the old into the new, if everything around the Muslim religion is changing, why should it not transform, in order to ensure its survival. Mazrui

[112] Ibid. p. 4
[113] Loc cit.
[114] Loc cit.
[115] Ibid. p. 6-7
[116] Ibid. p. 8
[117] Ibid. p. 11

state that cultural globalization has come about as a result of modernization, if the cultural world is to become more westernized.[118]

Globalization has complimented the growth of Islamic extremism in Nigeria in the past.[119] The main aspect of these statements that relates to the rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria is the economic deprivation of certain population in the country. Boko Haram is built on the premise of bringing the old ways back into practise defying how globalization has impacted the cultural and social structures within many countries around the world. Globalisation of western traditions on the African continent has allowed for the growth of Islamic extremism in African. Shehu highlights that Boko Haram translates into, "Western education is forbidden"[120], meaning that anything that comes from West is not allowed and is sinful according to the propagation of its members. Boko Haram is created in spite of globalization and how it has impacted the world in an unfair and imbalanced way, favouring populations over others, creating an unequal balance of power creating instability.

1.5.7 Gaps in the Literature

The gaps in the research that I have found lacks focus on the importance and influence of leadership and good governance, including the security argument surrounding the Boko Haram insurgency and how Former President Goodluck Jonathan and current President Muhammadu Buhari have impacted the insurgency in different ways that has led to its current decline in popularity within the state of Nigeria. The main aspects that will be analysed with regard to both leaders will be the security structures implemented or put in place, with regard to the creation of the Multinational Joint Task Force by President Buhari and the declaration of a state of emergency in three Northern Sates of Nigeria made by President Goodluck Jonathan. The strategies and tactics taken by both leaders against the Boko Haram insurgency were of a similar nature, however the absence of implementation of the security strategies during President Goodluck Jonathan's term contributed significantly to the rise of Boko Haram during the years of 2010 to 2015. The success and commitment to the implementation of the security strategies and tactics made by President Buhari has played a crucial role in the current decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. The main gap in the literature is the evaluation and analysis on the current reigning regime in control and previous regimes that have come before, and how these factors have influence the previous rise and current decline of Boko Haram

[118] Ibid. p. 12
[119] Loc cit.
[120] Shehu, S., Ibid. p. 254

insurgency in Nigeria. I will be unravelling key elements of former President Goodluck Jonathan and current president Muhammadu Buhari's tactics and policies that have influenced the rise and decline of Boko Haram within the country.

CHAPTER TWO – THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS THAT GAVE RISE TO BOKO HARAM

2.1 The rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria:

This chapter will focus specifically on how religion, governance and corruption have played a pivotal role in the emergence of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. The religious and ethnic diversity within Nigeria has always been a contentious issue. One of the key hurdles that needs to be tackled, is the government and populations inability to distinguish between religion and nationalism. The governmental structures and high levels of corruption within Nigeria has destabilised many key developmental structures specifically the distribution of wealth and security forces decreasing the country's ability to sustainably move forward.

2.1.1 Governance and Corruption

Governmental structures within Nigeria, have had an empirical effect on the growth and development of Islamic extremism within the country. The lack of government control over the country, as well as corruption has led the people of Nigeria to form coalitions in order to combat the unequal distribution of wealth and development. The shift in focus of governmental spending in the past towards specific resources (oil) in Nigeria, has created major development in the Southern regions of the country, leaving the Northern regions frustrated and underdeveloped.

The highly militarised nature of the state of Nigeria, including the political and governmental policies and structures, is apparent as a result of, over thirty years of military rule imposed on the Nigerian state.[121] The military way that the government has taken toward the Northern states in Nigeria has played a key role in the development and growth of Muslim extremism in the North. "Corruption has permeated all facets of law enforcement, which include the national military, which has resulted in a lack of authority and respect for the central government."[122]

[121] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[122] Genasci, A.J. Op Cit. p. 31

"Prior to 2010, Boko Haram's activities consisted of civil, social, and religious acts of disobedience to established local norms."[123] The government responded to this upsurge with "extensive roadblocks and mass arrests in order to curb and contain Boko Haram's activities"[124]. In 2009, during the continuation of 'Operation Flush' in an effort to arrest and contain the members of Boko Haram, the leader of the insurgent group, Mohammed Yusuf, was captured and brought into police custody alive.[125] The mysterious circumstances surrounding his death while in police custody was labelled 'unlawful' and as a result sparked an upsurge in violent acts committed by the insurgent group in retaliation to the excessive use of force by governmental security forces against Boko Haram members.[126] The harsh and violent response by the government in the Northern states of Nigeria has played an empirical role in aggravating and further radicalizing Boko Haram and in turn the sectarian violence it creates.[127] An example of the further radicalized nature of the group was evident in the 10 November 2014 "alleged attack on a boarding school in Potiskum (northeast Nigeria) before dawn, killing 41 people (29 students were burnt alive) and torching university administrative blocks and hostels"[128].

The extrajudicial killings by the police on the Islamic group's members forced the group to become more radicalized in its attacks and ideology.[129] The militarized and violent way in which the government embarked on eradicating the Islamic extremist groups in the North, created more popularity for Boko Haram and other rival groups in the region.

"The lack of a strong central government, little or no distribution of oil wealth, corruption and organized crime, makes Nigeria an exploitable entity for Islamic extremism."[130] Islamic extremist groups use organized crime, in order to connect to the global organized criminal network.[131] The lack of control the government has on internet resources in the country has also left a gap, which Islamic extremist groups have taken advantage of.[132] The lack of internet security in Nigeria allows for freedom of Islamic extremist groups to make money transfers,

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[123] Musa, Y., Nigeria's Counter Insurgency Strategy: Boko Haram in Perspective, Counter Terrorism Centre Office of the National Security Adviser, http://ctc.gov.ng/nigerias-counter-insurgency-strategy-boko-haram-in-perspective/, Abuja, 2012, p. 1-13

[124] Loc cit.

[125] Loc cit.

[126] Loc cit.

[127] Agbiboa, D. E. "At War against itself: Religious Identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity In Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015

[128] Loc cit.

[129] Loc cit.

[130] Ibid., p. 43

[131] Ibid., p. 37

[132] Ibid., p. 45

webpages and video streaming for recruitment all around the world. The inability of the government to control its cyber environment has made the growth and development of extremist groups in the country an easy task.[133] "Poor government control allows for freedom of movement, whether one is moving information freely via the internet or physically moving diamonds."[134]

The case of the previous Goodluck Jonathan regime has had a negative effect on the fight against Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. Goodluck Jonathan had time during his reign to rescue the 200 High School girls abducted by Boko Haram and to prevent further ethnic violence and bloodshed in the country.[135] The lack of initiative put forth by Goodluck Jonathan, during his presidency, did not assist with the combating of Boko Haram within the Northeast region of Nigeria. In addition, "Nigeria's military and police force were repeatedly accused by human rights activists and others of torturing and summarily killing suspects, as well as burning down civilian homes and killing civilians in retaliation for militant attacks."[136] Police brutality during this period included the effect of further radicalizing Boko Haram. This further shows that President Goodluck Jonathan, whom previously governed Nigeria, instead of deterring the growth of Boko Haram created more problems through governmental corruption, neglect and police brutality. The lack of outside interference or aid during the previous regimes leadership, was also as a result of Goodluck Jonathan not wanting outside assistance in fighting against Boko Haram in the north of Nigeria.[137] The lack of aid from outside powers led to further development of the extremist group in the north rather than a deterioration.

On the other hand the current Muslim government led by Buhari has pledged to the Nigerian people to end corruption, create better relations with outside powers and eradicate the threat of Boko Haram.[138] "Under previous administrations, funds from the military were siphoned into the pockets of elites, which led to a hole in funding for procurement of equipment, weapons and training for Nigerian troops."[139] The misappropriation of funds during this time hindered the current regime's fight against Boko Haram including making military advances in the

[133] Ibid., p. 46
[134] Ibid., p. 47
[135] Ndibe, O., Boko Haram exploits Nigeria's leadership deficit, http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/5/boko-haram-nigeriachibokgirlsgoodluckjonathanelection.html, May 2014
[136] The Guardian, Nigeria steps up fight against Islamist extremists, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/14/nigeria-islamist-extremists, May 2013
[137] Loc cit.
[138] Zenn, J., From one campaign to the next: Buhari and the battle against Boko Haram, http://africanarguments.org/2015/04/07/from-one-campaign-to-the-next-buhari-and-the-battle-against-boko-haram-by-jacob-zenn/, April 2015
[139] Loc cit.

North. The combating of corruption within the military, including creating good strategies and assistance from neighbouring and outside powers is a significant step forward for Nigeria. President Buhari in addition fired all of Nigeria's military Chiefs, as a new multinational army prepared to advance on the Muslim extremist group.[140] The action by the new President is a positive step towards the effort of strengthening the Nigerian military and combating corruption within. The Muslim identity of the new leader of Nigeria has also created a decrease in the marginalisation of the Muslim people in the North from the centre of power within the country, and as a result decreased the support base of Boko Haram.[141]

The main strategy of the current President Buhari is to "work within the framework of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC)"[142], in order to increase the collective action against Boko Haram in Nigeria and neighbouring countries. There has also been a decision to relocate Nigeria's Command Centre to Maiduguri[143], in order to be closer to the action.[144] Buhari is quickly breaking away from his predecessors' denial and hesitance towards dealing with Boko Haram."[145]

2.1.2 Religious and Ethnic Diversity

"Religion plays a critical role in Nigerian society and has expressed itself as a potent force in the geopolitical development of the country."[146] Religious diversity in Nigeria has made the dynamics within the country prone to ongoing ethno-religious conflicts. The Muslim North is made up of many different strands of Islamic culture, which in turn make it hard to govern and prone to ethno-religious conflicts and extremist ideologies. There are hundreds of different ethnic groups living in Nigeria, but the main groups constitute up to 88% of the total population.[147]

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[140] The Association Press, Nigerian Leader Fires Military Chiefs to Fight Extremism, http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2015/07/14/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-military.html?_r=0, July 2015
[141] Zenn, J., From one campaign to the next: Buhari and the battle against Boko Haram, http://africanarguments.org/2015/04/07/from-one-campaign-to-the-next-buhari-and-the-battle-against-boko-haram-by-jacob-zenn/, April 2015
[142] Aziken, E., Buhari to African leaders: My efforts to stop Boko Haram, http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/06/buhari-to-african-leaders-my-efforts-to-stop-boko-haram/, June 2015
[143] Stauffer, L., The Crucial First Steps in Buhari's Fight Against Boko Haram, http://www.hscentre.org/security-and-defence/crucial-first-steps-buharis-fight-boko-haram/, June 2015
[144] Loc cit.
[145] Loc cit.
[146] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A, Ethnic and religious crises in Nigeria: A specific analysis upon identities (1999-2013), African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/ethnic-religious-crises-nigeria/, August 2016, p. 97
[147] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A Op Cit. p. 92

The ethnic groups include: "Hausa and Fulani (29%), Yoruba (21%), Igbo (18%), Ijaw (10%), Kanuri (4%), Ibibio (3.5%), and Tiv (2.5%)"[148]. The three dominant ethnic groups that make up the Northern states are Kanuri, Hausa and Fulani. Additionally the main ethnic groups that make up the Southern region are Ibibio, Igbo and Yoruba. Most states on the African continent are composed of such divisions, both in ethnicity and religion. "States with such divisions are disposed to be delicate and unstable because almost by definition, they have very little in common with regard to convergence and harmony, which are necessary to reduce the centrifugal forces that rip them apart."[149]

"Religion is a potent political tool even in the most benign situations, and it was and continues to be a prominent identifying feature in the lives of most Nigerians."[150] Since its independence the country has been in constant conflict trying to distinguish between religion and nationalism.[151] For many people particularly in the Muslim North nationalism and religion are intertwined and cannot be separated. The ways in which religious and ethnic identity can be used as a political tool can be expressed in three different forms. "Firstly, ethnic identity is the most important and consistent basis of social identity in the country, second, ethnicity is seen as a way for collective action, and finally, ethnicity is presumed to be a destabilising factor with far-reaching impacts on democracy."[152] Inevitably the use of ethnicity as a tool for political gain can lead to a number of outcomes, which are not particularly positive in nature.[153] Political competition, custom-made patronage systems, including "socio-economic and political changes that have taken place and transformed group mobilisation and the delineations of identities and politics in Nigeria"[154]. The specific situation in which this tactic is and has been used by political elites in the country is during elections, in order to ensure votes.[155] The main issue areas related to the advantageous use of the multidimensional identities within the country is a continuous cycle of clashing ideologies and by using religious motive to gain political power, religion attains a level of deification that is difficult to challenge or overpower.[156]

[148] Loc cit.
[149] Ibid. p. 88
[150] Thomson, V. Op Cit. p. 48
[151] Loc cit.
[152] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A. Op Cit. p. 93
[153] Loc cit.
[154] Ibid. p. 94
[155] Ibid. p. 101
[156] Loc cit.

Religious violence in Nigeria in the past has been frequent. In order to illustrate how frequent some prominent examples of religious violence in Nigeria can be listed; "Kasuwan Magani in 1980; Zango Kataf and Gure-Kahugu in 1987; Kafanchan and Lere in 1987; Ilorin and Jerein 1989; Tafawa Balewa in 1991; as well as that of Zango Kataf in 1992"[157].

Violence is defined by the World Health Organization as:

> "the international use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation."[158]

Religion on the other hand does not have an exact definition however, the Webster's Dictionary of English Language outlines:

> "Religion refers to man's expression of his acknowledgement of the divine or a system of belief and practices relating to the sacred and uniting its adherents in communities." This outlines the meaning of worship, the "relationship between the transcendent and man demanding total submission and absolute obedience"[159].

