THE IMPACT OF THE BOKO HARAM TERRORIST GROUP
ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND LIVELIHOOD OF
THE POPULATION IN NORTH-EASTERN NIGERIA

SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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IN THE SUBJECT

SOCIOLOGY

BY

LAWRENCE EKA EBI

SUPERVISOR: PROF RIALIZE FERREIRA
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

STUDENT NO 57668426
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, the Creator of all things, for His unfailing protection, love and guidance throughout this nearly three years of research work.

I also wish to dedicate this work to the memory of my parents, High Chief Raphael Egana Ebi and Madam Regina Nyep-Eka Ebi, for the foundation they laid for me during the course of my early childhood development.

The work is also dedicated to our armed forces and all men and women in uniform who have to battle the scourge of terrorism in the hope of safeguarding the lives and properties of all Nigerians, many of whom have paid the supreme price. Their efforts will never be in vain, particularly former colleagues at the Department of State Service; may God bless and keep you all.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To my family, particularly my wonderful caring spouse, Veronica I. Ebi, who encouraged and supported me, and the children, Veronica Nyep Ebi, Lawrence Beka Olom Ebi, Lauretta Oloko Ebi and Raphael Udo Ebi; I wish to thank you for your support and understanding, for your love and care. I am also grateful to my aunt, Madam Felicia Akpana Modey, for support and care for the children over this challenging time. Also not forgetting my siblings for their prayers and encouragement, Sister Scholastica Egana Ebi, Angela Awusa, Emilia Ebi, Lucia Egere, Elisabeth Laffin, Regina Ntui, Raphael Ebi, Dr Innocent Chigbe, and Eric Ogana Lukpata.

Finally, a very special thanks goes to my amiable supervisor, Professor (Emeritus) Rialize Ferreira, of the Department of Sociology. I wish to extend a very big thank you for your numerous sessions of able mentorship, patience, extensive comments, fair critique, reviews and intellectual discourse afforded me throughout this study, making it a product in its own class. I wish to state that your professional and intellectual advice has greatly moulded my thoughts and world views, and I want to thank you. May God Almighty bless you and your family.
ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the impact of the Boko Haram Muslim terrorist group on the socio-economic well-being and livelihood of the population in the north-east of Nigeria. To research the social, economic, religious and political impact of attacks leading to the disruption of people in the north-east who fled their homes for the safety of southern refugee camps, the study relies on three research questions to be answered, namely: Does the Boko Haram terrorist group pose a threat to the socio-economic well-being of people in north-eastern Nigeria? How have Boko Haram terrorist attacks impacted on the livelihood of the population? What is a viable solution or intervention strategy to deal with the impact of and fight against terrorism in Nigeria in particular?

The study adopts an in-depth qualitative methodology. Different related research techniques are used in data collection and analysis. Focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and documentary sources have different complementary strengths, which are more comprehensive when used together. Questionnaires will guide the discussions with groups of internally displaced people, who are the units of analysis. Data is gathered through snowball sampling of willing, available respondents to understand and explain their personal views and experiences, creating the meanings they have constructed around their disrupted livelihoods and well-being in refugee camps. An overarching, broad conflict perspective is chosen, related to Dahrendorf’s views on power struggles of dominant interest groups, authority, inequality and marginalisation of opponents, which also includes complementary concepts of religiously inspired fundamentalist theory focusing on
indoctrination, dominance, manipulation and marginalisation of interest groups. This broad conflict perspective will investigate the social, economic, political and religious impacts of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

The findings indicate that the Boko Haram attacks had a negative effect on the livelihood of citizens and displaced persons in refugee camps, as well as on the social cohesion and development of the north-eastern Nigerian state. Conflict resolution and intervention strategies will be implemented to curb the violence. Societal transformation is recommended for infrastructural development and job creation to solve poverty and gainfully cater for educated, unemployed youths, now recruited into the ranks of the Boko Haram Muslim sect.

KEY TERMS
Social, economic, religious and political impacts, terrorist group Boko Haram, conflict perspective, disruption and disintegration of population, internally displaced persons, refugee camps, questionnaires, in-depth discussions, focus group discussions.
**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AI</td>
<td>Amnesty International</td>
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<tr>
<td>APC</td>
<td>Arewa People’s Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>AL-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bakassi Boys</td>
<td>A local ethnic militia group that uses voodoo or black magic to detect crime in south-eastern Nigeria.</td>
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<td>BH</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
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<td>FG</td>
<td>Federal Government</td>
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<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally displaced people</td>
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<td>JTF</td>
<td>Joint Task Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>MASSOB</td>
<td>Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEND</td>
<td>Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOJIWA</td>
<td>Movement for Organisation of Jihad in West Africa, aka Muslims Organisation for Islamic Jihad in West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEMA</td>
<td>National Emergency Management Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSCIA</td>
<td>Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>NYSC</td>
<td>National Youth Service Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPC</td>
<td>Odua People’s Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAHEL</td>
<td>The geographical zone located between the Sahara and the area of West Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAWC</td>
<td>United States of America War College</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the nation-state has been battling for survival because of multiple scenarios, ranging from political turmoil, military incursions and poor governance to economic downturn and sabotage. Ethnic or tribal militias took up arms against the state, leading to ethnic and religious tensions, which resulted in the loss of lives and properties worth billions of Naira. The Nigerian civil war alone accounted for more than two million lives being lost and almost tore the country apart, while corruption, which has become endemic, has penetrated deep into the central value systems within Nigeria. Armed lawlessness and the recent reprehensible activities of the Boko Haram (BH) Muslim sect have put the nation at the brink of collapse and imminent disintegration (Illufoye 2009:1-2). These events caused concern to many, as the hope and aspirations of about 300 million people are under threat, because the socio-economic impact on the lives and well-being of Nigerians will definitely be felt by all, irrespective of one’s own state or national geographical proximity.

The aforementioned undoubtedly has immense implications for the social, economic, political and religious institutions of Nigeria. The emergence of terrorism and insurgency has
not only threatened the very existence and survival of the Nigerian state, but has also left the population with tales of woe through the loss of lives and wanton destruction of properties, all due to the criminal activities of the religiously inspired BH in the north-east (Abimbola and Adesote 2002:11). Prior to the emergence of the BH sect, other militant groups existed, organised and structured along ethnic origins, which had at one point or another risen up with arms against the Nigerian state (Eme 2012:3). Often these groups employed militant and violent methods to attain their objectives; for instance, groups such as the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) or the indigenous people of Biafra, Odua People’s Congress (OPC), Arewa People’s Congress (APC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Bakassi Boys. All of these groups are ethnic militias/fron ts with tribal missions and visions, as in the case of MEND, whose objectives were squarely resource control, marginalisation and destruction of the environment that had a negative impact on their livelihood (Abimbola and Adesote 2012:12). The spate of attacks and bomb blasts escalated daily, with frequent cases of abduction and kidnapping, which suddenly became international news with the capture of 287 Chibok schoolgirls, as well as many other forms of criminality adopted by BH in furtherance of its fundamentalist religious objectives in the north-east of Nigeria. These evolving trends led a former minister of police affairs, Ret. Navy Captain Caleb Olubolade, to observe that the nation is facing a new domestic security threat that is quite different from the normal. This new threat posed by the dreaded and irrational activities of BH has become a household concern for all, particularly those in authority (political elite) in the Nigerian government and the international community. The most recent militancy has erupted in response to both the economic crisis and government deficiencies at all societal levels (Isa 2010:318). The BH insurgency and attacks have caused everyone to be suspicious because
of fear of the unknown, while thousands of lives were disrupted and millions of residents were displaced from their communities and towns. Most school structures have been totally destroyed, while government offices, prisons, police and military stations or posts have been devastated by this mindless crisis, based on fundamentalist Muslim beliefs. The economy and the social well-being and livelihood of the population in the north-east have been ravaged. Human Rights Watch (2012:46) classified Nigeria as one of the poorest countries in the world.

The truth is that the Nigerian state needs an urgent dialogue with itself on its current fractured state. Although hugely blessed with resources, including human and largely untapped mineral sectors, the state’s co-operation ventures and those who manage these resources have been unable to account for the proceeds accrued. Because of this, the Nigerian state has suffered from growing insecurity, since the government has failed to meet the basic needs of its citizens, because of corruption and state capture, which have given rise to unemployment and legitimacy issues of those in positions of authority. These issues caused the decline of state institutions to deliver satisfactory public goods and services, including security, employment, housing, roads and transportation, potable water, affordable health care services, education and electricity supply (International Crisis Group Report 2014:1). However, a combination of these issues made public analysts argue that the precarious scenarios that have disadvantaged the country through successive administrations in government might be the reasons why ethnic and religious groups, with their militias, are taking up arms in protest. These circumstances are partly responsible for the BH sect drawing its members mainly from disenchanted, disillusioned and unemployed youths, who are frequently educated high school and university graduates belonging to the
upper classes, although there are some destitute children in its ranks (Onuoha 2014:3). The scope of these challenges is often attributed to a worrying trend towards political dissatisfaction, ethnic and religious fallouts, seeming societal neglect and persistent poverty among ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The BH insurgency in Nigeria was initially a domestic issue that became transnational, with the Islamic sect being able to hit targets in the neighbouring countries of the Republics of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The peculiarity of this arises from the fact that all these countries share symbiotic traits as unifying factors. Some of these factors are religion, culture, traditions and local language, that are mostly spoken or expressed by diverse elements within the region. These cultural affiliations make it possible for the Islamic sect members to operate and hit targets easily without being intercepted by authorities. It was in the wake of this that the Multinational Military Joint Task Force (JTF) was formed to control the BH cross-border operations. However, this study specifically focuses on the impact of BH in the north-east of Nigeria. Terrorism in general is a global and universal phenomenon, especially after the post-cold war era and the 9/11 attacks by Al Qaeda in New York in 2001, with a coinciding crisis in the Middle East. Ever since the historical emergence of the BH sect, it has tried to mimic and adopt tactics and operational strategies to strike its perceived targets, similar to those of internationally acclaimed groups, such as Al Qaeda, through its internationally associated networks.

It is against this backdrop that this research study is conceived to concisely and critically assess the negative impact of the BH insurgency and attacks on the social, economic, religious and political well-being and livelihood of people in the north-east of Nigeria, as well as the impact on national integration and cohesiveness.
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This research was motivated to evaluate specifically the impact of BH terrorist attacks on the social, economic, religious and political livelihood and well-being of Nigerians in the north-east. To comprehend the factors responsible for the occurrences, the research will examine the historical background and emergence of the BH sect, as well as the nature and character of the Nigerian state, to determine if its leaders contributed to cause insurgencies and attacks. The unconventional BH attacks have incapacitated the Nigerian state for about a decade now. Various military efforts to eliminate the religiously inspired Islamic sect, BH have caused fear and disruption among the population and possible intervention strategies will be investigated.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study presents an in-depth qualitative research methodology on the impact of BH on the social, economic, religious and political well-being and livelihood of Nigerians with particular reference to the disruption of the population, tourism, trade and investment. To explore these issues, the following research questions become necessary:

1. Does the Boko Haram terrorist group pose a threat to the socio-economic well-being of people in north-eastern Nigeria?
2. How have Boko Haram terrorist attacks impacted on the livelihood of the population?
3. What is a viable solution or intervention strategy to deal with the impact of and fight against terrorism in Nigeria in particular?
In accordance with these research questions, stemming from the research problem, the study sets out to address the objectives below. These questions could also serve as tentative hypotheses in this qualitative study.

### 1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study is to provide scientific answers to the three aforementioned research questions. Based on the qualitative nature of the research, the study seeks to establish the following key issues:

1. To investigate whether the BH terrorist crisis in north-eastern Nigeria threatens the social, economic and political livelihood of people through their disruption and dislocation to refugee camps in the south of Nigeria.

2. To determine how the BH terror attacks have affected the socio-economic well-being of the local population. It is estimated that costs may amount to billions of dollars in economic losses in Nigeria, as well as the loss of innocent lives.

3. To seek a proper intervention strategy to end the violence and its impact to give the population the opportunity to return to their homes.

