

NYANSAPO COLLEGE

SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:  
CASE STUDY OF THE BOKO HARAM GROUP NIGERIA

By

EDMUND YAW OBENG

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DECLARATION

**Candidate’s Declaration**

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my original work and that no part of this dissertation has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate’s Signature:  .....

Date: .....

Candidate’s name: Mr. Edmund Yaw Obeng

**Supervisors’ Declaration**

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation laid down by Nyansapo College, Accra.

Principal Supervisor’s

Signature:..... Date: .....

Name: Alexander Kwame Archine, DBA

Co-Supervisor’s Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name: Emelia Timpo, PhD

## ABSTRACT

Northeastern Nigeria has been subject to Boko Haram insurgency over a decade. The movement has entered a new transitional phase by extending its attacks against civilian, state targets in Nigeria and in some neighboring countries as well. This study focuses on analyzing the operations of Boko Haram terrorist group in north-eastern Nigeria between 2009 and 2016 and how they have impacted on the national security and national development of Nigeria. The study is purely qualitative and relies primarily on literature review and interviews for data collection. Views and opinions gathered from military officers and security experts revealed that the impact of the Boko Haram terrorist attacks on the national security of Nigeria include the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry, high tendency for ethnic, religious, electoral and civil violence and extremism in the country, threats from international terrorist groups, absence of patriotism, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the country, poor global image in the fight against terrorism and extra burden on government expenditure to curb the menace. Following from the findings, the study concludes that the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group which spread over Nigeria borders has had significant negative impact on the national security and overall national development of Nigeria since 2009. The study therefore recommends that the best response mechanism to the Boko Haram insurgency is not by militaristic interventions but rather development and dialogue with the sect group to help minimize their aggressive and atrocious attacks on civilian lives.

## **KEY WORDS**

Terrorism;

Security;

National Development;

Nigeria;

Boko Haram.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God and my family for their immense contribution, sacrifice and prayers in seeing to it that, this work becomes a success.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

AQIM	Al-Qa-ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

International Relations, as a discipline, does not only study relations (diplomatic, political, economic, socio-cultural, and so on) among states, but also, non-state entities, as well as issues of international dimensions. The complexity of Nigeria as a nation state is centred on its political formation, economic, social and religious inclinations. One of such issues is the menace of terrorism on security and development in Nigeria which was the focus of this work.

Increasing attacks caused by Boko Haram's insurgency are making it difficult for development activities to thrive in Northern Nigeria. This is evident in the continuous relocation of businesses from the North to other more peaceful parts of the country and also, stagnation in development projects in the region. These developments require a critical examination to assess the impact of terrorism on national security and the national development of Nigeria.

This qualitative exploratory collective case study design explored reasons for the persistent insurgent activities of the Boko Haram sect with particular focus on factors that have sustained the phenomenon as well as assessed the implications of their actions on the development and security in Northern Nigeria. Data was collected through purposive interviews of fourteen (14) participants who have expertise on terrorism activities in Nigeria and its neighboring countries that provided insights into their understanding of how Boko Haram activities have affected national security and development of Nigeria.

## **Background to the Study**

There have been increasing concerns about the impact of terrorism and activities of insurgent groups on national security and development among scholars in the academia, policy makers, security experts, and ordinary citizens (Bernholz, 2006). The significance of these concerns reflects the responsibility of the government of Nigeria and those of others within the international community to ensure that the territorial boundaries of states, as well as citizens are secured; which is the ultimate goal and objective of national security and development. Since the emergence of Boko-Haram as a local terrorist group in the West African state of Nigeria, its operational dynamism brought to light one of the most daunting challenges for regional and global security professionals. The effectiveness of its operations and capabilities to operate and hit targets in a country dubbed as one of Africa's military power remains to be a security nightmare for national security institutions in the sub-region and across global horizons.

Terrorism has been a major threat to national security and national development in most countries in the contemporary international system, particularly the Middle East and Africa, (Held et al, 2000). This is because terrorist activities pose a threat to state security as well as human security, thereby negatively affecting national development agenda (Buzan, 2008). Terrorism involves violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law; and appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population or to

influence the policy of a government through the use of force; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping (Perry, 2003). Fortna (2015) defined terrorism in its broadest sense as the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror or fear, in order to achieve a political, religious, or ideological aim. The Boko Haram insurgent group has been classified as a terrorist group which has carried out a series of attacks mainly in north-eastern Nigeria since 2009. This has posed a great challenge to the national security and the national development of the Nigerian state, particularly in the north-eastern part of the country. The human security of the inhabitants in the region has as a result, come under high risk due to the activities of this insurgent group.

As the seventh richest terrorist group on the American terrorist list (American Foreign Policy Council, 2013), Boko Haram receives its funding through several avenues including abductions, robberies, donations, extortion, and financing through its network of alliances with other terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS), (Kingsley et al, 2015). It receives funding and support from Al-Qa-ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQLIM), (American Foreign Policy Council, 2013). The group was founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf and was based around Maiduguri in the north-eastern state of Borno, Nigeria. Maiduguri is a community highly dominated by Muslims. The movement was originally labeled as the Nigerian Taliban because of its ideology and methods. Boko Haram is loosely translated in the Hausa language to mean

“Western education is forbidden,” (Oniwide, 2014, p.1). Boko means “fake” but now signifies “western education and culture” whiles Haram means “forbidden,” (Oniwide, 2014, p.1).

The official name for the group is “Jama'atu Ahl as-Sunnah li-Da'awati wal-Jihad” which in Arabic means people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad. Its followers are said to be influenced by the Koranic phrase which says: “Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors,” (Okemi, 2013, p.2). Boko Haram promotes a version of Islam which makes it "haram", or forbidden, for Muslims to take part in any political or social activity associated with Western society. These include voting in elections, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving a secular education (Okemi, 2013). Boko Haram regards the Nigerian state as being run by non-believers, even when the country had a Muslim president, and it has extended its military campaign by targeting neighboring states. The agenda of Boko-Haram is to implement and impose Sharia Law in the Northern states of Nigeria, (Iduh, 2011). The group believes Northern politics has been usurped by a group of dishonest, counterfeit Muslims. “It wants to wage a war against them and the Federal Republic of Nigeria generally, to create a “pure” Islamic state ruled by Sharia law,” (Walker, 2012, p. 2).

Boko-Haram is just an adopted name given to the group by residents of Maiduguri because of the strong tendency to reject western education, viewed as corrupting Muslims (Olawale, 2010). The group was not a violent movement at its

inception until 2003, the time when its charismatic leader became radical. In 2003, Yusuf led the sect in a movement, which espoused a conservative theology that opposed the Nigerian secular state referring to it as corrupt and un-Islamic (Odo, 2012). The group was seemingly quiet and had remained off the radar and was not known by the larger Nigerian population and the international community until July, 2009, when Boko Haram carried out fatal attacks on police stations and other government buildings in Maiduguri. Consequently, the Maiduguri attacks were met with counter attacks from the Nigerian security forces which resulted in hundreds of Boko Haram supporters being killed and thousands of residents fleeing the city for the safety of their lives. The Nigerian security forces also made some arrests and seized the group's headquarters (Onuoha, 2014).

The Maiduguri incident led to the killing of Mohammed Yusuf, whose body was shown on state television and the security forces declared that Boko Haram had been vanquished and eliminated from the system. The group's fighters, however, regrouped under a new leader, Abubakar Shekau, and have since stepped up their insurgent activities (Odo, 2015). These operations expanded Boko Haram's theatre of activities from the north-eastern state of Maiduguri to other parts of the north such as Kano, Kaduna, Niger, Sokoto, Zamfara, Katsina, Jigawa, and Abuja (Walker, 2012). After 2009, several organized attacks were perpetrated by Boko Haram against the Nigeria security forces and later extended the violent attacks to neighboring countries such as Cameroun, Niger, and Chad. According to (Alozieuwa, 2012), the challenge posed by the Boko Haram sect in

Nigeria is not only about the viciousness of the terror campaigns, or the sect's avowed mission to impose Islamic law on the country, but about the confusion regarding the exact cause(s) of the violence. To this end, Boko Haram is seen as a threat to national security and to the continual and harmonious co-existence of the component nations that make up the Nigeria state. It is therefore essential to examine the influence of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on national security and development in Nigeria in order to recommend measures to address the problem. This qualitative exploratory collective case study design investigated the causes of the conflict, identified the extent of involvement of stakeholders, mapped out the conflict, its progression, influence on national security and development, response analysis, and the basis of which recommendations have been made for the possible resolution of the threat posed by Boko Haram.

### **Statement of the Problem**

National security entails the maintenance of state survival through the use of economic power, diplomacy, power projection and political power. In order to achieve national security, a nation needs to ensure economic security, personal security, environmental security, food security, health security, community security and political security; all of which are encapsulated under promoting the human security of the citizenry (Adebayo, 2010). To a very large extent, all aspects of human endeavor and development, be it health, environmental, food,

economy, political, social, and physiological can be jeopardized, if there is a state of insecurity or the national security of a state is threatened (Adebayo, 2010).

The increasing strife in Nigeria caused by Boko Haram's insurgency is making it difficult for development activities to thrive in the north-eastern part of the country. This is evident in the continuous relocation of businesses from the North to other more peaceful parts of the country (Egbemode, 2012). This has led to stagnation in development and insecurity especially in Northern Nigeria which pose major threats to the human security of the country at large. This qualitative exploratory collective case study examined, from the perspectives of fourteen (14) security experts, the influence of Boko Haram's activities on national security and development covering the period 2009 through 2016, with the objective of proffering suggestions for resolution of the security threat to Nigeria's development.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This research explored the background of the Boko Haram group and the underlying factors that have enabled its rise and also assessed the implications of the activities of the group on security and development of the north and the entire country from 2009 to 2016. Senior military officers, diplomats, ECOWAS, international Non-Governmental Organizations, scholars, and researchers from Universities and research institutions were surveyed and these shared their personal experiences on how Boko Haram's activities have influenced the

security and development of Nigeria. The survey was conducted through one-on-one interviews at their work environments.

### **Research Objectives**

The following objectives were developed from the purpose statement to guide the study that explored security implications and influence of activities of Boko Haram insurgent group on the development of Nigeria:

1. To explore the influence of activities of Boko Haram on the socio-economic development of Northern Nigeria.
2. To explore options that could contribute to the development of an effective management of the threat posed by Boko Haram.
3. To review national strategies used to deal with the issue of Boko Haram.

### **Research Questions**

The following questions were developed from the research objectives to guide the study into activities of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria:

- 1 What are the effects of Boko Haram's activities on the national security and national development of Nigeria?
- 2 What are the factors underpinning the rise and apparent sustained activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria?
- 3 What is the general influence of activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on national security and development of the Northern parts of Nigeria?
- 4 What has been the official response to the terrorist situation in Nigeria

from 2009 to 2016?

### **Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study is to add to the growing literature on conflicts in Nigeria. It would also highlight what measures the Nigerian government is employing to resolve conflicts in the country. Limited success has been achieved by governments of African states, as well as the African Union (AU), and the regional bodies in Africa towards addressing the menace (Adebayo, 2010). Findings from this qualitative exploratory collective case study provided insights into understanding the threats posed to national security and development by activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group from the perspectives of the 14 research participants purposely selected to participate in this study.

The findings inform the decision of policy makers, governments of African states, the ECOWAS, and the international community as a whole, including the UN, regarding measures and mechanisms to put in place to eliminate or reduce terrorist activities on the Continent. The study also brings to light the various forms of influence of the activities of Boko Haram to national security and development of Nigeria. This will enable security agencies in the country, the sub-region, the continent of Africa, and the world at large to know the extent to which terrorist activities threaten national security and development. The study was also a modest contribution to the body of knowledge and literature on issues concerning national security and development.

## **Delimitations**

Though the activities of terrorist groups have become commonplace in the contemporary international system, especially in the Middle East and Africa, this qualitative exploratory case study with a collective design investigated activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria from 2009 to 2016 from the perspectives of 14 expert research participants. These participants were purposively selected on the basis of their association with the fight against terrorism and their expertise in issues of security and national development in West Africa. The study focused on the effects of Boko Haram's activities in the north-eastern part of Nigeria on national security and development.

## **Limitations**

This qualitative exploratory collective case study required much effort and time to be able to produce a very excellent and scholarly study on the topic. The six months allotted for the conduct of this study was however, too short and made it tedious to obtain additional which might have enriched the findings of the study. The study also employed explorative collective case study which involved interviewing a relatively small number of respondents (fourteen) on the topic. This challenge was mitigated by reducing the number of respondents from twenty to fourteen. The limited time and financial constraints made it difficult to travel to Nigeria and thus limited the study to respondents located in Ghana instead of those who are closer to the research site in Nigeria.