Religious violence is additionally defined as:

> "As a term that covers the phenomena where religion is either the subject or object of violent behaviour."[160] It goes further to describe that "the threat or actual implementation of acts which have the potential capacity to inflict physical, emotional or psychological injury on a person or a group of persons for religious ends"[161].

"Christian and Muslim identities have continued to be the backbone of religious disparity and conflict within the country."[162] The ongoing clashes between religious groups historically have

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[157] Eniola, S.O., "Reflections of Religious Violence in Nigeria", Kunle, A. (eds), Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies: The Nigeria Perspectives, Ado-Ekiti, 2010, p. 77-81
Teehan, J., "In the Name of God: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Ethics and Violence", Wiley-Blackwell, New Jersey, 2010, p. 145-147

[158] Wellman, J. & Tokuno k., "Is Religious Violence Inevitable?" In Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 43, 2004, p. 291–296
Fox, J., Religion, Civilization and Civil War since 1945: The Empirical Study, Lexington Books, Lanham, 2004, p. 3-5

[159] Juergensmeyer, M., Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence, University of California Press, Jackson, 2004, p. 23
Short, J.F & Wolfgang, M. E., "Perspectives on Collective Violence", Short, J.F & Wolfgang, M.E. (eds), Collective Violence, Antherton Inc., Chicago, 1972, p. 41-43

[160] Wellman, J. & Tokuno K. Op Cit. p. 291

[161] Sulaiman, K. O. Op Cit. p. 90

[162] Lewis, P. & Bratton M., Attitudes towards democracy and markets in Nigeria: Report of a national opinion survey, January-February 2000. Washington, D.C., International Foundation for Election Systems, and Management Systems International, 2000, p. 5

been caused by "clashing interests of those in authority and the exclusion"[163] of specific religious groups from the growth and development of the country.

The main inter-religious conflict that is plaguing the country today is the Boko Haram insurgency. This conflict can be described in various ways: "Firstly, it refers to a long history of characteristic to Northern Nigeria and the continued radical Islamic movements. Secondly, the group has its foundations in the socioeconomic marginalisation of the country's northern population. Thirdly, Boko Haram is understood as seeking revenge especially in response to unacceptable behaviour of the law enforcers. The fourth understanding is based on the perception that Boko Haram is utilised by the elites from the North to express their grievances over lack of interest demonstrated by the central government. Finally, the group can be understood as developing as an offshoot of the Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and probably Al-Shabaab."[164]

Boko Haram's main ideological rhetoric is "us versus them ideology"[165] where every facet of western influence or symbolism is threatening and against the belief of the group. The "socio-economic disequilibrium" between the North and the South is what fuels the group's motives and in its members, the fractured identity of Nigeria is the one reason Boko Haram rose so quickly as it did. Extremism and terrorism thrives in environments of chaos and Nigeria is fuelling the fire. "Poverty and injustice caused by corruption"[166] in the country is another recruitment tool for Boko Haram, encouraging ethno-religious violence and discouraging national unity. "Identity is defined by affiliation with religious and ethnic groups rather than the Nigerian state."[167]

The majority of Muslims in Africa follow the 'Sufism' form of Islam.[168] "Sufism is considered to be more mystical and esoteric, focusing on the nurturing of the soul over social actions; internal spirituality and contemplation is stressed over strict interpretation and adherence to Islamic teaching and text."[169] 'Salafist' Islam is the exact opposite, this form of Islam requires strict reading of the Koran and a rejection to the West and Western culture.[170] In recent years

[163] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A. Op Cit. p. 102
[164] Warner, Z., The sad rise of Boko Haram, http://newafricanmagazine.com/the-sad-rise-of-boko-haram/, New African, April 2012, p. 39
[165] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A. Op Cit. p. 91
[166] Loc cit.
[167] Agbiboa, D. E., "Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria" in Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 44, No. 1, January 2013, p. 19
[168] Thomson, V. Op Cit. p. 51
[169] Loc cit.
[170] Loc cit.

with the increase in social and security threats to Islam within Nigeria, with over 90% of Muslims practicing Sufism, there has been a trend that a more radical form of Islam is necessary in order to counter the long lasting inequalities of the people.[171]

Religion in Nigeria has "divided more than it has ever united, deformed more than it has ever transformed and decimated more than it has ever animated"[172]. There are a number of hypotheses that have connected religion to violent tendencies in many different ways.[173] The first is a 'socio-psychological angle', this relates to the many religious identities and similar ethnic and social identities to formulate a group identity that can escalate into extreme inter-group dynamics.[174] Another important hypotheses relates to the intrinsic relationship between religion and extremism.[175] There are two hypothetical statements that can further explain this phenomenon. "The first states that religious terrorists have anti-modern goals of returning society to an idealised version of the past and are therefore necessarily anti-democratic and anti-progressive."[176] The final hypotheses concentrates on the capacity of religious terrorists to induce complete commitment from the members it recruits and are "characterised by the suspension of doubt and an end-justifies-a-means worldview"[177].

Nigeria is a state where religion has been and still is a dominant force in conflicts and violence within the state. There are 350 different ethnic groups that make up the country, with 250 official languages.[178] The prominence of Islamic extremism in Nigeria has grown in previous years, as a result of the religious, educational and financial inequalities and divisions between the North and the South. The fragmentation of the state and the popularity of extremist movements in the north can be explained by the ever growing grievances within Nigeria.

The major causes of ethno-religious violence differ from one environment to another.[179] Firstly, "the state's use of religion and ethnicity in political discourse or action"[180], including the constant use of "accusations of neglect, oppression and domination"[181] between religious and

[171] Loc cit
[172] Agbiboa, D. E., "At war against itself: Religious identity, Militancy and Growing Insecurity in Northern Nigeria" in Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, April 2015
[173] Loc cit.
[174] Loc cit.
[175] Loc cit.
[176] Loc cit.
[177] Loc cit.
[178] Thomson, V. Op Cit. p. 48
[179] Sulaiman, K. O., "Religious Violence in Contemporary Nigeria: Implications and Options for Peace and Stability Order" in Journal for the Study of Religion, Vol. 29, No. 1, 2016, p. 90
[180] Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. A. Op Cit. p. 102
[181] Loc cit

ethnic groups within the country. A contributing factor can be the failure of the ruling government in the promotion of national integration by fostering good economic progress through good leadership.[182] The rise of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria has led to increased religious and ethnic violence and harnessing the notion of bias and discriminatory growth of certain groups.[183] "The absence of vehicles of social control, coupled with the use of force and intimidation tactics by both the military and the police, stimulates the use of violence and aggressive behaviour used by the population."[184]

There are several additional factors that can lead to religious violence within the country; theoretical factors; religious intolerance; religious fanaticism; the media; aggressive militant preaching (offensive and coercive conversion); poverty; literacy levels; selfish religious personalities (religious leaders encourage violence); and external influences in religion (mutual suspicion).[185] Al these factors play a role in the violent outbreaks between different religious and ethnic groups in Nigeria. "The theoretical factors: a lack of in-depth understanding or misinterpretation of religious texts in order to move towards predetermined ends."[186]

"Media usage: the media is used in any society to inform, educate and entertain, but under no circumstances is it expected to misinform, mis-entertain and mis-educate the public."[187] In Nigeria the media has been known to fuel violence between religious and ethnic groups through misinformation, better known as 'junk journalism or sensational headlines'[188]. An example of this is a religious demonstration in April 1991 resulted in a riot in Katsina.[189] "The riot was caused by an article titled: 'would you marry a known prostitute turned born again?' in Fun Times, in this article the personalities of both Jesus Christ and Prophet Muhammad were abused and insulted fuelling the peaceful demonstration into a violent one"[190].

Recommendations that can be used in combating religious and ethnic violence by synthesizing the implications of religious violence in order to create stability in Nigeria.[191] This can be achieved through respecting and strengthening the Constitution, rule of law, advocating respect

[182] Ibid. p. 103
[183] Loc cit.
[184] Loc cit.
[185] Sulaiman, K. O. Op Cit. p. 93
[186] Ibid. p. 91
[187] Ibid. p. 91-92
[188] Ibid. p. 92
[189] Loc cit.
[190] Dauda, G. O., "Islam and Religious Tolerance: A Case Study of Nigeria's Public Uprisings 1980-1992" in Journal of Arabic and Religious Studies, Vol. 10, December 1993, p. 20-26
[191] Sulaiman, K. O. Op Cit. p. 96

for human rights, independence of judiciary and respect for democratic rules and values.[192] Religious leaders should be encouraged to preach genuine teachings; the Nigerian press should advocate peace and stability through religious harmony and peaceful co-existence; educators should constantly reflect on the values of religious tolerance; and inter-religious dialogue should be placed at the highest level of importance.[193] The separation of religion and ethnic affiliation from the political system in Nigeria is key for future peace, stability and development in the country.[194]

CHAPTER THREE – THE IMPLICATIONS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY ON THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

3.1 The rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria

This chapter will focus specifically on how poverty, human development and human security has aided the creation of a favourable environment where Islamic extremism can grow and flourish within the country of Nigeria. Human security will be analysed through different perspectives, the specific perspectives will include, economic, environmental and food, health, individual and community, as well as political security. Poverty will incorporate specific causes relevant to Nigeria, such as income inequality, ethnic and civil unrest, political instability and corruption, and neglect of rural infrastructure.

3.1.1 Human Development and Security

"Human Development is regarded as development that improves people's lives and their livelihoods, and places human beings at the centre of all development efforts, including addressing the root causes of poverty and human deprivation. It refers to the process of enlarging the range of people's choices; increasing their opportunities for education, health-care, income and employment – and covers a full range of human choices; from a sound physical environment to economic and political freedom."[195] The manifestation of poor governance and corruption in Nigeria has led to a belittled population, where human development is not secured and livelihoods of the people are decreasing each year. The lack of human development in the country has assisted the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency in

[192] Loc cit.
[193] Loc cit.
[194] Agbiboa, D. E. Op Cit. p. 21
[195] United Nations Development Program, National Human Development Report 2015: Human Security and Human Development in Nigeria, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_national_human_development_report_for_nigeria.pdf, December 2015, p. 1

Northern Nigeria. Human security in the country is another aspect that has further escalated the crisis, whether it's economic; food; environmental; health; personal; community; or political security, all these factors have influenced the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern regions of the country.[196]

"Human development and human security are, in fact, inseparable: whereas human development seeks to increase peoples' options, opportunities and access to public services and goods, and emphasises what can be achieved, human security focuses on the risks, dangers, and threats to human development, evaluates the degree of confidence that people have in public services and goods, and emphasises what can be lost when human potential is thwarted."[197] There are fundamental preconditions to ensure human security within a state this includes the empowerment of the people, specifically focusing on education.[198]

Further analysis of human development has shown that through applying the "rule of law, respect for human rights, economic development, social development, environmental development and creation of adequate norms and regimes"[199] a country can grow and prosper into a sustainable developmental state. Safe environments eventually lead to the creation of developmental projects within countries increasing both human development and human security.[200]

Nigeria is a country that lacks stable and regional rule of law. In the past the country has not had stable regimes and adequate norms throughout the state and has not created a safe environment in order to create sustainable human development and human security for the population and the country. These factors have gone on to assist in the rise of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria, flourishing on the inability of the government to ensure a stable and suitable environment for growth and sustainability of the people.

"Poverty has negatively impacted the capacity of individuals and societies to assume a leading role in their own change, this remains the main obstacle to achieving equitable and sustainable development for the future of the country."[201] Poverty reduction in Nigeria can be done through

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[196] United Nations Development Program, National Human Development Report 2015: Human Security and Human Development in Nigeria, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_national_human_development_report_for_nigeria.pdf, December 2015, p. 5

[197] Tadjbakhsh, S & Chenoy, A.M., Human Security: Concepts and Implications, Routledge, New York, 2007, p. 1-288

[198] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 10

[199] Loc cit.

[200] Loc cit.

[201] Ibid. p. 11

the channels of "ethical distribution of the available wealth, and an equitable access to the benefits of growth"[202], which can only be done by decreasing the developmental gap between the North and the South. The government, in order to ensure the countries growth and the tackling of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria, can refurbish both the availability and better use of resources, both natural and economic, as keys to poverty eradication and alleviation efforts.[203] According to the UNDP's definition of development, the main aspect to focus on is the enlargement of people's choices.[204] "At all levels of development, the three essential issues are for people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living", which will inevitably increase the choices available to the population increasing both human development and human security within the country.

