



**FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE REDUCTION OF VIOLENCE
RELATED TO THE BOKO – HARAM INSURGENCY
IN NORTHERN NIGERIA**

**MR. AZEEZ TAOFEEK
STUDENT ID : 5617810003**

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Author: Mr. Azeez Taofeek
Student ID: 5617810003
Degree: Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Diplomacy

**This Independent Study has been approved to be partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Diplomacy**

Approved by

Advisor *Tatree Nontasak*

(Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tatree Nontasak)

Co-Advisor *Chitphol N.*

(Police Col. Dr. Chitphol Kanchanakit)

..... *Tatree Nontasak*

(Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tatree Nontasak)

Director of Masters of Arts in Peace Studies and Diplomacy

Siam University

Date *27 July 2019*

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By: Mr. Azeez Taofeek

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Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. TatreeNontasak

ABSTRACT

This research paper examined the factors contributing to the reduction of violence related to Boko – Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria. It served as a principle for achieving peace, and a framework or guideline for further research with respect to the significant impact human right plays in peace building.

The policy change and conflict resolution are undeniably relevant to the wellbeing of any society. As such the liberty and security of persons depend on the preeminent policy that ensures a peaceful state of mind that further reflects in the daily lives of people.

Using a qualitative approach, which included expert interviews (religion leaders, victims of the insurgency, media professionals, experience military personnel, etc.) and documentary research, the finding revealed that some new policy put in place by the government was ever ready to stop the Boko – Haram insurgency. These aggravated tension's development and restored peace to the region.

The researcher contended that the Nigeria government needs to employ non – violent means of conflict resolution. If the government is serious about bettering the lives of the Northern Nigeria people, there is an urgent need for structures and institutions, infrastructures and forums that encourage dialogue, transparency and understanding which will further serve as tools for maintaining and sustaining peace in the region.

Keywords: Boko – Haram insurgency, conflict resolution, amnesty, policy change, peace, Northern Nigeria.

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Lastly a loving thanks to my wife Azeez Bukola Lawal and my kids, Shinayomi, Ajoke, Alibarika, for their understanding and gracious support.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God Almighty Allah. And to my late Mother
HajiaRiskatAnike Azeez. May Allah grant her Alijanafridahusi Amen.



DECLARATION

I Azeez Taofeek, hereby declare that this work is entirely mine and that it is original unless specific acknowledgements verify otherwise.

Signature.....

Name: Azeez Taofeek

Date.....

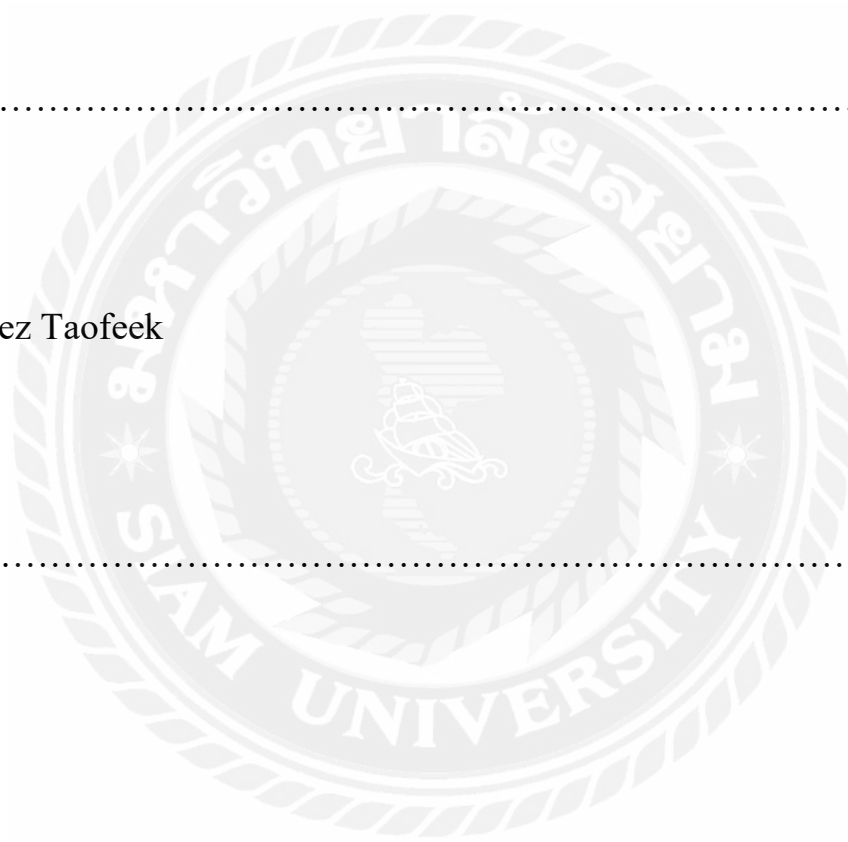


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Chapter 1

1.1 Background of the study

Brief History of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria

Nigeria was created in 1914 from an amalgamation of the northern and southern region of Nigeria by British colonial authorities. According to Aro (2011). Northern Nigeria consists mainly of the Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups, who are predominantly Muslim, while Southern Nigeria consists of the Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups, who are mostly Christians and animist worshippers. The history of Northern Nigeria has been profoundly influenced by religion and politics. Since the Borno Sultanate and the Sokoto Caliphate which ruled part of what is now Northern Nigeria, the Republic of Niger and Southern Cameroon fell under the British control in 1903: there has been strong resistance to western education among the Muslims of the area. The political dynamics of the Northern Nigeria has been mostly controlled by Ethno-religious nationalism prevalent in the mainly Muslim communities in the region. Thus, there has been a significant resistance to the ideology of western education championed by the Boko Haram sect.

In the Northern part of Nigeria, religion has long been used as a uniting tool. As noted by Agande (2007), the Fulani Jihads of 1804-1808, through conquest and conversion, superimposed Islam on the Hausa identity, creating a central political and religious authority on the fragmented Hausa states of present-day Northwestern Nigeria, and fusing them into one political and linguistic unit. The unity seen among Northerners strongly contrasts to the

Southern region of Nigeria, which is made up of various scattered ethnic groups, languages, political organizations and religions.

Boko Haram's formal name is Jamaat Ahl as- Sunnah lid- Dawah wal- jihad, meaning "people of the ways of the prophet for Jihad". The large following attracted to Yusuf was center at a mosque in Maiduguri's Railway Quarters. Yusuf followers gain the nickname "Boko- Haram because of the emphasis in Yusuf teaching on rejecting of Western education and influence. Members do not call themselves by name, the erstwhile leader and founder of Boko Haram, Yusuf, had, until his demise, attracted a large followership of mostly Muslim faithful in Maiduguri. The word "Boko" originates from Hausa language, which means "BOOK". "Haram" is an Arabic language, which means something that is religiously forbidden. Boko – Haram simply means "Western Education is forbidden". Yusuf's movement was popularly known as "Boko Haram" because of the emphases Yusuf's ideologies which centered on the repudiation of western education and influence (Al- Bashir.2008)

Boko Haram as a movement started in the 1990s in the northeast Nigeria, albeit, in a non-violent form. He emphasized the need to isolate Muslims from secular society, to purify Islam of Western and secular influence and to implement Sharia law in its entirety. Yusuf believed that if Sharia law was implemented, corruption and inequality would be eliminated (Da'wah Coordination of Council of Nigeria, 2009).

In 2009, tensions amongst Yusuf's followers, the local politicians including Borno's governor Ali Modu Sheriff, and the Nigerian security services erupted into a full – blown conflict, to which security services responded violently. An estimated 800 of Yusuf's followers were killed. Yusuf was captured and extra-judicially killed by the police. Surviving members melted back into the community. In 2010, the group reemerged under the leadership of Yusuf's deputy Abubakar Shekau and launched a violent campaign against the security services and those perceived to be opposed to Boko Haram's ideology, aims and methods.

Boko Haram was involved in at least thousands of deaths recorded between May 2011 and September 2015, and directly responsible for at least 14,226 over the same period (DCCN, 2009) Da'wah Coordination of Council of Nigeria, 2009).

Muhammed Yusuf was the founding leader of Boko Haram. He was charismatic'smalam (Islamic teacher) who taught a vision of Islamic purity similar to Wahhabi teaching but did not advocate violence in the beginning. Yusuf's deputy, Abubakar Shekahu, replaced him as Boko Haram's leaders in 2010. Shekahu is very notorious, Under Shekahu's leadership he has not been seen public since 2009, sparking period rumors that he is dead, "Shekahu" is very strong and has a lot of influence in leadership council collectively. However, there are periodic video and audio message released by the group purporting to show that Shekahu is still alive and always claim most of the attacks. The leadership of the group remains strong. It is likely that Shekahu has spiritual influence over the group, but that but that members and cells do not necessarily feel beholden to follow Shekahu's orders or seeks his approval for their own operations. More likely the dual pillars at the center of Boko – Haram's ideology social justice and implementing Sharia, which resonate widely in the region connect disparate components of Boko Haram.

Boko Haram is thought to number over 15,000 fighters. Their reason for joining is diverse. Many are drawn to the call for social and economic equality, as well as religious ideology is less critical in the recruitment process than a perception of the marginalization of the Northern region and the inequality and corruption rampant nationwide.

The so-called Alma Jiri (Quran street school for the poor) are also commonly cited as easy recruits for the Boko Haram because they have minimal education, and what they have been exposed to is often solely memorization of the Quran and very literal interpretation of it. Recent studies suggest however, that Alimajiri

students, while present among Boko Haram ranks are not necessarily predisposed to radicalization. Some members, especially young, unemployed men, join Boko Haram because it offers financial Compensation in a region with few economics' opportunities.

But still, others join Boko Haram as the safest option, Campaigns by the security forces rarely distinguish between civilians and Boko Harams fighters. Joining Boko Haram forces can offer s veneer of security. Boko Haram's vitriolic rhetoric against the security service also resonates with many who experience states institution as security, Boko Harams vitriolic against the security services also resonate with many who experience state institutions as indiscriminately violent and repressive.

This contributes to grassroots – level support for Boko Haram's ideology and aims, even if many disagree with its violent methods. Some members have been radicalized in prison and join or are force to join after Boko Haram set them free. According to survey conducted by Nigeria National Security advisors' office, much more common in the radicalization and recruitment process, are familial and community ties. Brothers, Cousins and school friends often join together. Husbands often pressure their wives to join with them. There is evidence that some of the recent girls used as human bombs are daughters of Boko Haram members.