### 1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The main significance of this study is to empirically establish the effect that BH has on the social, economic, political and religious well-being and livelihood of the population in north-eastern Nigeria, specifically focusing on internally displaced persons (IDPs) fleeing from terrorist violence. The attacks cause disruption in affected communities. Therefore the
study is significant and sociologically relevant because it will provide insight into the lives of these members of society.

The researcher envisages that through this qualitative study a solution will be found for the impact and challenges caused by terrorism in Nigeria. Since it affects everybody, its unplanned, unconventional asymmetric nature requires a proactive approach in response. This study envisages filling the knowledge gap to proffer solutions that could be of assistance to the governments concerned and also be useful to authors, policy makers, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society groups and academics in planning a credible anti-terror intervention mechanism to prevent violent extremism through religious fundamentalism, which has a negative impact on society. The qualitative study will inductively build theory from the data gathered, which will be applied to the existing body of knowledge on terrorism, particularly BH activities in Nigeria, and make a theoretical contribution to future studies.

1.6 RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES

The research methods that will be used are qualitative techniques from both primary and secondary sources. These are complementary techniques, having different strengths that are more comprehensive when used together to gather data by using documentary sources, semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews through focus group discussions (FGDs). It allows different respondents to be asked similar questions systematically and simultaneously, thus allowing all respondents to participate in order to understand the meaning people have constructed about their personal life experiences of the impact of BH attacks in their societies.
1.7 CONCEPTUALISATION OF TERMS

Conceptualising terms entails defining the meaning of the various concepts to offer readers better understanding of the subject matter under investigation. According to Onuoha (2014:67), the definition of terms used in this research study is operational. These terms are defined as they are used by the researcher. This means that the researcher uses certain words or concepts in a way that fits or suits the study, which may be different from their ordinary meaning. For the operational clarification and understanding of concepts and terms as used in this research study, their definitions are given as follows:

**Boko Haram (BH):** The term is derived from a mixture of both Hausa and Arabic words. “Boko” means book or Western culture, otherwise non-Islamic education, while “Haram” is a word of Arabic origin that figuratively translates to mean forbidden or sinful (Onuoha 2014:108; Ajayi 2013:103). Thus, Western education or books are forbidden or sinful.

The sect represents the version and mission of a fundamentalist Islamic movement in Nigeria, thus it was originally known as Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad (Congregation of the people of tradition for proselytism or evangelism and Jihad), also known as BH congregation of the people of tradition for evangelism and Jihad. BH seeks to Islamise Nigeria by whatever means humanly possible at its disposal and this lays bare its adopted tactics of indoctrination, brutality, violent attacks, killing and destruction of property. BH stands for the outright rejection of Western capitalist values, as well as advocating strict adherence to the purest and undiluted form of Islamic tradition. The group remains one of several organisations in Nigeria that called for a restructuring to purge and
bring an end to what is regarded as state capture by a few, which has nearly torn the country apart, especially the north, owing to political corruption by a self-serving ruling elite (Ajayi 2013:134) having power and authority over the population by means of indoctrination and violence.

**Individual Terrorism:** This implies a form of terrorist acts perpetuated by an individual (suicide bomber) or group with a view to championing a cause to expressing grievances about a general issue, purposely to intimidate and coerce a government or a ruling elite to modify its behaviour (Klein 2007:3).

**Insurgency:** This relates to armed rebellion against the government by either state or non-state actors or rebels. The term has been used widely to describe revolutionary movements, civil or intrastate wars, anti-colonial struggles and terrorist agitation. For instance, Ebong (2015:10) posits that it is a political battle to discredit or undermine the government.

**Nationalism:** This means to have the desire for political independence by people who have the same language, religion or culture (Collins English Dictionary 1998:1097), for instance, a form of Muslim caliphate for a particular interest group of people who desire political independence. This is often associated with the belief that their nation is better than any other nation. In some cases the term is used to show disapproval.

**Political Development:** This mainly entails the development of institutions, attitudes and values that form a society’s political power base. Political development contains the emergence of national sovereignty and integrity of a state to claim respect and sustain its duties in the committee of nations (McLean and McMillan 2013: 414-415). Thus, these elements of political development are usually detectable domestically, including democratic
firmness achieved by a political formation and arrangement, focusing on legitimate values through continual leadership succession and merging of its regional integrity.

**Power and Authority Structures:** Explanations of power and authority structures are specifically developed by the conflict theorist, Ralf Dahrendorf. Social stratification refers to the power struggles of two dominant interest groups, while power and authority can be based on the control of resources. Any interest group with power and authority and the ability to attain a strategic position can determine both the content and enforcement of law, as well as violence (both the government and BH). Dominant groups, such as BH, control and maintain their kind of power by indoctrination and manipulation, which invariably creates injustices in the north-eastern parts of Nigeria, prompting people to flee their homes.

**Sect:** This refers to a religiously inspired interest group that has separated from a larger group and has a particular set of values or political beliefs. It is a group that substitutes themselves as fighters for the majority. They are classified as non-state actors, because they are a subset of society defined by shared beliefs, mostly fundamentalist (BH), with specific objectives, that comprise religion, ethnic militants, rebels, fascist organisations and anarchists (Collins English dictionary 1998:1498).

**Socio-economic Development:** This refers to the wealth and resources of a nation or country, especially in terms of production and consumption of goods and services in relation to the supply of money. However, socio-economic development is a process of progress measured with indicators such as the gross domestic product (GDP), life expectancy, level of literacy and levels of employment, human rights and civil society participation, which of course are the necessary ingredients to improve the standard of living in society and ensure
that the economy is healthy and capable of sustaining the population under its jurisdiction (Edame 2010:8).

**Socio-economic Well-being and Livelihood:** When achieving the goals set for socio-economic development, the population will be self-sufficient, secure and economically viable through gainful employment and citizenship.

**State Terrorism:** This is a form of terrorism practised and sponsored by the government, here categorised as the ruling elite, using power struggles and authority against its own people, normally under the pretext of safeguarding order (Claver 2002:302). States do not always represent the general interest, but rather a particular interest of a dominant ruling elite. Therefore, state terrorism is an instrument by which the ruling class exercises power and authority over the other social classes in society (Ogunrotifa 2012:34, 227-235).

**Terrorism:** It is imperative to note from the onset that there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism (Lodge 1988:5). However, for the purpose of this study the researcher adopts and defines terrorism as the well-calculated use of unlawful violence, especially murder, kidnapping and bombing, to inculcate fear with the intention to coerce and intimidate an opponent (Collins English Dictionary 1998:1723; Clarke (2009:5;14). Opponents are governments, societies and their populations in the pursuit of objectives that are generally religious, political and ideological in scope. Terrorism may be domestic or international, but in the case of the BH sect it is a domestic terror group gone international, since it is able to carry out attacks both internally in Nigeria and in neighbouring countries (Madunagu 2001:5; Ogunrotifa (2012:6).
1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The scope of the research encompasses an investigation in the north-eastern part of Nigeria where the religiously inspired terrorist group BH is operating and the impact it has on the socio-economic livelihood relating to IDPs, living in refugee camps as a result of the violence. The limitations and constraints the researcher encountered are numerous and include among others:

- The researcher was hampered by scarcity of relevant information on the socio-economic issues and well-being of the populations under investigation, because of the constantly evolving nature and uniqueness of the terrorist crisis.
- Although permission was obtained from the Nigerian authorities to conduct the research, the availability of suitable respondents in IDP camps to participate in the study had to be determined and finalised.
- Finally and most importantly, time and funding required by the researcher to travel to Nigeria and conduct the study were indeed major challenges.

1.9 PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY: PROPOSED CHAPTER OUTLINE

1.9.1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE RESEARCH STUDY

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and orientation to the study. It attempts to explain why the study was chosen, gives the statement of the problem, which challenges why the terrorist organisation BH has a negative impact on Nigerian society by disrupting the lives of populations. It raises three research questions and related research objectives to be attained to solve the research problem, which will be answered in Chapter 5. The chapter
describes the significance of the study, qualitative research procedures, conceptualisation of terms and the limitations and scope of the study.

1.9.2 CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter focuses on the theoretical framework on which the study is premised. It provides a broad, overarching conflict perspective, which employs Dahrendorf’s conflict theory, focusing on competition between power and authority in interest groups. As part of the broader conflict perspective, these concepts are complemented by aspects of religious fundamentalist theory, which impose their own interests on other groups through intimidation, violence and marginalisation. The main premise focuses on the existence of dominant groups, oppression and exploitation of one group of another, consistently creating injustices and having a profound impact on people’s livelihood. The theory will be applied to explain the social, economic and religious impact as a result of the attacks of the Muslim BH terrorist group.

1.9.3 CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter deals with the historical background and the emergence of the Muslim BH terrorist group and the impact of its attacks on the socio-economic and related institutions in Nigerian society. A chronological overview of BH attacks is given from documentary sources, as well as a literary overview of the effects on the well-being of the Nigerian population. The impact on the social, religious, economic and political institutions and the disruption of people and possible intervention strategies are researched.
1.9.4 CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design is outlined, explaining qualitative research procedures and techniques. Questionnaires consisting of semi-structured questions are compiled to detail the key topics to be used in in-depth interviews and FGDs. The questions are derived to provide answers to the research problem. Snowball sampling of willing, available respondents, the limitations of the study and the validity and reliability of research techniques are discussed.

1.9.5 CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents the qualitative data analysis and empirical findings of the research study, which seeks to achieve the objective of assessing the social, economic, political and religious impact of terrorism in the north-east of Nigeria. The findings are based on an overarching conflict perspective applied together with complementary concepts from a fundamentalist religious viewpoint. The relationship between the theoretical perspective and the empirical study is displayed when data gathered is analysed to build theory in this qualitative study. The findings indicate that all three research questions are explained and answered in this research study.

1.9.6 CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of the findings and gives final conclusions on the social, economic, political and religious well-being and livelihoods of the population in the north-east of Nigeria. Conclusions based on the research findings are provided and recommendations on possible intervention strategies and future research are made.

1.10 CONCLUSION
This chapter introduces the background and orientation to this research study, laying the foundation for achieving the research objectives of investigating and discussing the impact of the terrorist group, BH, on the socio-economic well-being and livelihood of Nigerians in the north-east, causing them to flee to refugee camps for IDPs in the south of Nigeria. Relevant research questions stemming from the research problem are stipulated and will be investigated during the course of the study to find answers to solve the research problem. The next chapter will elaborate on the theoretical foundation, which will underlie the research study to be used in the analysis of the data gathered.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the theoretical foundation on which the study is premised. Theories and concepts play a critical role in any social science research in generating ideas, formulating and building theories in qualitative research. It is imperative that a suitable theoretical perspective be used as foundation to appreciate, gather data, analyse and answer the research questions to attain the objectives of the study. Therefore, this chapter seeks to base the research study on a broad, overarching conflict perspective including complementary concepts of a religious fundamentalist viewpoint applicable to explain and understand the research problem.

The impact of the BH terrorist group on the social, economic, political and religious institutions and the related effects on the well-being of the population in the north-east of Nigeria are the main foci of the research study. The relationship between stratified groups with unequal power, authority and dominance within society itself, gave rise to the research questions under investigation. An overarching, broad conflict perspective is chosen, relating to dominant groups and power struggles (BH and the Nigerian government), authority, inequality and marginalisation of opposing groups, which also includes complementary concepts of religious fundamentalism focusing on indoctrination, dominance and marginalisation. This perspective will focus on the social, economic, political and religious well-being of people in Nigeria. The relationship between the theoretical framework and the empirical study will be displayed when data gathered is analysed to build theory in this qualitative study. Theory develops inductively during the data gathering process, thus it is
grounded in data, which is called grounded theory and is an inductive strategy (Neuman 1997:334).

2.2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION AND ITS APPLICATION

Most conflict theories base their views on that of Weber, Marx and Dahrendorf, who seek to understand how relationships of control are created and perpetuated. It is clear that classical social thought was not ignorant of war and violence (Malešević 2010:17). The main argument is that contemporary sociology of conflict, violence and warfare can be most successfully based on classical thought, as it offers valid building blocks for sociological research on conflict and violence in societies (Malešević 2010:51). It is also argued that war is not a “metaphor but a real, bloody, violent, conflict that can be settled only by the application of force and victory of one side over the other” (Malešević 2010:44), which notion directly applies to the attacks of the fundamentalist, religious Muslim sect or terrorist group, BH, on the population in north-eastern Nigeria.