## **Definition of Terms**

National security and development are not confined to a particular activity, but generally regarded to encompass a broad range of activities across different fields. Terms used in this study are defined as follows:

**Terrorism:** This involves violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law (Forna, 2015). It also involves violent acts intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.

**Security:** Security connotes protection and safety from all forms of harm whether internally or externally (Collins, 2016).

**Development:** Development implies improvement in the quality and wellbeing of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable manner such that today's consumption does not imperil the future (Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011). It also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the basic necessities of life are removed or drastically reduced. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihoods and expansion of life chances.

**National Security:** The protection and safety of the territorial integrity of a state, as well as ensuring the promotion of the human security of citizens (Buzan, 2008).

**Human Security:** Human Security is an aspect of national security which focuses essentially on ensuring and promoting the well-being and welfare of

individuals within a country, as well as the protection from internal threats and harms (Blatz, 2016).

**National Development:** National development involves ensuring growth and progress in all sectors of an economy across every region or state in a country (Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011).

### **Organization of the Study**

This qualitative exploratory collective case study research is divided into five chapters. Chapter One contains background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the research, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations, limitations of the study, definition of terms, and organization of the study. Chapter two focused on review of related literature on national security, human security, national development, terrorism and its impact on national security and development, Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, and analysis of gaps in the literature. The research methods and methodology used for data collection and analysis are detailed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four presents findings and discussions. This includes data analysis and interpretation of data. Chapter Five contains conclusions, summary and recommendations from the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study design was to explore reasons for the persistent insurgent activities of the Boko Haram sect with particular focus on factors that have sustained the phenomenon as well as assess the implications of their actions on the development and security of the North-eastern region of Nigeria. Data was collected through purposive interviews of fourteen (14) participants who have expertise in terrorism activities in Nigeria and its neighboring countries that provided insights into their understanding of how Boko Haram activities have affected national security and development of Nigeria. The purpose of the study was achieved through the findings that established the negative effect of Boko Haram insurgency on national security and development of the entire country. The literature review section is categorized into five main sub-sections: the theoretical framework, seminal works on terrorism and recently published works on terrorism, the concept of national security, the concept of human security, and the concept of national development, Gaps in the literature.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

A number of theories have emerged to explain the phenomenon of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria. Most of these theories broadly revolve around socio-economic, political, conflict, and religious themes. These theories include the relative deprivation theory, the frustration-aggression theory, and the relational/vengeance theory. This qualitative exploratory collective case study had the aim of understanding the modus operandi of Boko Haram and proffer suggestions for effective resolution of the security challenge. The concept of human security had also been considered given its central role in national development.

### **Relative Deprivation Theory**

Proponents of this theory include Walter Garrison Runciman and Gurr Ted Robert. They argued that humans naturally or inherently become aggressive when they are discontent or displeased. Gurr's study on *Why Men Rebel*, published in 1970 asserts that the discrepancy between what people in a society think they are justifiably entitled to (value expectations) and believe they are capable of achieving (value capabilities) is what constitutes the relative deprivation. He explained that this deprivation aggravates tension because, the greater the deprivation, the greater the tendency for violence (Gurr, 1970). The increasing poverty in Northern Nigeria is accompanied by increasing unemployment. Unemployment is higher in the north than in the south. Mix this situation with radical Islam, which promises a better life for martyrs, and you can understand the growing violence in the north. Government statistics show that the Northern states

have the highest proportion of uneducated persons. If you link a lack of education and attendant lack of opportunities to a high male youth population, you can imagine that some areas are actually a breeding ground for terrorism (cited in Oxford Research Group 2012: 4)

Runciman (1996) in his work noted that when people are deprived of things they deemed valuable in society such as privileges, opportunities, social status, justice, wealth, and other resources, they mostly consider joining pressure groups as their last resort to press home their demands or as a means of redressing their grievances. The relative deprivation theory holds that people who are deprived of things deemed valuable in society; whether money, justice, status or privilege, join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances (Runciman, 1966). It is in this vein that Usman (2015) in his study concluded that deprivation begets frustration which consequently results in aggression in the form of conflict, violence or terrorist attacks. From the above, it is clear that the reality of relative deprivation in Northern Nigeria is deep-rooted, and therefore, helps to get an understanding of why Boko Haram started their attacks in Nigeria.

### **The Frustration-Aggression Theory**

The frustration-aggression theory a branch of the relative deprivation theory which examines the relationship between conflict and development and conflict acts such as terrorism and civil wars as espoused in the work of Benjamin (2006). The theory is posited on the assumption that frustration begets aggression which consequently often results in violent acts. Frustration is defined in the study

of Baron and Richardson on human aggression as the “blocking of on-going goal-directed behavior,” (Baron & Richardson, 1994, p.1). Aggression on the other hand, is perceived as any behaviour perpetrated to harm another person (by introducing aversive stimuli) who otherwise would have been prevented from being harmed (Benjamin, 2006).

Feierabend & Nesvold (1971) propounded that systematic frustration leads to aggression, that is, the frustration collectively experienced by members of a polity and which is caused by the political system under which they live, induces the tendency to resort to political aggression. Contrary to the views of the above scholars, however, Pastore in his study, established that frustration does not always result in aggression, but it is especially likely to lead to aggression when there is pent-up frustration which is much intense (Pastore, 1950).

The frustration-aggression theory helps in understanding a myriad of activities that have been carried out by the Boko Haram insurgent group since 2009. Maiangwa et al (2013) revealed that most of the sect's members have been harbouring intense anger and aggression toward the Nigerian government and security forces, and therefore began to express such pent-up anger through their violent acts in the north-eastern section of Nigeria. This anger arose particularly because of the killing of the then leader of the group, Mohammed Yusuf, by government security forces. This angered the rest of the members of the group who decided to carry out a revenge mission on the government and its security agencies.

## **The Relational/Vengeance Theory**

Proponents of this theory attempted an explanation of violent conflicts between groups based on perceived historical, political, economic, and psychological relationships that exist between groups. This theory stresses on identity perception as a key factor in instigating conflict among groups. Towards this end, the theory explains how the discrepancies in interest and values give rise to identity perception of some groups, which consequently serve as a source of conflict. The theory emphasizes the ‘We’ against ‘Them’ dichotomy. This identity formation or perception has a high tendency of attracting negative stereotypes, discrimination, racial, and ethnic intolerance and other forms of abuses (Faleti, 2006). This is because such feelings may result in the development of either inferiority or superiority complex, which could always instigate violent acts. As noted by Okereke (2011), members of the Boko Haram insurgent group were usually perceived as terrorists or vandals with retarded minds. This situation angered members of the sect who saw themselves as being verbally abused and discriminated against.

The identity formation or perception also led to the common purpose of fighting the “unbelievers” in the name of Allah and also the claim of fighting against ‘Western Education and Culture’ which was seen by members of the group as contradictory to the principles of ‘Sharia Law.’ The cogency of this theory in explaining the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group lies in the pejorative connotation they attach to people who do not practice and believe in

the Islamic faith (who they consider infidels) and the system of government they wish to establish in Northern Nigeria. The system of government they wish to establish is the Sharia Law system of governance which they expect to be independent of the central government system. The activities of the group are therefore, seen by scholars such as Okereke (2011) as vengeance on the government and the entire citizenry who do not subscribe to the ideologies and values of the group.

### **Review of Seminal Works on Terrorism**

The phenomenon of terrorism dates back to ancient times. Kapur et al (2005) pointed out that the earliest significant manifestation of the phenomenon was felt in the international system during the era of the French and the Russian revolutions respectively from 1789 to 1917. Kapur et al (2005) employed a cross-sectional survey to analyze terrorism in France, Spain and Italy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Major findings from the study of Kapur et al (2005) included the view that terrorism was employed as a means for changing a socio-economic and socio-political status quo as evidenced by activities of the anarchists in France, Spain, Italy, as well as radical nationalist groups in Ireland, Armenia, Macedonia and Morocco (Kapur et al, 2005). This finding is essential to this study as it revealed possible motives for the intransigent actions in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century as related to what could form the basis for the Boko Haram terrorist attacks in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The study however has a different focus from this study which analyzed the effects of activities of Boko haram on a nation using Northern Nigeria as case study. The

gap in the study of Kapur et al (2005) was thus filled with findings from this study that examined the effects of activities of Boko Haram from 2009 to 2016, on the National Development of Nigeria, particularly, Northern Nigeria.

Downes (2011) in his study, conducted a cross sectional survey into terrorism revealed that before the First World War, terrorism featured predominantly in countries such as Turkey, Poland, India, and Romania between 1923 and 1939. Merari (1993) carried out a cross-sectional study of terrorism in Italy, Germany, China and Vietnam in a single study. Findings from Merari's study revealed that during World War Two, terrorism was employed in countries such as Germany and Italy to liquidate opponents and repress people and also in this era, urban terrorism was later replaced by rival guerrilla groups in states such as China, Vietnam, and some Latin American countries (Merari, 1993). Similar to the study of Kapur et al (2005), the study of Merari (1993) and Downes (2011) contributed significantly in determining the research design for this study. The studies of Merari (1993) and Downes (2011) however, did not cover terrorist activities in Africa. This gap in the studies of Merari (1993) and Downes (2011) is being filled by this study that utilized the theories of conflict to examine the effect of the activities of Boko Haram since 2009, on national security and development from an African perspective.

### **Review of Recently Published Works on Terrorism**

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the US, allegedly masterminded by Osama bin Laden was seen as a new phase of trans-national

terrorism in the international system, because the strategy and mode of operation, including civilian casualties and fatalities were unprecedented as elaborated by Burke (2004) in his study, *Al Qaeda*. Nwolise (2005) employed a qualitative interpretive study to analyze terrorism in Nigeria in the 20th Century. The objective of the study was to analyze the trends and dynamics of terrorism in Nigeria in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

Significant findings from the study revealed that terrorism began in Nigeria in the pre-colonial era. Nwolise (2005) asserted that terrorism in Nigeria in recent times has graduated to a professional crescendo. Between 1964 and 1966, it was observed that terrorist strategies as employed in Nigeria included arson, kidnapping, and assassinations (Nwolise, 2005). From 1990 to 1998, however, assassinations and bomb blasts became prominent and the main strategy adopted by terrorist groups (Nwolise, 2005). The general causes identified to have instigated terrorist attacks in Nigeria include poverty, social injustice, inequality and biased political representations, bad governance, resource mismanagement, religious and ethnic differences and perceived class stereotypes and dominations (Nwolise, 2005). Militia groups such as the Ijaw National Congress, the Arewa Peoples' Congress, the Odua Peoples' Congress (OPC), among others, have featured predominantly as terrorist groups in Nigeria in recent times (Nwolise, 2005). These findings are essential to this study as these revealed the actors and nature of terrorism in Nigeria in the 20th Century. Nwolise's (2005) research did not cover actors of terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in Nigeria and the effects of

terrorism on the national security and national development of Nigeria. This qualitative exploratory case study filled this literature by utilizing the theories of conflict to examine the effect of the activities of Boko Haram since 2009, on the national security and national development of Nigeria, particularly, Northern Nigeria.

Aregbesola (2012) employed a qualitative case study to analyze how the economic deprivation in Northern Nigeria has been one of the main factors that has instigated terrorist acts from the Boko Haram group. He collected data from civil society organizations and persons from security background through interviews. Major findings from the study of Aregbesola (2012) revealed that the socio-economic crisis in Northern Nigeria have led to marginalization of the north and as such there is high unemployment and disempowerment of women. This, according to (Aregbesola, 2012), is an indication of a dysfunctional state system and unequal distribution of state resources. The economic disempowerment of women in particular implies that the adult males have to sustain the economic status quo of the region. Non-existent economic opportunities in the north, have contributed to and sustained activities of the aggressive Boko Haram group particularly in pressing home their demands for a better livelihood for citizens (Aregbesola, 2012).

The findings of (Aregbesola, 2012) and (Luke et al, 2014), are essential to this study as these provided significant insights into understanding factors instigating and sustaining the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group in

Nigeria. The studies of Aregbesola (2012) and Luke et al (2014) have a common focus which is limited to analysis of the effects of the Boko Haram terrorist activities on national security and development. This qualitative exploratory case study filled this gap by utilizing the theories of conflict to examine the effect of the activities of Boko Haram since 2009, on the national security and national development of Nigeria, particularly, Northern Nigeria.