Throughout much of its five and half year insurgency against the Nigerian state, Boko Haram lived embedded in urban communities, carrying out guerilla styles attacks on soft targets (such as School and places of worship) andon symbols of the Nigerian state (police station, banks, and Check points) In May 2013, the federal government claimed for the first time that Boko Haram had captured several towns in northeast Nigeria and a state of emergency (SOE) was established to allow a joint Task Force of military and police to tackle the

insurgents. Under the SOE, the security forces manage to evict Boko Haram from most urban areas, depriving it of its support and resources networks forcing it to begin preying on communities for whom it had previously claimed to fight.

Much of the world learned of the Boko Haram terrorist group after they kidnapped 276 school girls from their dormitory in the town of Chibok in 2014, but for years their steady worsening attacks have been wracking parts of the country. In June 2014 Boko Haram announced the establishment of a caliphate at its peak; Boko Haram had seized much of Borno state and part of Yobe and Adamawa states. It appears that the group did not attempt to administer much of its territory, focusing instead on denying the Nigerian state control.

Shekahu did designate Gwoza, a historic cultural and religion center, as the group's capital. Throughout the autumn of 2014 there were signs of communication between Boko Haram and ISIS leaders Abu Bakr al Baghdadi. Formally linking the Nigerian group to the international Jihad network for the first time. Arolealide Ismail "Economics Empowerment in Nigeria today yesterday and tomorrow international humanities, volume 3, number, 2011,"

The Military Joint task force (MNJTF) has continued through this period to confront the group in the Lake Chad Basin. The implication of the alliance between Boko Haram and ISS remain unclear. The group has proven resilient to eradication over the past two decades; however, their ideology continues to resonate with large sections of the northern Nigerian Muslim population, even as most find the group's glorification of violence abhorrent. The group continues to carry out guerilla – style attacks on villages and Military positions including UN house Abuja and it has increased its use of suicide bombings, including using young girls as human bombs.

Evidence shows that the origin of Boko Haram is linked to the poverty and lack of development in Northern states of Nigeria in the era of colonialism. Boko Haram, which perceives the west as a corrupting influence on the governance of Northern States, emerges as an armed revolt against a widening regional economic disparity. By Da'wah coordination council of Nigeria, (DCCN, 2009).

Although the election of the formal Nigerian's President Good luck Jonathan – a Southern Christian – Provoked many Northerners and coincided with an increase in Boko Haram's violent activities, there is no evidence indicating conclusively that Boko Haram emerged solely in response to North – South tensions in Nigeria. Also, a lack of violence activities by the group in the south further disproves the notion that Boko Haram's emerged primarily due to the North – South divide.

In the difference of Islam and Islamism, faith-based Islam does not play the paramount role in inspiring Boko Haram's activities. Instead, politically driven Islamism was adopted as a doctrine to wage war on all, including Muslims who adopt Westernization. The religious face used by Boko Haram is a deceptive cloak to deceive Nigerians that share Islamic sentiments. But there is no evidence that Muslim generally endorses or condones activities of Boko Haram. The specific attacks on Islam States in the North, such as the mosque bombing in Borno State, indicate further that this violent group is primarily an ideologically driven political organization trying to weaken the Influence of Moderate Islam in Northern Nigeria, which they deem as Westernized.

The table below shows the data of the Boko – Haram's insurgency in Northern Nigeria from 2009 up till 2017.

YEAR	ACITIVITY	DEALTH	INJURED
July,26-29 2009	Dutsen-BauchYobe,Mamudo Maiduguri	320	80
Sept,8 th Dec31 2010	PrisonBauchiState State,JosAbujaMilitarybarackMaiduguri	200	77
8 th April- Dec30th 2011	Abuja-Police-headquarters Abuja UN House,	187	132
5 th Jan- 30 th July, 2012	Police-station-Jos, Kaduna.-Maiduguri Police-Headquarters.	200	448
7 th May -July 2013	Bama, Yobe State	80	101
12 th Feb-20 th May, 2014.	Konduga, Borno,Bama, BuniYadi,Maiduguri, Mainok Abuja, Kano Bus Station	241	935
26 th Feb- 7 th March, 2015.	Bus station, Maiduguri Fish Market.	2020	65

March-2016.	Abuja	100	24	
April-2017	Maiduguri.	30	10	

1.2 Objective

The objective of this study is to find out the causes and effect resulting from the adjustment of the strategies and policies of the Nigeria Government and led to the reduction of Boko – Haram activities in Northern Nigeria specifically.

1. This study will attempt to unravel why insurgency became pervasive in the northern region of Nigeria.
2. To map out the Government strategy on how lasting solution can be proffered and put a reduction to Boko – Haram insurgency activities.
3. To allow growth economics standard of Nigeria and therefore reduce poverty and promote good employment for the youths.

1.3 Hypothesis

Considering the government policies and strategies necessary for the reduction of Boko – Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria the following are two hypotheses.

1. If the policies on the eradication of Boko – Haram insurgency are made appropriately, there will be less or no conflict than assumed.
2. If there is respect for justice, equality and steady peacebuilding engaged upon, it will be needless to engage in violent confrontation.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework.

This chapter reviews theories of public policy and the concept of policy change in relation to the Boko – Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. The concept of policy change will be insignificant without the presence of policies that negatively influence the daily lives and welfare of people. Thus, it is necessary to review public policy theories in relation to the concept of policy change.

The concept of the government policies for the reduction of Boko – Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria will be insignificant without the presence of public policies that will improve the daily lives and welfare of the communities and bring peace to a society.

This section highlights the key point of this research by focusing on the concept of policy analysis and disarmament of peace.

Aro (2011) wrote that public policy plays an important role in establishing a peaceful nation which can create an avenue for a foreign investor's construction of facilities alliance with a local firm for the speedy building of a peaceful nation.

Auty (1993) in his articles also wrote about policy analysis that put in place some policies by offered amnesty, swapping, negotiation, and dialogue that can be bring about attacks on innocent citizen of the region.

Agande (2007) in his book stated it clearly that to get into a reasonable conclusion for a lasting solution in peace building disarmament must be considered properly. There must be a room for every party involved in such conflict to lay down their weapons and ammunitions and guarantee peace in the region.

2.1 Concept of Public Policy and Policy Change

Thomas Dye in his book (1976) views public policy as a system of laws, regulatory measures, course of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a government entity or its representatives. Policy change is a major change in attitude or principle or point of view especially about government policies. Therefore, the notion of policy change would be irrelevant in the absence of policies that negatively affect the daily lives and welfare of the communities. In other words, when the existing policies affect people negatively, the peace in such society tends to be distorted thereby resulting into conflicts or public problems. Consequently, Dye open important solutions to public problems through policy streams. Consequently: agenda setting, policy formulation, legitimating, implementation and evaluation. It is believed that when these processes are not favorable to the masses, it may lead to policy change. “Change is the core business of all sciences, from biology and genetics to anthropology and sociology. The question is: why, when, and how does change occur, and what does such change really mean? Trying to provide answers to such questions is the unending task of all involved in the field of scientific study” (Capano, 2009).

Citing works of various authors, Schaffrin (2013) views that “policy change has become a focal issue for discussion in political science, public administration, sociology, and law studies” (Kelly, 2008, Howlett & Cashore, 2009, Jones & Baumgartner, 2012, Sabatier, 2007, Tsebelis, 1999, Dryzek, 2006, Knill et al. 2010). Research on this subject matter can be traced back to the late 1950s when scholars like Herbert Simon (1957), Charles Linblom (1959). And Thomas Kuhn (1962) postulated that “general patterns of policy development cannot only be identified but predicted” (Howlett & Cashore, 2009). Understanding and explaining policies and policy change became important with increasing involvement of the state in more and more realms of social life: The modern state is widely seen as an active and as a proactive state, increasing managing, shaping, even creating its constituent population” (Pierson, 2004).

2.1.1 Meaning of public policy

Public policy is the means by which a government maintains order or addresses the needs of its citizens through actions defined by its constitution. It's likely definition may sound confusing, because a public policy is generally not a tangible thing but rather is a term used to describe a collection of laws, mandates, or regulations established through a political process.

Moreover, Public policy is the principle guide to action taken by the administrative executive branches of the state with regard to a class of issue in a manner consistent with law and institutional customs. In general, Public policy is commonly embodied in constitutions, legislative acts, and judicial decisions.

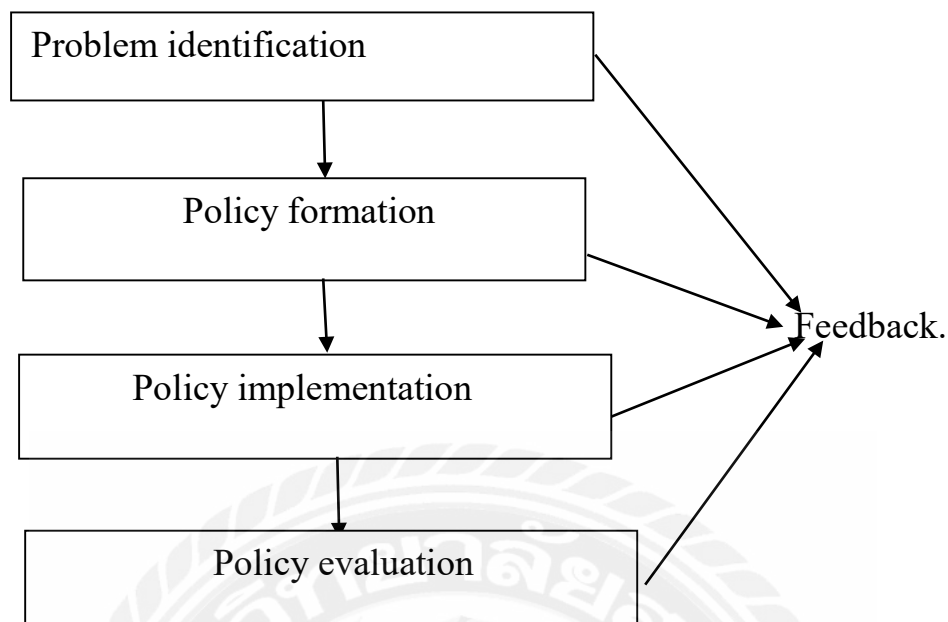
2.1.2 Policy process

Policymaking process is the Public policy refers to the actions taken by government – its decisions that are intended to solve problems and improve the quality of life for its citizens. A policy established and carried out by the government goes through several stages from inception to conclusion.