While Weber, as a conflict theorist, focused on societal inequalities as non-economic factors playing a role in social change, Marx regarded societies as consisting of group inequalities, struggles and major divisions deriving from economic inequalities (Giddens 2001:673). However, these notions do not apply directly to this study, since the focus is mainly on power struggles, authority and domination of both BH and the Nigerian government. The major concept of conflict theory is the inevitable tension arising between people in opposing groups, having competing interests (Tischler 1996:25). These include group divisions, power, authority, dominance and marginalisation. The basic assumption of this theory states that society consists of stratified groups that have opposing, contradictory interests, inequalities between social groups and resulting conflict and social change.
Stratified divisions in society highlight issues of power, inequality and struggle (Giddens 2001:17). Stratification is the result of a struggle for domination and competition for scarce goods and services, resulting in the control of property and political power (Tischler 1996:240), such as power and property in caliphate states in fundamentalist Muslim regions.

Ralf Dahrendorf viewed conflict as coming from group interests and the divisions between those with authority and power (government) and those excluded from it (marginalisation of both BH and local populations). This leads to people experiencing alienation, which lies in the material and ideological structure of society as a whole, such as the socio-economic and religious oppression of one group over another (Haralambos and Holborn 1992:781-783). Since the power of ideology is inherent in religious conflict situations, the overarching conflict perspective includes understanding of religiously inspired terrorism, the culture, conditions and indoctrination under which terrorists are recruited, as well as the social, economic, political and psychological impacts BH terrorists exert. This view forms part of the broader conflict perspective, focussing on indoctrination, domination and manipulation of interest groups, such as the ideological Muslim terrorist group BH, as well as the Nigerian government, which misused its power against the populations of Nigeria. Initially, alienation refers to the marginalisation of BH by the Nigerian government. Since this viewpoint is appropriate to the current study, the broad, overarching conflict perspective focussing mainly on interest groups and inherent power struggles will be applied in conjunction with the complementary religious fundamentalist perspective. Most conflict research studies reveal different theories to combine and underlie crimes of terror and extremism.
Since marked inequalities exist between opposing groups, there are divisions of interest, which are built into the existing social system. Divisions also arise between ethnic groups, political affiliate groups and factions (Tischler 1996: 240). Coercion and other methods to gain power are ubiquitous as a result of power relations. Thus, conflict becomes inherent in society as a result of group antagonism (BH) and the struggle for religiously inspired dominance in Nigeria. Dominant groups, such as the Muslim BH, control and maintain their kind of power by indoctrination and manipulation, which regularly creates injustices in the north-eastern parts of Nigeria. Poverty, inequality, oppression and exploitation of one group by another, have a huge impact on societal institutions, causing social change, which occurs rapidly in a disorganised way in a conflict structure (Malešević 2010:28).

Distinct groups pursue their own benefits and interests (BH), while some groups benefit more than others (governments). It is clear that power and authority are related to the control of other resources, like fundamentalist religion. Any interest group with the ability to attain a strategic position can determine both the content and enforcement of law and violence, “with political activism, extremism, fanaticism, terrorism, and anti-Americanism,” (Esposito, 1992: 8). In Nigeria the religiously-inspired BH claims authority by indoctrination and violence against both the government with power and authority and local populations excluded from these. Different groups have different value systems, so when determining whose values are to be selected as deserving, public confirmation often leads to intergroup conflict (Popenoe, Cunningham and Boul 1997:144). The values, belief and ideological structures of the terrorist group BH are different from the rest of Nigerian ethnic populations. Their culture conflict relates to different power structures in distinct subcultures with own sets of values, such as ethnicity, fundamentalist religion and
geographical location (Popenoe et al 1997:144). An example of this subculture is the Muslim belief in Sharia law, located in north-eastern Nigeria. In societies where these power structures are prevalent they lead to crisis, because they can easily become a sign that exalts the values of one group (BH’s Islamic belief and ideological systems) and degrades those of another (Christianity and Western education).

Dahrendorf focuses on power and authority as the root for scarce resources competed for by interest groups in society, and believes that conflict arises in society as a result of the struggle for positions of authority and power and not control over the means of production. Interest group struggles for power, authority and domination are indispensable and the ingredients to conflict that facilitate social change (Tischler 1996:25). Society is structurally divided into groups with economically, socially, politically and religious divides and within these classifications there also exist internal divides, e.g religious group interests, like BH. If these interests are wrongly or negatively conceived, it results in a struggle that leads to a conflict situation, keeping society static in the path of retrogression (Charles 2005:328-333). Those with power and authority are few in number, while those without it are the majority in numbers (local populations). Based on Nigeria’s current system of democracy, which is rooted in the majority, it is a true application of the above-mentioned thoughts on power and authority. Since there is competition for power and authority by rival political forces, political parties and groups, others who feel alienated, resentful and excluded from the due process find hope in rebellion with groups like BH. Given the understanding that the northern part of the country is predominantly Muslim, the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism, through BH ideology, will place them in positions of power and authority, which gives them direct influence over who benefits and who does not, under the cover of
religious fundamentalism. According to Lewis (1988:17), Muslim fundamentalists differ from other Muslims and certainly from Christian fundamentalists in their scholasticism and their legalism. They are rooted not only in the Qur'an, but likewise on the Traditions of the Prophet and on the entirety of transmitted theological and legal learning.

Since Dahrendorf viewed conflict as emanating from power struggles, he also introduced some variables into his theory for clarification purposes. These variables are classified as intensity and violence, radical conflict and suddenness of conflict (Turner 1974:130-135). The intensity and violence, which are interdependent, in terms of the BH conflict situation, fall within the scope of the theory. The radical approach and suddenness in the change of unconventional tactics by militant groups, resolving to full-scale attacks, represent a radical and a sudden decision as a result of the ruling elite applying state terrorism. This act overshadows the individual terrorism of the BH sect, which depends on its intensity and violence. The theory by Dahrendorf as asserted by Charles (2005:328-333) also went further to provide therapy for reducing the intensity, violence, radicalness and suddenness of the crisis or conflict. In the wisdom of this notion of therapy, Dahrendorf introduced the concept of regulation of conflicts in society, either through conciliation between two parties, or mediation with the help of a third party to the crisis. A third party is voluntarily accepted by all the parties to intervene and find an acceptable solution to the group crisis, for example, intervention practices or military strategy. In arbitration therapy a third party can be involuntarily imposed on either or both parties. In this situation the rules of engagement specify neutrality. However, all the groups or parties to the crisis or conflict must be on equal footing with regard to the role of engagement as provided by the regulations guiding the resolution of the conflict or crisis.
However, the intensity of this violence, and the radicalness or suddenness of the interplays of the terrorist crisis in the north-east of Nigeria that have caused hardship among the local population occur in a crisis between two groups (Charles 2005:328-333). The state on the one hand and the Islamic religious sect, or terrorist group BH on the other, are actors of both state and individual terrorism. However, the activities of these two groups have led to negative social, economic and political impacts on the population in north-east Nigeria. According to the UN report on the reconstruction of the north-eastern parts, such reconstruction will cost the government of Nigeria 9 billion US dollars. Groups are being motivated by the activities of others, such as by the Niger Delta militant group. Group interests of BH that were wrongly and negatively conceived have turned it into one of the most terrifying and strongest terrorist groups in the history of Nigeria. Since group interests regulate group struggles, they invariably determine peace and stability; thus terrorism in Nigeria is a result of the interplay of group struggles based on interest (Charles 2005:330).

To strengthen the broad conflict theoretical viewpoint, diverse theories and factors are complementary to the study and are regarded as part of the broader conflict perspective. Theories, such as religious fundamentalism, underlie crimes of extremism and terror and relate to interest groups with power, authority and domination. According to the religiously inspired fundamentalist perspective, terrorism in Nigeria is viewed as a product of religious fanaticism, an expression of faith dialectics that has become intolerant (BH signifying Islam and Sharia law) and prohibits the spread of another’s (Christian) religious views or faith. The proponents of this perspective regards terrorism as a tactic used by BH to contain the spread of other beliefs or faiths, while they impose their own interests and ideological belief
systems through intimidation and violence, thereby dislocating and affecting different societal institutions and the well-being of populations in general.

Politicians and statesmen criticised fundamentalism without hesitation after the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington DC by the Al Qaeda Muslim fundamentalist group, led by Osama Bin Laden. British Prime Minister Tony Blair asserted unequivocally that: “Fanatics who are utterly indifferent to the sanctity of human life perpetuated the acts” (The Guardian 2001:3). Of course, it did not take long before Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for the horrendous acts. The continuing opposition by BH, literally meaning “Western education is evil or sinful”, is underlined by the statements of the sect spokesman, Abu Qaida, who lent credence to the fundamentalist argument. He asserted that: “The reason for our insurgency (BH) is because we, the Muslim communities in the north of Nigeria see ourselves as increasingly being threatened by stringent Christianity that seeks to dominate the north” (Guardian 2001:5). For this reason the sect wants Sharia law to be adopted across the country as a condition for it to cease its attacks (The Nation 2012:12). This viewpoint relates to the impact of fundamentalist religion.

Giddens (2001:277) believes that those who uphold fundamentalist viewpoints seek safety in established traditions and reject dialogue with those who differ from them. Religious fundamentalism outlines the viewpoint of religious groups that believe in the exact explanation of basic scriptures (Quran) and doctrines that “ought” to be applied to all aspects of social, economic and political life. Fundamentalism protects traditional and ideological belief systems (Giddens 2001:557), but in the process focuses on domination of other groups, causing poverty, inequality, oppression and exploitation.
It is likely that if BH attacks were to be resolved, either through military action or dialogue, the use of individual terrorism by sectarian groups may re-emerge in the future as long as the endemic socio-economic problems are not addressed. In as much as the socio-economic crisis remains unsolved, aggrieved unemployed powerless citizens would find solutions in joining or forming sectarian groups and resorting to the use of individual terrorism as a response to the state of affairs (Ogunrotifa 2012:55).

2.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has detailed Dahrendorf’s conflict theory, focusing on concepts of authority and power between interest groups, complemented by religious fundamentalist theory, also focusing on religious interest groups imposing their beliefs and ideology through indoctrination, domination and violence. These related, complementary viewpoints within the broader overarching conflict perspective were chosen as foundation for the empirical research study, since most conflict studies reveal different theories to underlie crimes of terror. These concepts are used to analyse the effects of dominant interest groups, (Nigerian government and BH) poverty, inequality, oppression and exploitation of one group over another. Group interests consistently create injustices and have a profound impact on all societal structures in Nigeria, causing displacement of people due to continuous BH attacks, which affect the well-being of people negatively.

The next chapter will focus on the literature review of the historical background and emergence of BH, as well as documented data regarding the attacks and negative impacts on societal institutions and well-being of citizens, as well as possible intervention strategies in the conflict.
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary focus of the literature review is to shed light on various and similar scholastic publications in the domain of the subject under investigation with regard to their contributions and understanding of the subject matter. Therefore, this review will mainly focus on documentary sources regarding the background of the BH crisis, the attacks in chronological order, the impact thereof on social, economic, religious and political institutions and possible intervention strategies. These are the main foci of the research problem as these aspects relate to the research questions.

3.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study seeks to research the impact of the terrorist organisation, BH, on societal institutions and the well-being of the people in Nigeria. Since BH was previously a domestic terror group that has evolved into a broader global network (Ewi 2011:26), the threat level has become more serious in Nigeria. It is argued that BH evolved from different extremist elements seeking to radicalise parts of northern Nigeria from the 1940s until the 1990s. It is
believed that in its current form it evolved from the Nigerian Taliban and was instituted in 2003. It comprises foreign operatives originating from Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. The terrorists went covert after a security crackdown by the government of former President Olusegun Obasanjo (Ewi 2011:26), but have emerged in full force since 2008 and wreak havoc among citizens in the north-eastern states of Nigeria, causing them to flee their homes, while their social and economic livelihood is burnt and destroyed.