### **The Concept of Human Security**

Owen (2004) employed a qualitative descriptive approach to explain the concept of Human Security in the international system. Owen (2004) explains Human Security as the protection of vital core of all human lives from the critical (level of seriousness) and pervasive (the extent of) environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats. Major findings from Owen's study revealed that human/people-centered security can be said to have two main aims. First, the concept aimed at safety from such chronic threats as diseases, repression, depression and hunger. And second, it aimed at protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Owen's study contributes significantly to this study by revealing some dimensions of human security. Owen's work however which had a different focus from this study, paid less attention to identifying how internal factors such as terrorism could affect the human security of a country. This gap was filled in the current study by analyzing how the activities of Boko Haram have effects on the Human security of Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria.

Gasper (2010) employed a qualitative explorative study to identify other dimensions of security rather than focusing only on state security or security of territorial boundaries. Major findings of Gasper's study revealed Human Security as another dimension of security which focuses on human priorities to promote development. Gasper (2010) also postulated that human security adds substance to the notion of development by addressing concerns of human insecurity which includes inequality, deprivation and social exclusion. Therefore, Gasper (2010) identified some components of human security which include focus on individuals' lives with regards to access to basic needs, freedom and ability to achieve values and outcomes, and concerns for stability. Gasper's work however failed to conceptualize how human security focuses on the ideas of human development, human needs and human rights in relation to the individuals within a state rather than protection of territorial boundaries. Gasper's study contributed significantly to this study by revealing some dimensions of human security. Gasper's work also had a different focus from this study, therefore little attention was given in Gasper's work to identifying how internal factors such as terrorism could affect the human security of a country. This gap was what this study has filled by analyzing how the activities of Boko Haram have effects on the human security of Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria.

### **The Concept of National Security**

Buzan (2008) postulated that security connotes the subjective absence of fear which could threaten or attack acquired and core values of people in a

defined geographical area. Shinkaiye (2004, p.4) defined national security as “the protection and preservation of the territory, sovereignty and stability of a country from threats.” It entails the freedom to pursue its core values and interest without let or hindrance. The idea of national security is associated with a cherished value of the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-states, together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. The concept denotes free from threats, anxiety and danger,

Boafo-Arthur (2007) employed a qualitative exploratory case study on Ghana to identify some dimensions of national security which are of great priority to a state. These include “self- preservation or the survival of the nation as a whole; protection of territory and natural resources confined within its borders, protection of individuals of the country; protection of investments at home and abroad, safeguarding the core interests of the nation; its prosperity and economic well-being, protecting the nation’s external image and prestige and finally safeguarding the institutions of the nation including the entire systems of government,” (Boafo-Arthur, 2007, p.2).

Boafo-Arthur (2007) also posited that, a state may intentionally include in its foreign policy, efforts and mechanisms to stabilize its neighbouring countries politically, culturally, militarily and economically. Major findings from Boafo-Arthur’s study revealed that the core interests of national security extended beyond the protection of the territorial boundaries of a state to include ensuring the safety of neighbouring states.

Boafo-Arthur's work contributed to the topic under study by throwing more insights into some dimensions of national security which is the focus of this study. However, Boafo-Arthur's work had a different focus from this study and as such paid little attention to analyzing how the national security of a state could be affected by the endogenic factors of a country such as terrorist threats from a local group. This gap was filled in the current study by utilizing conflict theories to analyze the effect of the Boko Haram's activities on the national security of Nigeria.

Bamidele (2012) also employed a qualitative interpretive case study to explain other dimensions of national security which included the protection of the polity through the protection, preservation, promotion and sustenance of national interest. Major findings of Bamidele's study revealed that national security also covers training and equipping security agencies to provide adequate and functional security of the territorial boundaries as well as citizens of a state. In addition, Bamidele's study revealed that national security is concerned with decision making processes which detect or identify potential threats or risks capable of destabilizing a state, while simultaneously, enhancing the promotion of national development. Bamidele's work contributed significantly to the understanding of the topic under study by analyzing the link between national security and national development which is the focus of this study. However, Bamidele's work had a different focus from this study, and as such paid little attention to analyzing how the national security of a state could be affected by the

endogenic factors of a country such as terrorism. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing conflict theories to analyze the effect of the Boko Haram's activities on the national security of Nigeria.

Olayiwola (2013) also adopted a qualitative interpretive case study on Nigeria to explain “the concept of national security as the capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well-being,” (Olayiwola, 2013, p.31). The major finding from Olayiwola's work revealed that without national security which ensures safe and secured political atmosphere in a state, sustainable development could not be attained. Olayiwola's work contributed significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into some dimensions and objectives of national security. However, Olayiwola's work has a gap by giving little attention to the activities of terrorist or insurgency groups that may have significant implications on the national security of a state. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing some theories of conflict to analyze the effects of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the national security of Nigeria.

### **The Concept of National Development**

Using Nigeria as a case study Omotoso (2008) employed a qualitative descriptive analysis in his work to affirm the importance of promotion of local business (indigeneity) as a sure way of enhancing national development. Major findings from Omotoso (2008) revealed that promoting indigeneity among the

populace provokes and incites a spirit of patriotism among the citizens to support the government most often in its development agenda, hence germinating and sustaining the goals of national development of the country. Omotoso's work contributed significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into how promotion of local business (indigeneity) is a sure way of enhancing national development. However, Omotoso's study had a different focus from this study and therefore concentrated less in identifying how the activities of a terrorist or insurgency groups may have significant implications on the national development of Nigeria. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing some theories of conflict to analyze the impact of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the national development of Nigeria.

Rodan (2016) employed a qualitative interpretive case study to conceptualize development as the embodiment of all efforts geared towards the improvement in the quality of life in all aspects of human existence. Rodan (2016) asserted that national development implies improvement in both material and non-material well-being of all citizens. Major findings from Rodan's study explained that the efforts geared towards ensuring the improvement in the quality of life of citizens should not only concentrate on the rich and powerful but should be all-inclusive to cover even the deprived and less privileged. In addition, these efforts should address challenges of inequality and poverty that threaten the physical security and self-esteem of citizens in a state. Rodan's study contributes significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into

the concept of national development. However, Rodan's study has a different focus from the topic under study and therefore did not analyze how the activities of a terrorist or insurgency group may have significant implications on the national development of a state. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing some theories of conflict to analyze the impact of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the national development of Nigeria.

Fägerlind & Saha (2016) adopted a qualitative interpretive case study to explain what should be a re-conceptualization of the notion of development. That is development should not be focused only on economic growth, but should include other factors such as education, equitable distribution of resources, provision of quality health care services, provision of better housing systems and other essential services, particularly utilities such as water and electricity which collectively add up to the betterment and quality of life of citizens. Fägerlind & Saha (2016) viewed development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of people are generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. Major findings from Fägerlind & Saha's study revealed that development transcends beyond only economic progressing to including all aspects of socio-political and socio-cultural capabilities and opportunities of people within a state.

Fägerlind & Saha's study contributed significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into concept of national development. However, Fägerlind & Saha's study focused essentially on how national

development could be achieved especially in developing countries, and as such did not analyze how the activities of a terrorist or insurgency group may have significant implications on the national development of a state. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing some theories of conflict to analyze the impact of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the national development of Nigeria.

Using an explorative qualitative case study on Japan, Gasper (2016) explained that national development requires total commitment on the part of the leadership of the country. Gasper (2016) pointed out that there is the need for the leadership to develop the attitude of self- discipline and honesty to be able to implement viable policies without compromises and such officials should show enough discipline, interest, willingness, dedication and honesty. Major findings from Gasper's work reveal that without these attributes and the will to pursue and set economic goals, all other ingredients of development present would amount to nullity. Where these qualities are lacking, Gasper (2016) expounded that efforts towards attaining national development will be mirages. Gasper's study contributes significantly to the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into concept of national development and efforts towards achieving national development. Gasper's study had a different focus from this study and therefore did not analyze how the activities of a terrorist or insurgency group may have significant implications on the national development of a state. This gap is what this study has filled by utilizing some theories of conflict to analyze the

impact of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the national development of Nigeria.

Leigh & Blakely (2016) also adopted an interpretive qualitative case to explain that the attainment of national development is largely in synchrony with the human resources capabilities of a state, drawing from the experiences of Japan and Korea. Leigh & Blakely (2016) pointed out that national development depends very much on human knowledge and skills. Major findings from the study of Leigh & Blakely (2016) revealed that there should be pursuit of higher quality education, as well as vocational training which equip majority of the populace with the needed knowledge and skills to become competitive for the global political economy. They therefore concluded that unless there are large numbers of suitably qualified people, development cannot take place (Leigh & Blakely, 2016). This was because the level of skilled human resource base of a country determines to a larger extent, the improvement and quality of life enjoyed by the people.

Leigh & Blakely's study also corroborated the topic under study by revealing and throwing more insights into some dimensions and objectives of national development which is the main goal of both national and human security. However, Leigh & Blakely's study had a different focus from this study and therefore did not analyse how activities of a terrorist or insurgency group could pose threats to the national development of a state. This lacuna in the above literature is what this study has filled by utilizing the theories of conflict to

examine the effect of the activities of Boko Haram since 2009, on the national development of Nigeria, particularly, Northern Nigeria.

### **Gaps in the Literature**

A lot of research has been carried out on the activities of the Boko Haram terrorism sect in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries. However, the review of literature showed that little has been done on how these activities have impacted the national security and development of the entire country of Nigeria. The review gave an overview of terrorism the world over, in which it was found that the suicidal tactics used now by terrorists have been similar to those used since World War I. The review also showed negative ways in which the activities of Boko Haram affect security in Northern Nigeria but does not show the clear direct impact on the country's development. The review also showed that methods used by the Government of Nigeria in combating the Boko Haram group have contributed in aggravating the spread of the group's activities throughout the neighbouring countries. These methods do not provide any better ways of combating domestic terrorism that have little negative effect. All these factors constitute gaps that this study has filled. The review of existing literature confirmed existence of limited research work on the Boko Haram insurgent group and its impact on both national security and national development. Research conducted on Boko Haram has been mainly on the cause and the threat that the terrorist group pose to security. This qualitative exploratory case study about the impact of the insurgent group's activities on the national security and

development in Nigeria contains findings from the research participants to fill the literature gap in the extant research works.

### **Chapter Summary**

Scholarly works reviewed in this section provided significant understanding of the concept of human security, national development, as these related to the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria since 2009. In addition, conflict theories including the relative deprivation theory, the frustration-aggression theory and the relational/vengeance theory perspectives were reviewed in analysing the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria since 2009. The literature review covered five (5) main themes which included the concept of national security, the concept of human security, the concept of national development, seminal works on terrorism and recently published works on terrorism.

The major gap identified in all the literature reviewed had to do with the absence of peer-reviewed literature on the effects of the activities of Boko Haram on national security and development which this qualitative exploratory collective case study has filled. Insights from the fourteen (14) participants purposively selected for this study might help to sustainably address the Boko Haram carnage. This will ensure effective development of Northern Nigeria and its people whose livelihoods have been dislocated by activities of the sect.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study design was to explore reasons for the persistent insurgent activities of the Boko Haram sect with particular focus on factors that have sustained the phenomenon as well as assess the implications of their actions on the development and security of the North-eastern region of Nigeria. Data collection was two-fold involving (i) content

analysis of data on activities of the sect and (ii) application of qualitative exploratory case study approach in the collection of primary data from fourteen purposively selected participants based on their experiences and knowledge of activities of the group. The purpose of the study was achieved through findings obtained from the fourteen research participants associated with the issues of terrorism, security, development and governance in Nigeria. Secondary data was used to triangulate primary data from the research participants. This chapter discusses the research method and methodology used for data collection and analysis to arrive at findings and consists of the research design, study area, population, sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, data processing and analyses, and chapter summary.

### **Research Design**

Methodology refers to how a researcher goes about practically finding out whatever is believed can be known (Mackey & Gass, 2015). This study utilized the qualitative exploratory case study method for data collection and analysis. Qualitative research produces general understanding of rich, contextual, and unstructured, non-numeric data through conversation with research participants in a natural setting (Creswell, 2009; Mason, 2002). Willis & Jost (2007) affirmed that the qualitative approach gives valued results required for researchers to fully comprehend contexts. Thomas (2003) similarly, asserted that qualitative methods are reinforced by researchers because the paradigm portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed.

A qualitative exploratory collective case study design was applied for this study because of the flexibility of the qualitative research method. The method allows for exploration of other sources of obtaining data without strict restrictions and applications as in the case of the quantitative research method (Mackey & Gass, 2015). A qualitative research design could make use of secondary research such as reviewing available literature or data and also conducting in-depth interviews, case studies, field tests, among others (Dellinger & Leech, 2007). Qualitative exploratory case study design helps in formulating a more precise problem statement (Shields & Rangarjan, 2013). A qualitative exploratory case study design facilitates the conduct of investigations into a social phenomenon without explicit expectations (Dellinger & Leech, 2007).