Public policy refers to the actions taken by government – its decisions that are intended to solve problems and improve the quality of life for its citizens.

At the federal level, public policies are enacted to regulate industry and business to protect citizens at home and abroad, to aid state and city government and people such as the poor through funding programs, and to encourage social goals.

A policy established and carried out by the government goes through several stages from inception to conclusion. These are agenda building, formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation, and termination.



This diagram is an example ways of policy process dimension.

2.1.3 Policy change and why state change policy

Policy change – this a major change in attitude or principle or point of view “an about face on foreign policy”. It simply means the action of changing something either by government or individual.

At the same times, Policies are the written or unwritten guidelines that governments, organizations and institutions, communities, or individuals use when responding to issues and situations. They are generally shaped both by logic (e.g. get a medical history before you prescribe medication) and by people assumptions about the reality.

There are a number of excellent reasons why changing policies is worth the trouble. In general, it’s the difference between sweeping problems under the rug, and actually cleaning them up so they don’t appear again.

- Policies are the basis for community decisions. If you can change the policy, you may be able to affect – for the better, we assume – community decisions about an issue well into the future.

- Attempting to change policies can start a community conversation about the issues in question. Attempt at policy change make clear that current policies are inadequate to deal with the issues and start people thinking about why. The resulting discussions can change people thinking about other issues as well and about the direction of the community as a whole.
- Changed policies have effects on the next generation. As proponents of civil rights hoped, and racist feared, integration. As proponents of civil rights hoped, and racist feared, integration had its greatest effects on schoolchildren. A whole generation grew up feeling that having friends of different races was normal.
- Policy change is one path to permanent social changed. For all of the reasons above, changing policies is really a way to change society. The policies in question may come from above, in the form of official government policies / translated into laws or regulation. Or they may come from the grass roots, from unions and workplaces and social groups. Regardless of where they originate, changes in policy that speak to the real causes and to the real needs of the people involved lead to real and permanent social change.

2.2 Concept of terrorism

Let's first talk about the definition of terrorism and the Conceptualization of terrorism. We can as well trace the origin of terrorism as far back as the late 18th century (about the rules of Jacobin faction during the period of the French revolution known as the Terror); from French terrorism, from Latin terror.

Conceptualization of terrorism is a roundup of some authoritative 'official,' as well as scholarly definitions, can serve to indicate the notions common to most of the descriptions.

The term 'terrorism' means premeditated politically motivated violence perpetrated against non- combatant. Also, the term 'terrorist group' means any

group practicing or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism (US Code, Title 22, y2656f(d).

Such definitions leave a considerable degree of latitude for discussion on terms 'such as subnational groups or clandestine agents' and 'politically motivated violence.' However, within the USA, different definitions are deployed. For the FBI, terrorism amounts to 'the objectives' (FBI, 2006). These definitions entail various elements also present in Schinkel 180 r 2009 Palgrave MacMillan 14 70 – 8914 contemporary political Theory Vol 8, 2, 176 – 198 the many academic conceptualizations of terrorism (in 1983, Schmid and Jong man (1988) counted 109).

Hardman describes terrorism in 1948 as a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the process whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence' (Hardman. 1948, p.575). The International Encyclopedia of the social & Behavioral science describes it as referring to the 'systematic use or threat of violence to communicate a political message rather than defeat an opponent's military forces' (Crenshaw, 2001, p.15604). This definition describes as further characteristics of terrorism the fact those symbolic targets. That a wider audience victim of terrorism and that it is a 'weapon of the weak' (Scott, 1985). Many conceptualizations of terrorism hold that it involved extreme violence: (terrorisms) lies beyond the norms of violent political agitation that are accepted by a given society (Thornton, 1985, p.76). The terrorist is often forced to deploy forms of violence that, according to Tilly, 'fallout outside the forms of political struggle operating within some current regime' (Tilly, 2004, p.5). This is what gives terrorism, in contradistinction to other forms of (political violence), its 'warlike character' (Black, 2004, p.17) this is not to say that terrorism is not a political form of action (Hoffman, 1998), the extreme violence that is involved in terrorism is a violence that violates norms of violence. That means that

terrorists are prepared to engage in things most people would not dare, such as suicide attacks (Baudrillard, 2002).

Many conceptualizations of terrorism therefore converge on the idea that it involves premeditated, politically or ideologically motivated (for example, Crenshaw Hutchinson, 1972; liqueur, 1987; Drake, 1998; Hoffman, 1998) extreme violence (for example, Thornton, 1964; Crenshaw, 2001; Tilly, 2004) against civilians (for example, Stern, 2003; Black, 2004; Rodin, 2004) or symbolic targets (for example, Crenshaw, 2001) by some organization that seeks to influence some states by means of intimidation of an audience (for instance Gibbs, 1989; Crenshaw, 2001; Stern 2003; Primoratz, 2004). These characteristics in Enders and Sandler (2002, pp.145-146).

2.2.1 Meaning of Terrorism

Terrorism can be defined as the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims. In legal ways we can also say terrorism is the unlawful use or threat of violence especially against the state or the public as a politically motivated means of attack or coercion.

In addition, Terrorism is a notorious plastic word, depending on user, audience, and political context. This paper focuses on shifts in its meanings since the early 1970s. As federal status made terrorism a criminal offense, common usage changed from a broad meaning to one the specified terrorism as a political crime. The argument is that the states shape meaning and public discourse through law.

2.2.2 Forms of Terrorism

Forms of terrorism threats range from non-state transnational networks with global reach capacity such as al-Qaida, terrorist cells affiliated with regional or international aims, or individual self-radicalized and unaffiliated terrorist with single issues agendas. Yet each type of network or terrorist cell has criminal intentions limited by finite capability. Terrorists exist as a foreign and domestic threat to all country in the world.

Terrorism is one of the oldest forms of human conflict. Before societies organized to wage war against each other, individuals and small bands engaged in terror tactics to achieve limited goals- to overthrow existing leaders, toward off potential rivals or to frighten opposing groups from lands they wished to claim for themselves.

More so, the mean and ends have evolved throughout history, the central elements of terrorism -fear, panic, violence, and disruption – have changed little through time. As the word enters the 21st Century, terrorism remains a vexing problem – an anachronistic fixture of human relations as paradoxically human and inhuman in the third millennium as it was before the dawn of recorded history.

2.2.3 Impact of Terrorism to peace and order

Terrorism in Africa has changed the typology of past conflict that often involves ethnic conflict to radicalization into terrorism as the Alshabaab and Boko Haram for instance fight against the forces of westernization in Africa.

The high - profile terrorist attacks in the United State, Bangladesh, Iraq, France, and Istanbul are only some of the more than 1,000 known terror attacks between the Nov, 13, 2015, attack in Paris and July 2016. Investors and business in the

United States have dealt with the realities and tragedies of global terrorism since at least 2001, and the threat has only increased.

- Direct Economic Destruction

The most immediate and measurable impact of terrorism is physical destruction. Terrorists destroy existing plants, machines, transportation systems, workers, and other economic resources, on smaller scales acts of terrorism may blow up cafes, churches, or roads. Large – scale attacks, most infamously the World Trade Center bombing on Sept 11, 2001, can destroy billions of dollars' worth of property and senselessly kill thousands of productive workers.

- Insurance, Trade, Tourism, and FDI

There are two obvious industries especially vulnerable to the effects of terrorism: insurance and tourism. Not all insurance companies pay out in the event of international terrorism or foreign wars, so the impact is likely less than you might first expect. Nevertheless, terrorism is risky business for everyone, and insurance companies hate risk as much as anyone.

- Tourism is even more concerned

In France, for example, tourism accounts for approximately 7% to 8% of total gross product (GDP). Vanguellis Panayotis, a director of MKG tourism consultancy, told Reuters that he expected a 30% decline in visitors to France in the month after the terrorist attack.

2.2.4 International Regimes, Law and Norms relating to Terrorism

At the international level the rights and obligations of a state under international law are superior to any rights or duties that may exist under national law. International law is applied in national courts as well as in international courts and informs the development and interpretation of national laws and practice. It is therefore crucial to have at least a basic understanding of international law in order to apply fully the legal framework relevant to counter – terrorism.

- UNSC Resolution 1373 (2001) in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, the Security Council adopted resolution 1373 and set up the Counter – terrorism Committee to monitor its implementation. Amongst others, Resolution 1373 requires State to criminalize prosecute, and punish the financing of acts of terrorism. The resolution includes many of the provision of the Un convention on Terrorist Financing, thus rendering for non – State parties by virtue of the Resolution.
- The United Nations is an international organization which came being with the entry into force of the United Nations Charter, a multilateral treaty which forms a kind of “constitution” for the United Nations, on 24 October 1946. The United Nations currently has 192 Member States.
- The Resolution requests relevant UN agencies and State to adopt gender as a cross – cutting issues in their counter – terrorism strategies and more generally to integrate the women, peace and security Agenda in their counter – terrorism and counter violent extremism strategies, including by boosting UN Women in this context.
- Recent developments Article 222 of the treaty on the functioning of the European Union containing the ‘solidarity clause’ Its core obligation reads as following:

1. The Union and its members States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man- made disaster. The union shall mobilize all the instruments at its disposal, including the military resources made available by the Member States, to:
 1. Prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of the Members States.
 2. Protect democratic institutions and the civilian population from any terrorist attack.
 3. Assist a Members State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities, at the request of its political attack.
 4. Assist a member State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities in the events of a natural or man – made disaster.

2.2.5 Countering terrorism

Counter – terrorism also known as antiterrorism incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism. Counter terrorism strategies include attempt to counter financing of terrorism.