Human security is a public service belonging to all. Further it encompasses a responsibility of the government to ensure the people will not fall below the threshold through engagement.[205] As the *Human Security Now report* puts it, "achieving Human Security includes not just protecting people but also empowering people to fend for themselves."[206] Creating human security within a country is done through empowerment and participation not through protection and provision.[207] "Security is not an objective good that can be delivered from the outside, but ultimately a public good and a subjective feeling that requires a conscious willingness to be 'provided' by the state and the capacity to be requested by the people."[208] On the one hand insecurity can stem from factors like, sudden loss of guarantee of access to jobs, health care, social welfare, education, and for others insecurity stems from violation of human rights, extremism, domestic violence, spread of conflicts, displacement.[209]

In Nigeria both levels of insecurity are evident within the state, this is mainly evident within Northern Nigeria as the lack of growth and development of the people has led to further insecurity. The Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria feel different levels of insecurity and the processes that will need to be put in place in order to alleviate the insecurities felt within the different regions are to be carefully thought out in order to be effective. Security is therefore

[202] Loc cit.
[203] Loc cit.
[204] UNDP, Human Development Report 1990, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990
[205] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 12
[206] Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now, http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/, New York, 2003
[207] Loc cit.
[208] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 12
[209] Loc cit.

defined as a "subjective experience at the micro level in terms of people's experience"[210] within specific regions and among specific communities. "*Security* is the actual state of being free from threat, while *sense of security* can be defined as the inner state of feeling secure."[211] Both security and a sense of security include the subjective and objective issues working together to improve the *securitability* of the population and the state.[212] There are several realms of security that one needs to consider in order to understand how human security can be established in the future, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.[213]

Types of Security:

Type	Target	Source of Threat	Risk
National Security	State	International Factors	State Sovereignty
Human Security	Humans	Nature and Poor governance	Quality of life
Water Security	Water access	Humans	Water Availability
Environmental Security	Natural Resources	Humans	Sustainability

Lozet, F. & Edou, K., Water and Environmental Security for Conflict Prevention in Times of Climate Change, Global Water Institute, http://www.gwiwater.org, 2013, p. 12

3.1.1.1 Economic Security

"Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net."[214] Unemployment is one of the main issues linking the developed world to economic insecurities, in Nigeria specifically unemployment in the Northern regions of the country has left the people desperate and alone having to resort to extreme forms of violence in order to make the government and international community aware of their unequal and impoverished way of life. "There are other key macroeconomic indicators that affect economic security, these include real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth; agriculture, industry and service sector growth, as well as employment and poverty rates, including micro level issues of personal debt, personal savings, capacity for payment of mandatory bills and macro level issues of price increase, Naira devaluation and dominance of foreign producers that have the propensity to affect economic security."[215]

[210] Loc cit.
[211] Loc cit.
[212] Loc cit.
[213] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 5
[214] Loc cit.
[215] Loc cit.

National security is another factor effecting economic security in Nigeria, encompassed through "processes of joining international, regional economic institutions as well as reform internal economic institutions and appropriate prudential management of internal and external resources from being manipulated by other governments' or through unexpected and severe economic shocks, political shocks, environmental shocks and others"[216]. One of the main trends that can assist in explaining the lack of economic security in Nigeria in the past is through its exports, during the years of 1970 till 2008 the total world exports of the country was below 1 percent, with five periods being an exception of just over 1 percent.[217] The ongoing reliance of Nigeria on crude oil exports has limited the diversification of its economy both in import and export capabilities over the years. The dependency on oil in Nigeria has allowed the economic security of the country to be greatly affected by shocks in the international oil markets, creating unstable and unpredictable oil receipts by the government.[218] "The lack of comparative advantage in manufacturing has also limited the scope for specialization"[219], which has negatively impacted the country's ability to compete in the global economic arena. Another issue that directly impacts the economic security of Nigeria is the problem of labour market integration, specifically looking at Nigeria's highly skilled personnel that are in short supply in the country are moving out in search of better opportunities because of the government's inability to create a more opportunistic economic environment.[220]

There are several recommendations that could assist with the development of economic security within Nigeria in the future. Firstly, increased participation in globalization through "proactive and sound policy mix in economic, fiscal, monetary, institutional, and political and risk management frameworks"[221]. Secondly, the establishment and development of a protectionist policy (restraining trade between states, for example tariffs, restrictive quotas, etc.[222]) by the government, in order to maximize the benefits of globalization and minimize its harmful effects on economic security and national security at large.[223] Third, the need for the Nigerian government to take advantage of the link to other West African regional countries in order to

[216] Ogunyomi, O. O., Jenrola, O. A. & Daisi, O. R., "Globalization and economic security in Nigeria: A reflection of the Nigerian manufacturing sector performance (1981 -2010)" in Journal of Economics and International Finance, Vol. 5(7), October 2013, p. 294
[217] Ibid. p. 296
[218] Loc cit.
[219] Loc cit.
[220] Loc cit.
[221] Ogunyomi, O. O., Jenrola, O. A. & Daisi, O. R. Op Cit. p. 302
[222] Amadeo, K., Trade Protectionism: 4 Methods with Examples, Pros and Cons, https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-trade-protectionism-3305896, July 2017
[223] Ogunyomi, O. O., Jenrola, O. A. & Daisi, O. R. Op Cit. p. 302

strengthen the multilateral advantages and economic benefits within the region.[224] Finally, "the Nigerian Government should adopt fiscal discipline as well as fiscal- monetary policy co-ordination to strengthen the domestic economic through massive investment on the basic infrastructural facilities that would boost the real sector of the economy"[225]. In order to reach the full economic potential of the state the government should create mechanisms and strategies in order to promote economic security among the whole population and reduce income disparities that exist among different groups within the state, including a way in which to provide income support to vulnerable groups such as the long-term unemployed, pensioners, the long-term ill and large low-income families.[226]

3.1.1.2 Health Security

"Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles."[227] Throughout the developing world the main historical sources of death, were infectious and parasitic diseases, today however there has been a significant increase in lifestyle-related chronic diseases, this shift is directly related to increased poverty and unemployment on the African continent, causing malnutrition and due to insufficient access to health care, clean water and other basic needs.[228] The internally and externally displaced people in Nigeria has increased dramatically since the start of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009, some 2.2 million people have been displaced, posing a major threat to the health security of the country.[229] "According to WHO, more than half of health infrastructures in Borno State are not functioning, this had led to further outbreak including three cases of wild polio and a further five cases of Lassa fever within Bauchi, Gombe, Plateau, and River States."[230] The need for the government to develop the "public health infrastructures and health-care systems"[231] specifically in the North of the country, has become critical to its future health security. In order to ensure that the population of Nigeria develops sustainable health security the government should provide health services that are easily and readily accessible, affordable and of good

[224] Loc cit.
[225] Loc cit.
[226] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 105
[227] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 8
[228] Loc cit.
[229] Aregbeshola, B. S., Public health crisis and local health security in Nigeria, http://www.thelancet.com/journals/laninf/article/PIIS1473-3099(16)30393-0/fulltext, November 2016
[230] Loc cit.
[231] Loc cit.

quality to all, including the maintenance of rigorous public education on HIV/AIDS and Ebola.[232]

3.1.1.3 Environmental and Food Security

"Environmental security aims to protect people from the short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats, and deterioration of the natural environment."[233] The lack of access to clean area, including the increase in air pollution and the impact of global warming in the developing world remains one of the largest environmental issues.[234] The government of Nigeria need to focus on the need for "improved drinking water sources/improved sanitation facility, volume of rainfall, gas flaring, CO2 emissions and deforestation" in order for the country to ensure environmental security in order for there to be more human development and to ensure human security. "In parallel to climate change, greater environmental degradation and natural resource injustice for example, unequal distribution and access, has led to greater scientific and social recognition of environmental challenges."[235] Specifically looking at the high levels of conflict and recent increase in Extremist insurgencies on the African continent can be attributed, to some extent, to the environmental issues of the lack of access and deterioration of natural resources.[236]

The heightened focus on environmental issues in recent years has allowed for researchers to further develop the link between the environment and security.[237] According to Peter H. Gleick, "threats to security include resource and environmental problems that reduce the quality of life and result in increased competition and tensions among sub- national or national groups."[238] The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) further explains the phenomena as, "environmental degradation, inequitable access to natural resources and the transboundary movement of hazardous materials that can lead to conflict and pose a risk to national security and human health."[239] The links between the two statements comes down to the environmental issues of global warming can lead to a decrease in quality of life and increased tensions,

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[232] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 105
[233] Ibid. p. 8
[234] Loc cit.
[235] Lozet, F. & Edou, K., Water and Environmental Security for Conflict Prevention in Times of Climate Change, Global Water Institute, http://www.gwiwater.org, 2013, p. 8
[236] Loc cit.
[237] Loc cit.
[238] Gleick, Peter H. "Water and Conflict" in International Security, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1993
[239] UNEP, Linking Environment and Security, http://www.unep.org/roe/KeyActivities/EnvironmentalSecurity/tabid/54360/Default.aspx, 2013

competition, instability and conflict, as well as extremism, in the case of Nigeria.[240] Water insecurity and poverty in Northern Nigeria has had a significant impact on the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency and fuelled the "arc of instability"[241]. "In northern Nigeria, 2.6 million people have been displaced since last summer due to a famine."[242] Majority Northern populations have been weakened through the forced displacement as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, coupled with the ongoing droughts and water insecurities in the areas which they have been forced to move.[243] The resilience of the Northern communities has been depleted and the fight against Boko Haram has grown weaker.

The water insecurity in Northern Nigeria, primarily where the main source of survival is in the agricultural sector, has ultimately threatened the survival of many communities, playing an empirical role in the growth of Boko Haram insurgency. "Food and water insecurity contributes to a general belief that the state is incapable of bettering the lives of disadvantaged people where groups that are opposed to the state are able to use this belief to their advantage."[244] The decades of neglect and limited rural development particularly in Northern Nigeria following the shift towards a more resource based economic system rather than an agricultural on has left the food and water systems within the country deteriorated. "Since the 1970s, however, the number of rainy days in north-east Nigeria has decreased by 53 per cent and, as temperatures have risen, the rate of evaporation has also increased, leading to an increase in desertification in this region."[245] The increase in environmental and food insecurity in Northern Nigeria has left the population feeling "frustrated, marginalised and hopeless"[246] through the government's inability to improve the social and economic situation in the Northern region. "The weakness of the Nigerian state in the north-east has created an environment in which anti-state rhetoric has taken hold and opponents of the Nigerian state have been relatively successful in manipulating state weakness to further their own ideological agenda."[247]

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[240] Lozet, F. & Edou, K. Op Cit. p. 8

[241] Luo, A., Water and the Rise of Insurgencies in the "Arc of Instability", https://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2017/04/water-rise-insurgencies-arc-instability/, April 2017

[242] Loc cit.

[243] Loc cit

[244] Piesse, M., Boko Haram: Exacerbating and Benefiting From Food and Water Insecurity in the Lake Chad Basin, http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/boko-haram-exacerbating-benefiting-food-water-insecurity-lake-chad-basin/, September 2017

[245] Loc cit.

[246] Loc cit.

[247] Loc cit.

Classification of instabilities due of water insecurity:

Qualification of conflict	Actors	Tensions
Control of water resources	State and Non-state	Water supply or access to water are the root of tensions
Military Tool	State	Water resources are used by a nation or state as a weapon during military action
Political Tool	Sate and Non-state	Water resources are used by a nation, state or non-state actor for a political goal
Terrorism	Non-state	Water resources are either targets or tools of violence or coercion by non-state actors
Military Target	State	Water resources are targets of military actions by nations or states
Development Disputes	State and Non-state	Water resources are a major source of contention and dispute in the context of economic and social development

Pacific Institute, The World's Water, http://www.worldwater.org/conflict, November 2009

The recommendations on how to restore water security, specifically in North East Nigeria, can be done through various "climate adaptation programs, better water and land management strategies (modernisation of irrigation systems and the fencing of cropland), increased access to natural resources (economic integration of the Northern and Southern regions), and most importantly combating and eradicating Boko Haram"[248]. In order to address the environmental concerns in Nigeria the state needs to "strengthen environmental management by incorporating new knowledge and techniques into a revision of the primary legislation."[249]

"Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food, people have ready access to food – that they have an 'entitlement' to food, by growing it for themselves, by buying it or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system."[250] The main issues that affect food security within a country is not just the availability of food per say but the poor distribution of it and the lack of purchasing power held by the state.[251] "According to the UN, the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income (related to economic security)."[252] The increase in underweight children and deprivation in Nigeria specifically relates food to human security in the country. Increased levels of poverty and unemployment also play a role in the heightened food insecurity within the country, specifically in the Northern regions. The focus of the country on oil and gas resources over the years has depleted the rise of the agricultural sector. "Once the primary

[248] Loc cit.
[249] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 105
[250] Ibid. p. 5
[251] Ibid. p. 8
[252] Loc cit.

source of government revenue and foreign exchange earnings, agriculture in Nigeria has suffered from decades of underinvestment, corruption, policy neglect, and lost opportunity."[253] Despite the countries high agricultural potential, it is still one of the main importers of food on the African continent.

"In 1965, the agricultural sector employed over 70 percent of the labour force and export cash crops were responsible for 62.2 percent of the young nation's foreign exchange and 66.4 percent of its GDP."[254] Nigeria was one of the largest producers of groundnuts and palm oil, including a significant producer of cocoa and cotton. [255] The agricultural production of groundnuts were predominantly in the Northern cities, like Kano, making it the economic hub, linking the Northern production with Southern international distribution of the goods Nigeria thrived.[256] The agricultural link between the Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria created economic interdependence, as well as regional integration.[257] The past agricultural prosperity of the country led to both human development and human security, which is something the country lack today. The government of Nigeria needs to harness previous models that worked in bringing together the divided northern and southern regions of the country today in order to create sustainable economic growth throughout the country.