A case study research design plays an important role in advancing a field's body of knowledge (Merriam, 2009). Miles and Huberman (1994) asserted that a case study is a phenomenon of sort occurring in a bounded context. Myers (2009) argued that the significance of case study research is its emphasis on 'how' and 'why' questions and therefore (Mouton, 2001) considers it appropriate for descriptive and exploratory studies. Stake (2005) pointed out that case study focuses on describing processes, individual or group action in a whole setting, and/or the sequence of events in which an action occurs. The qualitative case study approach supports both theory building - particularly where existing theoretical and conceptual frameworks are inadequate - and acts as a guide to empirical (quantitative) research (Chetty, 1996; Mouton, 2001). The Qualitative

exploratory case study approach also enables researchers to closely examine data within a specific context (Zainal, 2007). This qualitative exploratory case study design analyzed the effects of terrorism on national security and development from the perspectives of security experts associated with conflict resolution efforts in Nigeria.

### **Study Area**

Nigeria is geographically located in West Africa. It has a land surface area of about 910,768 square kilometers of land and 13,000 square kilometers of water, making it the 32nd largest nation in the world with a total area of 923,768 square kilometers (World Atlas, 2017). Nigeria is bordered to the West by Benin, to the east by Cameroon, to the north by Niger and to the south by the Gulf of Guinea. This study focused its analysis on Northern Nigeria because the region has come under severe attacks by the Boko Haram terrorist group since 2009. Aregbesola (2012) asserted that the socio-economic crisis in Northern Nigeria has led to a marginalization of the north and as such there is high unemployment and disempowerment of women. This, according to Aregbesola, (2012) is a clear indication of a dysfunctional state system and unequal distribution of state resources. The economic disempowerment of women implies that the adult males have to sustain the economic burden of the region. Non-existent economic opportunities in the north have contributed to and sustained activities of the aggressive Boko Haram group particularly in pressing home their demands for better livelihoods for citizens (Aregbesola, 2012)

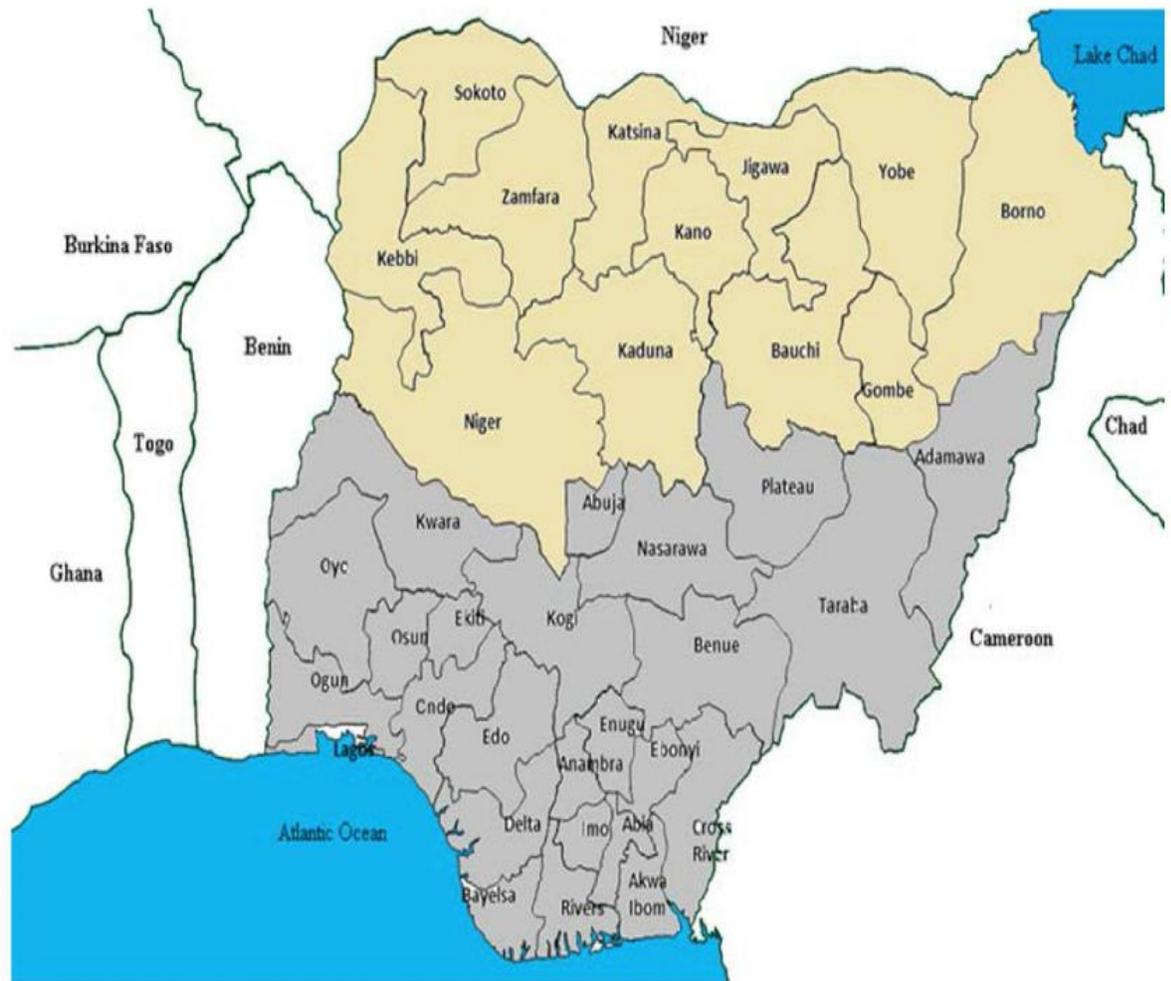


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria showing Northern Nigeria in yellow

### **Population**

Maxfield and Babbie (1995) posited, a target population is an aggregation of elements from which the sample is selected. The target population were experts in the field of security and development whose occupations make them close to the phenomenon of terrorism, national security, and national development with focus on the activities of the insurgent group of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The

study included fourteen experts who are professionals working in the field of terrorism, security and governance from the military, diplomats, humanitarians and scholars from research institutions who have been in and out of Nigeria since 2009.

### **Sampling Procedure**

Sampling is a process of using selected parts or sections of a whole population in a research project (Ross, 2005). It is important to use a sample rather than the whole population for good reasons. Sekaran & Bougie (2010) asserted that, the use of sampling might help to reduce the risk of error and other factors such as limited time, insufficient budget, and human resource factors. Thus, through purposive sampling, the researcher ensures that the target population interviewed had relevant experience on the subject under review of terrorism, security and/or development. These researchers participant have been qualified as experts because they have served in managerial positions at security and development services for more than ten years. The sampling design process included the confirmation of target population, sampling frame, sampling location, sampling elements, sampling technique, and sample size.

### *Sampling Technique*

There are two main types of sampling techniques for determining the sample size for a research work (Austin & Pinkleton, 2006). These are Probability and Non-probability sampling techniques. Probability sampling is where elements of the population are known, which means that a researcher has a list of a

designated population and all sampling elements have a chance to be selected. With non-probability sampling, the elements in a population are unknown. Thus, the probability of selection for each element is unknown. This qualitative exploratory case study made use of non-probability sampling technique. The choice of the purposive sampling technique was because, it was not possible, to collect the full list of elements from the target population (Austin & Pinkleton, 2006).

According to (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010), there are five main types of non-probability sampling technique namely, convenience sampling, purposive sampling, quota sampling, and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling is the sampling technique where elements are selected because of convenience for researchers. Purposive sampling is the sampling method in which the researcher chooses the participants as per his/her own judgment, keeping in mind the purpose of the study. It uses the judgment of an expert in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind. This type of sampling is used in exploratory research or in field research. Quota sampling is where researchers divide the target population into subgroups and select the elements in proportion to the population size. Snowball sampling is where the researchers choose the sampling elements through recommendations from initial respondents and where the initial respondents are selected by using the probability sampling method (Austin & Pinkleton, 2006).

This qualitative exploratory collective case study made use of the purposive sampling method. A purposive sampling method involves intentionally selecting units of the sample population for a study (Tongco, 2007). This is because they share the same characteristics. The research design comprised interviewing three personnel from the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFCSC), three military officers from Nigeria who have the requisite expertise in or have experienced activities of the Boko Haram group in Nigeria. Three other participants, diplomats, based at the ECOWAS headquarters in Nigeria, were also interviewed. The research included two participants from the International NGO- Doctors Without Borders/ Medecins Sans Frontieres. The last category of participants was three visiting lecturers to the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre who had published articles and academic papers on Terrorism in Nigeria. The purposive sampling technique was employed because selection of the research participants was limited to only security and development experts involved in the strategic efforts to counter activities of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria. The researcher was interested in certain subgroups within the Nigerian population that include people living in Northern Nigeria who were affected by the conflict, Nigerian citizens in general and Nigerian security personnel but these could not be directly reached hence the choice of the purposive sampling method.

#### *Sample Size*

Sample size for a research project is important because it could affect the result of a study (Mason, 2010). A proper sampling design should follow an effective sample size in order to get an accurate result from the research project (Ross, 2005). According to Sekaran & Bougie, (2010), too large a number of sampling size or too small a number of sampling size may not be suitable to generate a good result. A designated sampling size should, therefore, be representative enough. This qualitative exploratory study used a sample size of fourteen purposively selected security and development experts comprising three military personnel of GASFSC, three military officers of the Nigeria Armed Forces, three diplomats, two humanitarians and three lecturers from Nigeria. The sample size of fourteen produced emergent themes and typologies that addressed the research problem.

### **Data Collection Instruments**

Secondary data utilized Content Analysis techniques from available literature on activities of the Boko Haram sect. Primary data came from interviews with fourteen security experts and two humanitarian ground officers. The idea was to facilitate comparative analysis of data from secondary sources with primary data collected from the fourteen research participants. Secondary data was collected from journal articles, books, news reports, video documentaries and commentaries on the subject matter of Boko Haram terrorist activities in Nigeria since 2009 to 2016. The primary data was collected through

an interview guide, containing ten questions to collect data from the fourteen interviewees in Nigeria through an audio recorder.

#### *Pre-testing of Interview Questions*

According to (Austin & Pinkleton, 2006), pre-testing of interview questions ensures that the interview guide or questionnaire is good and supported. In this regard, pre-testing of the interview questions was conducted in Ghana in July 2017 with two other security experts who were not part of the actual research. Pre-testing of the ten interview questions was carried out to verify the suitability or otherwise of the interview protocol that includes the interview questions. This was because common problems like omissions, illogical and inconsistent responses will be checked. Inconsistent responses are not in agreement with the objective of the study. Based on feedback received from the subject matter experts two inconsistent questions were removed and three more were adjusted for clarity. Data collected from these two participants were not included in the data processed and analyzed.

#### **Data Collection Procedures**

Data collection is one of the most important aspects of any research study. Naveen (2012) noted that, research can be conducted with different methods, but every research is based on the data which is analyzed and further clarified to get information. There are few methods used to collect primary data which include interviews, observation and questionnaire. In this study, secondary data was collected by searching online websites for journals and books or other

publications which are relevant to this topic. Soft copies of relevant books and articles were downloaded whilst the hard copy materials were obtained from the physical library of Nyansapo College. Primary data was then obtained through ten semi-structured interview questions administered to fourteen purposively selected participants. Interviews were audio recorded and were subsequently transcribed using Microsoft Word application software.

## **Data Processing and Analysis**

### **Data Processing**

Data obtained from primary and secondary sources were ordered into thematic groups which were used for data analysis. The ordering was done in accordance with the research questions and objectives. The purpose of the ordering was to sieve out only relevant data for the topic under study and do away with the irrelevant ones. To ensure accurate ordering system, the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources were reviewed several times and assigned codes to be able to finally decide which data fit perfectly well under which theme or sub-topic. Organizing the data thematically was very important as it helped in avoiding unnecessary repetition since some answers overlapped.

### **Data Analysis**

For Phase One Analysis, the Content Analysis approach was used for analyzing the secondary data and used as the basis for comparing data from the primary source. Content Analysis is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material (Hsieh &

Shannon, 2005). This allowed for reviewing several existing literature on the topic. This aided in making objective holistic analysis of the topic rather than relying on personal judgments.