Terrorism, according to Lodge (1988:5), is an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political change. In the case of Nigeria, terrorism is linked indiscriminately to legitimising the objectives of the fundamentalist Islamic religious sect. Terrorism is an aberration in the new global world order where the national security outlook has become a growing and absolute concern of all. The primary goal of terrorism is to disrupt society by causing widespread psychological damage and social disruption through provoking social, economic, political and religious dimensional fall-out. Following the attacks on 11 September 2001 in the USA, in Bali in 2002, in Madrid in 2004, in London in 2005 and in Oslo in 2011, governments around the world have found themselves confronted with a new challenge of designing an impermeable security imperative against terrorist attacks. The major weakness of attempts to defy terrorism is the changing of terrorists’ modus operandi by altering tactics and using unconventional, asymmetric strategies to suit their targets. This strategy is also called guerrilla tactics. Clarke (2009:5;14) posits that "the difficulties in assigning a truly comprehensive definition to terrorism lies in the fact that, not only is it challenging in determining what specific targets are, when and what motives also differ, but the complexity of untangling the overlaps within each of these categories makes the task virtually near impossible."
It is believed that terrorism is an old phenomenon that can be traced back to the French Revolution and the 1793 reign of terror, which resulted in the establishment of democratic institutions in France, allowing opposition in the political spectrum and liberty for all members of society (Silke 2009:28). Klein (2007:3) argues that the casualties and the physical destruction caused by acts of terrorism inflict widespread atrocities across societies. In this light, Hutchful (2002 in Ebong 2015:1) asserts that security is pivotal to the survival of any society, whether developed or developing, as law and order safeguard and secure national security. This falls, to a great extent, within the core responsibility of the Federal Government (FG) in Nigeria. Therefore, insecurity in society causes problems for such a society, country and its citizens to fight for its survival. Nigeria as a nation-state has been fighting terrorist or rebel insurgencies for over five decades against myriads of intractable problems ranging from political turmoil to powerful ethnic militias taking up arms against the state. Tribal and religious tensions always resulted in the loss of innocent lives and properties. Military issues in politics and civil war almost tore the nation apart, while economic disruption and exploitation of scarce resources became endemic, persistently penetrating every societal institution in Nigeria. Armed anarchy and poor infrastructure, corruption and the nefarious activities of the Muslim BH sect sapped even the enormous wealth accrued from the sales of crude oil and put the country at the edge of near collapse (Illufoye 2009:1,2). These events have undoubtedly inflicted harm on the socio-economic, political and religious advancement of Nigeria and its people. BH adopted and used intense and violent asymmetric methods, creating radical and sudden attacks with vigour and enthusiasm, which was different from the known methods used by other ethnic militias in Nigeria. The devastating BH attacks have left the Nigerian state and its citizens
with challenges, owing to the total disregard shown for human life and the malicious destruction of property worth billions of Naira (Abimbola and Adesote, 2002:11).

However, this background to BH insurgency in Nigeria will not be complete without acknowledging factors associated with the time prior to the emergence of the BH sect, since powerful ethnic, armed militant groups operating against the Nigerian state had always existed (Eme 2012:3). These groups include like Odua People’s Congress (OPC) representing the Yorubas of south-western Nigeria, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) representing the Igbos of south-east Nigeria, the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) representing the south-south ethnic tribes of Nigeria, and finally the Arewa People’s Congress (APC), representing the northern region of Nigeria, where BH originated. These groups always adopted violent methods to coerce government in an attempt to attain their objectives. All these groups represent ethnic militias and interests; their visions and missions are focussed on group interests. The MEND, for instance, represents the south-south and its core interest has always been environmental degradation and resource control of the region, which has been disregarded by other dominant majority groups in Nigeria (Abimbola and Adesote 2012:12).

In the northern region the intention to spread Muslim Sharia law throughout Nigeria has been met with opposition by the government since 2006. BH considered the existing Western education system as not founded on fundamentalist Muslim moral religious teachings and ideologies and consequently shut down schools and businesses in northern Nigeria near its headquarters in Maiduguri. This Muslim religious ideology has been in existence for many decades, but groups such as BH had always operated underground under different names and leaders as a Salafist group, but turned itself into a Jihadist
organisation in 2008 under the guidance of its late leader Mohammed Yusuf of a Kanuri tribe in north-eastern Nigeria. The sect’s campaign of terror has left the area and the entire Nigerian state in fear of the unknown, as nobody knew what would happen next. After the leader’s death, when hundreds of his followers were killed by security forces in 2009, they especially vowed to avenge the deaths by brutal attacks against the government and local populations (Ewi 2011:26).

After that event, the planned attacks on the UN headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria on 26 August 2011 and 70 more major attacks in northern Nigeria, killing more than 600 people, displayed “sophistication, resilience and the ability of BH to strike whenever and wherever it deems fit” (Ewi 2011:26). In April 2014, 287 girls were snatched from their school in the north-eastern town of Chibok. President Goodluck Jonathan was criticised for not doing enough to free the Chibok girls and to end the six-year-old BH insurgency, which claimed about 13 000 lives and forced nearly 1.5 million people to flee their homes and become IDPs in refugee camps. The breakdown in social institutions had a severe impact on people’s social and economic livelihood.

The impact of these terrorist events is felt and has led to a reduction in social cohesion, tourism and the economy in general, which has negatively affected the needed foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries. Formerly the northern region was a prosperous economic hub. The cost of the attacks can be estimated in millions or billions of dollars in economic losses in Nigeria. Zalman (2013:6) argues that economically the supply chain becomes extremely costly in terms of time and money when extra layers of security on both land and sea borders need to be expanded because of BH. These
tendencies hamper the emerging societal ability to combat social ills such as poverty and hunger.

The conception of this research was motivated by the need to critically evaluate the negative impact of BH attacks on the socio-economic well-being and livelihood of Nigerians, as well as the effect on national cohesiveness and integration. The research will also scrutinise the origin of BH, while the nature and character of the Nigerian state will be analysed to see if its leaders contribute to causing terrorist attacks. Various efforts by stakeholders to eliminate the Islamic BH have raised fear and terror among the population and will be examined.

This chapter gives a brief history of insurgency in Nigeria, as well as the historical emergence of the fundamentalist Islamic sect, BH, in Nigeria. The chapter also outlines a chronological documented history of major BH attacks in Nigeria and reviews the core socio-economic impact on societal institutions and the population. Possible intervention strategies are reviewed.

3.2.1 BACKGROUND OF INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

Insurgency is not new in Nigeria, as it is embedded in the country’s colonial struggles, but the sustained scale, momentum and use by the religiously inspired BH in its quest to express its grievances against the Nigerian state and the ruling political elite are disturbing. For the purpose of this research study, the researcher will trace it from the point of the country’s independence in 1960 to date. The first known insurgency or terrorism acts in Nigeria could be traced to the movement to liberate the Niger Delta people, led by Major Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro, who on 23 February 1966 declared the Niger Delta a republic and rebelled
against the FG. The anger of his followers was directed at the perceived exploitation and
total disregard of the Niger Delta region, which is the major source of the nation’s revenue.

A related case of insurgency in Nigeria was the Biafra insurrection to secede from Nigeria,
because of perceived marginalisation. The group, led by the late elder statesman, Colonel
Odimegwu Chukwuemeka Ojukwu, declared the Republic of Biafra on 27 May 1967. This led
to the Nigeria-Biafra civil war, which was described by Muzan (2014) as the worst and most
brutal civil conflict ever witnessed on the African continent.

However, more than 30 years after the demise of Major Isaac Adaka Boro, since the early
1990s, there has been a recurrence of armed protest against both the Nigerian state and the
multinational companies engaged in oil exploration in the Niger Delta. Osini (2013) suggests
that the movement led by the environmentalist, Ken Saro-Wiwa, seemed distracted and
unfocussed, as it targeted the multinational oil companies’ operational bases in the region,
while a subset of those who were actual beneficiaries of their operation, the government,
the chiefs and their middlemen, planned to have him eliminated. After Ken Saro-Wiwa was
killed, the result, as after the death of Muhammad Yusuf, was that the Niger Delta
Movement, that had conducted peaceful protest, changed to full-scale attacks that led to
kidnapping and hostage-taking for ransom, killing and destruction of public installations and
private properties, costing billions. The worst was the degradation and pollution of the
environment and ecosystem. The leaders of the two groups, Tom Ateke and Alhaji
Mujadeed Asari Dokubo, declared war on the FG. The attacks continued for many months
until the then Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo, deployed the military force to silence
their operational activities against oil workers and its installations. Finally, it was the late
President Umaru Musa Yaradua who, in his wisdom, employed the dialogue approach and
subsequently granted amnesty to the militants who embraced the peace approach of the President. A crisis situation was thus averted (Allswell 2000).

Subsequently, the latest insurgency in Nigeria has been that of Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda Awati Wal-Jihad (Congregation of the people of tradition for proselytism (or evangelism) and Jihad), also known as BH.

3.2.2 EMERGENCE OF BH IN NIGERIA: ISSUES AND ITS ACTIVITIES

Although there are divergent viewpoints regarding the historical links of BH, that have pre-empted the current discourse on the Nigerian history of terrorism in the northern region of Nigeria, it is important to research how these groups have transformed and become what is known today as BH. According to Ogege (2013:83), the true origin and founder of the group are shrouded in ambiguity and uncertainty. Some scholars have traced the origin of the fundamentalist religiously inspired Muslim sect to approximately two decades ago, with Lawan Abubakar as its founder. At the time the group was known as Sakaba, but when Lawan Abubakar left for further studies in Saudi Arabia, the new leader of the sect was Muhammad Yusuf, who transformed the affairs of the sect. However, others traced the origin of the sect to the charismatic qualities of one Shehu Sanni, a civil rights activist in northern Nigeria. In retrospect, it was under the leadership of the slain Muhammad Yusuf, who studied the Quran in Chad and Niger and then became successful, although as a result of Western education. He radicalised the movement and enjoyed foreign collaboration with other extremist organisations (Abimbola and Adesote 2012). BH promotes strict obedience according to the Quran to the purest and undiluted form of Islamic tradition and the institutionalisation of Sharia law.
In early 1999 a group emerged in the north-eastern state of Borno, called the Nigerian Taliban, which was mainly from the upper and middle classes. Its members were unemployed university graduates and students from affluent backgrounds (Isa 2010:330), as well as some destitute children. The dominance of the Nigerian state, specifically in northern Nigeria where the Hausa Fulani oligarchic ruling elite failed to develop the region, encouraged and entrenched patronage of corruption in governance and placed more emphasis on favouritism, in terms of access to quality Western education for rich children, at the expense of children from poor backgrounds. These symptoms of underdevelopment in northern Nigeria signalled long neglect of religiously indoctrinated poor Muslim Almajiri street children, coupled with widespread poverty and associated corruption in the entire Nigerian establishment. This situation provided fertile ground for BH’s ideology and got support from the ranks of the more uneducated groups in Nigerian society, particularly those from the north-east, who were frustrated with the current state of affairs. These people regrouped under a different name, but with the same ideology as the Maitatsine group, which represented a radical shift from other types of Islamist movements, as it operated according to a variety of fundamentalist Muslim belief systems, while believing that only genuine Muslims should be part of this (Isa 2010:326). These groups established the Nigerian Taliban and clashed with the state security operatives as a result of their activities in Borno State in 2000, resulting in many deaths. Their leader, the radical cleric Mohammed Yusuf, was among the ranks of this movement who sustained the fundamentalist ideology as the group metamorphosed into BH as it is known today. It is described as a neo-militant Islamist movement (Isa 2010:330).
Initially when this group started, its members also engaged in various forms of criminality and clashed with the police and other security agencies. They were recognised, indoctrinated, patronised and protected by the elite political leadership in some northern states, especially in Bauchi, Borno and Yobe. However, in early 2000, parents and security agencies became concerned about the activities of BH and the involvement of youths, especially students in tertiary institutions in Borno and Yobe States. Parents witnessed their children withdrawing from schools, tearing up their graduation certificates and joining the group for Quran lessons (Tell Magazine 2009). By 2003 this group was established in Borno State, the epicentre of BH’s operational base, by a group of unemployed youths who had withdrawn from regular society into the Sambisa forest and mountains. More well-educated people also withdrew into the mountains in Sambisa forest after destroying their educational certificates to be eligible for membership of BH, which set up its headquarters at the Ibn Taimiyya mosque in the ancient city of Maiduguri. This was the residence of Muhammad Yusuf, the first leader of BH. The doctrine remained similar to earlier times by being opposed to all forms of Western education and civilisation (Isa 2010:331).