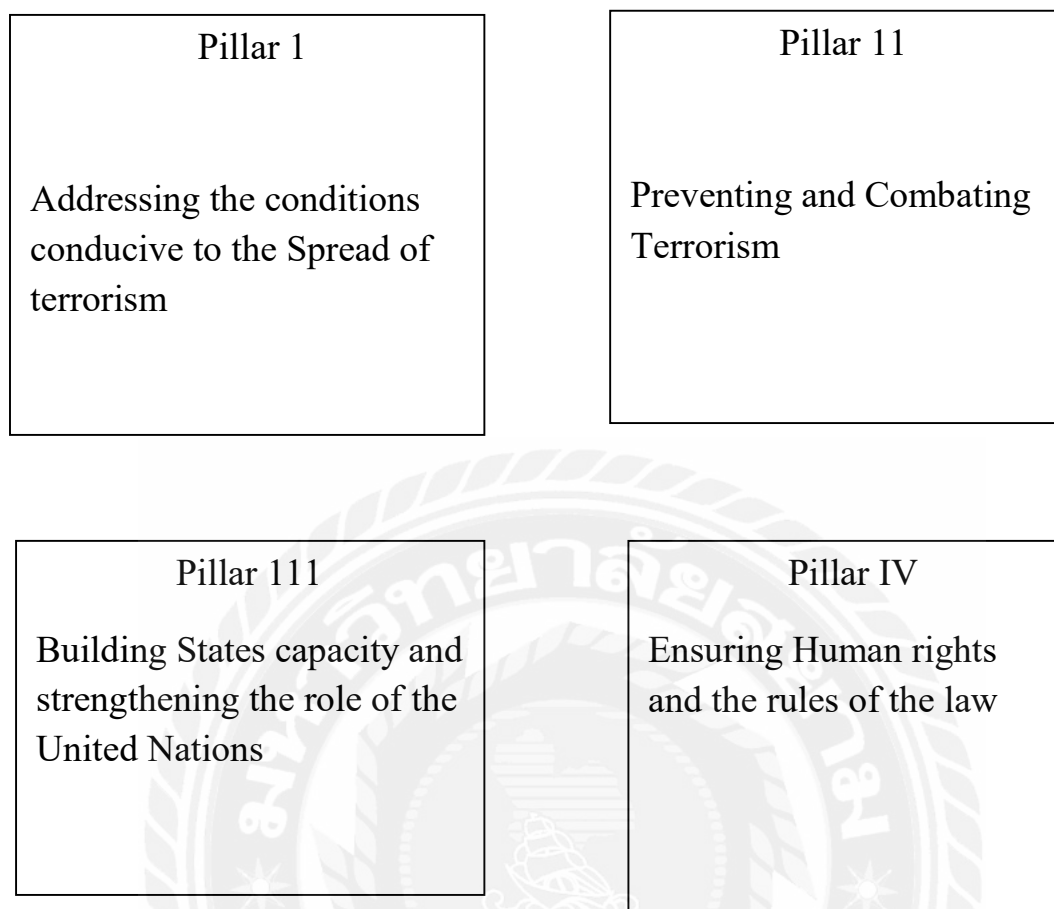
Also, we can as well-defined Counter – terrorism as antiterrorism, incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism.

This are part of Strategic focus areas for an objective structured clinical examination OSCE counter – terrorism activities.

- Promoting the implementation of the international legal framework against terrorism and enhancing international legal co – operation in criminal matters related to terrorism.
- Countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism, following a multidimensional approach.
- Preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism.
- Countering the use of the internet for terrorist purposes.
- Promoting dialogue and co – operation on counter – terrorism issues, in particular, through public - private partnership between State authorities and the private sectors (business community, industry), as well as civil society and the media.
- Strengthening national efforts implement United Nation Security Council resolution 1540 (2004) on non-proliferation of weapon of mass destruction.
- Strengthening travel document security,
- Promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in the context of counter – terrorism measures.

The united Nations General Assembly adopted the Global Counter Terrorism Strategy on 8th September 2006. The strategy is a unique global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism.

This are UN Global Counter – Terrorism Strategy



2.2.6 Terrorism and Terror

Scholarly definition of terrorism usually differentiates between state- and non-state- perpetrated violence. In that case, ‘terrorism’ is often explicitly regarded as a type of violence perpetrated by non – state actors (for example, Gibbs, 1989; Liqueur, 1996; Enders and Sandler, 2002; Hess, 200; Black, 2004). In many cases, the same is implicit in the conceptualization of terrorism (for example, Harman, 1948; Alexander,2004). On the other hand, many conceptualizations do not differentiate between state and non-state- perpetrated violence at all. In that case, terrorism is something that states as well non-states actors may engage. Again, this may be explicit, and then terms like ‘terrorist states’ (for example, Chomsky, 2001) or ‘state terrorism’ (le terrorism d’état) (Camus, 1951, p.214ff.) are being used. In another sense, Lefebvre called the most repressive society a

'society 'terrorist'(Lefebvre, 1968, p.273ff.). In yet other causes, terrorism is said to occur in the service of states possibly. In a famous article on the 'causes of terrorism,' Martha Crashaw states that terrorism takes place both in the service of state interests and against states (Crewshaw,1981. p.379,2001). From an ethical point of view, David Rodin has argued that the concepts of terrorism can at a time apply to state violence when that violence directed towards non- combatants (Rodin, 2004). In many social Scientific analyses, acknowledgment of the possibility of state-perpetrated terrorism, and either explicit (for example, Bergesen and Lizardo, 2004, p.38; Bergeson and Han,2005, pp.134-135) or implicit (for example, Wilkinson, 1997) mention is made of a deliberate neglect thereof, and of focusing instead on non-state-perpetrated terrorism. According to Charles Tilly, the definition of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' cannot be laid down unequivocally (Tilly, 2004, p.12). While his concern is that sociologist might reify such concepts.

2.2.7 Four Types of Terrorism

State – Sponsored Terrorism: This consists of terrorist acts on a state or government by a state or government.

Dissent Terrorism: These are a terrorist group which has rebelled against their government.

Terrorists and the Left and Right: These are groups rooted in political ideology.

Religion Terrorism: This talk about terrorist's acts used to aid in crime and Criminal profit.

2.2.8 Three Different Ways State can engage in the use of the Terror

1. Government or “State” terror
2. State involvement in terror
3. State sponsorship or

Population to control or repress them. These actions usually constitute the acknowledged weapon on his

Kurdish population without any particular change or expansion of police regarding the use of force on his citizens. They act of governmental terror believe an operation using terror tactics. These activities may against other nation’s interests, its campaign against dissidents, who had fled abroad, and Libyan and North Korea intelligence operatives downing airlines on an international flight.

Other types of these activities are "death squads" or war veterans" Unofficial actions were taken by officials or functionaries of a regime (such as members of police or intelligence organizations) against their population to repress or intimidate. While these officials will not claim such activities, and disguise their participation, it is often made clear that they are acting for the state. Keeping such activities “unofficial” permits the authorities deniability and avoids the necessity of changing legal and judicial processes to justify oppression. The standing and without official encouragement. While prostate terror may result in the positive outcome for the authorities, their employment of illegal methods and lack of official’s reputation can result in disavowal and punishment of the terrorist, depending on the morality of the regime in question.

State sponsorship of terrorism: Also known as "state-supported" terrorism, when the government provides supplies, training and other forms of support to non-

state sponsor can provide false documentation, not only for personal identification (passports, internal identification documents) but also for financial transactions and weapon purchases. Other means of support are access to training facilities and

Expertise not readily available to groups without extensive resources. Finally, the extension of diplomatic protections and services, such as immunity from extradition, diplomatic passports use of embassies, and other protected grounds and diplomatic pouches to transports weapons or explosive have been significant to some groups.

An example of state sponsorship is the Syrian government support of Hamas and Hizballah in Lebanon, Syrian resources and protection enable the large training establishment in the Bek'aa valley. On a smaller, more modest scale, the East German Stasi provided support and safe – a haven to members of the Red Army Faction (RAF or BaaderMeinhof Gang) and neo-fascist groups that operated in West Germany. Wanted members of the RAF were found a resident in East Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

2.2.9 Disadvantages of Terrorism

First and foremost, I will like to say Terrorism is an act of violence/threat against normal human behavior or belief.

1. Impact on the economy: A terrorist attack on any country or city cripples the national economy. Stocks markets go crazy; currency value change and price go up significantly.
2. Day to day living: The living standards of the citizens change, with a red alert in a specified zone changes the way you live, and travel, socialize and almost everything in your daily life.
3. Safety and health: The Most point would be the safety and health of people in a terrorist prone zone. With all the risky activities, explosive and hazardous locations, and unhygienic surroundings, it becomes easy for a person to fall seriously sick even he isn't hit by a bullet or an explosion.
4. It causes fear, chaos, death, and destruction. Often changes a peaceful society into a fearful nation, causing people to arm themselves with weapons to defend themselves. It makes people less trustful and more likely to harm rather than communicate.
5. It is just plain wrong and it goes against God moral code of "Thou shall not commit murder" murder as the premeditated. Not defense, the killing of another human created in the image of God. It is an offense to the creator is forever praised.

2.2.10 Ways to Stop Terrorism

There is no way to entirely “end terrorism” we can only do our best to defend against the terrorist attacks.

A group of adult males will gather together and move off, very quietly and stealthily towards the neighboring troop's territory, then attack and kill chimps who have become separated from the other troop. If they find a female in estrus, they will force her to accompany them back to their soldier.

In other words, Terrorism is behavior hardwired, genetically, into the human genome.

Terrorism may believe that by religion, nationalism, revenge or injustice but anthropologists, historian archaeologists.

By and large, we can embark on all this method stop terrorism activities

2.2.11 Stop Supporting the Dictators who Fund Terrorists

Saudi Arabia is the world's largest sponsor of a radical Islamic terrorist. The Saudis have backed ISIS and many other brutal terrorist groups according to sworn declarations from 9/11 Commissioner and the Co-Chair of the Congressional Inquiry into 9/11; the Saudi government supported the 9/11 attacks.

Saudi Arabia is the hotbed of the most radical Muslim terrorist in world sales (both ISIS and Al Qaeda are safe).

And Saudis – with U.S. support – back the radical "Madrassas" in which Islamic radicalism.

And yet the U.S has been supporting the Saudi militarily, with NSA intelligence and every other way possible for 70 years.

Also, top American terrorism experts say the U.S. support for brutal and tyrannical countries in the Middle – East like Saudi Arabia -is of the prime motivators for Arab terrorists.