For phase two analysis, a qualitative exploratory case study approach was used for analyzing primary data obtained from the fourteen security experts and humanitarians who were interviewed for this study. This analysis was done based on sub-themes that reflect on the topic under study. Figures and tables were used in presenting findings of the study to display themes as these provide meaning to understanding the experiences of participants relative to the problem statement, and the objectives of the study.

### **Chapter Summary**

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study research was to explore activities of the Boko Haram sect in Northern Nigeria with particular focus on the impact of their disruptive activities on national security and development covering the period 2009 through 2016. Data collection was two-fold involving (i) content analysis of secondary data on activities of the sect and (ii) application of qualitative exploratory collective case study approach in the collection of primary data from fourteen security and development experts on their experiences and knowledge of activities of the group. Findings from secondary data were used to triangulate interview data from the fourteen experts. This chapter discussed the research methods used for data collection and analysis to arrive at findings and consists of the research design, study area, population,

sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, data processing and analyses, and chapter summary.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study design was to explore reasons for the persistent insurgent activities of the Boko Haram sect with particular focus on factors that have sustained the phenomenon as well as assess the implications of their actions on the development and security of the North-eastern region of Nigeria. Data was collected through purposive interviews of fourteen (14) participants who have expertise in terrorism activities in Nigeria and its neighboring countries that provided insights into their understanding of how Boko Haram activities have affected national security and development of Nigeria. The purpose of the study was achieved through the findings that established the negative effect of Boko Haram insurgency on national security and development of the entire country.

This chapter presents analysis of the results from the study. It involves a conflict analysis of the Boko Haram terrorist activities in Nigeria since 2009 and also an assessment of the impacts of these attacks on the national security and development of Nigeria. Towards this end, the data analysis has been based on the research questions and objectives of this study. The Chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data that was collected from the fourteen security and development experts. The overall aim of the survey was to collect data from senior military officers, members of the diplomatic community, Non-

Governmental Organizations, scholars and lecturers from research institutions in the field of security studies, development studies, and international relations studies and who had been posted in Nigeria during the insurgency of Boko Haram group. Data collected through the use of interview questions were edited and coded before being analysed. The findings are organized under seven (7) themes that emerged from analysis of qualitative interview data. The chapter is organized as follows: demographics of participants, findings from interview data, and chapter summary.

### **Demographics of Participants**

The researcher was able to elicit useful information concerning this study from the fourteen respondents involved. They were interviewed via digitally recorded interviews. Participants' consent was individually obtained. The participants were categorized into: military officers, diplomats, scholars, humanitarians and lecturers.

### **Gender of the respondents**

Table 1 illustrates the gender distribution of the respondents involved in the study.

Table 1: Demographic Data of respondents by gender (N=14)

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
	N=14	
Male	11	78.57%
Female	3	21.43%

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

Table 1, shows that 11 (78.57%) interviewees were males whilst three (21.43%) were females.

### **Nationalities of respondents**

Though the study took place in Ghana, some Nigerian respondents were also interviewed so as to reflect their perceptions on the Boko Haram issue. Eight respondents were from Nigeria, five from Ghana, and one from France.

Table 2: Nationality of the respondents (N=14)

Nationality	Frequency	Percentage
	N=14	
Nigerian	8	57.14%
Ghanian	5	35.72%
French	1	7.14%

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

### **Profession of the respondents**

In consideration of the thematic field of the study, Security and National Development: a Case Study of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria, the study required respondents who are experts in the fields of security studies, development studies, international relations and humanitarian aid. These requirements informed the researcher's choice of respondents and interviewees. The study therefore, presents the characteristics of respondents who were involved in the study in terms of their professions. Table 3 shows that six participants were military officers out of the 14 experts, three were diplomats, three were scholars and researchers, and two were humanitarians.

Table 3: Specialization of the respondents

(N=14) Profession	Frequency	Percentage
	N=14	
Military	6	42.86 %
Diplomats	3	21.43 %
Scholars & Lecturers	3	21.43 %
Humanitarians	2	14.28 %

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

### **Findings from interview data**

This section presents the summary of themes that emerged from interview data which are presented based on the objectives of this study. Seven themes were generated from the nine interview questions. Responses to the research questions were then coded.

### **Summary of themes**

The qualitative data collected from participants were processed through coding of responses under defined themes. This study was guided by four research questions:

- 1 What are the effects of Boko Haram’s activities on national security and development of Nigeria?
- 2 What are the factors underpinning the rise and apparent sustained activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria?
- 3 What is the general impact of activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on national security and development of the Northern parts of

Nigeria?

- 4 What have been the official response to the terrorist situation in Nigeria from 2009 to 2016?

The results of the study are presented under seven themes that emerged from the analysis of interview data as detailed in Table 4.

Table 4: Summary of nodes and themes

Themes number	Description of themes
Theme 1	The major factors underpinning the Boko Haram activities are: social, economic, political, religious and cultural.
Theme 2	The Boko Haram group expanded its activities from north east Nigeria to neighboring countries
Theme 3	The Boko Haram insurgency is a National Security issue
Theme 4	Terrorism activities of the Boko Haram group have hindered national development
Theme 5	The development and persistence of Boko Haram activities have reduced Foreign Direct Investment into Nigeria
Theme 6	President Buhari's government response to Boko Haram was different from his predecessor
Theme 7	Equitable national development and effective Border Control are the way forward to dealing effectively with Boko Haram

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

**Theme 1: The major factors underpinning the Boko Haram activities are: social, economic, political, religious and cultural.**

Respondents affirmed that socio-economic, politico-religious, security and cultural factors have fostered the emergence of the Boko Haram group. Majority of the respondents, 50% thought that socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment were the main consideration for the emergence and continued rise of the Boko Haram terrorist group. Politico-religious factors followed with 28.57% while security and religious factors were 14.29%, while cultural factors accounted for 7.14%. This confirms the view of (Aderopo, 2010) who stated that “the root cause of the violence is not because the Northern elites were angry that they lost power to the south. This also agreed with (Egbeleke, 2013) finding who posited that “the main causes are divided among different narratives, namely; the Human Development model, based on poverty and deprivation indicators; the Islamic State model that stressed ideology and religion and is often detached from economic and social realities and the political feud or elite conspiracy theory, which views power, greed, and elite machinations as the main causes of Boko-Haram violence”.

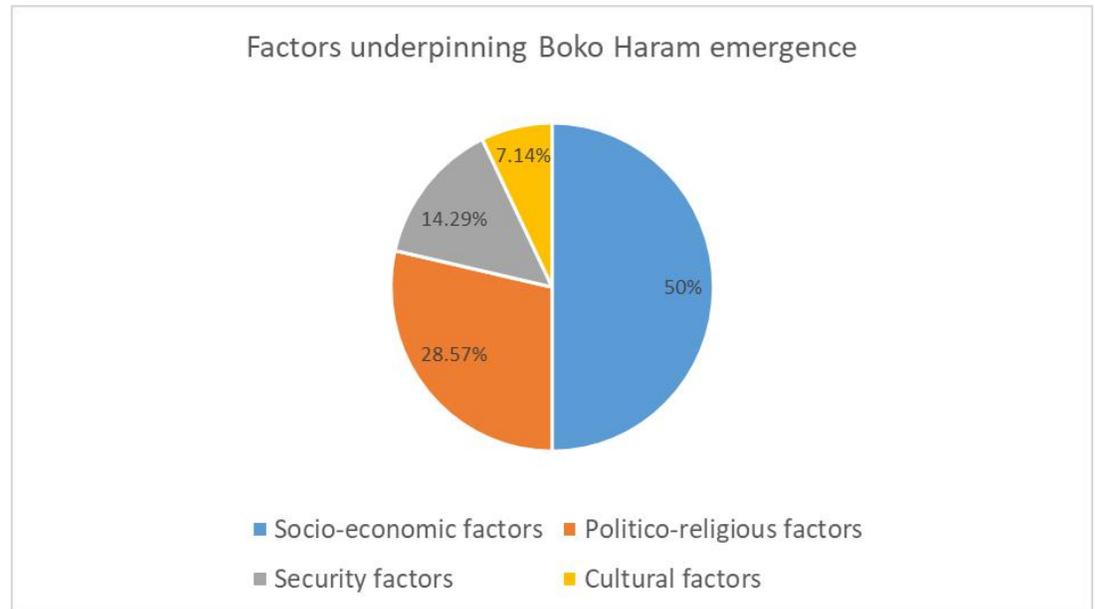


Figure 2: Factors underpinning the Boko Haram emergence

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

Under the socio-economic factors, the study looked at education, women empowerment and youth employment. Half (50%) of respondents mentioned the aforementioned factors as underpinning the rise of the Boko Haram. The respondents made mention of the disparity in distribution of oil funds, mismanagement of the economic sector, unequal distribution of Federal State resources, and disparity in income levels between the North and South as economic factors responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram. Aside economic development, there is also vast disparity in social developments between the north and south of Nigeria there is also high illiteracy gap between the north and south. In addition, women empowerment in the north is nothing to write home about as

compared to the south where there is advanced girl-child education and empowerment of the women even to occupy political positions and offices.

As indicated a respondent, who said: “the growing number of children without adequate education is a societal condition that has contributed to the problem of youth radicalization in Northern Nigeria”. These children are more likely to be lured by the insurgent group to buy into their ideologies and philosophies and to be ready to pursue them. As a result of the deplorable conditions in the north, there were large numbers of destitute children who the leaders of Boko Haram could easily persuade and delude to fight against the political system in place. Poverty, illiteracy, and radicalization are interwoven in Northern Nigeria such that, the poor are disadvantaged and unable to send their wards to school, therefore are usually illiterates who become susceptible to the ploys of the insurgent group and are therefore recruited for radicalization. This was followed by political and religious factors.

Political and religious factors were mentioned by 28.57% of the research participants to be the second factors underpinning the rise of Boko Haram group. This stand ascertained the position of Agbiboa who said that the Boko Haram insurgents perceive that there is unfair political representation in political appointments and positions between the north and south making it very difficult or almost impossible for Northern politicians to push agenda for addressing their developmental plight (Agbiboa, 2013, b). Therefore, the sect considers resorting to Sharia Law as the best solution for addressing the situation of unfair political

representation in Nigeria's secular government. It is common practice among most politicians to promise the northerners Sharia Law when voted into power. However, most of these politicians after winning power back down on their promises. Also, the Boko Haram insurgent group sees the political system in Nigeria to be marred by corruption and lack of transparency, and elections are usually manipulated to bring corrupt people into power which can worsen their already deteriorating conditions. This caused the sect to begin their campaign against the secular Nigerian government. The respondents also mentioned the misinterpretation of the Quran on the teachings and doctrine of Jihad. The Boko Haram sect in particular is believed to align with the quote in the Quran which postulates that "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors" (Agbibo, 2013). Therefore, adherents to this faith or belief consider it 'Haram' or forbidden to align with any social or political activity which is Western in orientation, since it is not Islamic or Sharia in nature. This includes Western education, election of political leaders through voting, western dressing and fashion, among others. Security factors were also mentioned by a number of respondents.

The security factors were mentioned by 14.29% of the respondents as another element that contributed to the rise of Boko Haram. In spite of the deplorable development situation in Northern Nigeria, there is also lack of effective or stronger security forces to ensure the safety of the citizens in Northern areas of Nigeria. This was indicated by a respondent who said: "the few security

personnel in these regions are also not well-equipped or remunerated as compared to their counterparts in the south” Consequently, they are unwilling to sacrifice at the peril of their lives to provide adequate security for the inhabitants in the north. Instead of providing well-equipped security forces to manage the security crisis in the north, the government of Nigeria rather sympathized with the inhabitants of the north by raising discourses about human rights rather than addressing their security issues. This created fertile grounds for the Boko Haram insurgent group to mobilize and carry out their violent attacks. Another respondent was of the view that the initial response from the government which resulted in persecuting and further killing of the Boko Haram leadership was not the best. This one action by the government, according to this respondent, intensified the volatile situation rather than calming it. Respondents explained that since the Boko Haram insurgency was not a conventional warfare, it did not warrant such drastic approach from the government. Few respondents also found cultural factors as an element underpinning Boko Haram emergency.

According to 7.14 % of the respondents, cultural factors also account for the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Cultural factors mentioned included the clash of cultures between Islam and Christianity, and Islam and Westernization. Historically, there have been several clashes of cultures between Islam and Christianity, and Islam (Sharia) and Western cultures. This is due to the desire of the Muslims in the north to have a separate territory which would be ruled by Sharia Law but was not forthcoming, indicated a respondent. Consequently, there

has been high level of intolerance among Muslims and Christians in Northern Nigeria. This interconfessional clashes confirms Osaghae and Suberu, (2005) position that ethnic, religious, and ethno-cultural conflicts have ensued in the country over the years. The least values for religion and culture also support earlier arguments by Handley (2010), that the real reason for conflicts in the country is not ethnic or religious differences but the scramble for land, scarce resources and political clout which correspond to the high values for social and political factors.