BH isolated itself from society in protest against poor leadership that had inflicted untold hardship upon Nigerians, leading to the collapse of the economy and causing high-profile unemployment. They also claimed that as young people they had willingly subscribed to the social processes that became Nigeria, while their social contract recognised the social order of Nigeria and upon completion of their education, or even master’s degrees, they became misfits in a social system. In protest they retired into the jungle and started affiliating themselves with radical fundamentalist Muslim philosophy. This indoctrination reached a point where they started perceiving the Nigerian social system and state constitutional
authority as evil. Their hostility emphasised their awareness that the educated elites, who constituted the elite group of the respective northern states, had failed to keep promises about the institutionalisation of Sharia law. According to Isa (2010:329), the terrorist attacks of BH began because of corruption and poor governance among secular authorities. Its propaganda first started and was targeted at leadership malevolence in terms of weak governance, inability to provide basic infrastructural amenities and to address issues of poverty and youth unemployment and sanctioning of crimes, such as corruption that was committed by elites who mismanaged or dominated state resources and failed to hold offenders accountable. The BH Islamist movement was primarily aiming to overthrow the present “Western” and “secular” state order in Nigeria (Isa 2010:329). With these religiously inspired doctrines, the movement obtained the interest of the disgruntled, while some saw their violent rejectionist ideology as the actual driving force behind the BH conflict in Nigeria, causing unspoken hardship for local populations in the north-east.

BH leader Mohammed Yusuf was mentored and schooled under the prominent Islamic cleric Sheikh Adam Ja’afar in Kano, who was assassinated in a mosque on 8 April 2007 by members of the BH group, because he admonished them to be cautious in their conduct. Muhammad Yusuf developed radical Islamic views that were violently opposed to Westernisation and modernisation, because of the perception that Nigerian technocrats who acquired Western education in some of the best schools in Western societies only returned home to institutionalise corruption. Western education was regarded as a system that has given rise to unemployment, backwardness and poverty in Nigeria. This predicated the sect’s radical Islamic fundamentalist and provocative views and preaching against
Western institutions and their capitalist values, which devalued their mind-sets and turned them away from Allah.

According to Murtada (2013), the real name of BH is Jama’atuAhlis-SunnaLadda’awati Jihad, (Congregation of the people of tradition for proselytism and Jihad) and it was initiated by Muhammad Yusuf (Ewi 2011:26). It was later called the Yusufiya movement. According to Abdi and Shittu, (2013:106) BH is derived from two words in the local Hausa and Arabic languages, translated as “Boko” and “Haram”. Boko means “Book, Western education or anything foreign” while Haram means “forbidden, or sinful”. It therefore means “Western education is forbidden or sinful” (Ewi 2011:26).

In another perspective, Walker (2012, cited in Abdi and Shittu 2013:106) claimed that the name BH was given to the sect by dismissive neighbours, who rejected its ideology, because they perceived it to mean or refer to “those people who go about and say Western education is a sin.” This study found that BH as a group clearly does not reject the modern world order outright, since it was found using the fruits of Western education and civilization in its daily campaign against the Nigerian state, such as chemical explosives, cars, cell phones, automatic machine guns and video cameras, as well as Facebook and You-tube accounts to circulate and propagate its activities. These are all products of Western education and science, but BH is hypocritical in respect of these technologies, here referred to as “Yanboko”, translated to mean “child of the book”. This refers to a group of elites, or Nigerian technocrats, who are believed to abuse their oath of office by stealing from the people to finance personal grandeur and corrupt Western capitalist style values and living, thereby letting their own kind and society down in a state of poverty (Abdi and Shittu 2013:108).
The meaning of “Yanboko” is to be spiritually and morally corrupt, also lacking in religious piety and guilty of criminally enriching oneself, rather than dedicating oneself to the service of society, particularly those of the same faith, which is Islam. However, in August 2009 a statement was released by its former sect leader, Mallam Sanni Umaru, which upheld the facts that BH does not without exception mean that Western education is a sin, as popularly broadcast by news mass media outlets. He clarified the issue and claimed that BH actually means “Western civilization is forbidden”. The difference here is that it first gives the impression that the sect opposes formal education, originating from the West, while the second view affirms the belief in the supremacy of Islamic cultural and ideological values rather than Western educational values, with their related capitalist elitist cultural principles. For them, Islamic culture is broader and not to be determined by Western civilization. The sect frowns upon electronic media outlets’ description of it as BH, instead preferring to be known and addressed as the “Jama’atu Ahliss sunnah lidda’ Awatiwal Jihad”, meaning a people committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teachings and Jihad (Adesoji 2010: 95-108).

The northern region of Nigeria constitutes 19 states, of which 12 adopted and domesticated Islamic Sharia laws between 1999 and 2002. These states include Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara, which have been home to persistent violent conflicts since the early 1950s. Recurring conflicts have created a complex and volatile mixture of historical grievances that pre-date colonial independence. Although there has been a history of peaceful co-existence between ethnic communities, political dominance, manipulation and religious conflicts between interest groups, the insistent frequent violence has not stopped (Isa 2010:329).
Sharia laws were introduced in most parts of the north, combined with the activities of Islamic sects operating underground under state protection between 1999 and 2002. Conflicts between opposing Islamic sects abound, as well as between anti-establishment Islamic groups and the Nigerian state. There are regular conflicts between the so-called settler groups, because of poorly distributed public resources, intentional political manipulation of the electoral processes, continuous misunderstandings in communities and godfatherism, a practice among the Nigerian political elite (Isa 2010:330).

The group used the term Boko to mobilise unemployed, unskilled, poverty-stricken youths to join the cause to dislodge the secular, learned (Boko-controlled) state in Nigeria (Isa 2010:333). The clique that started this philosophical ideology built a fellowship that quickly grew into a significant number. They acquired arms, launched attacks and took possession of two local government areas during the presidency of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. The FG responded with force and tried to smoke them out of the mountains. When Mohammed Yusuf became too headstrong in this controversy, which led to him and his group being expelled by the Yobe State, he retreated to Maiduguri, where he was received and given a hero’s welcome by the unsuspecting political elite. This motivation encouraged Yusuf and his lieutenants, who grew his territories unchecked until he became power-drunk and brought all types of havoc onto society and those who protected him. Consequently, his insurgent activities inspired the FG to enforce a curfew and a state of emergency in three of the worst affected north-eastern states. A joint operation by the state security forces against Yusuf and his group was ordered and launched by the Nigerian security agencies in 2009 (Isa 2010: 333). They executed all people suspected of being BH members.
In an interview granted by one of their leaders, Shikh Aliyu Tishau, which was published by News Watch Magazine (2007) and Sahara reporters, he stated that the organisation (BH) was a creation of the Nigerian political elite group, who recruited and enlisted members from a purely fundamentalist Islamic Salafist group, mainly interested in cleansing Islam to enhance their political agenda. He also mentioned that their members were well trained as fighters in the art of unconventional guerrilla warfare in neighbouring countries and particularly in Mauritania, which fought alongside them to overthrow the legitimate government and become elites in government. This convinced them of the advantage of links with Al Qaeda networks in Afghanistan, Yemen, Iran and Somalia, Al-Shabab and globally (Ewi 2011:27). Based on the Tishau interview in 2011, BH is a sophisticated group, well trained in contemporary warfare and sabotage activities. Its mercenary orientation, ability and capacity to strike targets and link up with sister organisations worldwide are unlimited. From this background, it may be right to theorise that the mentorship and sponsorship of BH are both within the ranks of unpatriotic Nigerian groups of religious and political bigots, and other foreign sister organisations that are equally involved in sabotage activities across the world. According to Ewi (2011:27), the attack on the UN headquarters in Nigeria completed BH’s metamorphosis as an international terrorist group; Sharia law is spread to other regional countries in Africa as potential targets.

Tell Magazine of 19 August 2009 puts the ideology and philosophy of BH succinctly as: “The mission of the sect was to establish an Islamic state where orthodox Islam is practiced. Orthodox Islam according to their late leader Mohammed Yusuf frowned at Western education and regarded their way of life as sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions of government, including all security outfits must be crushed.”
3.2.3 BACKGROUND TO TERRORISM AND BOKO HARAM ATTACKS

Terrorism, just like other concepts in the social sciences, has no single definition. Many scholars and analysts in regions and countries yet to experience physical terror attacks tend to assume that terrorism is a political expression rather than a criminal act. It is categorically stated that terrorist cells exist in every society, but their recurrence and activity depend on inability to curb them on the part of national leadership. Madunagu (2001:5) posits that terrorism is the use of violence to achieve a political objective, such as the institutionalisation of Islam and Sharia laws in the northern states of Nigeria. This is because in a bid to immobilise the force of the government, the terrorist wastes innocent lives through indiscriminate attacks, seeking to challenge the confidence the population places in the government for personal protection and security. This unconventional, asymmetric nature and style of coordinated attacks by BH to spread fear and undermine the government are new to Nigerians, and the state in particular, compared to the attacks by other ethnic entities used in struggles with state authorities over resource control and injustices as perceived in particular states and regions. The systematic use of threats and violence to convey a political message rather than to defeat an opponent is seen as cowardly and evil, because the targets for terror are symbolic or representative of different religiously inspired ideologies and the victims of terrorism span a broad range. Different factors are responsible for driving crimes of extremism and terror. These crimes are usually unpredictable, provoking and deadly. A defining approach to terrorism is that in its own cells, there are core values that members entrench to attract appropriate rewards (Madanuga 2001).
Many schools of thought on political violence would agree with Cooper (1979) that the concept of terrorism is problematic for academics as well as policy makers to find a specific objective definition. O’Sullivan (2001) noted that one man’s terrorist could be another man’s freedom fighter. However, terrorism is understood as a threat and violence is needed to achieve own objectives against the interest of the majority; it is not limited to any particular ideology. Claver (2002:302) states that terrorism is the use of force to impart fear with a view to bring about socio-economic, political and religious change. He further states that terrorism can lead to socio-economic underdevelopment of countries and makes normal politics in a country difficult. This highlights the activities of the BH attacks in the north-eastern region of Nigeria, which have been a factor destabilising socio-economic, religious and political development. Therefore, the term terrorism is highly controversial: firstly, there is a distinction between it and unconventional warfare and the fact that the latter may also aim to create fear in a wider population; secondly, the term is highly prerogative; it stands to be used selectively (one person’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter); thirdly, although terrorism is usually conceived as anti-governmental activities, government can employ terror tactics against its own or other populations, as in the case of state terrorism (Heywood 2007). Assertions like these by Heywood bring to the fore the relativity and contrasting thoughts regarding the meaning of terrorism, which is domestic in the case of BH, or could be internationally geared towards foreign targets, as was the case in the 11 September 2001 attack by Al Qaeda.

Terrorism is becoming a household word globally, as there is no nation that is completely absolved from its effects. Alao and Atere (2012:1) attribute this to globalisation that has significantly influenced the spate of terrorism, since an event in one part of the world has
direct or indirect effects on others, especially if it is considered against the fact that most believe BH to have direct external contacts and support from other terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda, and affiliates such as Al-Shabbab (Ezema 2009:14). The concept of terrorism is variedly described as a tactic and strategy, a crime and a duty and also a justifiable reaction to oppression, as well as an inexcusable abomination, since it is a question of whose point of view is being represented (Alao and Atere 2011:1).

For the purpose of this research study, a workable definition that complements the context is used. Therefore, terrorism is defined as the deliberate use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to instil fear, planned to compel or frighten governments or societies in search of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological in nature. This definition classifies any group or organisation where non-state actors become classified as ‘terrorists’ or become terrorists, when they use techniques and strategies in their struggles to disengage the ruling elite, whether the state or individual ruling elite groups. Therefore, this study focuses on the existence of dominant groups, indoctrination, poverty, inequality, oppression and marginalisation of one group over another, consistently creating injustices and having a profound impact on the socio-economic well-being of populations, causing the breakdown of other societal structures and the displacement of human beings.