2.2.12 Stop Overthrowing the Moderate and arming the Crazyies.

We know it's a difficult concept to grasp, but if we want to stop terrorism, we should – wait for it stops supporting terrorists.

Specifically, we're arming the most violent radicals in the Middle East, as part of a really stupid geopolitical strategy to overthrow leaders we don't like we always have the reason that is the best known to us and based on that reason we're defeating the moderate Arabs who stabilized the region and denied jihadis a foothold.

Indeed, the U. S and its allies are directly responsible for creating and supply ISIS. As an international Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) documents produce recently shows the U.S. knew that the action of "the west, Gulf countries and Turkey" in Syria might create a terrorist group like ISIS and an Islamic CALIPHATE.

Indeed, the former head of the DIS explained:

It was a deliberate decision (by America) to support an insurgency that had selfish, Al Qaeda and the Muslim Brotherhood.

If we want to stop terrorism, we need to stop supporting the terrorist.

2.2.13 Stop Imperial Conquests for Arab Oil.

The U.S. has undertaking regime change against Arab leaders they don't like for six decades. They overthrow the leaders of Syria in 1949, Iran in 1953, Iraq twice, Afghanistan twice, Turkey, Libya, and other Oil rich Countries.

Neoconservative planned regime changes throughout the Middle East and North Africa yet again in 1991.

Top American politicians admit that the Iraq oil was about oil, not stopping terrorism (documents from Britain show the same thing). Much of the war on the terror is a fight for natural gas. Or to force the last few hold- outs into dollars and private central banking.

More so, the U.S. Military described the terror attacks on the U.S as a “small price to pay for being a superpower.

A senior officer on the Joint Staff told the State Department counter-terrorism director, Sheehan, he had heard terrorist strikes characterized more than once by colleagues as a "small price to pay for being a superpower."

Security experts – including both conservative and liberals – agree that waging war in the Middle East weakens national security and increases terrorism.

2.2.14 Stop Bombing and Invading when a Negotiated settlement

The U.S. rejected the offer by Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria, to surrender and instead proceeded to wage war. The security experts – including both conservative and liberals – agree that waging war in the Middle East weakens national security and increases terrorism.

2.2.15 Stop Torture

Indeed, the leaders of ISIS by U.S torture. Once again, we have a very current example: Paris terrorist CherifKouchi told a court in 2005 that he wasn't radical until he learned about U.S torture at Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq.

If we want to stop creating new terrorists we have to stop torturing permanently.

Drone Assassination of Innocent Civilian must be Stop

Top CIA officers say that drone strikes increase terrorism, the CIA – The agency in charge of drone strikes – even told Obama then that drone kills can increase terrorism because of this if we want to stop creating a new terrorist; we must stop the drone strikes as well.

2.2.16 Mass Surveillance must be Stopped:

One of the top security experts agrees that mass surveillance makes us MORE vulnerable to terrorists. Indeed, even the NSA admits that it's collecting too much information to stop attacks.

2.3 Conceptual Frameworks

The analysis on policies and policy change is at the core of current political science scholarship because the theoretical and empirical insights are strongly related to the other dimensions of political systems: polity (political institutions) and politics (maneuvering and bargaining of political actors) (Tosun, 2013, Mahoney, 2000, Baumgarter et al., 2011, Tsebelis, 2010). According to Dye's view, "policy analysis is finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes" (1976). Policy analysis therefore created an essential link between polity and politics on the one side and policy outcome on the other side.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT
VARIABLES

Change of the Nigerian



Government's policy and

Strategies on counter - terrorism

- Education
- Awareness & Publicity
- Job for youth
- Poverty program
- Amnesty granted
- Anti – corruption program
- others

Reduction of violence

- Number of death and injured persons
- Number of Boko – Haram's operations

According to the policy change model above, change is a constant factor that often emanates as a result of dissatisfaction in many cases, especially on issues concerning policies. Thus, the quality of a legitimate policy is determined by how such policy is formulated and the process through which the policy is implemented or executed. However, when the implementation that results in the evaluation of such policy. On the contrary, when it is favorable to the people, there will be less or no need to change the policy so long as the people are satisfied with it

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

Methodology

3.1 Types of Data

In the course of this study, two types of data are used namely primary data and secondary data.

i. Primary Data

Primary data are original work collected from the original source. Primary data are usually collected in order to serve the purpose of a research study. Likewise, this study collected primary data through qualitative survey (face to face interview) with interviewees in the Northern Nigeria most Borno state where Boko – Haram originated from. These interviewees have firsthand information and knowledge of the crises. The list of the interviewees is:

- Religion leaders I.e. Imam and Pastors
- The victim of the Boko – Haram operations
- The students of Islamic schools
- Traders
- Security personal
- Transporters
- Traditional leader

Individual In – depth Interviews

Inquiry as a form of interview is a human thing. The personal relationship in the interview affects the person who has been interviewed and the knowledge of what has been produced by the interview affects the understanding of a situation. As a result four key interviewees were carefully selected. The criterion for their selection is based on the relevant role their various positions play.

Subsequently, interview questions were formulated and structured in such a manner that these uniquely fit into the objectives of the study research question. Also, different questions were set to suit each interviewee in order to get accurate and thorough information from them.

It is an undeniable fact that personal emotion or feelings can in several occasions constitute ethical problem that is classified as one of the major limitations of this study. Thus, with great caution and patience to the emotion of people reside in Northern region of Nigeria where Boko - Haram operation took place. The interview sessions were then thoughtfully and tactfully carried out keeping in mind each interviewee's emotional state.

After the interviews, the vital information gathered was carefully structured to compliment the purpose of this research work and the conceptual framework for the research analysis in chapter four.

ii. Secondary Data

This kind of data is based on information that has been collected already, and readily available for use in the form of literatures, documents, online sources like the internet data, video, film, published and unpublished articles, journals, reports as well as books. Secondary data are often used to examine a research issue from an alternative point of view. It can be further described as data gathered by a second or third party for certain purposes that could be different from that of the researcher (first party) who intends to use same information (Ghauri and Gronhaug 2005, p92).

iii. Data Collection

The nature of the Boko – Haram insurgency attack on innocent Nigerian makes it a public gaze. As such, there are enormous data to collect on this regard.

Notwithstanding, the researcher has selected those that serve the focus of this research through a face to face interview and personal research. This is because the need to collect an accurate, precise, deeper and clearer picture of the data is of a high priority to this research interest. Hence, the type of data collection can be described as a documentary because it undertakes an open approach towards the collection of primary and secondary data.

iv. Data Processing and Analyses

Processing and analyzing data involve a number of closely related operations which are performed with the purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing them in a manner that satisfies the objectives of the study. Thus, the methods applied in the data analyses is based on data gathered from both the Nigerian government and some NGO's reaction during the conflict. Others include response from the interviewees during the interview.

v. Data Analysis Methods

Social research is often conducted in situation that does not permit the kinds of probability samples used in large- scale social surveys, this is one of such. Thus, a nonprobability (purposive) sampling is used in conducting this research. This is because this study focuses on a subset of a larger population in which many members of the subset are easily identified but the enumeration of them all would be nearly impossible.

Therefore, a survey method (qualitative) is applied for this research study. Also, in the course of this research, interview in conducted with four interviewees. The criteria for the interview are as follows:

The interviewee should:

1. Be aware of the Boko – Haram insurgency in Northern region of Nigeria.
2. Be knowledgeable of the significance of policy change in resolving conflicts and achieving peace in a country.

Though limited in its scope and potential value, this research study must therefore, not be sought in the comprehensiveness and exhaustiveness of its findings, but in the identification of potential issues and programs for further policy consideration and follow-up research



Chapter 4

Analysis of Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in Northern Nigeria

4.1 Situation of Terrorism in Nigeria

Terrorist attack in Nigerian is reducing to the barest minimum compared to the previous years when Boko Haram Insurgency just started their attacks.

But attacks have been reduced as a result of change in Government Policy and quick intervention of security personnel peace is returning back to most of the affected area most especially Northern Region of Nigeria.

Statistical Data of Terrorism Attacks in Northern Nigeria till Date

1st of March 2018 – Boko Haram armed with small arms anti -aircraft weapon and rocket propelled grenades (RPGS), conducted a well – organized attacks against a military base in RannBorno State in Northern Part of Nigeria. Consultant humanitarians’ workers were injured, and a further 3 humanitarians were abducted.

16th February 2018- 3 suicide bombers detonated their devices at a fish market in Konduga, Borno State. Two civilians were killed and at least two others injured.

21st November 2017 – suicide bombers attacked a mosque during morning prayers in mubi, Adamawa State, initial reports state that 10 people were killed and others injured.

16th August 2017- Konduga, Borno State, three female suicide bombers blew themselves up at the entrance of the camp for displace people killing five people and wounded eight people.

25th July 2017 Boko Haram Insurgents attacked petroleum workers searching for crude oil near Maugeri Borno State Killing and abducting about twenty people.

7th June 2017 Boko Haram launched co – ordinated attacks in the south – west and eastern areas of Maiduguri Borno State targeting mosques, residential areas and educational institution killing 5 people.

The Methods of attacks by Boko Haram were bombing and arson.

Since September 2015, there have been a number of actual and attempted suicide attacks against IDP (internally Displaced Persons), car bombing and arson.

4.2 Impact of Terrorism on National and Human Security in Nigeria

This is on the stance that terrorism has not only undermined national security but has unavoidably hampered meaningful development in Nigeria by violating human rights, displacing residents, discouraging trade and investments, local and foreign, treating livelihood, and amplifying casualties.

Until recently, the threat of upscale terrorism seems relatively alien to the continent of Africa. In spite of the various clashes, ethnic and religious crises. Riots genocidal wars, ethnic cleansing and even militia attacks that has overwhelmed the continents, it remained unconceivable and unpredicted that the docile people of Africa can at any point take to suicide bombing for ideological and philosophical reasons.

Apart from Al Qaeda – related terrorist activities which exists on a sophisticated international level many other terrorist groups exist around the world. These groups are frequently concerned with domestic issues acting in opposition to the established government.

In his November 10th 2001 speech to the United Nations President George W. Bush framed the issues of terrorism in its broadest possible context by stating that every UN member country was a potential target of terrorism. Indeed, the Bush administration often stated in the aftermath of terrorism.