**Theme 2: The Boko Haram group expanded its activities from north east Nigeria to neighboring countries.**

The research participants asserted that the terrorist movement Boko Haram has spread geographically. Their attacks were mainly concentrated in the Northeast and mostly in 2009 and 2010. By the end of 2011, the group's attacks had spread to the West and South of their original areas of operation. All these developments indicate an expansion in Boko Haram's geographic reach. They have also compiled a rather broad list of targets and victims: government officials, military patrols, churches, politicians, academic institutions, police stations (from which they have stolen weapons used in subsequent attacks) and Christian and Muslim figures of traditional and religious authority who have been critical of its ideology.

The extent of Boko Haram's regional contagion is also seen in their activities in neighboring countries: Chad, Cameroon and Niger. In Cameroon, for example,

evidence that Boko Haram was active in the country can be traced as far back as 2011, where the government of Cameroon raised concerns about the presence of Nigerian Islamist extremists, who were proselyting in Cameroonian mosques. According to 50 % of the respondents, Boko Haram can also impact other countries in the region as evidenced by their presence in Niger, Chad and Cameroon where many attacks have been carried out since 2011.

### **Theme 3: The Boko Haram insurgency is a National Security issue**

All the respondents agreed that the Boko Haram insurgency became a National Security issue since the group spread its activities from the Northeast to the West and South of the country. The respondents mentioned the following as aspects of the national security affected by the Boko Haram insurgency: proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry, high tendency for many types of conflicts in the country, increase in crime rates in the country, development of international terrorism. Majority of the respondents, 35.72%, think the insurgency of the terrorist group has aggravated the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry; this was followed by high tendency for many types of conflict in the country mentioned by 28.57% of the respondents. Another 28.57 % posited that Boko Haram activities have been a major threat to the protection of civilians with many grave violation of human rights ranging from forced displacement to girls and children abduction and used as suicide bombers. The last group of respondents (7.14%) thinks that it has created a fertile ground for the development of international terrorism.

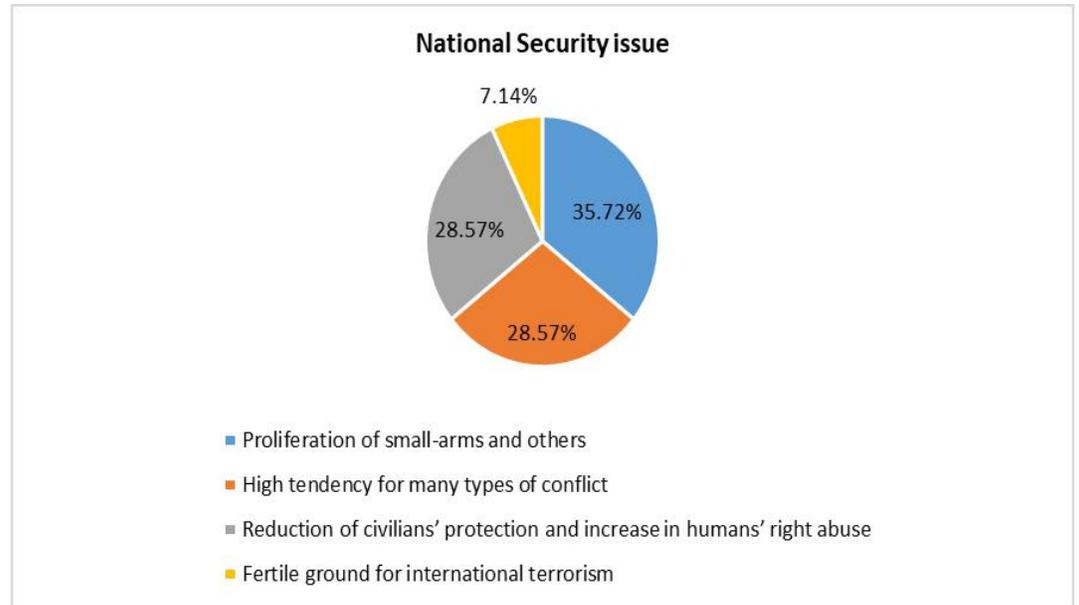


Figure 3: Impact of Boko haram on the National Security of Nigeria

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

### **Proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry**

As noted by RS 12 (a scholar respondent), “to be able to carry out their activities, the Boko Haram insurgent group has formed alliance with some domestic politicians who support their agenda, as well as some larger terrorist organization who ship into Nigeria small-arms and weaponry which are used as means to provide security for the running of their operations”. This is because, there are instances where state security personnel would oppose this extremist group and would like to cause an arrest. However, to resist arrest, some of the members of Boko Haram rely on small-arms and other weaponry to escape from any danger of arrest. This poses a great deal of threat to the national security of Nigeria.

### **High Tendency for ethnic, religious, electoral and civil violence and extremism in the country**

In relation to the above, the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry which usually end up in the wrong hands are sometimes used to instigate and perpetrate violence in some parts of the country, as indicated by one participant. According to him, most people recruited by the Boko Haram sect are usually the youth, who are uneducated and are therefore recruited as vigilante group members. Consequently, these youths are usually susceptible to the slightest provocations, which usually result in ethnic, religious or political conflicts (Attuquayefio, 2016). Another respondent said that, the major threat of the Boko Haram group in particularly Northern Nigeria is the frequency of religious and ethnic violent extremism which to a larger extent threatens the peace and security of the country. This is because the insurgent group creates insecurity for everyone in the region including sometimes their own blood relations.

### **Reduction of civilian protection and increase in human rights abuses**

The Nigerian Government's inability to effectively protect civilians resulted in the increase of crime rates with prevalence of atrocious acts such as extortions, abductions, rape, stealing, robbery, bomb-blasts, shootings, and lootings among others, especially in the Northern states of the country, as indicated by some respondents. Abducted girls and children have been used in the vast majority of Boko Haram attacks, added one humanitarian expert. This is because, most recruits of the insurgent group resort to abuse of hard drugs which

gives them impaired judgment and increases the proclivity to commit crimes without mercy or conscience. This has allowed the Boko Haram terrorist group to pose great danger to national security of Nigeria from 2009 to date.

### **Threat to International Terrorism**

Closely related to the above, two respondents posited that international terrorist groups perceive the activities of emerging terrorist groups in a country as a fertile ground to establish themselves and carry out their operations, as a way of gaining much influence and recognition in the international system. As a result, some larger international organization may establish links with smaller terrorist groups in an attempt to provide them with security and make them much powerful. It is in this vein that the Boko Haram has pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of the Maghreb (ISIS); which is considered the most powerful terrorist group in the contemporary international system. This is to make it very difficult for the Nigerian government and the international community at large, to be able to easily clamp them down in their operations and agenda.

### **Theme 4: Terrorism activities of the Boko Haram group have hindered national development**

The respondents focused on the social and economic impacts to demonstrate the negative impacts of the Boko Haram activities on national development. The majority of the respondents (57.14%) think that economic impacts were the major factor hindering national development, whilst 42.86%

found social impacts as the second worst aspect of the Boko Haram activities on the national development.

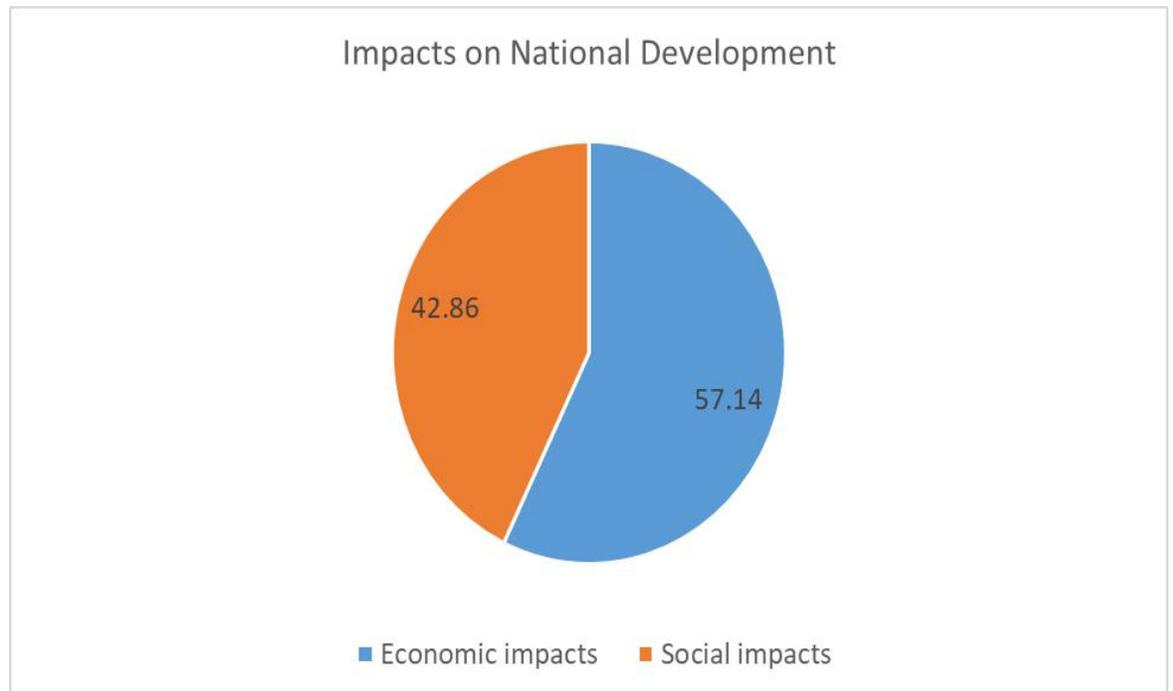


Figure 4: Factors of the Boko Haram activities hindering the National development

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

### **Social Impact**

57.14% of the respondents indicated in their answers that the impact of the Boko Haram attacks on Nigeria has further exacerbated the social crises already existing in Northern Nigeria. These include increase in poverty levels, unemployment and illiteracy or poor education among the youth. In addition, the security threats in the area due to unpredictable and intermittent attacks has restricted movements, hence access to food and enhanced health services. One of

the respondents asserted that the attacks in Northern Nigeria have led to the bombings and destruction of more schools including hospitals and health centers in the region. The destruction of the hospitals and health centers has resulted in increased malnutrition and spread of some communicable diseases in the region. Another respondent indicated that “Many children in internally displaced persons’ camps and return areas are in need of psycho-social support due to exposure to extreme situations of violence, abuse, exploitation and other traumatic events. Returnee children are faced with protection challenges such as family separation, physical violence, sexual violence and are also at risk of being engaged in child labor and child marriage in those areas. The situation of women and girls in internally displaced people’s camps and conflict-affected areas, especially regarding gender-based violence and sexual exploitation and abuse, is also worrisome”. Another issue is the destruction of the schools which has resulted in increased school drop-outs, hence high illiteracy among the youth, who have become vulnerable to be recruited by the Boko Haram sect. Therefore, the infrastructure development in Northern Nigeria is in shambles and unable to support improved standard of living in the region.

### **Economic Impacts**

According to 42.86 % of the respondents the economic impact of the terrorist group has also affected national development. According to them, the impact of the Boko Haram terrorist attacks in Nigeria also has economic ramifications. This is because the attacks have resulted in stagnation in agriculture

and business due to the bombings of public places, particularly in Northern Nigeria. This has forced most people to abandon their farmlands and businesses all in the name of running into 'safe heavens'. These responses from the respondents strengthen the findings of (Akpan, 2015) who posited that the violent attacks in the region, have displaced 1.5 million people within the country, and forced over 230 000 people to flee to neighbouring Niger, Cameroon, and Chad who live in precarious conditions and are in need of basic services.

The respondents also asserted that in Nigeria, most of the agricultural production happen in the north with produce being transported to the south. Also, most businessmen and women also move from the south to go and undertake economic activities in the north. All these have been curtailed because of fear of losing one's life due to frequent attacks by Boko Haram. In addition, the stagnation in agricultural activities poses threat to the general food security in the country. The abrupt interruptions in agricultural and business activities in Northern Nigeria in particular, have also exacerbated the already existing unemployment crisis in the region, with its attendant consequences. RS 13 (a Humanitarian respondent) indicated that "In many areas in North-East Nigeria, there is little indication of a return to normalcy in the near future. Market and trade activities have dramatically reduced, as security measures and border and market closures limit food flow. Most populations in rural areas will not be able to resume full economic or agricultural activities in the coming months or even years and will likely continue to depend on aid delivery".