Furthermore, the Islamic sect, BH, is a very incoherent movement and it is mostly referred to as a “sect” that clearly operates as a loose number of factions that do not communicate directly with each other, but indeed share the same agenda as a common denominator among its ranks. They also share the same desire to overthrow the secular government and establish a caliphate (an Islamic state) where fundamentalist Islamic Sharia laws will be enthroned and their influence will spread to other parts of Nigeria and beyond. Apparently,
the ideology of the sect is rooted in the pure practices of orthodox Islamic philosophy, which loathes Western civilization. The oratory ability of its leader, Muhammad Yusuf, conveyed this notion, which contributed to the group’s success (Michael and Bwalu, 2009).

The historical birthplace of BH has been traced to Borno and Yobe States respectively, which are today regarded as the epicentre in the north of Nigeria. These states already follow and administer some level of Islamic law, owing to the group emergence in early 2000 under the leadership of Muhammad Yusuf, who was himself a member of the state executive council and commissioner for Islamic religion charged with the actual enforcement of Sharia laws. He embarked on a fundamentalist ideological path, distinct from mainstream Islam, and created a Salafist Islamic movement that has grown to what is known as BH today (News Watch, 2001:20). However, the introduction of Islamic Sharia laws in some of the states in the north was considered insufficient by Muhammad Yusuf and his group, which argued that the country’s ruling elite, having power and authority, was marred by corruption and that even their northern Muslim leaders were irredeemably stained by this capitalist Western-style personal glorification of corruption (Abdi and Shittu, 2013:108). Based on this predicament, a pure Sharia statehood was envisaged that would be more transparent and just than the existing order. However, this belief was superficial, as the foundation of this Islamic Sharia statehood was already autocratic in nature, since the ruler would be the sole political and spiritual head. Hence, the individual’s rights and privileges could not be guaranteed. The sect excluded itself from the rest of society, ordering its activities by setting up a religious complex that included a mosque and an Islamic school, which was said to have attracted and indoctrinated poor Muslims and families from across Nigeria and beyond, who enrolled their wards at this centre. The group was said to have lived in its own world and
adopted Arabic as its official language of communication. This Almajiri children’s group emerged through self-education and soliciting for alms for the survival and sustenance of its pupils, conscripted from as far as neighbouring countries. The system was composed literally of a boarding facility where parents who could not sustain their children came to dump them to be cared for by an Islamic cleric or Imam, starting their indoctrination. In most cases these children were abused and radicalised by their religious teachers. This was the norm, since the existing native education system is widely legitimised in this part of the world.

In many communities across Nigeria, communities still build schools for their children and wards, not leaning on the government to do so. The worst is that most of these communities are from resource-endowed, rich areas where their God-given resources are constantly being exploited and, thus, they lack even the basics of existence such as drinking water (pipe-borne water) and schools for basic education. Consequently, they witness evolving systemic failure and corruption around them. This group of Almajiri in the north-east of Nigeria felt alienated and abandoned and then advanced from their current form of isolation. Most of them were uneducated and indoctrinated with hate. This group evolved into and became known as the Nigerian Taliban, instituted in 2000 (Isa 2010:330).

The northern region of Nigeria constitutes 19 of the present 36 states of Nigeria. It has always been fertile ground for religious activism, right from the time of the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio in the 18th century, partly because of the unwillingness of the ruling elites to separate politics from religion (Ajayi 2013:55-56). This was validated by the understanding that this group of leaders derived their legitimacy from religiously inspired doctrine rather than from the people. They use religion as a political weapon for self-preservation and mass
mobilisation to perpetuate their term and to divert attention from their incompetence, ineptitude, personal grandeur and corruption.

The intention to spread Sharia law throughout Nigeria was met with opposition from various interest groups, as well as from government. BH is one of several Islamic organisations that have called for “true Islam” as a way to end poverty and purge the state from corruption, which has torn the north apart in the wake of a political system corrupted by greed (Ajayi 2013:134). The institutionalisation of massive corruption gave birth to many issues that have plagued the country. Overall these problems can be traced to failure of basic service delivery as a result of nepotism and corruption by the political elite, ethnicity, group influence and supremacy of one group over another. This struggle as a form of oppression and marginalisation has evolved over time and there seems to be no end in sight. This is a systemic cancer in Africa that the Western world has chosen to ignore.

Growing suspicion emerged among Nigerians about the real identity and motives of the BH sect. Many Muslims across the north-east perceived BH as an extension of the Maitatsine sect, which was established in 1945 to transfer turmoil to Islam, as it was confirmed that Maitatsine was not a Muslim until his death, while a reasonable number of Christians see the evolving activities of BH as an attempt to Islamise Nigerians. Others are indifferent (Shehu 2014). By 2009, the activities of BH had fully transformed it from a local peace militia into a violent Jihadist group, after the government crackdown on members in some major cities of the north-eastern states. This led to five days of violent confrontations between the group members and the Nigerian forces, which resulted in the killing of the sect leader, Muhammad Yusuf, in Maiduguri, and 700 more people (Blanchard, 2014). After this uprising, the activities of the sect deteriorated and only re-emerged in 2010 with new
tactics, which included suicide bombings, kidnapping, and attacks on Islamic clerics who spoke and preached against their activities and their mosques. This also included Christians worship centres and churches in the northern parts of Nigeria. In this period Nigeria witnessed the first suicide bombing in its history, which thereafter became a regular occurrence, using young girls, as this tactic became an adopted style to hit their targets. It was used to attack many churches, mosques and even the planned attacks on the UN headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria on 26 August 2011. More serious attacks (70) followed in northern Nigeria, killing more than 600 people. These tactics displayed “sophistication, resilience and the ability of BH to strike whenever and wherever it deems fit” (Ewi 2011:26).

The breakdown in social institutions had a severe impact on people’s well-being, social lives and the economy. As BH’s activities escalated with these attacks, BH and Ansaru were labelled foreign terrorist organisations by the US Department of State in November 2013. Ansaru, a splinter faction of BH, kidnapped and executed seven foreigners working for international construction companies in 2013. Subsequently, the UN committee on Al Qaeda banned and blacklisted the group on 22 May 2014 as a world terrorist organisation. The UN-listed entry described BH as an affiliate of Al Qaeda, and of the organisation in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

The importance of this research study cannot be overemphasised. The Annual Report of the Global Terrorism Index produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace, collated by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism, codified over 125 000 terrorist incidents globally from 2000 to 2014. Eighty per cent of deaths reported globally derived from five countries, namely Nigeria, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Key groups operating in these countries are Al Qaeda, Isis, the Taliban and its affiliates.
Documentary sources provided a chronological display of terrorist attacks by BH in Nigeria, for which they claimed responsibility, making this study significant. Below is a list of major BH bombing attacks since 26 July 2009.