Oil and gas resources became the main focus of the Nigerian government during the mid-1960s, the instant rewards and opportunities that came with the sudden focus around specific resources resulted in a lack of political will to continue the growth of agriculture within the country.[258] "A combination of redirected policy attention and public investment to the energy sector of the state further discouraged greater private sector engagement."[259] This gave rise to the Resource Curse, a common saying used to describe the ever growing problems on the African continent. "The most glaring symptom of the slow and inevitable decline of Nigeria's agricultural sector has been the way in which the north of the country, for which agriculture was the economic lifeblood, has fallen and stayed behind on key economic indicators over the past 40 years."[260] Undoubtedly the most effected by the decline in the agricultural sector are the Northern cities,

[253] Tracing the Roots of Nigeria's Agricultural Decline, Agriculture and Food Security in Nigeria, https://www.csis.org/programs/africa-program/human-development/agriculture-and-food-security-nigeria, 2017
[254] Cooke, J. G., Tracing the Roots of Nigeria's Agricultural Decline, https://www.csis.org/analysis/tracing-roots-nigerias-agricultural-decline, May 2016, p. 1
[255] Loc cit.
[256] Loc cit.
[257] Loc cit.
[258] Loc cit.
[259] Loc cit.
[260] Loc cit.

which created high levels of food insecurity in the region. "According to the, Demographic and Health Survey of 2013 taken by ICF international, undernourishment has left some 37 percent of children under age five stunted, 18 percent wasted, and 29 percent under weight, with the highest rates concentrated in the states of the North East and North West."[261] The impending food crisis in Nigeria "has been compounded by the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East, which has stifled domestic production, displaced farmers and their families, and blocked access to regional markets."[262] The everyday imports, like sugar, rice and oil, that could be locally produced, totals billions of dollars and a total of 70 percent of the population still invested in the agricultural sector has brought the country to the brink of recession.[263]

3.1.1.4 Personal and Community Security

"Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults."[264] The ability of a state to protect its population from physical violence is one of the most vital aspects of human security. The Nigerian state is a perfect example of how the government has failed to protect their citizens from violence, the increased physical violence within the country however can be attributed to many insecurities that the government has failed to correct. Threats of violence can come in several forms: "threats from the state (physical torture); threats from other states (war); threats from other groups of people (ethnic tension); threats from individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs (crime, street violence); threats directed against women (rape, domestic violence); threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence (child abuse), threats to self (suicide, drug use); crime, physical and sexual violence are core issues relating to personal security in Nigeria."[265]

In terms of threats from the state, Nigeria from 1966 to 1979 was under military rule, this has helped shape the way in which military and other security structures within the state operate. The brutality enforced on the population through police and military action was unprecedented instilling a fear of authority between the population and ruling regimes. The excessive force used by the security personnel throughout the years in Nigeria has created a feeling of greater threat from the state towards the people, including a sense of mistrust. In a statement made

[261] National Population Commission of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Nigeria: Demographic and Health Survey 2013, ICF International, https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR293/FR293.pdf, June 2014
[262] Cooke, J. G., Op Cit. p. 2
[263] Loc cit.
[264] Ibid. p. 8
[265] Loc cit.

earlier regarding the killing of the previous Boko Haram leader, Mohammed Yusuf, in police custody is an example of how law enforcement can escalate the violence rather than create more security within the state. As previously stated this led to Boko Haram's escalation of violent acts in the country creating an increase in personal insecurity in Nigeria, specifically in the Northern region.

In Nigeria tensions between different communities in the North has grown since the rise of Boko Haram, as well as the ongoing tensions between the Christian and Muslim communities, as a result of unequal distribution of wealth and resources. The lack of official governmental structures within the North of the country has created mistrust and frustrations among communities leading to further escalation of threats and violence between different groups and religions in Nigeria. The threats made by different groups has a major impact on the personal security of the people in Nigeria particularly the populations living in the Northern regions as the growing threat of Boko Haram increases the chances of physical violence inflicted on the population.

Threats from individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs is another main factor negatively impacting the personal security of Nigerian communities. In recent events, on August 10, 2017, there was a church massacre blamed on gang warfare.[266] "Eleven worshippers gunned-down in a Nigerian church, in St Philip's in the Ozubulu area of South-Eastern Anambra state, funded by a man accused by some of being a drug lord."[267] Nigeria is one of the most corrupt nations in the world, illegal activity is an ongoing threat to personal security and human development among the people, in order for there to be sustainable growth the levels of violence and corruption need to be eradicated.

Threats directed against women in Nigeria is another major issue. There are many factors that can increase a women's vulnerability to sexual violence or threats on their personal security: "age; alcohol and drug consumption; having previously been raped or sexually abused; having many sexual partners; educational level; and poverty"[268]. On the other hand there are several factors that can influence a man's risk of committing sexual violence or threatening a women's personal security: "alcohol and drug consumption; psychological factors."[269] The rise of Boko

[266] News24, 'Gang war' blamed for Nigeria church massacre, https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/gang-war-blamed-for-nigeria-church-massacre-20170810, August 2017
[267] Loc cit.
[268] "Sexual Violence", Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B. & Lozano, R. (eds), World report on violence and health, World Health Organization, Geneva, 2002, p. 157-158
[269] Ibid. p. 159

Haram in Northern Nigeria has additionally increased the threat of violence against women, the main aim of extremist groups are to instil fear and chaos in order to gain more respect. Women are forced into marriages and raped into submission by the extremist group, this has a severe effect on the personal security of women in the country.

Threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence, is a major problem particularly in the Northern parts of the country. Children are very susceptible to outside influences and at certain ages can be moulded through experience and interactions. The Boko Haram insurgency has been part of this experience for many years and therefore negatively impacted the growth and psychology of children living in these communities, with regard to educational development and indoctrination. Children are used as suicide bombers and girls are made to become wives of insurgents. Education has been stunted as a result of the insurgency negatively impacting the physical and mental growth of children, further widening the gap of educational development between the North and South.

Nigeria is a very religious based country. According to the Field Survey taken in 2015, faith in God was rated as the most significant factor contributing to their sense of security.[270] "Respondents' own action (85.8%), family (84.9%), faith in destiny (83.8%), friends (80.8%), and ethnic identity and belonging (71.6%) in that order are given as factors contributing to respondents' sense of security."[271] Personal security among the population has been greatly affected by the Boko insurgency and the inability of the government to create personal security for the people has left the country underdeveloped and frustrated. The creation of personal security can be done through positive economic growth, equal distribution of wealth, the eradication of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria, and the combating of corruption that runs deep in all facets of the country. The government needs to rebuild in order to earn the trust of the people, for personal security to be developed. In order to increase social security the state should "establish and support institutions and initiatives that help individuals with low levels of human security; including the access of the lowest-income groups to food and various forms of social security. This includes the move to reduce the social acceptance of domestic and sexual violence by raising public awareness and restraining the media and entertainment industries."[272]

[270] Ibid. p. 79
[271] Loc cit.
[272] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 105

"Community security, on the other hand, aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence."[273] Community security is based on connections made through vital links with "a family group, an organisation, and a racial or ethnic group that can provide a cultural identity and a reassuring set of values"[274]. It creates a support system, to protect weaker members, and encourage growth and development through each person's strengths and weaknesses.[275] Some community based groups however, are oppressive in nature "employing bonded labour and slaves, and treating women particularly harshly".[276] This specific community can be linked to the extremist group Boko Haram. Where there practices within and among members is more brutal and violent, praying on the weak and unstable to do the bidding of the stronger more powerful members. Yet negative customs and traditions, as a result of modernisation and the spread of mass media, are deteriorating slowly through the use of public awareness and the spread of human rights.[277]

Crime is a central determinant of the levels of personal, community and political security within a country. One way to determine the amount of criminal activity occurring in a country is to look at the number of people in prison.[278] It is interesting to note that the highest recorded number of inmates came from the South-South regions (67,077) of Nigeria.[279] The statement above can also be an indication of the lack of policing and the inability of law enforcement officers to control many regions within the North and South of the country. This shows that though the number of inmates are predominantly from the South, the governmental gap and lack of military and police structures in the North has enhanced the unequal distribution of security within the Northern regions of the country over the years.[280] "Trends in the number of violent deaths per year was mixed between the periods 2006-2014, the numbers increased from 4,443 to 6,517 in 2007 and dropped to 5,476 in 2009, and rose steadily to 10,486 in 2013 before dropping to 8,618 in 2014."[281]

[273] Ibid. p. 9
[274] Loc cit.
[275] Loc cit.
[276] Loc cit.
[277] Loc cit.
[278] Ibid. p. 71
[279] Loc cit.
[280] Okenyodo, O., "Governance, Accountability, and Security in Nigeria" in Africa Security Brief, No. 31, June 2016, p. 3
[281] Ibid. p. 74

Police brutality is evident in Nigeria, there is widespread coverage by the media and public protests in the fight against it. Brutality against women however, does not get as much attention in the media than coverage of brutality against men. "In recent reports made by Amnesty international has accused Nigeria's police and military of the routine torture of men, woman and children, as young as 12."[282] There have been testimonies and evidence over the last 10 years documenting police brutality, reports of informal torture offices, shootings, sexual violence, nail and tooth extraction, electric shock, etc.[283] The lack of security being implemented by the enforcement agencies shows the need for greater community security where there is no governmental support. This is one of the main reasons for the creation and rise of Boko Haram, to create security within communities in the North where the government has not put structures in place, can help deter the increased popularity of the insurgent group, through restoring faith in the government and security agencies among the Northern populations.



Tayo Demalo: Justice and military brutality in Nigeria - Daily Post Nigeria (http://dailypost.ng/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/soldierss22.jpg)

"The statistics on crime related to human security threats in the personal, community and political domains are of concern and will inadvertently create a climate in the society which affects how citizens perceive threats to their security."[284] The recommendations to enhance community security within Nigeria is an "informal sector and community scheme support system. The creation of this will make strengthening the security of those in the informal sector a specific target of policy-making, and increase the institutional support and funding for community schemes"[285].

3.1.1.5 Political Security

"Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honours their basic human rights."[286] The elements at the core of political security within African countries is; "political repression; systematic torture; ill treatment or disappearance; human rights violation

[282] Al Jazeera, Nigeria abuse: will torture go unpunished?, http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2014/09/2014918198389549.html, September 2014
[283] Loc cit.
[284] United Nations Development Program Op Cit. p. 75
[285] Ibid. p. 105
[286] Ibid. p. 9

and the repression of individuals or groups, are particularly frequent during political unrest, as the government tries to control the state through violence"[287].

In order to analyse political security within Nigeria I will focus on women and their participation or lack thereof in the political environment of the country. Political participation of women has been low, however in some cases, as within the National Assembly women's representation has been high in comparison to other areas.[288] "The proportion of female representatives in the National Assembly increased from 2.1 percent in 1999 to 5.3 percent in 2007 and further to 7.5 percent in 2007, yet the number has declined in recent years."[289] Taking into account there has never been a female President, Vice President or Governor in Nigeria, the representation of women as Deputy Governor increased from 2.8 per cent in 1999 to 11.1 per cent in 2015, which is a step forward for political security among females in Nigeria.[290] The geo-political variations in political representation of women in Nigeria is still unequal with majority of seats being occupied by women in the Southern regions.[291]

Political security in Nigeria can be understood as biased toward populations in the Southern portion of the state, creating governance gaps and heightened political insecurity for communities in the North. In order to fully eradicate the Boko Haram insurgency the government of Nigeria needs to implement mechanisms and strategies in order to decrease the widening political and economic gap between the North and the South. Inclusiveness in the political space is key in creating sustainable human development and human security within the Northern states. Another initiative that could assist with creating an equal political environment is to "enhance the democratic space by reducing political conflict by making governmental structures more open and accessible through better channels of affective policy-making and more space for public debate."[292] The "goal of an equitable society should be put on the national agenda in by making an initial start with some basic reforms in governmental taxation and spending"[293], in both the political and economic structures of the state.

[287] Loc cit.
[288] Ibid. p. 81
[289] Loc cit.
[290] Loc cit.
[291] Loc cit.
[292] Ibid. p. 105
[293] Loc cit.

3.1.2 Poverty and Deprivation

Nigeria, in the past has had one of the fastest growing economies (growth rate averaging 7.4% in the last decade), the economy is additionally well developed and there is an abundance of available resources (oil and gas).[294] In contrast to the high economic growth rate of the country, Nigeria's population is rife with poverty and deprivation. "According to the British Department for International Development Nigeria ranks amongst the poorest 20 countries in the world."[295] Mismanagement, poor leadership, and high levels of corruption in Nigeria has reached a point of economic decline in recent years.[296]

The United Nations defines poverty as:

> "A denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed or cloth a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness, and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation."[297]

Additionally, the Programme of Action of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen stated that:

> "Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by a lack of participation in decision-making, and in civil, social and cultural life."[298]

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[294] Ngbea, G. T. & Achunike, H. C., "Poverty in Northern Nigeria" in Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies, Vol. 2, Iss. 2, April 2014, p. 1

[295] Loc cit.

[296] Edoh, T., "Poverty and the survival of Democracy in Nigeria" in Nigerian Journal of political and Administrative Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 30 – 45, 2003

[297] Robila, M., Good Practices in Family Policy Development, Implementation and Evaluation, United Nations Expert Group, New York, May 2012

[298] United Nations, Chapter 2: Eradication of Poverty, at the World Summit for Social Development Programme of Action, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/wssd/text-version/agreements/poach2.htm, 1995

Trend of Poverty in Nigeria from 1980 to 2011

Year	Non-poor (%)	Moderately Poor (%)	Extremely Poor (%)	Poor (%)
1980	72.8	21.0	6.2	27.2
1985	53.7	34.2	12.1	46.3
1992	57.3	28.9	13.9	42.8
1996	34.4	36.3	29.3	65.6
2004	43.3	32.4	22.0	54.4
2010	31.0	30.3	38.7	69.0

Source: NBS (2010)

There are many forms of poverty other than 'material poverty', highlighting that "any human defect associated with the mind, is a form of poverty of the mind or a deterioration of the mind".[299] Poverty is a "multidimensional phenomenon that directly effects people's income, habitat, social relations, independence and self-reliance, psychological feelings, social participation or exclusion and the ability to resist exploitation.[300] Poverty for each individual and each different country has different meanings and causes, "Nigeria's poverty must have been defined through both manifested and consequential characteristics"[301]. Northern Nigeria specifically is more effected by high levels of poverty than the rest of the country, this has manifested as a result of the high levels of illiteracy and child destitution within the Northern regions.[302] "The high level of inefficient exploration and utilisation of resources, corruption, patrimonialism, culture of dependence on the breadwinner (therefore, instilling laziness) and lack of vibrant manufacturing economic sector that can absorb employable jobless youth,"[303] can additionally explain the upsurge in impoverished people within the Northern regions of the country. The dwindling focus away from the agricultural sector in Nigeria has additionally effected the food security and economic stability of the Northern states, which has, since its decline in mid-1960, greatly affected the levels of extreme poverty in Northern Nigeria.