**Theme 5: The development and persistence of Boko Haram activities have reduced Foreign Direct Investment into Nigeria**

71.43% of the respondents think Boko Haram insurgency has discouraged Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Nigeria. They think that foreign investors are afraid of coming to do business in Nigeria. Many countries warn their citizens to stay off Nigeria and find it too risky to invest their money in a country that is struggling to end terrorism. They also posited that Western countries fear Boko Haram which is targeting their citizens in Nigeria. The initial ideology behind Boko Haram was to free Nigeria from Western education and culture and also to attack their interests by all means. According to the World Investment Report (WIR) 2013, as a result of instability in the country, FDI flows into Nigeria dropped by 21.3 percent in just one year - from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012.

On the other hand, 28.57% of the respondents think that Boko Haram had sent a very bad signal to local investors, private and public as well. They are of the opinion that the insurgency has drastically reduced government performance in the area of infrastructural development, employment generation, and improved workers welfare, amongst others. The budgetary allocation to security and the increased security votes of governments at all levels especially in Northern Nigeria is a drive towards poverty and underdevelopment. The huge capital that should have been channeled to other issues in the education, health, agriculture and other sectors are being used to fight insurgency. The state of emergency and

curfew imposed by the Federal Government in the most affected states also had translated to underdevelopment because so many persons who use the evening and night hours to run their businesses (hotels, bars and restaurants, night clubs, and transport sector) are put out of business. These impacts of terrorism have threatened the national development of Nigeria.

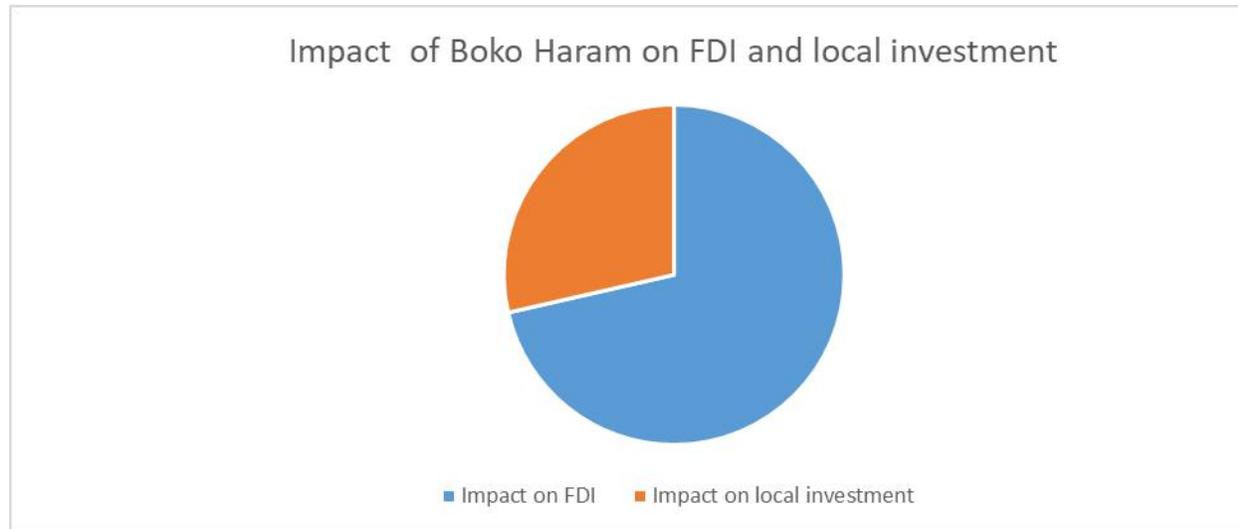


Figure 5: Impact of Boko Haram on FDI and local investment in the country

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

**Theme 6: President Buhari’s government response to Boko Haram was different from his predecessor**

The respondents in their conflict analysis, found it worthy to review the strategies adopted by the Nigerian Government in dealing with the whole conflict. This section makes a review of the response approaches or mechanism by the (Goodluck) Jonathan Government, the Buhari Government and the general response by the International Community as a whole.

Some respondents made it clear that, in an attempt to assure Nigerians of his capability to effectively tackle the menace created by Boko Haram, President Jonathan's government opened a dialogue with members of the sect to address their grievances. However, this did not achieve the expected results which made President Jonathan adopt a second strategy. President Goodluck Jonathan declared a State of Emergency in four Northern States: Borno, Niger, Plateau and Yobe. He declared in his State [of the Nation] address that, "We will dislodge terrorism" and "We shall crush them" (Goodluck, J, Daily Trust, May 15, 2013). To achieve the above, the Jonathan government embarked on the closure of Nigeria's borders with Cameroon, Chad and Niger which was also counter-productive. In addition, his government established a special Joint Military Task Force specially to deal with Boko Haram terrorist group.

On the other hand, President Buhari's Government's priority number one was to deal effectively with the Boko Haram crisis. Towards this end, he ordered the relocation of the military's command center in Abuja to be situated in Maiduguri (Cummings, 2015). In addition, President Buhari scheduled meetings with the governments of Niger, Chad and Cameroon to help launch attacks to dismantle the Boko Haram terrorist group.

A commitment of US \$100 million was also pledged by President Buhari towards the establishment of a Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) aimed at defeating Boko Haram (Ayomide, 2015). Also, President Buhari sacked the heads of the Nigerian Armed Forces including the Heads of the Navy, the Army

and the Air Force and appointed new Defense chiefs who were expected to collaborate with other governments in West Africa and Africa to create a Nigeria-led regional force of around 7,500 troops aimed at tackling the Boko Haram crisis (BBC, 2015). This was supported by US military training assistance to some Nigerian troops as well as troops in the Multi-National Joint Task Force to be able to effectively operate (Sieff, 2015). In addition, the US committed Five billion dollars (\$5m) contribution to the Multinational Task Force to revamp their military operations against the Boko Haram terrorist group. The US also provided military training support, as well as provision of equipment and intelligence support to both Nigeria and the Multi-National Joint Task Force (Akpan, 2015). Yet, some respondents think that, notwithstanding such efforts, little success has been achieved so far in dealing with the Boko Haram terrorist group. In 2014 and 2015, the European Union (EU) also committed respectively €107 million and €107 to provide humanitarian assistance to people in Nigeria and the West African sub-region who have been affected by the drastic unexpected attacks from Boko Haram (European Commission, 2015).

**Theme 7: Equitable national development and effective Border Control are the way forward to dealing effectively with Boko Haram**

Equitable national development was respectively indicated by (50%) of respondents, 28.57% mentioned effective border control, and 14.29% cited multilateral cooperation, while 7.14 % of respondents indicated equitable

representation in governance as a lasting solution to deal effectively with Boko Haram.

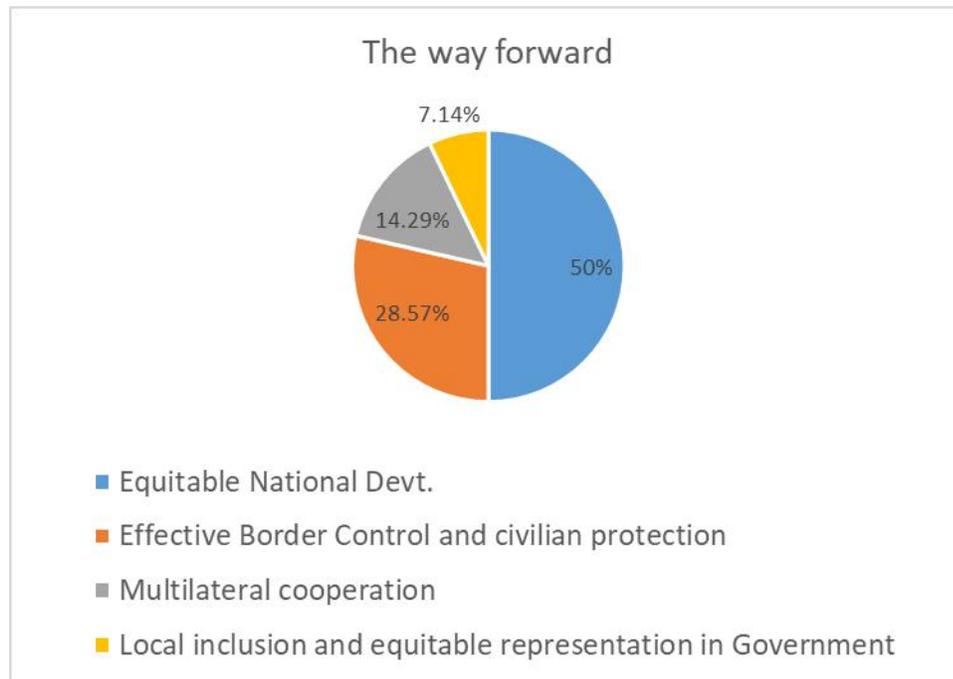


Figure 6: The way forward for a lasting solution to Boko Haram crisis

Source: Fieldwork (2017)

### **Equitable National Development**

The lack of infrastructural development in Northern Nigeria was one of the factors for the struggle for an independent political jurisdiction which will be governed under Sharia Law rather than Western democratic principles. Also, there exist limited policies on agriculture and other economic activities by the Nigerian government to support the north of the country where agricultural activities are predominant. These situations led to marked deprivation and poverty in the Northern sections of Nigeria. This also made the youth very susceptible to the influence of terrorist groups.

### **Effective Border Control and Civilian Protection**

The rapid takeover of Northern Nigeria by the Boko Haram terrorist group is largely due to free and uncontrolled movement of people across its borders. The porous borders allowed for massive smuggling of sophisticated weapons into Northern Nigeria which unfortunately falls in the hands of the Boko Haram sect. This circulation of arms shows the need to tighten security along the borders to prevent cross-border crimes. Therefore, the Nigeria Armed Forces and security services should be well resourced to undertake effective border security operations and protect civilian from human rights abuses, especially women and children, as it was pointed out by a respondent.

### **Multilateral cooperation**

The terrorist attacks by Boko Haram; particularly in Northern Nigeria was exacerbated by the low level of military deployment and lack of effective border control. The spread of the group's activities in the neighbouring countries of Nigeria gave evidence that dealing with the issue is beyond the capabilities of a single country. Answers from the respondents agreed that without the collaboration of the countries of the Lake Chad Basin and the international community's effort, the situation in Nigeria would have been worse.

### **Local inclusion and equitable representation in governance**

The struggle for an independent political jurisdiction which will be governed under Sharia Law rather than Western democratic principles was partly due to inadequate representation of politicians from Northern Nigeria in

government. As a result, more of southerners are appointed to top government positions and offices as compared to the northerners. Nigeria's laws have made room for equitable and regional balance representation of the executive and the legislature. However, some minority tribes and groups such as women still feel marginalised. There is the need to ensure that all minority groups are well represented in the governance process to ensure harmonious coexistence. One of the respondents thinks that a lasting solution should include the response on resilience-building and capacity building initiatives where feasible. He thinks that this solution should prioritize the involvement of local organizations, civil society and stakeholders to continue to work together to restore peoples' dignity, lives and livelihoods while working towards sustainability, local ownership and durable solutions. Including the affected people in areas as agents of their own change and involving them in planning a resilience-building, conflict sensitive approach so they can build on their existing methods for tackling the risks they face.

### **Chapter Summary**

Chapter four presented the findings of the impact of the Boko Haram insurgent group on national security and development of Nigeria. The primary condition for a sustainable development is security and stability in the country. However, though the Boko Haram terrorist group has not conducted attacks in all the States of Nigeria, its activities have affected the whole country in various aspects. Impacts identified in this study include, proliferation of small arms, high tendency for the upsurge of different forms of conflict, increase in crime rate and

human rights abuses, development of international terrorism, low investment in developmental projects, social crisis, and attacks in neighboring countries. The findings identified the proliferation of small arms and the high tendency for many types of conflict as the major impact associated with the Boko Haram insurgency in relation to national security on one hand. On the other hand, socio-economic factors and lack of investment in Northern Nigeria were identified as the major factors of Boko Haram crisis that hamper national development of Nigeria.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study was to explore the background of the Boko Haram group and the underlying factors that have enabled its rise. The study also assessed the implications of the activities of the group on security and development of Nigeria with particular focus on the north from 2009 to 2016. The research objective was met by surveying senior military officers, diplomats, humanitarians, scholars and researchers from universities and research institutions who shared personal experiences on how activities of the Boko Haram sect have impacted the security and development of Nigeria.