**TABLE 1: BOKO HARAM ATTACKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 26-29, 2009</td>
<td>2009 BH uprising marks the beginning of BH insurgency in Northern Nigeria.</td>
<td>About 1 000 people were killed in clashes between security forces and BH militants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 30, 2009</td>
<td>Execution of Muhammad Yusuf in custody, spiritual leader and founder of BH by the Nigerian security forces after the uprising.</td>
<td>Abubakar Shekau took over as BH new leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 7, 2010</td>
<td>Bauchi prison break</td>
<td>5 people were killed and 721 inmates freed from jail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 11, 2010</td>
<td>Bomb attack in Maiduguri Police station</td>
<td>The station was destroyed and 3 people injured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31, 2010</td>
<td>Attack at Mammy market in Mogadishu Army Barrack - Abuja</td>
<td>11 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 29, 2011</td>
<td>Abuja bomb explosion and in Bauchi state for Pres Goodluck Jonathan’s swearing-in ceremony</td>
<td>15 people were confirmed dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 16, 2011</td>
<td>Failed Abuja police HQ bombing (first instance of Nigerian suicide attack bombing)</td>
<td>2 people were killed, the bomber and the traffic police officer on duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 4, 2011</td>
<td>Damaturu attacks</td>
<td>About 150 people were killed in the attacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 25, 2011</td>
<td>Bombing of St Theresa Catholic church Madalla</td>
<td>46 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21, 2012</td>
<td>Kano multiple bomb blast</td>
<td>185 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 2012</td>
<td>Attack Bayero University, Kano, Kano state</td>
<td>13 undergraduate student worshippers, 1 non-teaching staff and 2 professors were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17, 2012</td>
<td>Kaduna church bombings</td>
<td>19 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 7, 2012</td>
<td>Deeper Life Church shooting</td>
<td>19 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 25, 2012</td>
<td>Maiduguri and Potiskum church shootings.</td>
<td>27 Christian worshippers were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1, 2013</td>
<td>Nigerian security forces raided BH camps</td>
<td>13 militants were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 18, 2013</td>
<td>Kano bus station bombing</td>
<td>About 65 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 16, 2013</td>
<td>Baga massacre in Borno state.</td>
<td>187 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6, 2013</td>
<td>Yobe state school shootings.</td>
<td>42 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 12, 2013</td>
<td>Attacks in Maiduguri Mosque</td>
<td>56 worshippers were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 12, 2013</td>
<td>Military convoy ambush by BH</td>
<td>40 military officers were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 12-18, 2013</td>
<td>Nigeria military offensive against the BH</td>
<td>150 militants and 16 soldiers died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 19, 2013</td>
<td>Benisheik attacks by BH</td>
<td>16 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 29, 2013</td>
<td>Guiba college of Agriculture massacre Yobe State</td>
<td>50 undergraduate students were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 16, 2013</td>
<td>Nigeria security forces raided BH camps</td>
<td>101 BH fighters were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 29, 2013</td>
<td>Raids on Damaturu</td>
<td>128 people died, among whom 95 HB militants, 23 soldiers, 8 policemen and 2 civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 26, 2014</td>
<td>Northern Nigeria BH attacks.</td>
<td>138 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 14, 2014</td>
<td>Borno massacre in Konduga</td>
<td>121 Christian villagers were killed in cold blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 15, 2014</td>
<td>I zghe attack by BH</td>
<td>160 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 2014</td>
<td>Federal Govt. College attack by BH in Yobe State</td>
<td>59 students were killed, some through throat slitting by the militants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 14, 2014</td>
<td>Attack on Giwa Military Barrack in Maiduguri</td>
<td>BH detainees were freed from detention; military fought back and recaptured the detainees who were summarily executed by the military.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 14, 2014</td>
<td>Abuja twin bombing attacks</td>
<td>At least 88 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 15, 2014</td>
<td>Chibok Girls secondary school attack.</td>
<td>276 female students were abducted by BH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1, 2014</td>
<td>Abuja car bombing</td>
<td>19 people were killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 2014</td>
<td>Gamborou Ngala attacks in Borno State.</td>
<td>About 300 people were massacred in cold blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 2014</td>
<td>Jos car bombing</td>
<td>At least 118 villagers were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 27, 2014</td>
<td>Buni Yadi attacks in Yobe State</td>
<td>49 people were killed; 40 soldiers and 9 civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties/Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1, 2014</td>
<td>Mubi bombing Adamawa State</td>
<td>40 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2, 2014</td>
<td>Gwozoa massacre</td>
<td>200 people, mostly Christians, were killed in several villages in Borno State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20-23, 2014</td>
<td>Borno State attacks</td>
<td>70 people were killed and 91 women and children were abducted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 23-25, 2014</td>
<td>North central Nigeria (Middle Belt) attacks</td>
<td>About 171 people were killed in a series of attacks in towns and villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 26, 2014</td>
<td>Nigerian Military raid BH camps</td>
<td>Over 100 militants were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 28, 2014</td>
<td>Kano bombing attack and shootings</td>
<td>At least 200 subjects of the Emir of Kano His majesty Muhammed Sanusi 11 were killed in a suicide bombing and shootings, 4 gunmen were subsequently killed by the angry mob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 13, 2014</td>
<td>Gumsuri kidnapping in Borno State</td>
<td>35 people were killed and 185 people were kidnapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 28-29, 2014</td>
<td>Failed BH offensive into the Republic of Cameroon</td>
<td>85 civilians, 94 militants and 2 Cameroonian soldiers were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 3-7, 2015</td>
<td>Baga massacre</td>
<td>BH razed the town of Baga in north-east, approx. 2000 civilians killed in cold blood. BH then had control of 75% of the entire state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 9, 2015</td>
<td>IDPs fled Baga Borno State</td>
<td>7 300 IDPs fled to neighbouring countries, while over 1000 were trapped in Land of Kangala in Lake Chad after BH massacre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 12, 2015</td>
<td>Failed Kolofata raid in Cameroon Republic by BH militants</td>
<td>Republic of Cameroon claimed its military lost 1 officer while BH lost about 300 fighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 18, 2015</td>
<td>BH attacks in north Cameroon</td>
<td>3 people killed and 80 abducted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 25, 2015</td>
<td>BH offensive against the Nigeria security forces in Maiduguri</td>
<td>About 8 civilians and 53 militants and unspecified number of Nigerian soldiers were killed. The town captured by BH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 29, 2015</td>
<td>Recapture of border town Michika by Nigerian army with help of Chadian forces</td>
<td>Michika recaptured from BH militants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 31, 2015</td>
<td>African Union pledged to send 7 500 international troops to support Nigeria</td>
<td>Chadian forces claimed to have killed 120 BH while 3 of its officers died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 6, 2015</td>
<td>BH raided the towns of Bosso and Diffa respectively in Niger Republic.</td>
<td>This was the first attack in Niger Republic. The Chadian Army assisted Niger to repel the BH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aggression. 5 officers were killed while 109 BH militants died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 12, 2015</td>
<td>Invasion of Sambisa forest, Borno state BH headquarters, by the multinational task force made up of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon Republics</td>
<td>Undisclosed numbers of militants were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 13, 2015</td>
<td>Ngouboua, Chad attacks 30 BH militants crossing Lake Chad with boats</td>
<td>First attack by BH in Chad Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 21, 2015</td>
<td>Recaptured of Baga by the Nigerian Army from BH</td>
<td>Baga a border town between Niger and Nigeria was recaptured by the Niger Armed forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 24, 2015</td>
<td>Chadian and BH militants clashed near Garambu</td>
<td>More than 200 BH militants were killed while Chad lost 3 officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 9-18, 2015</td>
<td>Recapture of Malam Fatouri and Damasak by combined Nigerian, Chadian and Niger forces</td>
<td>BH militants were dislodged from Fatouri and Damasak by the multinational forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 2015</td>
<td>Sambisa forest area controlled by BH</td>
<td>Intensive operations mounted by the Nigerian Army to dislodge the BH to recapture area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 16, 2015</td>
<td>Twin suicide bombers struck Chadian capital, targeted Police Headquarters and Academy</td>
<td>24 people killed and 100 seriously wounded in N’Djamena, BH claimed responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 22, 2015</td>
<td>Maiduguri Mosque bombing by 2 female suicide bombers.</td>
<td>30 worshippers were killed as BH marked the start of Ramadan by targeting a Mosque that they saw as falling short in the footsteps of prophet Muhammed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1-2, 2015</td>
<td>Multiple mosque massacres</td>
<td>48 people were killed in the first mosque with many wounded, in another 97 worshippers, mostly men, were also killed with unspecified numbers of female worshippers with their children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 16, 2015</td>
<td>Jos bomb attack</td>
<td>44 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 17, 2015</td>
<td>Blast in north-east Nigerian city of Yola on Tuesday night that tore through a market place</td>
<td>32 people confirmed dead with about 80 others seriously wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 6, 2016</td>
<td>BH gunmen raided Izageki village close to Sambisa forest</td>
<td>7 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 13, 2016</td>
<td>A suicide bomber blew himself</td>
<td>12 people were killed, many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 18, 2016</td>
<td>Suicide bomber attacked mosque in village Nguetchewe in north of Cameroon</td>
<td>4 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 2016</td>
<td>4 suspected Boko Haram suicide bombers attacked Bodo in north Cameroon in busy market</td>
<td>25 people were confirmed dead and 65 others seriously wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 27-28, 2016</td>
<td>Weekend of rampage at Dalori, on the outskirts of Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>At least 100 people were killed and many others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 2016</td>
<td>2 suicide bombers attacked a camp housing refugees in north</td>
<td>4 people were killed and 12 others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 31, 2016</td>
<td>BH suicide bomber blew himself up on a motorcycle in Guie Miterine, Chad Republic</td>
<td>Many casualties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9, 2016</td>
<td>2 suicide bombers attacked a funeral gathering in north-east of Cameroon</td>
<td>6 people were killed and 30 others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9, 2016</td>
<td>2 female suicide bombers sneaked into Dikwa IDP camp</td>
<td>60 people were killed and 78 others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 12, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacked Kachifa village</td>
<td>8 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 13, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacked Yakshari</td>
<td>22 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 19, 2016</td>
<td>2 BH suicide bombers attacked a market in north of Cameroon</td>
<td>Killed 24 people and 112 others seriously wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 16, 2016</td>
<td>3 female suicide bombers attacked Umarari village, Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>22 people were killed and 18 injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26, 2016</td>
<td>BH raided remote Tumpun village near lassa in Askira, Uba local council area</td>
<td>4 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacked a military formation in south-east Niger</td>
<td>6 Niger soldiers were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 5, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacks in Izige in Nigeria</td>
<td>3 Nigerian soldiers and 2 civilian vigilante members were killed, forcing BH militants to retreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacks in Maiduguri.</td>
<td>2 suicide bombers were killed by military, several officers wounded in the blast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 20, 2016</td>
<td>BH female suicide bombers killed themselves in IDP camp.</td>
<td>8 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 24, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacked Alua village in Borno State</td>
<td>A total of 30 people were killed in the raid by BH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 11, 2016</td>
<td>Nigerian Army troops from the 7 Division Garrison intercepted a BH militant on a suicide mission Sulaimanti community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 29, 2016</td>
<td>A Nigerian Army convoy hit IED mine buried by road side</td>
<td>1 soldier and 4 civilians were killed and several soldiers injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 4, 2016</td>
<td>BH attack in Bosso area in Niger and Waramide</td>
<td>32 confirmed killed 67 injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1, 2016</td>
<td>A vehicle exploded near a military checkpoint in Gubio north-east Nigeria</td>
<td>9 civilians killed and several others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 5, 2016</td>
<td>BH attack in a gun battle in Borno State</td>
<td>A high-ranking officer and 6 colleagues were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 8, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacks in Maru, a remote area of north-east of Nigeria</td>
<td>Killed 30 gold miners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 12, 2016</td>
<td>240 BH militants surrendered in the south-west of Chad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 28, 2016</td>
<td>BH attack on Nigerian military convoy</td>
<td>Undisclosed number of soldiers killed and scores of BH militants also killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 9, 2016</td>
<td>Madagali suicide bombing</td>
<td>57 killed and 177 injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 11, 2016</td>
<td>Twin suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>3 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13, 2016</td>
<td>BH attacked a military base in Kamuya Borno State</td>
<td>Scores were confirmed dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 25, 2016</td>
<td>BH suicide bomb attack in Mora Cameroon Republic</td>
<td>2 were killed and 5 others injured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 28, 2016</td>
<td>31 BH fighters yielded in Niger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 4, 2017</td>
<td>3 female suicide bombers attempted detonating vests</td>
<td>Shot dead before detonating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacked a Nigerian army base in Buni Yadi of Yobe State</td>
<td>5 officers loss their lives and 15 BH militants confirmed killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 13, 2017</td>
<td>BH ambushed and attacked Nigerian troops in Kangarwa and Madagali Borno State</td>
<td>3 Nigerian soldiers were killed, 27 others injured and 10 BH militants were also killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 14, 2017</td>
<td>Borno State roadside bombing</td>
<td>2 soldiers were confirmed dead several attackers were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 23, 2017</td>
<td>BH invaded a village</td>
<td>Killed unspecified number of women and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 25, 2017</td>
<td>Multiple suicide bomb attacks in Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>7 people were killed and several others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacked a convoy of cars</td>
<td>5 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 30, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacks in Maiduguri Borno</td>
<td>15 killed in Maiduguri Nigeria, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 31, 2017</td>
<td>Suicide bomber in Dalori quarters mosque Maiduguri during morning prayers.</td>
<td>1 worshipper was confirmed dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacks along Cameroon and Nigeria border post</td>
<td>Killed 1 UN contractor and 4 others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7, 2017</td>
<td>Attempted BH suicide attacks</td>
<td>2 BH militants killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 13, 2017</td>
<td>BH militants invaded a Mifa community in Chibok, set ablaze dozens of homes</td>
<td>3 men were executed, accused of spying for the Nigerian troops, 1 Islamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with occupants inside</td>
<td>scholar also killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 17, 2017</td>
<td>BH suicide attacks</td>
<td>3 civilians and 8 attackers were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacks</td>
<td>3 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 2017</td>
<td>BH raids in north-east of Nigeria</td>
<td>Abducted 22 girls and women in 2 separate raids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 2017</td>
<td>BH attack on army post in Kaiga town, Lake Chad region</td>
<td>9 Chadian soldiers and 40 BH fighters were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 13, 2017</td>
<td>BH attacked the University of Maiduguri north-east</td>
<td>1 person was killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 2017</td>
<td>9 militants arrived in Amarwa village on motorcycles; suburb of Maiduguri</td>
<td>11 farmers were killed on their farms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 16, 2017</td>
<td>3 female suicide bombers</td>
<td>3 people were killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 19, 2017</td>
<td>3 female suicide bombers stormed the University of Maiduguri during Friday prayer</td>
<td>Several deaths and scores of wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20, 2017</td>
<td>BH militants went on rampage in liberated communities of Borno State</td>
<td>7 people were confirmed dead and scores wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2, 2017</td>
<td>2 suicide bombers attacked IDP camp.</td>
<td>Several dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 8, 2017</td>
<td>BH targeted mosque where Muslims gathered for prayers and worship</td>
<td>24 killed, several others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 9, 2017</td>
<td>Bomb concealed in a polythene bag exploded</td>
<td>Killed 2 teenage boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 10, 2017</td>
<td>BH militants raided a village of Hambagba, near Gwoza, on the Cameroon border</td>
<td>Kidnapped 6 people and killed 4 others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 16, 2017</td>
<td>BH suicide attacks</td>
<td>2 civilians killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18, 2017</td>
<td>5 female suicide bombers attacked</td>
<td>12 confirmed killed and several others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 2017</td>
<td>BH ambushed a police convoy</td>
<td>2 people were killed and several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Casualties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 26, 2017</td>
<td>Multiple suicide bombers attacked north-east Maiduguri</td>
<td>9 people were killed and 13 others were seriously wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 29, 2017</td>
<td>Suicide bombers attacked a refugee camp in Niger Republic in the city of Diffa</td>
<td>2 people were killed and 10 others wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30, 2017</td>
<td>BH suicide bomber blew himself up in the city of Kerawa, Niger</td>
<td>2 attackers were confirmed dead, as well as one civilian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1, 2017</td>
<td>BH suicide bombers blew themselves up in the city of Mora, in Cameroon</td>
<td>1 person killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11, 2017</td>
<td>BH publicly executed villagers in the north-east who opposed the enforcement of its hard-line form of Islam</td>
<td>8 villagers were executed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.3 THE IMPACT OF BH ATTACKS ON SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS IN NIGERIA

These documented attacks had long-lasting effects on all state institutions, namely the social, economic, religious and polity, causing further problems for Nigerian citizens having to flee their homes to live in refugee camps in the south of Nigeria. This study identifies a three-dimensional relationship between the political environment, the economic situation and social problems in Nigeria. Conflict in any of these three sectors typically has a direct impact on the other. Political instability usually leads to economic problems, which then trigger social strife. According to Ofoche (2012:18), the solutions for the prevalent socio-economic problems in Nigeria can be found in the political, economic and social dimensions.