4.2.1 Terrorist and Kidnaps

Though, despite the reduction in Terrorist attack, people still believe that the risk of terrorist is high. There are reports that Boko Haram and Islamic State West Africa (ISWA) are continuing to actively plan to kidnap foreigners. As well as in Borno State, Yobe State, Gombe State, and Adamawa States in north east Nigeria, this is believed to include some Northern and Middle belt States including Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna and Niger States.

Ansaru and Boko Haram have carried out a number of kidnaps in Nigeria. Kidnapping could occur anywhere in areas where terrorist groups have a presence. In the past five years several foreign nationals have been kidnapped in the north of Nigeria, including in Adamawa state, Bauchi state, Katisina state, and Kebbi state. Some, including two British Nationals, have been killed by their captors.

If someone is travelling in areas where there is a Boko Haram or ISWA presence, especially in the Northern – east of Nigeria, you should be aware of the risk of terrorist kidnapping. Someone needs to exercise vigilance when travelling, when in crowded public places, including religious gathering and insecure spaces like places of worship, markets, shopping malls, hotels, bars, restaurants, transport hubs and Camps for displace people.

Boko Haram have also taken hostage from neighboring Cameroon and the difference region of Niger and continue to maintain and intent and capability to conduct kidnaps in Chad.

4.2.2 Terrorist Group Operating in Nigeria

Boko Haram and Islamic State West Africa (ISWA) Boko Haram or Jama'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid – Da'wahwa'l -Jihad (JASDJ) is an Islamist terrorist group operating in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. The group aspire to establish a Sharia State in Nigeria and West Africa, de – stabilize the Nigerian government and remove western influence from the country.

The group was formerly linked to Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). On 12 March 2015, Daesh (formerly referred to as ISIL) accepted a pledge of allegiance by Boko Haram. In August 2016, the group split into two factions: Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) and JASD or Boko Haram. ISWA is affiliated with ISIS core in Iraq and Syria and has expressed an intention to target Nigerian government, Christian and western interest.

AnsarulMuslimina Fi Biladis Sudan (Vanguard for the protection of Muslim in Black Africa) (Ansaru)

Ansaru is also an Islamist terrorist organization based in northern Nigeria and is proscribed by the UK. It emerged in 2012 and is motivated by an anti – Nigerian Government and anti – Western agenda.

Ansaru is broadly aligned with Al Qaeda. Since 2012, the group has kidnapped at least 8 hostages, mainly in Europeans. They are believed to have killed a number of hostages, mainly Europeans. They are believed to have killed a number of hostages, including 2 British nationals.

The terrorist threat in the sahel and Lake Chad Basin

There is a very high threat of Kidnapping by terrorist group operating in the Sahel region. A number of western nationals including tourists, NGO workers and diplomats have been kidnapped in the Sahel over the last ten years, and several are still being held. Some including several British nationals. Have been killed by their captors. Those engaged in humanitarian aid work, journalism or business sectors are viewed as legitimate targets. If you're kidnapped, the reason for your presence is unlikely to serve as a protection or secure your safe release.

There are a numbers of terrorist groups active in the region. These include Jamaat Nusrat al- Islam Wal Muslimeen (JNIM), Islamic State West Africa (ISWA), Islamic State Greater Sahara (ISGS), Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Al Murabitoun, Ansar Dine and Boko- Haram. These groups are capable of carrying out attacks and Kidnap over long distances. Kidnapping for ransom is the primary source of finance for Jamaat Nusrat al- Islam Wal Muslimeen (JNIM). Criminal gangs also carry out kidnapping for terrorist groups in return for financial awards.

But the long- standing policy of the British government is not to make substantive concessions to hostage takers. The British government considers that paying ransoms and releasing prisoners increase the risk of further hostage taking. The Terrorism Act (2000) also makes payments to terrorists' illegal.

There's a heightened threat of terrorist attack globally UK interest and British national from groups or individuals motivated by the conflict in Iraq and Syria.

Chapter 5

Policy Change on Counter -Terrorism in Northern Nigeria

5.1 The Government Policy before the year 2015

Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram has gained increased media attention over the past years as the violence, frequency and scope of its attacks continue to increase, the counter- terrorist policies adopted by the Nigerian government are proving ineffective, if not counterproductive. Hussein Solomon dissects the increasing sophistication of Boko Haram and highlights the root causes of the Jonathan administration's failure to devise and implement a successful approach to counter – terrorism.

The scale and intensify of the terrorist attacks that have rocked Nigeria since the turn of the decade have been unprecedented even by the country's own tragic post- independence standards. Between July 2009, when the current campaign of violence against the Nigerian state was initiated, and January 2012 more than 935 people were killed and thousands wounded in 164 attacks by a shadowy Islamist sect.

23rd January 2012. These attacks seem to be intensifying. With more than 253 people killed in twenty-one attacks in the first three weeks of January 2012.

5.1.1 The Counter - Terrorism Lens

On 26 July 2009, a joint security team launched a raid on Boko Haram's hideout in the Dutsen Tanshi area of Bauchi State. During the raid, nine members of the sect were arrested and bomb – making materials, arms and ammunition seized. This resulted in violence riots across the four states of Bauchi, Kano, Yobe, and Borno. Member of the security forces over the

ensuing four days resulted in police destroyed, whilst 700 people were killed and thousands of others injured.

5.1.2 Getting Counter Terrorism Wrong

Even within this narrow counter – terrorism lens, Abuja’s approach to Boko Haram is problematic. It is indeed hard to fight an organization when one does not even know its name, let alone its organization structure. This also points to the dearth of Human intelligence assets the Nigerian state has on the sect.

5.1.3 Deep – Rooted Problems

Indeed, this problem be far wider than some units of the security forces being infiltrated. The then President Good luck Jonathan acknowledged that Boko Haram members or sympathizer may be present in government and security agencies. Some of them are in the executive arm of government; some of them are in the parliamentary / legislative arm of government, while some of them are even in the judiciary.

5.2 Government policy after the year 2015

5.2.1 Help through Education

Since the onset of the problem the focus of the Nigerian government has been on countering the problem with violence rather than investing more sustainable solution. Education opportunities and possibilities in Nigeria have not been good enough and it has had an effect also in the popularity of Boko- Haram in the northern eastern part of the country.

However, the government took recently more effective steps in the issue when a psychologist “Fatima Akilu” was appointed as directors of behavioral Analysis and strategic communication in the office of Nigeria National Security Advisor. Dr. Akilu got her PhD from the United Kingdom and worked as a youth worker in London and in psychiatric hospital in Washington. However recently she started studying and extremely dangerous group of unpredictable and desperate people: Boko- Haram. Dr, Akilu was noticed by Nigerian Officials when she wrote a series of article to Nigerian Newspapers where she campaigned that Nigerian Children should be able to read at least 100 books in a year. She designed a programmed called countering violent extremism which as a totally different approach of solving the problem. She committed that before the start of the programmed mainly solutions that involved the military were tried against Boko – Haram without taking into account the other aspects. However now they are trying to look into what message of Bok- Haram is and them finding a way how to get difference one across the people.

The program is trying to reach young people in schools and also in jails who are in the risk group of becoming members of Boko – Haram. They are trying to focus on educating the risk group, however lack of education for young people

is its own problem as well as almost nine million children in Nigeria still go with very little or no schooling every year.

Indeed, the twisted world view Boko Haram offers which contradicts even the most basic laws of nature is more easily swallowed by those young people that have had very little education. Dr, Akilu seems to believe that true Muslim with some interpretation of Islam can debunk the twisted views, but the young people with relatively little religious instructing have much more difficulty. Still the lack of education is only one of many problems that make the membership of Boko – Haram to seem viable option to so many young people. Dr. Akilu draws comparison to the situation in United Kingdom where in many places young Muslims feel marginalized. In Nigeria the situation is similar but many times worse: in the north – east people are truly poor ²⁷ and the situation that the young people are facing is an unfair one,

She also comments on the current's leaders of the group General Shekahu whose measure seems to be almost on a psychopathic level more often than not. She says that Shekahu comes across as extremely unstable person but adds that it might be partially because of the extreme stress he is bearing. Also, as part of the research that Dr. Akilu and her department are conducting a documentary film charting Boko- Haram's rise over the past decade was made. During the making of the film the researcher tracked down former class mate of Shekahu from a rural village on the border between Nigeria and Niger. According to Dr. Akilu Shekahu childhood friends said that he was very unstable and erratic figure.

Psychological instability would certainly explain the multitude of ruthless acts that shekau and other Boko Haram leaders are capable of. Proper education that

warns young people of the dangers that come with Boko Haram, and education overall, are invaluable methods in making situation better.

Access to education means possibility and hope for better future and is in direct contradictions to the message of Boko- Haram which surely is not a coincidence. Dr. Akilu's work is crucial in order to get to the correct message through the millions of young people in Nigeria.

The government's steps are correct but much more must be done overall in the field of education possibilities so that they are not given a proper chance. If the chance is given and studying encourages, the message of ignorance that Bok – Haram so strongly advocate is more easily beaten. As a result of this Nigeria pay more attention to education and thereby build more schools in Northern part of Nigeria and also give free education to make sure every child has access to Education to change the orientations of young people about terrorism.

5.3 Formation of the army and the Joint Task Force

When the influence of Boko – Haram grew and damage became more and more serious the Federal Government established in 2011 a Special Joint Military Task Force, known as Operation Restore order which is also known as the Joint Task Force or JTF. It comprises of personnel and officers of the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Air force, Nigerian Navy, Nigerian Police and the state Security Service. The Joint Task Force was stationed at Maiduguri and it was given the Mandate to neutralize the Boko Haram threat in the north – eastern region of Nigeria where it has been most prevalent. However, the government has still been accused of being unable to develop the army or the JTF so that it could properly defend the citizens from Boko- Haram. The army has been blamed of overlooking the rise of Boko – Haram, and also of random use of force.