"On an assessment of relative poverty in Northern Nigeria, the North West has 77.7% of its population living in relative poverty while the North East amounted to 76.3% of its population living in relative poverty."[304] The poverty levels, specifically within the Northern regions of the country, has aided the growing insecurities felt by communities over the years. Youths

[299] Ngbea, G. T. & Achunike, H. C. Op Cit. p. 2
[300] Khan, A. & Cheri, L., "An Examination of Poverty as the Foundation of Crisis in Northern Nigeria" in Insight on Africa, Vol. 8(1), 2016, p. 60
[301] Ngbea, G. T. & Achunike, H. C. Op Cit. p. 2
[302] Ibid. p. 3
[303] Khan, A. & Cheri, L. Op Cit. p. 63
[304] Loc cit.

groups that fall between the ages of 14 to 50 are most effected by poverty and are more "susceptible to committing and/or perpetrating all sorts of crimes such as terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, assassinations, thuggery, prostitution, drug and human trafficking and so on"[305].

Nigeria has one of the youngest populations on the African continent. The population living under the age of 15 account for approximately 44%.[306] The statistics of unemployed youth in the country has increased in recent years as poor governance and lack of effective governmental structures has resulted in more violence and displacement of many communities living in the Northern regions.

Incidence of Poverty by Zones Using Different Poverty Measures

Zone	Food Poor	Absolute Poor	Relative Poor	Dollar per Day Poor
North-Central	38.6	59.5	67.5	59.7
Northeast	51.5	69.0	76.3	69.1
Northwest	51.8	70.0	77.7	70.4
Southeast	41.0	58.7	67.0	59.2
South South	35.5	55.9	63.8	56.1
Southwest	25.4	49.8	59.1	50.1

Source: NBS (2010)

There are three common definitions of poverty in circulation: absolute poverty, relative poverty and social exclusion.[307] "Absolute poverty is defined as the lack of sufficient resources with which to keep body and soul together. Relative poverty defines income or resources in relation to the average. It is concerned with the absence of the material needs to participate fully in accepted daily life. Social exclusion is a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown."[308]

In Nigeria poverty and unemployment is far higher in the North than in the South. This is as a result of the oil fields in the Niger Delta located in the South, creating jobs and providing more infrastructural development. "Poverty ratings in the Muslim North is 72%, in the Christian

[305] Ayegba, U. S., "Unemployment and Poverty as Sources and Consequences of Insecurity in Nigeria: The Boko Haram Insurgency Revisited" in African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol. 9(3), March 2015, p. 91
[306] Global Health Facts, Population Under Age 15 years (percent), KFF, http://kff.org/global-indicator/population-under-age-15/, 2014
[307] Khan, A. & Cheri, L., "An Examination of Poverty as the Foundation of Crisis in Northern Nigeria" in Insight on Africa, Vol. 8(1), 2016, p. 60
[308] Loc cit.

South 27%, and in the Niger Delta 35%."[309] The profound poverty that plagues the Muslim North of Nigeria, is one of the ways Islamic extremists recruit people.[310] The promise of a better life, financial incentives and religious fulfilment.

The psychological effects of poverty is significant, "poor people lack confidence to participate in social engagements due to the feeling of powerlessness and insignificance"[311]. Some would even go as far as to label it an 'inferiority complex'[312]. The communities living in extreme poverty in the Northern regions of the country, without any governmental support or supervision, are detached from the state both economically and politically. The North has their own set of laws, customs and structures in place that further isolates them from the rest of the population. The government in order to combat and eradicate the Boko Haram insurgency, who have taken full advantage of the governmental gaps and psychological deficits from deprivation, need to reconnect the country on more than an economic level. Northern communities need to be given the right tools and opportunities in order to better their own lives and the state needs to ensure the availability and sustainability of them.

"Recurrent drought, neglect of agriculture, deindustrialization (A reduction in the size or share of the manufacturing sector in an economy)[313], and public sector retrenchment has gutted the northern rural and urban economy."[314] This has affected both poverty and employment in the north. Lack of education in northern Nigeria is also one of the main factors contributing to high levels of poverty and unemployment, 'barely one in five adults in the Muslim north are literate'[315]. The lack of available jobs in the formal sector has resulted in many looking for jobs in the informal sector of the economy, but even this has resulted in too much competition.[316] For some people in Nigeria the only option in the Muslim North is to join Islamic extremist groups in order to support families and communities.

Unemployment mainly affects the youth and as a result many turn to religion as their only solace, as jobs and financial security has decreased over the years.[317] "Unemployment has

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[309] Thomson, V. "Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria" in Global Security Studies, Vol. 3, Iss. 3, 2012, p. 49
[310] Meagher, K., Beyond terror: addressing the Boko Haram Challenge in Nigeria, NOREF, http://peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/5614f83843057164a8ba03658dccb344.pdf, November 2014, p. 1
[311] Khan, A. & Cheri, L. Op Cit. p. 60
[312] Loc cit.
[313] The free dictionary, deindustrialization, http://www.thefreedictionary.com/deindustrialization, 2003
[314] Ibid., p. 2
[315] Loc cit.
[316] Loc cit.
[317] Alao, A., Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria, http://www.securityanddevelopment.org/pdf/ESRC%20Nigeria%20Overview.pdf, February 2009, p. 23

become a major problem bedevilling the lives of Nigerian youths, causing increased militancy, violent crimes, kidnappings, restlessness, and social delinquent behaviour. It is devastating to both the individual and the society as a whole both psychologically and economically causing frustration, dejection and dependency on family and friends, who also have their own problems to contend with. The high rate of unemployment among the youths have contributed to the high rate of poverty and insecurity in the country."[318] The international crisis group report of 2010 laid out that extreme levels of poverty are somewhat of a 'northern phenomenon'.[319] The report laid out the levels of poverty within the Northern states, characterise the highest incidence of poverty. "Jigawa is at the top of the list constituting 95 percent; Kebbi, 89.7 percent; Kogi, 88.6 percent; Bauchi, 86.3 percent; Kwara, 85.2 percent; Yobe, 83.3 percent; Zamfara, 80.9 percent; Gombe, 77 percent; Sokoto, 76.8 percent; and Adamawa, 71.7 percent."[320] It is a known assertion that impoverished people are targeted for the recruitment of Islamic extremist groups. "Those who have opportunities to sustain and better themselves will likely accept the system in which they live and behave peacefully."[321]

Boko Haram has been known to focus their recruitment on young students of Islam 'almajiri' (street children).[322] In the Muslim culture some boys at the age of six are sent away from their families in order to travel and be taught by teachers away from their natural environments.[323] The lack of educational structures in the North, has created an increase of children living on the streets and forced child labour within the country.[324] The estimated number of street children in 2010 was approximately 9.5 million, concentrated primarily in northern Nigeria.[325] These young children have been targeted because of their vulnerability to indoctrination and radicalisation by religious extremist groups.[326] "This shows that the Boko Haram crisis is an outcome of a cumulative effect of poverty, unemployment and a series of minor violent events that predate its emergence."[327]

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[318] Ayegba, U. S. Op Cit. p. 91
[319] International Crisis Group, "Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict" in Africa Report, No. 168, December 2010
[320] Mamah, E., Nigeria: High Poverty is Northern Phenomenon-Soludo, AllAfrica, Vanguard, http://allafrica.com/stories/200807210828.html, July 2008
[321] Ayegba, U. S. Op Cit. p. 96
[322] Barna, J., Insecurity in context: The rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria, European Union, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2014/536393/EXPO-AFET_NT(2014)536393_EN.pdf', July 2014, p. 6
[323] Loc cit.
[324] Loc cit.
[325] Loc cit.
[326] Loc cit.
[327] Khan, A. & Cheri, L. Op Cit. p. 66

The Almajirai System:

"Historically, the Hausa word almajirai (plural almajirai), derived from the Arabic al-Muhajir (plural al-Muhajirun), best describes an emigrant with specific reference to early scholars as well as others in quest for knowledge, who migrates from the luxury of his home to other places or to a popular teacher in the quest for Islamic knowledge."[328] The Almajirai system is the oldest educational system known in Northern Nigeria and has always been a self-sufficient entity among the Muslim communities. The system in addition to providing education, produced judges, clerks, teachers, etc., which helped form the 'elaborate' administration system that we see today in Northern Nigeria.[329]

Following the rise of violent crime in Northern Nigeria during the transition towards democracy and the extended reign of military rule, which led to the collapse of the Almajirai system. The economic decline of the Northern states added to the collapse of the system. In addition to the economic factors, the system was further effected by the growing belief that the education system in the North was capable of causing "unrest and fanaticism, by bringing up a separate educated class in rivalry with the accepted rulers of the people"[330]. One of the major difficulties for the continuation of the Northern States educational system was the availability of quality teachers and their ability to teach through Hausa.[331]

"More so, political instability and economic hardship since the 1980s coupled with other problems including the appalling incapacity of government to tackle these issues has resulted in frustration in the past. This is seen as a general background that is relevant to the emergence of Boko Haram, besides its identity as an Islamic group."[332] The lack of funding, availability of teachers, growing poverty and decreased economic growth led to collapse of the Almajirai system and the rise of the Boko Haram Brotherhood. The growing frustrations and the lack of available economic and developmental opportunities in the North created a level of mistrust and hatred for the growing and flourishing Southern regions. With the ever growing levels of poverty the Almajirai system has become, "the studying of the Holy Quran under harsh and

[328] Akubor, E. O., "Poverty and Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: Reflections and Notes on the Manipulation of the Almajirai System and its Implications for National development" in Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society, Vol. 4, Iss. 1, 2016, p. 9

[329] Ibid. p. 11

[330] Lugard, F., Dual Mandate of British West Africa, London: Thomas and Nelson, https://archive.org/stream/cu31924028741175/cu31924028741175_djvu.txt, 1922

[331] Akubor, E. O. Op Cit. p. 14

[332] Salihu, H.M., "Governance Failure and Political Violence in Nigeria: The Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati wal-Jihad in Perspective" in Nigeria's Convulsive Federalism: Perspectives on Flash-Points of Conflict in Northern Nigeria, Ibadan, M. H. (eds), Cypress Concept, 2012, p. 16

despicable conditions, apart from roaming the streets with cups and begging while dressed in rags, scavenging on food remnants, the children are involved in different types of work without any clear pattern, and live under bridges, motor parks, mosques, market stalls, or with families. This makes them vulnerable to different kinds of health, physical and psychological hazards."[333]

The main causes of poverty in Nigeria can be identified as: income inequality, ethnic and civil unrest, political instability and corruption, neglect of rural infrastructure, and the Nigerian population.[334]

- Income inequality

"Income inequality worsened from 0.43 to 0.49 between 2004 and 2009."[335] This figure directly relates to the unequal access to resources within the country, such as infrastructure and amenities.[336] In Nigeria specifically there are significantly more rural poor in comparison to urban poor, this is directly affected by the composition of the Nigerian economy, mainly the energy and agricultural sectors in the country.[337] The inequality is shown quite clearly through the analysis of these two sectors. The oil sector for example contributes significantly to government revenue and equates to 15% of total GDP per capita, the agricultural sector on the other hand, contributes to approximately 45% of total GDP per capita and employs on average 90% of the rural population.[338] The significance of this example is to show that the governmental focus is solely on creating wealth for the few rather than the many.

- Ethnic and Civil Unrests

"Unrest has its roots in poverty and economic competition, the economic and human damages of civil and ethnic unrest further escalates the problems of poverty within the country."[339] In light of economic inequalities and high levels of corruption, the Nigerian population through increased frustrations and poverty, have become increasingly violent. Community, personal, environmental and political insecurities have become more and more apparent, as ethnic and

[333] Bala, M., Almajiri: A memo to the Sultan, https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/saturday-column/almajiri-a-memo-to-the-sultan/13921.html, Weekly Trust Newspaper, June 2013, p. 3
[334] Ngbea, G. T. & Achunike, H. C., "Poverty in Northern Nigeria" in Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies, Vol. 2, Iss. 2, April 2014, p. 269
[335] Loc cit.
[336] Loc cit.
[337] Loc cit.
[338] Loc cit.
[339] Loc cit.

religious group conflict has increased in the last decade, including the emergence of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria.

- Political Instability and Corruption

"Nigeria's large population and historic ethnic instability has led to the adoption of a federal system of government."[340] The system that has been adopted allows for greater 'fiscal decentralization', which in turn provides the government and Nigerian state considerable autonomy of approximately 50% of government revenue, including the responsibilities of providing public services.[341] Coupled with the lack of accountability and monitoring of the system, it has created an opportunistic environment for corruption among political elites in the country leading to the misappropriation of public funds.[342]

- Neglect of Rural Infrastructure

"Investments in health, education and water supply have been focused largely in the cities and in addition, rural communities lack roads, good drinking water, hospitals, and schools etc. As a result, the rural community is completely neglected and very poor."[343] The neglect of rural infrastructure can be directly related to the levels of corruption and mismanagement of public funds mentions above.