To achieve the aforementioned purpose, the study was guided by four research questions:

- 1 What are the effects of Boko Haram's activities on the national security and national development of Nigeria?
- 2 What are the factors underpinning the rise and apparent sustained activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group in Northern Nigeria?
- 3 What is the general impact of activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group on national security and development of the Northern parts of Nigeria?
- 4 What has been the official response to the terrorist situation in Nigeria from 2009 to 2016?

The study was carried out within the conceptual frameworks covering human security, national security, and national development with the hypothesis that, “The activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group had had negative significant impacts on national security and development of Nigeria from 2009 to 2016.” To get better insight into the topic, the study was grounded upon three main conflict theories, namely relative deprivation theory, the frustration-aggression theory, and the human needs/socio-economic perspective. These theories were selected due to the intricacies and nuances that characterized the analysis of the contemporary conflict situation in Nigeria with respect to the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group since 2009. The conceptual framework aligns with the topic by helping to appreciate the effects of activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group on national development and security of Nigeria. The study showed much emphasis on economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security of individuals within Nigeria.

To address the research questions, a case study design was applied for this study because it facilitated understanding of the complexity of the single core phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgent group and how this impacts the security and national development of Nigeria. Data were obtained within three months from 14 participants from Nigeria and Ghana. All the participants were interviewed in Ghana and each of them was asked nine (9) interview questions.

This chapter presents summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations on how to effectively address the Boko Haram challenge in Nigeria.

### **Summary of Findings**

The findings in chapter four were derived from the study based on analysis of data gathered from interviews; bearing in mind the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study. The Boko Haram insurgent group has grown into an international terrorist organization and has spread to Nigeria's neighboring countries. The transnational activities of the Boko Haram group have been favored by a poor border control, lack of co-operation among Nigeria and its neighboring countries and also the proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry within the sub-region.

The study revealed that the factors underpinning the spread of Boko Haram are socio-economic, politico-religious, security, and cultural. These findings show that the socio-economic and governance factors are the major reasons accounting for the emergence of Boko Haram within the affected area. Furthermore, the findings also revealed that the Boko Haram issue became a national security concern since the group spread its activities from the Northeast to the West and South of the country. The findings also identified proliferation of small-arms and other weaponry, high tendency for many types of conflict in the country, human rights abuses and increase in crime rates, and development of a fertile ground for terrorist activities as the major aspects affecting the national security of Nigeria. Furthermore, the findings revealed that terrorism activities of

the Boko Haram group have hindered national development. This is mainly due to the social and economic impacts of Boko Haram activities in the country. Finally, the study revealed that the spread of Boko Haram activities to the West and South of the country has discouraged Foreign Direct Investment into Nigeria. The study further revealed that the state of emergency and curfew imposed by the Federal government in the most affected states had translated to underdevelopment because so many people had to close their business in the evenings and night time.

### **Conclusions**

The Boko Haram insurgency is a national and global threat to peace and sustainable development. Since the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency, Nigeria has not experienced peace especially, in Northern Nigeria. Its attacks have destroyed so many lives and properties and have also created many internally displaced persons in the affected areas as well as a great number of refugees in neighbouring countries. Some of these attacks have been opposed by the Nigeria security forces which resulted in massive destruction of lives and properties hence contributing to the underdevelopment of the country. Furthermore, the group has spread to Nigeria's neighboring countries. The development of the Boko Haram activities from Northern Nigeria to the west and south of the country have been sustained by socio-economic and cultural features that the group shares with communities in the affected areas. These factors have created suitable grounds for Boko Haram to identify easily with community members.

From the respondents' views, the study emphasized that, though the international community's response to the terrorist situation in Nigeria and West Africa have been tardy and inadequate, the situation in Nigeria would have been worse off without this cooperation to fight the insurgents. However, findings from respondents pointed out that there is need to improve on cooperation in border control among the Lake Chad basin nations that would help control the circulation of small arms and light weaponry in Nigeria. The findings have also proven that, the activities of the Boko Haram insurgent group have had negative significant impacts on the national security and national development of Nigeria from 2009 to 2016.

The research concluded through the findings that, there is a way forward for resolving the menace created by the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group. This includes equitable national development, effective border control and military cooperation among the countries of the Lake Chad region and the International Community. The findings also highlighted the need for good governance, social cohesion and cultural diversity. To win the war against Boko Haram insurgency, Nigeria government does not need only military action but in addition, it should provide basic socio-economic needs to make life meaningful to the people. If the Nigerian government takes advantage of both military and non-military such as education and youth employment, and the cooperation with its neighbours in the war against Boko Haram, Nigeria will become a bastion of hope.

### **Recommendations**

Bad governance, socio-economic factors and poor cooperation among Nigeria and its neighboring countries have promoted the spread of the Boko Haram group in Nigeria and the affected countries. The transnational activities of the Boko Haram group would continue to harm national security and development of Nigeria if the Federal government does not improve on military co-operation and intelligence with its neighboring countries. The study therefore recommends the following:

1. Advancing security and development in Northern Nigeria should consider key elements including countering terrorism and insurgency by offering viable ideological and economic alternatives aiming at providing social services such as health care and education, empowering youths and women.
2. A full Ministry dedicated to the development of the Northern regions would help the government in dealing with poverty in those areas. This establishment would be a better way of reducing local grievances on which Boko Haram feeds.
3. Nigeria should develop military cooperation with the lake Chad Basin countries affected by the Boko Haram insurgency and improve intelligence gathering and sharing. These countries should also involve local communities in the collection of information in the areas affected by Boko Haram.

4. Also, the study recommends that, the country needs an effective border management system to control the flow of small arms entering Nigeria. Terrorism is a transnational phenomenon, therefore, the government should partner with the international community in addressing the Boko Haram insurgency.
5. The findings revealed that Boko Haram activities have resulted in attacks against civilians and perpetration of human rights abuses, especially women and children. Therefore, the study recommends that security services should be well resourced to effectively protect the populations.
6. Also, effective legislation should be adopted to enable law enforcement agencies to adequately punish all human rights abusers and deter potential criminals.
7. Findings of the study also revealed that the Boko Haram conflict had led to high levels of religious and cultural intolerance among the populace. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, home to diverse ethnic groups and has two dominant religions (Christianity and Islam). Thus, cultural and religious cohesion is vital to promote development as they are often the root cause of conflicts. Culturally relevant and religious programmes should thus be promoted across the print and electronic media and could also be made part of schools' curricula.
8. The study also recommends a mutually respectful, confidence and trust building among the political class throughout the country. This would

enable them to come together when need be to address national issues as such and put aside their political ideologies. They should learn to build confidence in one another, harness their strengths, consolidate on successes and jointly strive for a more secured society.

9. The government should put machinery in place through a collaborative effort between national and state orientation agencies, local government areas, traditional rulers, youths, women and religious groups in carrying out re-orientation campaign in Northern Nigeria. This will help to address the misconceptions about Western education, government activities and other issues used by Boko Haram in convincing the youths to support them. Furthermore, it will also help to address the issue of school drop outs so that Boko Haram will not seize the opportunity to recruit them.
10. The best response mechanism to the Boko Haram insurgency is not militaristic interventions but rather good governance and dialogue with the group to help minimize their aggressive and atrocious attacks on civilian lives. With these, the human security, national security and national development of the country could be restored and sustained.
11. Education is the foundation of society; without it, development is very difficult therefore the government of Nigeria should promote education to curb the Boko Haram threat and also provide the youths a better chance of being employed. Moreover, education will not only provide the youths a better chance of being employed but will also prepare them engage

positively with people from different culture or different religion. In addition, the education system should encourage active participation of youths in the political process.

12. In addition, the government should provide all necessary support to the girls and boys who live in displaced or refugee camps. Measures must be put in place to reunite them with their family members and help them attend school programmes. Schools must be provided with adequate security system so as to reassure the teachers and the children.
13. Some people who do not have legitimate means of livelihood engage in criminal activities to be able to survive. This situation is not favorable to any form of development; it scares away foreign investor and also threatens local business. The government should create more jobs in Northern Nigeria and enable a conducive environment for foreign direct investment in the country.
14. In addition, the federal government should launch a special programme of economy diversification in order to bring the youth unemployment to the minimum level.
15. The nature of governance to a very large extent would determine the existence of peace in Nigeria because bad governance was found as part of the causes of the Boko Haram's insurgency.

16. The country leadership must ensure that the business of the government is conducted in such a way that the interest of citizens is protected and therefore, they would have no reason to threaten the country stability.

### **Suggestions for Future Research**

The focus of this qualitative exploratory case study was limited to investigating the effect of Boko Haram activities on national security and development in Nigeria. Findings from the opinions of 14 participants from security sectors and developmental agencies confirmed the negative impacts of the activities of Boko Haram on the security of Nigerians and on the country's development. This study is not exhaustive and thus it suggests further research on the immaterial aspects of transnationalism, such as ideological inspiration and militant Islamist groups in the region.

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **Interview Questions**

**TOPIC: SECURITY & NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:  
A COLLECTIVE CASE STUDY OF THE BOKO HARAM  
INSURGENT GROUP IN NORTH-EASTERN NIGERIA.**

**Date:**

**Time:**

**Place:**

**Participant Code:**

1. In your opinion what may be the factors underpinning the rise of the Boko Haram activities in Northern Nigeria?
2. What were the spillover effects on other parts of Nigeria and neighboring countries?
3. To what extent domestic terrorism in Northern Nigeria is a threat to the National security?
4. What are the economic implications of the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria?
5. Is there a close relationship between the Boko Haram threat and national development?
6. How effective was the National Government in solving the Boko Haram conflict from 2009 to 2016?

7. What are the efforts of neighboring countries in solving the Boko Haram threat?
8. What is the international community's response to fighting the Boko Haram?
9. What do you recommend as the way forward for tackling the Boko Haram terrorist group?

Thank you for your cooperation

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Interview Protocol**

The proposed qualitative exploratory case study on the impact of the Boko Haram insurgent group on the Security and National Development of Nigeria is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations and Development by University of Cape Coast (under affiliation arrangement with Nyansapo College), Accra.

The following protocol and interview questions will guide the preparatory process of data collection through to application of semi-structured open-ended interview questions:

1. Ensure certainty of access to research site and participants.
2. Obtain permission to access the proposed research site and participants.
3. Pre-test interview protocol to validate interview questions and recording equipment.
4. Revise/adjust interview questions where necessary.
5. Schedule appointments for the main interview.
6. Prepare and ensure availability of interview tools of audio tape recorder, interview protocol checklist, and note pad.
7. Get to the interview site early enough to avoid being late for scheduled time for the interview.

8. Observe courtesies and protocols of greeting participants including introduction of yourself and purpose for the interview.
9. Show approved formal consent for data collection and for the use of premises to authorities at the research site.
10. Get interviews underway by first starting the digital recorder and then begin from the first question down to the last. Take notes as the interview progress to cross-check key issues raised.
11. To ensure accuracy, summarize main themes to participants and obtain their concurrence.
12. Stop the digital recorder after taking any questions from participants after going through all interview questions.
13. Thank the participant and leave the interview site.

## APPENDIX C

### Informed Consent Form

#### **Title of Study**

Security and National Development: a case study of the Boko Haram insurgent group in North-Eastern Nigeria

#### **Researcher**

My name is Edmund Yaw Obeng and I am a student of Nyansapo College (affiliated to University of Cape Coast) working on a Master of Arts in International Relations and Development.

Phone: +233504240004

Email: yawheroeddie@gmail.com

#### **Purpose of Study**

You are being asked to take part in a scientific research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study is to explore in detail the background of the Boko Haram and the underlying factors that have enabled its rise and also assess the implications of the activities of the group on security and development of the North and the entire country from 2009 to 2016. Security officials, Researchers, and Diplomats from Army, Police, Security Institutes,

Embassies, and International Organizations, will be surveyed in order to share personal experiences on how the Boko Haram activities have impacted the security and the development of Nigeria.

### **Confidentiality**

Your responses to this interview will be anonymous. Every effort will be made to preserve your identity and confidentiality of the information you will be providing through the following measures:

- Alpha numeric code numbers shall be used in place of participants names
- Notes, interview transcriptions, and code numbers identifying participant information will be kept in a file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher and shall not be made available to third parties beyond authorised officials of Nyansapo College.

### **Contact Information**

If you have questions at any time about this study, or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study, you may contact the researcher whose contact information is provided on the first page. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the researcher, please contact the College Dean on telephone number 0277869765.

### **Voluntary Participation**

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be

asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be marked “withdrawn” and not be made part of the data for analysis and inclusion in the final report.

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**Consent**

I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_