Torturing innocent Civilians and being unwilling to confront Boko- Haram fighters. However, the army itself says that there are many factors which make the situation difficult to resolve. For example, the troops are trained for conventional warfare and also for Peacekeeping operations. Hostage situations and combatting hundreds of fanatical members of Boko – Haram were challenging for the army especially a few years ago when the threat was new and threats of that size had never hit Nigeria before. Thus, the army has been forced to learn on the go and many mistakes they have made have been inevitable according to them. Also, other practical difficulties exist like size of the three states Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe, in the North- eastern Nigeria where Boko – Haram is the strongest. The Combined area of these three states is 153, 317km² which is almost half the area of Finland. All of those states are filled with villages and towns, markets and forest with millions of inhabitants, so it no easy task to seek out fighters and militant who are cleverly disguised among the ordinary people, especially because the army has only a very limited amount of airplanes and helicopters at disposal. (New African 2015, 39) In fact the problem limited resources permeate to some extent the whole Nigerian Army. Some soldiers have complained that their equipment is no match for those of the Boko – Haram fighters who often enough heavily armed and very determined in their cause. In the beginning of 2015 Nigeria's former chief of Defense staff, General Martin Luther Agwai, said that the Army of Nigeria is properly equipped to fight yesterday's war. But the problem is not just the lack of equipment. Their situation could be even compared with the experiences of British with the IRA in Northern Ireland. Historically military action has not been traditionally being successful against insurgencies when the causes lie deep in the society. General Agwai did comment also on this topic and said that "You can never solve any of these problems with military solutions... it is political issue: it is a social issue: it is an economic issue and until these issues are addressed, the military can never give you solution. Indeed, he is probably

quite justifiably transferring the responsibility away from the Nigerian military because after all they are bound by the orders and wishes of the government and on the other hand the overall situation in the Nigerian society. In order to make military more efficient intelligence reports about Boko – Haram should be vastly improved. In fact, Boko – Haram has been alleged more successful in infiltrating the military than other way around. The group has considerable advantages; a large 29 mobile and relatively efficient army, a massive stockpile of weapons and ammunition, and it controls several thousand square kilometers of territory in north – eastern Nigerian. Nigerian government could aim to take more Boko – Haram fighters as prisoners, and thus be a better position to negotiate. Co-operating with the civilian operated CJTF and similar volunteer organization is helpful but it cannot be the answer for the lack of proper intelligence and ability to go deep to the grassroots level from where the group originates. The Nigerian Army does play a crucial part in the whole situation, and while not the only solution to the problem the army can make the current state of affairs more tolerable. If the short – term solutions that involve the military are not taken there will not be an opportunity to implement the more important long – term solutions. At the end of 2011 when the actions of Boko Haram intensified Former president Good luck Jonathan used his powers according to the 1999 constitution and declared a state of emergency across the north – eastern states. The act of the president was probably justified because of the increasing scope of violence and destruction that Boko Haram spread all around. However, the emergency powers regulation that were presented in April 2012 gave considerable liberties to the government; they talked about detention of suspects but also about the right to take control any property in the emergency area and the right to entry and search any premises. The 1999 Constitution has many special clauses in case of an emergency when there is an actual or possibly threatened breakdown of public order anywhere in Nigeria.

This breakdown must be very serious in nature and danger overall peace and security or even threaten the existence of the Nigerian state in order to justify the declaration of a state of emergency. However, what the joint Task Force has in many instances done is to amplify those exceptional rights beyond their original meaning. The JTF has been involved in mass arrests of persons that are suspected of terrorism, arbitrary detentions of persons suspected of terrorism, extensive entry and search of premises without proper reasons and even extra – judicial executions of suspects. These human right violations have continued at a steady pace since the Joint Task Force was established in 2011.

Even the Terrorist prevention Act which was passed as a law in 2011. Recognized that the relationship between counter terrorism and proper rules of law is crucial one. The TPA endorses the human right guarantees and for example stipulates that a person that is arrested on suspicion of terrorism can be detained in custody for more than 24 to 30 hours from the moment of arrest and that the person must have access to medical doctor and legal counsel provided by the detaining authority during the custody. The fact that the Joint Task Force has been reduce to using the same methods Boko – Haram itself uses is alarming. The contract between the actions of the JTF and the multiple treaties that Nigeria has signed not to mention its own counter – terrorism laws is considerable. The JTF has a reputation for summarily executing persons that are arrested for suspicions of Boko – Haram membership or connections. Mostly people are killed that way are labelled as Boko – Haram fighters that died during an operation.

Other victims are also executed straight after arrest or in custody. Often the JTF soldiers justify their action by the section of the constitution which says that use of firearms is permitted if the accused takes a flight when attempting arrest and if the offence is such that he may be punished with death or imprisonment for seven years or more. In practice it allows police officers or in this case JTF

soldiers to shoot anyone that flees because under Nigeria's penal law escaping custody or resisting arrest is punishable with seven years of imprisonment.

The Joint Task Force has also arrested hundreds of suspects and holds them in several detention centers. Many of the people detained have been taken without information why they were arrested. They are kept in custody without access to the outside world, and that includes families, lawyers and court. Most people detained have not had the opportunity to appear before a court or challenge the lawfulness of their custody. Even if the courts have ordered that the people detained must be brought before them JTF and police force have not obeyed. It seems that the JTF treat all suspects as guilty without any trials to anyone.

Even bails that should be granted by the law are not allowed to anybody but a few high-profile cases. The mass arrests of suspected people that the JTF arranges have put a real strain to the prisoners of Nigeria.

In 2009 the Nigerian prison had a population of 41,106 but in June 2014 the number of inmates had risen to 56,785. This would indicate an increase of over 15,600 inmates in just five years. Of course, during these years the Boko – Haram problem really took off, and also the Joint Task Force was established not to mention the other government measures to tackle the issues. This has also created practical concerns, as Nigerian prisons are too full of space and this sudden increase of inmates put an additional pressure to them. Also reports exist of starvation, lack of access to medication, deliberate denials of exercise and sunshine, heinous interrogation techniques and other things that offend human rights. Of course the opinion of the inmates and the Joint Task Force about these conditions probably differ greatly. Also, it must be taken into account that

treatment of prisoners and enemies of the government is not at a tolerable level in most other countries of Africa not to mention elsewhere in the world.

The violation is even extended to the normal citizens of Nigeria that happened to live in the area that the Joint Task Force guards. Indeed, the JTF often uses houses – to – house searches and forced evictions even among the innocent citizens. These kinds of tactics understandably make the citizens ask that just on whose side the Joint Task Force really is. In many cases the whole town or village is asked to leave because otherwise the excessive searches could not be done according to the JTF.

Many residents that have been forced to leave their homes have reported of physical dignity among other things during such operations. Even evidence exists of cases where the JTF participated in unnecessary burning or destruction of houses, shops and other property. The fact that the Joint Task Force can operate like this proves to a large extent that it has quite free hands to do whatever it wants in order to counter Boko – Haram even if the measures taken are not very effective or have even the opposite of the desired effect. Other kind of way to fight Boko – Haram was devised when volunteer citizens in the city of Maiduguri established a group called Civilian Joint Task Force operation with “Civilian” added to it.

The CJTF has provided an example to tackle the same threat. Even though the CJTF consists of more or less ordinary citizens their mood can still be quite violent, Because Nigeria is ethno- linguistically massively diverse police officers and soldiers are sometimes deployed in areas they have never been to before and where they are completely strangers. In that kind of case with little understanding of the local customs or language operating become more

difficult, and also gaining the trust of the local people is harder here is where the CJTF can be of assistance. Even though most of the volunteers are armed with very basic weapon like knives sticks and older rifles the knowledge that CJTF has of local affairs and also of the possibly members of Boko Haram have been great assistance to the army. In fact, the help of the CJTF has helped army to counter attacks in Maiduguri and even to push them into the rural areas away from the City.

It could be argued that the CTJF is another evidence of the lack of trust that the people have to the capabilities of the Nigerian government in handling the problem. It cannot be calling a good sign when people have to protect themselves against a threat as serious as this. Even though the CTJF is probably useful to the army it still should be able to conduct its own intelligence operations independently without the civilians. Thus far military's efforts to tackle Boko – Haram have not been good enough. The military and especially the Joint Task Force that was established to directly counter Boko – Haram have not achieved satisfactory results. In fact, evidence suggests that caused considerable amount of suffering to ordinary citizens of Nigerian in addition to the already serious Boko – Haram threat. In fact, it probably has made many questions that which one is worse; the Nigerian Army or Boko – Haram? And the army is part of the Nigerian government which is precisely what Boko – Haram wants to overthrow. If the government continues to overlook and underestimate it citizens it only makes tempting for many to start supporting Boko – Haram. The poverty is a crucial part of the problem and also a very visible one, as the north- east where Boko Haram is most popular is also the poorest area of Nigeria by all indicators, and actions of the JTF certainly do not help to alleviate this division between the people. The question that the United Nations and other organization present is that how far can you go before you cross the line in counterterrorism? Certainly, the conduct of the army and the

JTF has crossed the line in many ways as the government main objective is to protect the people. It can have argued that this kind of overreaction is normal; it even happened in the United State after the 9/11attacks. However even it has happened elsewhere it does not make it more legitimate in any way. Especially because the result in Nigeria have not been good enough; Boko – Haram is still operating but not that serious as it was before but is still a threat to the country.

5.4 Poverty and Corruption

The effects and ways to solve them poverty. Malnutrition and even starvation are widespread problems in Nigeria not to mention the high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy at birth. The government has tried to tackle these issues through the years and especially after the democratization in 1999 but so far with little results.

Effective poverty reduction programs are vital in order to change the situation for the better. More effort has been made in order to boost agricultural production especially in the poorer states which in turn lowers the price of food. Currently for majority of Nigerians most of their income goes to food consumption which is an alarming signal. Still increase the supply also demands changes to the infrastructure of the country. Bettering road networks and other transportation systems of course additional positive but in order to lower the price of food and make it more available to the citizens major improvements are absolutely necessary. Making food comparatively cheaper for all Nigerians around the country is a good first step toward a more equal society. Studies also show that household size has an effect to the poverty rate; bigger sized families are prone to suffer malnutrition more. Policies and programs have to be implemented in order to make the households around the country and especially

in the poorer areas smaller. Enlightenment campaigns and programs could help to make the information about the different birth control methods and the importance of family planning reach as many people as possible. Nigeria has today used a National Population policy of four children which could be changed to a lower amount so that smaller families would become a necessity. This entire step is crucial take so that the issue of poverty and starvation could be solved. If those Issue are not solved Boko – Haram or similar radical groups that may be established in the future will probably always have willing participants in the poorer areas of Nigeria.