- The Nigerian Population

The Nigerian population is growing at a very high rate, particularly in the North, this "puts pressure on depleting resources and increased threats to the environment effecting food production in the country.[344] "Land degradation as a result of extensive unsustainable agricultural practices, deforestation and overgrazing is already severe in many parts of the country. Drought has become common in the North and erosion provoked by heavy rains, floods and oil pollution is a major problem in the South and Southeast. Other factors include; poor leadership, lack of comprehensive National poverty alleviation policies, lack of sound agricultural policy and protracted neglect of the sector, high level of illiteracy in the North, excessive external debt burden, and child destitution (almajiranchi) in the North."[345]

[340] Ibid. p. 270
[341] Loc cit.
[342] Loc cit.
[343] Loc cit.
[344] Loc cit.
[345] Loc cit.

The government of Nigeria can fix the problem of poverty in the country through various strategies and mechanisms. Income distribution is a key policy that needs to be adopted in order to reduce poverty levels in Nigeria, the FOA pointed out that unfavourable income distribution undermines the links between economic growth and food security.[346] "Increase the limited access of the poor to infrastructure, improved technology, and human capital formation,"[347] which will help alleviate poverty and improve the livelihoods of the communities living in the North.

"Another initiative worth noting is the 'zero hunger programme' in Brazil, which aims to address the root causes of poverty that result in hunger."[348] The initiative has two paralleled strategies in alleviating and preventing hunger in both the short and long term.[349] "The two-prong approach aims to provide food for the hungry as an emergency response and to improve professional training, reduce poverty and stimulate food production over the long term."[350] There are many new innovative ways in which technology and strategy can help reduce poverty the Nigerian government just needs to find a mechanism that will fit their multidimensional form of poverty, and how it can be eradicated.

CHAPTER FOUR – WHAT MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN ORDER TO COMBAT THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

4.1 Various leadership in Nigeria and how they tackled the Boko Haram Insurgency

This chapter will focus specifically on how two different leaders of Nigeria, former President Goodluck Jonathan and current President Buhari, have addressed the Boko Haram insurgency. Goodluck Jonathan's (2010-2015) various strategies in the fight against Boko Haram led to its rise in many ways. For example, unequal distribution of wealth, including increases in corruption within many governmental structures in Nigeria. President Buhari's (2015-) various leadership strategies in the fight against Boko Haram in many ways has led to its decline in recent years. The efforts of the current President to increase alliances with foreign countries, and the implementation and restructuring process of the security forces within the country, has heightened Northern populations faith and trust in the government, and diminished the support for Boko Haram and the groups ideological rhetoric. The diminished support for Boko Haram

[346] United Nations, "Poverty and Hunger" in Bulletin on the Eradication of Poverty, No. 10, 2003, p. 2
[347] Loc cit.
[348] Loc cit.
[349] Ibid. p. 2-4
[350] Ibid. p. 4

is shown through the reduced influence it holds over the North, as the government has recaptured many territories previously occupied by the group, particularly the Borno State.

4.1.1 Former President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015) tactics and strategy to combat Boko Haram

Tactics and Strategies in Combating Boko Haram:

Former President Goodluck Jonathan was the first leader to create a national strategy to combat the growing insurgency of Boko Haram in Northeast Nigeria.[351] Boko Haram had begun expanding their reach nationally far beyond the Northeast during this time.[352] This was done through the manipulation of both social factors and religious divisions utilising the new Presidents religious and ethnic affiliations in an attempt to nationalise the group's rhetoric.[353] "On 16 June 2011, just weeks after Jonathan's election, it launched the first suicide attack in Nigerian history at the police headquarters in the federal capital of Abuja."[354] 2011 marked an escalation of violence, another suicide car bomb attack in August at the UN headquarters in the Nigerian Capital, Abuja, heightened insecurities in the country.[355] Between December 2011 and February 2012 Boko Haram switched its focus to Christian Churches, intensifying sectarian violence.[356]

Goodluck Jonathan, on 31 December 2011, announced a state of emergency in 15 areas within 4 Northern states.[357] The state of emergency stayed in effect for six months. During this period however, Boko Haram carried out more attacks and killed more people than in 2010 and 2011 combined.[358] Boko Haram relied on the tactic of alienation from the brutal nature of security forces to secure support from local communities.[359] "The killing of hundreds of detained civilians by soldiers after the 14 March 2014 Boko Haram attack on a barracks in Maiduguri was a typical example of how the government continued to alienate locals throughout Borno

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[351] Leach, J. D., "Boko Haram: Diverging Approaches to Fighting Insurgency" in Journal of Politics and Democratization, Vol. 1-2, September 2016, p. 5

[352] Loc cit.

[353] Loc cit.

[354] Al Jazeera, Timeline: Tensions in Nigeria, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2010/01/201012314018187505.html, December 2010

[355] BBC News, Abuja attack: Car bomb hits Nigeria UN building, http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-14686780/abuja-attack-car-bomb-hits-nigeria-un-building, August 2011

[356] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5

[357] Human Rights Watch, Spiralling Violence: Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria, https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/10/11/spiraling-violence/boko-haram-attacks-and-security-force-abuses-nigeria, October 2012

Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5

[358] Loc cit.

[359] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5

state in particular. The governments' brutal retaliation created further mistrust and general insecurity, which the group capitalized on throughout the course of that year."[360] The abuse of authority among the security forces within the country, including the detention of Boko Haram members or suspected members without bringing formal charges against them, without trial for months, even years and without registering the arrests made.[361] The abuse of power and lack of monitoring by the government of law enforcement in Nigeria, set a president and additionally fuelled support for the Boko Haram insurgency among people living in the Northern regions.

The escalation of conflict perpetrated by Boko Haram in 2011 and early 2012, caught the attention of the international community, as the "United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, stated that the attacks may constitute crimes against humanity if judged to be deliberate acts leading to population 'cleansing' based on religion or ethnicity"[362]. The increased police brutality in retaliation to the Boko Haram's violent attacks, in the name of ending the group's threat to civilians has been highly contested.[363] "In June 2011, 3,600 men were deployed in a special military Joint Task Force (JTF) named Operation Restore Order comprising personnel and officers of the Nigerian army, navy, air force, police and state security service (SSS) stationed in Maiduguri with a mandate to neutralise Boko Haram."[364]

The Joint Military Task Force (JTF), comprising of military, police, and intelligence personnel, had been responsible for killing hundreds of suspected Boko Haram members, including civilians as collateral damage during these attacks.[365] The JTF was accused of "excessive use of force, physical abuse, secret detentions, extortion, burning of houses, and stealing money during raids, and extrajudicial killings of suspects"[366]. Strategies have been put in place in order to tackle the growing indiscipline of the security forces in Nigeria. "The continued undermining of security operations, manifested in negligent conduct, disobedience, and reports of cooperation and intelligence sharing with Boko Haram by JTF soldiers"[367].

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[360] Loc cit.

[361] Human Rights Watch, Spiralling Violence: Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria, https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/10/11/spiraling-violence/boko-haram-attacks-and-security-force-abuses-nigeria, October 2012

[362] Loc cit.

[363] Loc cit.

[364] Cold-Ravnkilde, S. & Plambech, S., Boko Haram: From Local Grievances to Violent Insurgency, Danish Institute for International Studies, 2015, p. 22

[365] Human Rights Watch, Spiralling Violence: Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria, https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/10/11/spiraling-violence/boko-haram-attacks-and-security-force-abuses-nigeria, October 2012

[366] Loc cit.

[367] MAX Security Solutions, Special Report: Nigeria's Boko Haram Insurgency, November 2014, p. 11

The move towards prosecution of such offences has been implemented by military authorities in the country, for example, "a court martial sentenced 12 soldiers to death who were stationed in Maiduguri and charged with mutiny"[368]. The issue of "poor equipment and training has additionally been addressed through the Nigerian federal government recently approving the borrowing of 1 billion USD designated specifically to assist the operation against Boko Haram"[369]. In light of the previous statement, the shortages in funds regarding security within Nigeria will not be fixed though loans from other states but through the eradication of corruption in the public sectors, the problem will be ongoing if the cause is not dealt with first.

The Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was first established back in 1994 in reaction to increased crime and banditry in the region.[370] The member states of the joint operations include Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria.[371] "During their 14th ordinary summit on 30 April 2012 in N'Djamena, the Lake Chad Basin (LCBC) heads of state and government decided to reactivate and operationalise the MNJTF and to expand its mandate to the fight against Boko Haram."[372] The mandate of this agreement included, "conducting military operations to prevent the expansion of the group's activities; conducting patrols; preventing all transfers of weapons or logistics to the group; actively searching for and freeing all abductees, including the girls kidnapped from Chibok in April 2014; and carrying out psychological actions to encourage defections within Boko Haram ranks."[373] The organisation however, is not an exclusive entity for combating Boko Haram.

The funding of Boko Haram through various coercive methods of financial institutions, such as bank raids, extortion of local businesses and government officials throughout 2012, and the high profile kidnappings of foreign nationals, had gone virtually unchecked by the Nigerian government.[374] In 2013 however, Former President Goodluck Jonathan began taking extensive legal measures in the fight against Boko Haram, this included the ordering of a military

[368] Loc cit.
[369] Loc cit.
[370] Assanvo, W., Abatan, J. E. & Sawadogo, W. A., West Africa Report: Assessing the Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram, Institute for Security Studies, September 2016, p. 6
[371] Loc cit.
[372] Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), Remarks of the Executive Secretary at the Meeting on Security, 14th Summit of Heads of State and Government, www.cblt.org/sites/default/files/communique_final_14_sommet_fr.pdf, April 2012
[373] African Union Peace and Security, Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on the implementation of communiqué on the Boko Haram terrorist group and on other related international efforts, http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/report-of-the-chairperson-of-the-commission-on-the-implementation-of-communique-psc-ahg-comm-2-cdlxxxiv-on-the-boko-haram-terrorist-group-and-on-other-related-international-efforts, March 2015
[374] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5

crackdown in June of that year.[375] The apprehension of weapons by the group was done through "raids on construction sites for detonation materials; materials like RPGs, assault rifles, trucks, and other materials were acquired through overrun government facilities; and after the overthrow of the Libyan government in 2011 the availability of small arms weaponry increased significantly"[376].

In 2014 Boko Haram managed to boost their international reputation and visibility through the April kidnapping and abduction of 276 girls from secondary school in the village of Chibok.[377] The attack ignited an international response fuelling pressures for the Nigerian government to combat the growing threat of Boko Haram. There was a growing understanding for the grievances of the communities living in the Northeast region however, these issues could not be addressed in the current dangerous environment created by the insurgency, including the recent developments for retrieving the Chibok girls.[378] The only alternative was to enter into negotiations with Boko Haram, even if it seemed an undesirable option.[379] "On 17 October 2014, the Nigerian government announced it had reached a ceasefire agreement and the release of more than 200 kidnapped Chibok schoolgirls with Boko Haram."[380] An attack in Borno state the following day killing eight civilians created popular public opinion towards the premature announcement made by the government, heightening the mistrust and further decreasing the confidence of the people in the ruling elite of the country.[381] An announcement made by the Boko Haram leader, Shakau, fully denied that a ceasefire agreement had been made.[382] In light of the statement made by the leader of Boko Haram and the increased violence that followed led many "cynical members of the public and media to conclude that the 'ceasefire' was either an incompetent attempt to deal with one of Boko Haram's more marginal factions or a ploy to score a 'breakthrough' in advance of the March 2015 Presidential elections"[383].

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[375] Loc cit.
[376] Loc cit.
[377] Al Jazeera, Boko Haram 'to sell' abducted schoolgirls, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/05/boko-haram-claims-nigeria-abductions-201455134957975542.html, May 2014
[378] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5
[379] Loc cit.
[380] Al Jazeera, Nigeria says ceasefire agreed with Boko Haram, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/10/nigeria-boko-haram-ceasefire-201410171453521356l.html, October 2014
Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 5
[381] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 6
[382] Loc cit.
[383] Soyombo, F., Nigeria's 'Fake' Ceasefire with Boko Haram, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/11/nigeria-fake-ceasefire-with-b-201411111034422433 08.html, November 2014

The upcoming Presidential elections ignited multiple attacks by Boko Haram on various Nigerian targets and the group increased their presence across international borders in order to disrupt the process.[384] The Baga massacre in January 2015, was labelled by Amnesty International as the 'deadliest attack' carried out by Boko Haram to date.[385] The group seized a key military based in the area, allowing for further insecurities on a regional scale.[386] The main victims of the attack were women, children and the elderly who were not fast enough to escape the violence that unfolded.[387] "This marks a disturbing and bloody escalation of Boko Haram's ongoing onslaught," said Daniel Eyre, Nigeria researcher for Amnesty International.[388] The impact on regional security from an attack of this magnitude creates millions of people displaced throughout Nigeria and bordering nations, like Chad, Niger and Cameroon.[389] "The groups followed this attack by extending its presence into Southern Niger in February 2015 and pledging its allegiance to the Islamic State in March 2015, cementing their loyalty by changing the name of the insurgent group to IS West African Province (ISWAP)."[390] The shift towards affiliation with the Islamic State was done strategically, as the group inability to expand its territory in the region provided means of incentive to in creating a more lucrative advance.[391] In light of the militaries inability to subdue the conflict early has led the Goodluck Jonathan administration to supply arms to local vigilante groups in the region, this operation still remains active today.[392]

The deep corruption of elites in Nigeria which worsened during the leadership of Goodluck Jonathan, further diminished the strength of the governments' fight against the Boko Haram insurgency.[393] In 2012, President Goodluck Jonathan advocated the newly elected National Security adviser, Sambo Dasuki, to aid the fight against Boko Haram.[394] "However, Sambo was implicated in a scandal involving cash diverted from weapons to fight Boko Haram."[395] In another corruption scandal, another appointed member of the Goodluck Jonathan