Another core reason is the corruption in the governance of Nigeria. In Nigeria many of the ruling people have in essence reduce the governance into a system that boosts and strengthens their economic welfare at the expense of the rest of the country. Positions of authority are often just a means to exploit the less privileged people. Efforts have been made to tackle the issue; two anti-corruption agencies called economics and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) have been established in Nigeria.

Also, the Money Laundering Prohibition Act was created in 2004. The agencies so far have not had too much success, and the reason may very well be that these institutions themselves are corrupt and actively encouraging corruption. In the Global Corruption perception Index from 2014 Nigeria is placed 136th of 175 countries. Nigeria shares the 136th position in the list countries like Iran, Russia and Cameroon. (Transparency International 2014) while the position is not quite at the rock bottom 34of the list it still shows the alarming reality of the situation currently, and it can be said that it is among the most corrupt countries in the world. All of his erodes trust for the government and state organizations. Justice system is tilted; judges and prosecutors display a strong bias in favor of the powerful people, whereas ordinary citizens have difficulty to even get a fair

trial. Simple financial gain seems to be often the main reason why judges and prosecutors favor powerful and wealthy persons. Indeed, during the last decade practically no case where a politician or an ex- public official was in trial resulted in a judgment that had mandatory jail time. And even if sometimes an influential person is prosecuted and jailed, they are generally given a light jail term and granted amnesty before completing the sentence. The legislation of Nigeria is relatively well made; however, the everyday practice is the problem that differs wildly from the intentions of the law. Analysis has shown that government officials are among the most corrupted elements in the Nigeria society. Questionable practices of the government officials include mismanagement of public companies mishandling of public funds and Unfairness in privatization processes; all of this indicates that most of the criminal activities of this sort could not go on without the approval of some of the government official. Political parties have also considerable importance in this issue; In fact, the public perceives that the political are the most corrupt element in the Nigeria society. Political parties are accused of stealing, fraud, cronyism and other corrupt behavior not to mention indirectly undermining respect for the law. Corruption fight in Nigeria has thus far been concentrated on individual issues at a time without contemplating the overall pictures. No effort has been made to take a country wide approach and bring representatives of all sectors together to discuss the issue. A good example would be the juridical reform which was made without at the same time implementing measure in the police, the public attorney's office of the prosecution services. Thus, the real impact of this reform remained minimal. In state finance considerable problems exist also. A considerable share of public expenditure is kept outside the official budget. The process of privatization of the state companies has been lacking which has seriously hampered economic growth. Foreign investments that would be very welcome in Nigeria are not growing

because corruption makes it difficult for investors to trust the processes and rules of law in

The country. Indeed, overall corruption has a considerable negative effect to the economy of Nigeria. Beside the lack of investments, the poor governance creates a situation where the 35 Nigerian economies fulfill only a fraction of the potential it has. Nigerian economy has also other questionable factors that are out of scope of this study which hamper its economy that may or may not exist because of the corruption. The effect the corruption has to the Nigerian society and to the longevity of Boko – Haram cannot be overestimated. According to scholars if Nigeria would somehow achieve the corruption level of a country like the United Kingdom its GDP would be immediately at least 20% higher not to mention other positive effects that it would have. Reduction of corruption is one the key things to focus on in Nigeria so that the country becomes better to the people to live in especially for the poor people.

Corruptions is also one the main reasons why the citizens do not trust the government, and thus why Boko- Haram's mission to change the ruling class of the country gets so much support. When it comes to solving the problem, the underlying conditions must be focused on. Most public institutions in Nigeria should be evaluated and reformed so that they meet at least a minimum level of competency. Also, policies that increase transparency and accountability are needed, and even redesign of the constitution could be considered. The government's decision-making process should be open to public scrutiny in order to secure transparency. Free media that is constantly checking the governance is another crucial factor of transparency and fairness. Creation of independent oversight agencies that use internal and external benchmarks to guarantee an adequate operating level could be wise choice. The Political parties should also be closely observed scrutinized so that all illegal activities

will be found. All possible connection to Boko – Haram from inside the governance should be carefully

Examined and guilty people should be banned from holding any official position. All these measures against corruption must be introduced slowly and gradually so that they do not become more damaged to already unstable society. Many of the reforms ought to be tested in small scale before introducing in daily life obviously all of this going to need a lot of resources and strong decisiveness not just from the people in the governance but also from the citizens. International assistance is probably necessary not just for the knowhow but also for monitoring the progress. In order to beat Boko – Haram it is vital that this problem is put to the forefront as many if not the most problems in Nigeria spur from the corruption that exists on all levels of state. If Nigeria is made better place to everyone to live in Boko- Haram will have considerable difficulties to find new people that would support its cause.

Finally, all this point mention here are the policies that Government put in place that help in reducing activities of Boko – Haram in Nigeria till date.

Chapter 6

Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Key findings

This study revealed the government policies that led to the reduction of violence as a result of Boko – Haram insurgency in the Northern Nigeria. Specifically, the following points were discovered:

1. Introduction of free education in Northern part of Nigeria.
2. More awareness and publicity were put in place by the government in eradicating Boko Haram insurgency in the northern part of Nigeria.
3. Provision of job for the youth.
4. Poverty eradication program.
5. Fighting against corruption.
6. Others

6.2 Conclusions

It is quite obvious that the desire of perhaps all states is security, safety and the respect of the rights that provide the atmosphere for the sustenance of peace. To achieve this aim, the use of policy change and conflict resolution should be unstably adjusted to the culture and well-being of the society. As such the liberty and security person depends on the preeminent policy that will ensure a peaceful state of mind which further reflects in the daily lives of people.

As a result, policy making as becomes nominal to every government thereby, defining its weakness or effectiveness at different times and places.

It is clear that new policies adopted by the Government of Nigeria have led to the reduction of Boko- Haram insurgency activities and could be regarded as an effective way to the reduction of the violence in Northern Nigeria.

However, the quality of such policies is relatively defined by its varied impact depending on how it positively or negatively affects the public who needlessly have to live under such policies. This thus, creates the demands for policy change. These demands in most cases escalate into disputes, conflicts and crisis when the government refuses to listen to the yearnings of its people. In response to his demand for policy change and tight security, government needs to adhere to the needs of its citizens to make policies that are people inclusive in order to achieve peace.

The Nigeria government is not exception in this race because the recent Boko - Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria has crystalized Nigeria government's utter disrespect for human rights under development, negligence and fail to responds to that issue from the beginning lead to sudden increase in insurgency in Nigeria. The Northern Nigeria has experienced Human right violation that are consequence upon bad policies that led to conflict in the region. The Nigeria government try to suppress Boko – Haram insurgency with forceful means which is literally have a negative effect on the life and property of people of the region.

However, in 2017 amnesty programmed was introduced by the present government lead by President Muhammad Buhari the move also includes swap deal with Boko Haram prisoners with Chibok school girls that was adopted by member of Boko Haram insurgency and this lead to the realized of those girls and finally gain freedom from Boko – Haram. That is, it helps in the restoration of peace thus, bringing into limelight the significance of policy change as it became evidence through amnesty program and swap deal negotiations in last year 2017.

Consequently, this research aimed at analyzing the impact of policy change in resolving conflict and building peace. Also, it has served as a principle for achieving peace. And a framework or guideline for further research with significant impact respect for human rights plays in peace building, also, it

explored other research components that birthed the conceptual framework used for this research analysis.

The conceptual framework highlighted government policy, democratic regime or pattern, and public participation as key independent variable that helped conflict resolution and peace. These variables were further synchronized into the research analysis in order to fit into the situation as principle that translated the conflict in the Northern Region of Nigeria in to peace. This proved successful to this research work as it specifically, answer questions on why Nigerian government did change the policy to reduce the Boko – Haram insurgency in Northern part of Nigeria through its government policy, democratic regime and public participation.

In addition to that, it provided answers to the question on the role policy change played in restoring peace to the region. However, the research revealed that the key drivers to the conflict are total neglect to the people's yearning over the killing by members of Boko – Haram Insurgency and human right violation cause by Boko – Haram insurgency.

Furthermore, unrelenting effort of Nigeria government in a continuous fight against the insurgency resulted to change in some policy the lead to reduction in the killing by Boko – Haram insurgency.

Although, there was a considerable peace restored to the region, findings from this research work in addition, has shown that if policies that focus on human welfare and peaceful societies are made, there will be less or no conflicts than assumed. Also, if steady peace building is engaged upon, it would needless to engage in violent confrontations and the use of force. Thus, if the Nigeria government enhances welfare create jobs, develop the educational sectors build

more schools and build structure that facilitate peaceful coexistence, steady peace will be ensured in Northern Nigeria.

Therefore, an open political system with good governance legitimacy, transparency, participation, accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness is the solution. Deviation from these factors will lead to the opposite effect of peace in region.

6.3 Recommendations

The use of force is not the best to resolve conflict between any parties. Although the Nigeria government realize its mistake and offered amnesty, Swapping, Negotiation, and dialogue which assumed restored peace to the region as at now, and it helps in reducing the Boko – Haram attacks on innocent citizen of the region. However, if the Nigerian government is really serious about bettering the lives of the Northern region people, there is need for structures, infrastructures and institutions should create an avenue where the people and the government leaders can meet and discuss issue of most concern, problems and success appraisals.

This sort of forum will enhance open mindedness towards one another so as to avoid unrest in the region. Thus, are more chances are given to dialogue; there will be less possibility of engaging in violent confrontation that can lead to further crises or war.

However, the only way out is a peace that is equilibrium among many forces; and this only comes through good and genuine change in government policies, democracy and public participation in any particular force, trend movement, especially policy that may at one time make for war, but under conditions a similar change may make for peace. A state may at one time promote peace by

armament, at another time by disarmament, at one time by insistence on its rights, at another time by spirit conciliation.

Lastly, the government should put more effort in promoting educational system in Northern region of Nigeria this help to educate the youth and let them see reason why they should move away from terrorist and see reason why they should embrace peace, and they need to create job for the youths. This is because a state closer to its local or grassroots, seeing the direct demands, yearning and needs of the public members than the central or federal government which is very distant from its local people at grass roots.

Putting this into consideration will be very helpful in realizing maintaining and sustaining peace in the region. Also, such act will enhance peace building as economic democracy is different from political democracy.

Deducing from the research analysis, findings, conclusions and recommendations, it is reasonable to state that the practicality of conceptual framework created and elaborated has proved effective in analyzing the Boko – Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria.

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