[384] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 6
[385] Al Jazeera, Boko Haram massacre toll possibly 2,000, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2015/01/boko-haram-massacre-toll-possibly-2000-201511004229409787.html, January 2015
[386] Loc cit.
[387] Loc cit.
[388] Loc cit.
[389] Loc cit.
[390] Gaffey, C., Niger Elections: Four Issues to Watch out for, Newsweek, http://www.newsweek.com/niger-elections-four-issues-watch-out-428600, February 2016
[391] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 6
[392] Loc cit.
[393] Loc cit.
[394] Loc cit.
[395] Loc cit.

administration, Hassan Tukur, was arrested in connection with stealing $40 million designated for the ransom of the kidnapped Chibok girls.[396] During Goodluck Jonathans rule there were many other reports of corruption, millions being stolen from public funds, which played a very vital role in the inability of the government, during this time, to eradicate or subdue the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency. "In June 2016, further investigations were made into the corruption of Goodluck Jonathan by the newly elected Buhari administration, but no concrete evidence was found regarding the allegations.[397] The levels of corruption in Nigeria run deep and as a result a 'shadow economy' exists that, has allowed for the creation of a terrorist infrastructure to take advantage of underfunded enforcement of the law and the illegal trading of goods to create its own trade routes and networks within the country that thrive under the lack of transparency and accountability.[398]

"Goodluck Jonathan established a 26-member amnesty 'Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North' (headed by Nigerian Special Duties Minister Kabiru Tanimu) with a three-month mandate to try to convince Boko Haram to surrender its arms in exchange for a state pardon and social integration."[399] According to a presidential statement, the Committee "has been 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"[400]. The strategies and tactics used by the Jonathan regime to combat and defeat the Boko Haram insurgency had undoubtedly been good ideas however, the implementation and execution of these ideas have been misplaced through corruption and the lack of concentration on the issues that led to the creation and growth of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Other than within the political elite, corruption runs through all structures within the state including the security sector. "The Nigerian police force is consistently under resourced, and money is frequently stolen."[401] In an effort to hinder the growing corruption that plagues the

[396] Premium Times, EFCC arrests Jonathan's former Principal Secretary, Hassan Tukur, https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/203541-efcc-arrests-jonathans-former-principal-secretary-hassan-tukur.html, May 2016
[397] Vanguard, Jonathan opens up: I'm being investigated for corruption by Buhari, https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/06/jonathan-opens-up-im-being-investigated-for-corruption-by-buhari/, June 2016
[398] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 6
[399] IRIN, 'Nigerians on the Run as Military Combat Boko Haram'. Integrated Regional Information Networks, http://www.irinnews.org/report/98076/analysis-nigerians-on-the-run-as-military-combat-boko-haram, May 2013
[400] Thurston, A., Amnesty for Boko Haram: Lessons from the past. Africa Futures, http://forums.ssrc.org/african-futures/2013/05/20/amnesty-for-boko-haram-lessons-from-the-past/, May 2013
[401] IRIN, 'Nigerians on the Run as Military Combat Boko Haram'. Integrated Regional Information Networks, http://www.irinnews.org/report/98076/analysis-nigerians-on-the-run-as-military-combat-boko-haram, May 2013

Nigerian state the people have tried to make the political elites accountable for their actions but fallen short every time. The increased frustrations and lack of security in the country has been fuelled by corruption, including the growth of Boko Haram taking advantage of the widespread dissatisfaction and mistrust in leadership to gain support within the Northern states. By the time the elections started in March 2015, Boko Haram had established its presence in over one third of the Northern region and over two million Nigerians were either internally displaced or refugees.[402]

Leadership strategies to illicit help from outside powers to combat Boko Haram:

The initiatives taken by the Jonathan administration and his predecessor to persuade neighbouring states and the international community to aid in the fight against Boko Haram by focusing on improving multilateral relations on a regional and international level both politically and economically. President Yar'Adua, during his term was not in good health, which left the country without stable leadership for long periods of time. Without functional institutions and a leader to guide the country and implement foreign policy the Nigerian state was left stagnant for the period of 2007-2010.[403] During this period "Nigeria failed to show up to important international meetings, lost many positions in multilateral associations, forsook obligations, and found itself in a situation where many of its allies started wondering what had gone wrong with Nigeria."[404] The fractured state of the country, after the death of former President Yar'Adua, was left to Vice President Goodluck Jonathan who took the role of acting President before winning the Presidential elections in 2011.[405] "In his capacity as the acting President, Jonathan embarked on a number of diplomatic shuttles, as part of a deliberate attempt to reassure the world that Nigeria was stable and secure despite the internal political challenges especially with the challenges of succession it was going through."[406] The initial period of former President Goodluck Jonathan was taken to revitalise the regional and international standing of Nigeria, in order to re-establish connective links with other countries on both a political and economic level. Some of the main foreign policy objectives that stood out are:

- "The relationship between Nigeria and US continued to improve under Jonathan, one of the key developments was the signing of the first US–Nigeria Bi-national Commission, aimed

[402] Loc cit.
[403] Boma Lysa, D. A., Terfa, T. A. & Tsegyu, S., "Nigerian Foreign Policy and Global Image: A Critical Assessment of Goodluck Jonathan's Administration" in Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism, Vol. 5, Iss. 10, 2015, p. 4
[404] Loc cit.
[405] Loc cit.
[406] Loc cit.

to establish a mechanism for sustained, bilateral, high-level dialogue to promote and increase diplomatic, economic and security co-operation between the two countries."[407] The main objectives of the US in establishing this agreement was to improve domestic conditions within Nigeria, establish transparency and accountability in the governmental structures, and improve economic stability through reform, investment and agricultural development.[408] In January 2012, former President Goodluck Jonathan re-established dialogue with the European Union "aimed at streamlining migration in a globalizing world and in the interest of all parties"[409].

Leadership's intra-state initiatives taken in order to combat Boko Haram insurgency:

The 'transformation programme' was another initiative undertaken by the Jonathan regime after winning the Presidential elections in April 2011.[410] "The agenda is based on selected important policies, programmes and projects which when implemented is expected to positively transform the Nigerian economy."[411] The program outlined specific changes in each individual sector of the economy.

Job creation, "include creation of 5 million new jobs annually, a youth employment safety net support program such as conditional cash transfer and vocational training, development of industrial clusters, reviewing of university curricula to align with industry job requirements and promotion of apprenticeship/work experience programmes"[412]. Educational sector transformation, in order to "promote primary enrolment of all children in school going age irrespective of the income profile of the parents, to provide necessary infrastructures and to increase access and reduce pupil/teacher ratio"[413]. The health sector to support and encourage "invest in health so as to reduce the rate of infant and maternal mortality"[414]. Governance, to improve the sectors of "political governance, economic governance, corporate governance and effectiveness of institutions" through improvement in public service, security, the legislature, anticorruption measures and institutions, including judiciary; economic coordination; and

[407] Loc cit.
[408] Alao, A., Nigeria and the global powers: Continuity and change in policy and Perceptions, South African Institute of International Affairs, No. 96, 2011
[409] Boma Lysa, D. A., Terfa, T. A. & Tsegyu, S. Op Cit. p. 5
[410] Alao, D. O., & Alao, I. O., "A Mid-term Evaluation of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan Transformation Agenda" in Journal of Research and Development, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2013, p. 54
[411] Loc cit.
[412] Ibid. p. 56
[413] Ibid. p. 57
[414] Loc cit.

support for private investment"[415]. Financial obligation to the people and to the growth of the country by focusing on "public services, reconstruction, construction, rehabilitation and dualization of roads are in progress in some States of the federation, among others, Katsina, Abia, Rivers, Ogun, and Anambra"[416]. Agriculture and Industry "aimed at ensuring sufficient food production to meet the needs of the nation and to enhance generation of National and Social wealth through greater export and import substitution"[417]. Oil and Gas sector through the "promotion of private sector investment in both upstream and downstream activities of the oil and gas industry, deregulate the industry and promote environmental friendly oil and gas exploration and exploitation methods"[418].

4.1.2 President Muhammadu Buhari (2015-) tactics and strategy to combat Boko Haram

Tactics and Strategies in Combating Boko Haram:

The March 2015 elections was one of the most peaceful and legitimate in Nigerian history.[419] Muhammadu Buhari came into power in 2015, a retired Muslim major-general who had run a military dictatorship for twenty months during the mid-1980s.[420] The campaign that President Buhari ran was based upon his credibility as an "incorruptible, no-nonsense disciplinarian who put patriotism before gain"[421]. The image President Buhari portrayed during the election was taken full advantage of, bringing hope to the people of Nigeria for future growth and stabilisation of Nigeria.[422] The key issues President Buhari advocated for during his campaign were instrumental to the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency.[423] President Buhari portrayed the Jonathan administration as an oppressive entity turning the disenfranchised youth of the Northeast into a wayward, misguided, and radicalised Islamic entity.[424]

One of the main challenges in President Buhari's leadership is the incentives for future negotiations with Boko Haram for a ceasefire agreement to ultimately provide long-term security to the Northern states of Nigeria.[425] The main difference in the thinking of current

[415] Ibid. p. 59
[416] Ibid. p. 60
[417] Loc cit.
[418] Loc cit.
[419] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 7
[420] Loc cit.
[421] Adibe, J., "The 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria: The Issues and Challenges" in Journal of African Foreign Affairs, 2015, p. 8
[422] Ibid. p. 6
[423] Loc cit.
[424] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 7
[425] Loc cit.

President Buhari and former President Goodluck Jonathan is the use of military force, the Buhari administration states that, "little point existed in sending the army to the North to clear areas that could not be held in the long-term"[426]. The reform of the military structures in the country is another top agenda for President Buhari, through the combating of corruption and building new military strong holds in the Northern regions of the country.

"President Buhari has indeed been able to weaken Boko Haram by intensifying the counter-insurgency, providing the Nigerian army with better and more equipment and a more systematic strategy, as well as by collaboration with regional states and other actors."[427] The need to remove "top military commanders considered corrupt, incompetent and unprofessional in an attempt to raise the morale of poorly equipped and poorly trained security forces."[428] The military background of the new leader is essential for the countries fight against Boko Haram, bringing new and innovative ideas in order to re-establish peace and stability in the Northern regions of the country.

The loss of multiple key government areas in the North in the beginning of 2015 is as a result of the believed corruption, which led to the unpreparedness and later defeat of security forces in the North.[429] In the reforming of military structures, President Buhari relocated the Nigerian Military Command Centre from Abuja to Maiduguri.[430] He also appointed a new general to lead the international task force, Major-General Buratai, a native to the Borno state in the northern region.[431] This was done in order to re-establish the trust and re-build local confidence in the government regarding the needs and security of the local communities in the Northern states.[432] "On the basis that the previous administration had failed to properly equip and support costs for military operations in the northeast, the new government pushed through a bill for supplementary military spending of USD 187 million."[433]

"Buhari's plan is, however, not merely one of a military nature. His approach suggests a greater awareness of the complex intricacies between military, development and humanitarian

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[426] Loc cit.
[427] Danish Institute for International Studies Op Cit. p. 34
[428] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 7
[429] Loc cit.
[430] Loc cit.
[431] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P., The Boko Haram insurgency: The Shor Term Gains and Long Term Solutions, The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2017, p. 4
[432] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 7
[433] Federal Ministry of Budget and National Planning, Full Text of President Muhammadu Buhari's 2016 Budget Address at the National Assembly, http://www.nationalplanning.gov.ng/index.php/news-media/news/current-news/494-full-text-of-president-muhammadu-buhari-s-2016-budget-address-at-the-national-assembly, 2016

interventions."[434] In September 2015 the Buhari administration put forward a 'Nine-point Nigerian Marshall Plan' consisting of: "pursuing economic policies for shared prosperity and attention on youth employment; quality education for development, modernity and social mobility; agricultural productivity and ensuring food security; investments in industries; restoring public services; and tackling corruption which has become blatant and widespread"[435].

"Upon assuming the presidency, Buhari declared he would negotiate 'without preconditions' regarding the release of the girls kidnapped at Chibok, providing a 'credible leader' of the group could be identified."[436] The Buhari administration's commitment to governmental reforms is clear in not only improving the effectiveness of the military and law enforcement, but to ensure confidence building among allies and ensure economic gains from the rehabilitated of such alliances.[437] The restructuring of the financial sector in order to eradicate the "elaborate system within the treasury that has allowed for patronage and blatant corruption by simplifying 'the books'".[438] This objective will be carried out through the closing of many accounts in the various ministries and agencies within the federal government.[439]

President Buhari in addition, dismissed the Inspector General of the Police force, Saleiman Abba, a Jonathan administration appointee who had been accused of widespread corruption.[440] The increased recruitment of 10,000 more police officers is a strategy that will not only decrease criminal activity in the country but help to decrease high youth unemployment.[441] President Buhari's Northern and Muslim background has been instrumental to the fight against Boko Haram. "It is the hope of the people that he will be able to bridge the north/south, Christian/Muslim divides, which are pertinent issues in Nigeria."[442]

In February 2016, Borno State Governor, Kashim Shettima, announced that governmental control over the Borno state had been restored, Boko Haram had lost their ability to collect

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[434] Danish Institute for International Studies Op Cit. p. 34

[435] Aziken, E. N., My Marshall Plan to save Nigeria – Buhari, http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/10/marshal-plan-save-nigeria-buhari/, 2014

[436] Dupraz-Dobias, P., Nigeria's ex-President Jonathan is finally pushing back at claims of corruption, Quartz Africa, https://qz.com/605640/nigerias-ex-president-jonathan-is-finally-pushing-back-at-claims-of-corruption/, January 2016

[437] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 7

[438] Loc cit.

[439] Loc cit.

[440] Ibid. p. 8

[441] Premium Times, Recruitment of 10,000 police personnel will address youth unemployment – Buhari, https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/201117-recruitment-10000-police-personnel-will-address-youth-unemployment-buhari.html, April 2016

[442] Danish Institute for International Studies Op Cit. p. 34

taxes in and the Nigerian Constitution was once again being enforced throughout the region.[443] The decline of the Boko Haram insurgency and hold on the Northern areas of the country, was slow moving since President Buhari came into power. Boko Haram had already started retreating into mainly rural areas within the North, the growing hostilities towards the group among Northern communities has led to an overreliance on coercive tactics in order to increase its following.[444] The initial objective of the full defeat of Boko Haram did not succeed but the inability of the group to launch "conventional and coordinated attacks"[445] and ultimately hold territory, is a victory in itself. In light of the recent decline in Boko Haram's military strength the group has become more reliant on suicide attacks. Although the group has been defeated in certain areas it is still capable of killing hundreds of people.[446] In April 2016, multiple were launched throughout the northeast around the Maiduguri state. In February 2016 two refugee camps in Borno state and a refugee camp in Maiduguri state were victims of suicide bombers killing over 50 people.[447] The main concern is that almost all suicide attacks are being carried out by children.[448]

Reaffirming trust between the government and people of the country is critical to the defeat of Boko Haram. "The perception that the predominantly Christian South does not care about the Muslim North, and appoint leaders who exploit the region's resources, are widespread."[449] The importance of traditional and religious leaders who are able to "ground their discourse in philosophical and theological frameworks"[450], is imperative in reconnecting links with the diverse ethnic and religious groups of the country. The divisions of different factions in Nigeria has been a breeding ground for chaos for many years, but through the use of "extensive networks and channels of communication"[451], traditional and religious leaders can reach the

[443] Salem, T., Nigeria: Boko Haram - PMB Has Restored Sovereignty to North-East – Shettima, http://allafrica.com/stories/201602150958.html, February 2016
[444] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 8
[445] NAN, Army reclaim all territories from Boko Haram, The Guardian, https://guardian.ng/news/army-reclaim-all-territories-from-boko-haram/, September 2017
Nwosu, P., We have Decimated Boko Haram – Chief of Defence Staff, Daily Nigeria News, http://www.dailynigerianews.com/2016/01/12/we-have-decimated-boko-haram-chief-of-defense-staff/, January 2016
[446] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 8
[447] Al Jazeera, Nigerian refugee camp hit by twin suicide bombings, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/02/suicide-bombers-hit-nigerian-displaced-persons-camp-160210184351280.html, February 2016
[448] Al Jazeera, Boko Haram attacks with children 'suicide bombers': UN, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/04/boko-haram-children-suicide-bombers-160412093755915.html, April 2016
[449] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P. Op Cit. p. 11
[450] Loc cit.
[451] Voice for Change, Strategy on Working with Religious and Traditional Institutions and Leaders, http://www.v4c-nigeria.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Religious-and-Traditional-Leaders-Strategy-Sept-2014.pdf, September 2014

people that the state cannot. Mobilizing and unifying the population using differences to bring people together.

In March 2016, the Buhari regime announced the creation of a Human Rights Desk.[452] "The desk is composed of six legal officers from the Nigerian Bar Association and the legal section of the army and the new body will investigate allegations of human rights abuses perpetrated by NA personnel, including working to strengthen the army's capacity to protect human rights and report annually on their progress."[453] The main aim is to create structures in which people can report grievances and gain support in order to increase public security in the country.

The increased regional cooperation between 2015 and 2016 was vital in the fight against Boko Haram. "The group's increased millenarian approach to 'foreign policy', which allowed for no clear distinction between 'other' and 'enemy', has led to a more effective international response than Abuja could have ever devised on its own."[454] However, it is important to note that regional integration and cooperation had been on the rise before President Buhari ascended to power in 2015. Following the carnage that unfolded in January 2015 the Au assembled a summit of the five-nation regional forces of approximately 7,500 troops, which later increased to about 8,700, the MNJTF was formed under a single command.[455] This included the creation of a "new Concept of Operations under the supervision of the Lake Chad Basin Commission, and an agreement that a Nigerian officer will be the Force Commander for the duration of the mission against Boko Haram"[456]. While the group's last significant stronghold in Sambisa forest in Borno state has been recaptured by the Nigerian security forces, Boko Haram continues to spread rapidly across the northeast, particularly along the borders with Cameroon and Niger, making regional cooperation vital.[457] International cooperation in the fight against Boko Haram became a top priority for the Buhari administration. "President Buhari's solutions to Boko Haram seem to be a combination of military intervention establishing security for civilians and humanitarian actors in the regions, but also integrate long-term sustainable solutions."[458]

[452] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P. Op Cit. p. 12
[453] UNHRC, Nigeria creates a military Human Rights Desk, http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/NigeriacreatesamilitaryHumanRightsDesk.aspx, March 2016
[454] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 8
[455] Loc cit.
[456] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P. Op Cit. p. 4
[457] Loc cit.
[458] Danish Institute for International Studies Op Cit. p. 34

Since President Buhari came to power, the controlled territory and number of deaths inflicted by the insurgent groups has dramatically declined. "Insurgent groups are a relatively easy target when controlling large swathes of territory, and tend to quickly generate resentment among populations under their control – many of whom may have at one time been either active supporters or sympathetic to their cause"[459], which is increasing in frequency throughout the Northern region. The defeat of Boko Haram is far more complex than re-taking occupied territories the vast reach and capabilities of the group on, both a regional and national level, has yet to be controlled. The eradication of corruption and newly formed military tactics President Buhari has brought to the main structures within the country are significant and continue to play an important role in the declining power of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Leadership strategies to illicit help from external states to combat Boko Haram:

The strategies taken by the Buhari administration in order to persuade neighbouring states and the international community to aid in the fight against Boko Haram are similar to that of the previous regime. Outlining important strategies to improve the peace and security of the African continent and re-establish the regional connections of the Nigerian state. It is important to repeat that the Jonathan administration, however not successful in the implementation of previous initiatives had positive ideas on how to reintegrate Nigeria into the international community both economically and politically. "The main strategies under president Buhari government includes improving relations with its neighbours in order to jointly fight Boko Haram which assumed a multinational or transnational dimension, partner with US and other world powers to support the government in order to fight terrorism by providing needed manpower and intelligence, and more importantly improvement of economy and fighting corruption, improved relations with China in order to foster economic development through provision of needed infrastructure."[460]

- Nigeria- ECOWAS Countries Relations:

Newly elected President Buhari promised to tackle three main issues plaguing the Nigerian state, corruption, security and economic development.[461] "The shuttle diplomacy by President Buhari to his West Africa neighbours played a decisive role in limiting the capabilities of Boko

[459] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P. Op Cit. p. 4
[460] Bello, I., Dutse, A. I. & Othman, M. F., "Comparative Analysis of Nigeria Foreign Policy Under Muhammadu Buhari Administration 1983-1985 and 2015-2017" in Asia Pacific Journal of Education, Arts and Sciences, Vol. 4, No. 4, October 2017, p. 48
[461] Loc cit.

Haram to strike in Nigeria and recede to these neighbouring countries as shield against Nigeria forces, this diplomatic relation between these ECOWAS countries help curtail the activities of Boko Haram."[462] Besides the use of foreign relations in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency, Nigeria played an important role as chief mediator in solving the "constitutional impasse in Gambia, where President Yahaya Jammeh initially refused to give up power to democratically elected president Adama Barrow, President Buhari was tasked by ECOWAS to lead a negotiation with Jammeh in order to concede power to Barrow"[463].

- Nigeria-US relations:

President Buhari created deeper ties with the United States by initiating a number of high-level meetings between the two countries. These meetings solidified the bond between the two nations through the common goals of countering violent extremism; curtailing corruption; sales of military equipment; including the lending of funds towards military enhancements in the fight against Boko Haram.[464]

- Nigeria-China relations:

China and Nigeria share many similarities, the main one being their geographical significance in their respective continents.[465] China is a significant international partner in terms of its importance in enhancing industrial and infrastructural developments among many African nations, including Nigeria. President Buhari visited China after his ascension into office solidifying trade, diplomatic and economic relations between both countries.[466] The strategic meeting between China and Nigeria led to the "signing of the Framework to Enhance Infrastructural Development and Industrial Activities in Nigeria between National Development Reform Commission of China and Ministry of Industry, Trade and investment of Nigeria; Technological and Scientific Cooperation between both countries"[467]. A number of loans from China were approved in order to make up for the deficit in Nigerians 2016 budget, to fund the rail project.[468] In order to further solidify relations with China, President Buhari

[462] Ibid. p. 48-49
[463] Ibid. p. 49
[464] Hickie, S., Abbott, C. & Clarke M., Remote Warfare and the Boko Haram Insurgency, Oxford Research Group, http://oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/sites/default/files/Boko%20Haram%20report-Final.pdf, p. 9
[465] Bello, I., Dutse, A. I. & Othman, M. F. Op Cit. p. 49
[466] Ibid. p. 50
[467] Loc cit.
[468] Loc cit.

adopted the 'One China Policy', which "ensures that there is only one state called China and Taiwan and mainland China is incontrovertible part of a single China".[469]

- Nigeria-UK relations:

President Buhari's strategic military reforms were done in order to "reaffirm its sceptical allies, such as United states, France and the UK that it was committed to the efforts of ensuring internal security for the future of Nigeria"[470]. Through these newly adopted strategic reforms implemented by the Nigerian government the UK increased the flow of military hardware, intelligence sharing, and the training of troops in the fight against international terrorism.[471] The UK has sent an additional three hundred troops to aid Nigeria in the fight against Boko Haram, including the pledge to spend £860 million in foreign aid largely devoted to the project of combating international terrorism and violent extremism.[472]

- Regional relations:

President Buhari after coming into power made a number of diplomatic visits to countries of the Lake Chad Basin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and the Benin Republic.[473] The visits were made to ensure a level of trust between the nations and to promote the joint initiatives of combating Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern regions of Nigeria. "The President's prioritization of fighting corruption, improving security, and economic reform (the pillars of his domestic policy) have also been well-received by the international community."[474] Intensified regional cooperation has allowed for more coordinated cross-border attacks and the intensification of regional military operations on Boko Haram, the renewed focus on non-military 'soft targets of the group to demonstrate a desperate attempt of continued presence in the region and the use of coercive measures in order to recruit members.[475]

The main initiatives that can be accredited to President Buhari include; improving foreign relations with Nigeria neighbours which are ECOWAS and Lake Chad Commission members; forging important diplomatic and economic relations with China; improving respect within the international community (invitation to the G7 meeting); initiatives in ensuring peace and

[469] Loc cit.
[470] Hickie, S., Abbott, C. & Clarke M., Remote Warfare and the Boko Haram Insurgency, Oxford Research Group, http://oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/sites/default/files/Boko%20Haram%20report-Final.pdf, p. 10
[471] Loc cit.
[472] Ibid. p. 11
[473] Buchanan-Clarke, S. & Knoope, P. Op Cit. p. 13
[474] Loc cit.
[475] Leach, J. D. Op Cit. p. 9

stability on the African continent; and improving collaborations and diplomatic ties with the United States.[476] The main difference between the foreign policy objectives of former President Jonathan and current President Buhari is the implementation and execution of the initiatives and the ongoing efforts to improve and enhance regional and international relations in order to grow and secure the survival of the Nigerian state.

CHAPTER FIVE – GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Concluding Remarks

Muslim extremism in Nigeria has come about, as a result of poor governmental structures, the existence of high unemployment and poverty in certain parts of the countries, as well as the religious diversity that exists. Poor control of the central government on the state and its people in Nigeria has created gaps where the people feel their needs are not being met. This in turn, has allowed for the increased dependence on other groups and structures that have developed to take control and meet the social and financial needs of many people within the population.

Poverty and unemployment in Nigeria is one of the highest in the world. The lack of social security within the formal sectors of the state has allowed the people of the country to align themselves with the informal sector. Criminality and corruption in the state has as a result increased, levels of violence and conflict. This has created an environment favourable for the growth and development of Muslim extremism within Nigeria. Religious diversity and ethno-religious conflict, is also one of the key elements where Muslim extremism has grown in both popularity and influence. Religious conflicts in Nigeria have been evident since independence and following colonial rule. The pull factors towards Muslim extremism clarifies that, within the Nigerian state specifically, the resources available are favourable to the ideologies and strategies of Islamic extremist groups.

The various leadership strategies taken by Goodluck Jonathan and President Buhari have highlighted and significantly impacted the rise and decline of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria over the years. In the case of Goodluck Jonathan the high levels of corruption throughout the governmental and security structures within the country, including the lack of implementation of various policy initiatives created an environment where the Boko Haram insurgency grew and flourished within the North-eastern region of the country. The shift in concentration towards oil resources, additionally aided the rise of Boko Haram, through the neglect of

[476] Bello, I., Dutse, A. I. & Othman, M. F. Op Cit. p. 51

governmental spending on the agricultural sector, which was central to the growth and development of the Northern regions of the country. The Goodluck Jonathan regime, in my opinion, heightened the crisis through the creation of a governance gap, and lack of sustainable security within the underdeveloped Northern region.

President Buhari on the other hand has created a suitable environment that has prompted the decline of the Boko Haram insurgency in the North of the country. Through various external and internal strategies, such as efforts to decrease corruption and the implementation of reformed military structures, the government has successfully recaptured many territories that were previous occupied by the insurgent group. The heightened focus of re-establishing lost connections with neighbouring and international states in the fight against Boko Haram has also been instrumental in its slow decline over the years. The fight to completely eradicate Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria is still a long way from over, but the progress that has been made as a result of President Buhari's strategies and initiatives shows progress towards sustainable security and development within the North of Nigeria.

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