3.3.1 BACKGROUND OF THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY

In pre-colonial and post-colonial Nigeria, the northern region was known for its centralised emirate system of governance and trade. The northern Nigerian economic boom led to the
conversion of places such as Kano, Kaduna and Maiduguri, whose trade activities serviced neighbouring countries in the Lake Chad basins. This feature has today become a shadow of itself. This is why the study seeks to explore the impact of terrorism on the socio-economic standing and prospects of the residents in this area (Ofoche 2012:5).

Unfortunately many of the state institutions are weak, owing to poor leadership and corruption, causing governance problems and a negative impact on the economy, whereas good governance in a democracy requires strong institutions such as the legislature, courts, police, armed forces and civil service (Ofoche 2012:7). Income generation can be substantially increased with improved monitoring devices to stop the present loopholes in the revenue system, especially for tax defaulters. Productive use of these incomes would create more jobs, which can help address socio-economic problems (Ofoche 2012:10). The main reasons for the high redundancy rate are poor investments and low industrial expansion, at present standing at 19.7%. Most of the unemployed are youths between and 30 years old. They are mostly university graduates eager to earn a decent living, but have not had the opportunity to be employed. They now rather join the terrorist group, BH. Unemployment is the main cause of youth restlessness and related social problems in Nigeria (Ofoche 2012:11).

Nigeria is under severe internal socio-economic and security threats, which have social, economic, political and environmental dimensions. Each of these dimensions has greatly affected the nation’s stability, and is related to the ethnic militia armies, religious conflicts, poverty, terrorism, armed robbery, treasury robbery by local politicians, corruption, economic sabotage and environmental degradation (Ilufoye, 2009:281-292).
According to relevant literature (Ilufuye 2009:281-292), BH attacks have had a negative impact on trading, business activities, entrepreneurship, investment, employment and income levels, relocation or mobility of the population, the rate of meetings between people in social places, attendance of religious functions and psychological trauma of individuals. The impact of the attacks caused social, religious and economic disruption in human lives in communities in the north-east.

BH attacks have become the main problem facing Nigerians in recent times. These groups have executed several bombings, killed about 20,000 people, displaced millions of innocent citizens in Nigeria and caused the destruction of private and public property, worth billions of Naira (Securipedia 2013), in a bid to make people in the north-east accept their fundamentalist Islamic Nigerian view of Western education.

BH activities have destabilised socio-economic activities, which led to massive crimes being committed, particularly the destruction of both life and property of Nigerian citizens. This can be confirmed by the mass movement of local people living in the northern parts of the country, who derive their daily sustenance from farming in the area of Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State. This situation has made it impossible for the citizens in the north to conduct their legitimate business (Ilufuye 2009:281-292). It is also scaring foreign investors off the country. Students have been forced to flee their schools. The gravity of the crisis has made some state governments vow never to allow Nigerian students from their respective states to go to the northern parts of Nigeria for any studies or work. BH activities also affected the posting of students from the southern and eastern parts to the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in the north, to the extent that parents are strongly resisting the posting of children to the north. This is seen as a fatal blow to the noble objective of the
scheme as a unifying strategy, therefore the unity of Nigeria is seriously threatened by the BH Islamic sect, whose activities have a serious impact on socio-economic activities.

Consequently, the survey of documented studies on the economic and social impact of terrorism, according to Securipedia (2013), states that considerable costs are incurred as a result of terrorism, because terrorist events not only lead to material and immaterial costs for those who become victimised or marginalised, but also force local and international authorities to spend billions on the prevention of terrorism and the detection, prosecution and punishment of terrorists. To evaluate the costs of terrorism as posited by Securipedia (2013), economic agents suffer losses in physical and human capital and they themselves could simultaneously influence the economy through immediate negative responses to the violence. The economic impact of terrorism is specifically seen in interdependent economic institutions in which terrorist attacks cause disruption, which are actually indirect targets of the attack. Thus, terrorist attacks affect three categories of economic actors, namely individual households, the private sector (companies), and local or public authorities (Securipedia 2013).

Zalman (2013:6) posits that “economists and terrorism scholars have tried to calculate the economic impact of terrorism for years with most analyses of terrorism’s economic costs beginning with an interpretation of the cost of 9/11 terror attacks in the USA.” This explicates that there are direct consequences and costs to property, which reflect an immediate impact on productivity and include human hours wasted on security checks on properties, airports, as well as key government institutions and the resultant increases in government defence spending. The terrorist impact on global distribution chains is felt in Nigeria as well, leading to the conclusion that it becomes extremely costly in monetary
terms and time, as it requires extra security checks at borders, which are extremely porous and undefined in Africa. Most insurgents walk across borders to neighbouring countries without hindrance. Higher transportation costs could have an adverse impact on developing economies or a country such as Nigeria, influencing the ability to combat poverty (Morag 2006:4). Furthermore, in terms of the direct impact of terrorism on society, Klein (2007:3) emphasised that “in addition to the casualties and physical destruction directly caused by their attacks, terrorists seek to inflict wider psychological, social, political and economic damages upon societies they target.” Therefore, based on this notion, it is plain that terrorists are harming the economy on multiple fronts, reducing consumer expectations of the future, as their activities compel regimes/states and the private sector to invest in security measures. This modifies behaviour that persuades economic actors (investors, consumer uncertainties toward business) to avoid areas of apparent risk such as aviation, tourism, transportation and other areas affected by terrorism (Klein 2007:3).

Several indirect economic effects of terrorism include loss of time, security, taxation, efficiency and devaluation of currency (Zalman 2013:10). Terrorism has also had an impact on inflation levels and employment and caused business forecasts of the area to be unstable owing to the bouts of attacks, which have rendered the supply chain of necessities such as food, electricity and gas extremely expensive (Zalman 2013:11).

Therefore, it is clear that terrorism makes business, trade, investment and the innovative spirit of the economy of the country suffer, which directly undermines job opportunities (Sabir 2007:44). According to Zalman (2013:12), the worst hit areas are education, agriculture, tourism and the religious sector, which are key to the development of any society.
It was discovered from the literature review that very limited work or studies have been undertaken to measure the specific socio-economic impact of terrorism in Africa, particularly as it concerns BH in Nigeria. In other words, the study tries to explore and investigate the extent to which terrorism affects trading and commercial activities, entrepreneurs, investment, employment and income generation levels, as well as the psychological and psycho-social implications for the affected population in the north-eastern states of Nigeria. The literature also affirmed the statements of Gaibulloev and Sandler (2010), who indicated that terrorist attacks both hampered and enhanced economic indecision by limiting investments and then redirecting FDI to safer locations, e.g. in the case of Nigeria most multinational companies have moved to Ghana and other countries within the regional block, which also raised and increased the costs of doing business.

3.3.2 THE RELIGIOUS IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM

According to literature (Ewi 2011; Ajayi, 2013) the dangerous nature of the attacks driven by the BH sect has antagonised Christians and Muslims against one another, because of the malicious destruction of churches in northern Nigeria and lack of respect for the secularity of the Nigerian state as enshrined in the constitution. This situation poses a great threat to the survival of religious harmony, because if pushed further beyond this level, reprisal attacks by Christians might follow against Muslims in other parts of the country. This possibility cannot be ruled out, but it is hoped that this will not happen. This underscores the need for a permanent solution to the crisis. However, attempts by the BH Islamic sect to coerce others by force into their narrow and fundamentalist, prejudiced ideology reveal much about how religious fanaticism could lead to self-imprisonment, violence and
destruction, which inhibit and impede socio-economic advancement and the prosperity of any society.

Since 2006 the intention to spread Sharia law throughout Nigeria has been met with opposition by government. BH considered the existing Western education system as ill-equipped for Muslim moral religious values and teachings, so it shut down schools and businesses in northern Nigeria near its headquarters in Maiduguri. BH propagates “true Islam” as a means of ending poverty and purging the state of corruption, which has torn the northern region apart as a result of a political system tarnished by greed (Ajayi 2013:134). The campaign of terror has left the north-east and the entire Nigerian state in fear of what to expect next, especially after the death of Muhammad Yusuf in 2009 when hundreds of his followers were executed by security forces, which act they vowed to avenge (Ewi 2011:26).

Nigeria is by far Africa’s most culturally and ethnically diverse nation, with an estimated 250 ethnic nationalities. Its most observable fault-line is the blatant religious divide between the Islamic north and Christian south. This is a less accurate simplification of an intricate dynamic. Initiated by complex factors, Nigeria’s security challenges continue to escalate. In the past eight years the BH insurgency has positioned the country on the global Jihadist map (Oguamanam 2016:1). A recent skirmish between the military and members of the Shiite Islamic sect points to an intensifying security crisis. The military is accused of extrajudicial slayings of Shiite belligerents. This incident puts Nigeria’s abysmal human rights record under stress. It also potentially places the country in the centre of competing Islamic powers outside its borders, such as Iran that was quick to express distress over the Shiite incident. Iran is a leading Shiite nation, with its eyes on the handling of a Shiite religious minority in a country like Nigeria with majority Sunni Muslim adherents.
3.3.3 IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

In 1999 the Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP), was the ruling party that elected Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian from western Nigeria, as president after 16 years of military rule. The PDP adopted an informal rotational nomination of presidential candidates in an attempt to satisfy ethno-religious balancing in the polity. When President Obasanjo’s administration ended in 2007, he transferred power to President Umar Musa Yar Adua, a northerner. On 5 May 2010 President Yar Adua’s died in office, necessitating the transfer of power to his vice-president, a southerner, Dr Goodluck Jonathan. However, Dr Jonathan’s ultimate nomination and election as president was seen by some northerners as not sustaining the rotational criteria and this is a likely reason for the present uneasiness in northern Nigeria. The many ethno-religious difficulties in Nigeria have potentially weakened the federal political system, which led to socio-economic issues in Nigeria (Ofoche 2012:5).

According to Ofoche (2012:5), the BH crisis has stunted the growth needed to accelerate democratic political development in Nigeria, as it is true that no meaningful development can thrive in a war-prone society characterised by incessant cases of kidnapping, bombing, suicide blasts and attacks, especially when these are directed at the innocent civilian population and security agents who are supposed to preserve and protect lives and property. It is also relevant that Nigeria as a country has existed for decades under military dictatorship and is now nursing a fragile democracy (Leonard 2014:61-64).

The problems of ethnic and religious extremism and attacks as perpetuated by the BH Muslim sect and others are man-made and conceivably preventable, since there is direct proof of poor leadership, corruption, lack of strong institutions, ignorance, illiteracy and poor infrastructure. It is a fact that nations whose political environments are characterised
by uncertainty and unpredictability, causing personal insecurity and anxiety, will ultimately experience economic deficits. This certainty has unfavourable consequences, cutting across the political and socio-economic spheres (Leonard 2014:61-64).

The primary threat and security challenges in the area emanate from unabated BH attacks on Nigerian citizens, individuals, public and governmental installations, kidnapping and destruction of property. All these effects of BH activities are serious crimes against humanity and the Nigerian state, which have threatened its national security and socio-economic activities. This has posed great challenges to the ground strategy for national security, of which the main goal is to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria to advance its interests and objectives, prevent instability, control crime levels, improve the quality of life of all citizens, as well as eliminate corruption (Damba-zau 2007:51).

Over the years Nigeria has experienced crises of varying dimensions, for instance the post-independence crisis ushering in the Nigerian civil war, the Niger Delta crisis and post-election violent clashes, ethnic, religious and sectarian riots that manifested in BH. These preventable crises have apparently led to many casualties and extensive damage to private and public property. Most of these crises escalated to disaster level because of government inability to adopt appropriate measures to mitigate and pacify the responsible groups (Isa 2010).

The internal displacement of people has become a significant concern in Nigeria. More than two million people have fled their homes because of the BH attacks in the north-east. Millions more have been displaced by other causes, including development projects. The problem of internal displacement is serious enough to require amendments to Nigeria’s constitution (Adeola 2016:1). The rising wave of displacements in the north-east has far-
reaching consequences for national political stability. Given that the constitution obliges the government to safeguard the welfare of all Nigerians, constitutional protection for displaced people becomes imperative (Adeola 2016:1).

In Nigeria power, authority and dominance reside with the FG as the highest law-making authority, and as a result of this, no other ethnic or interest group is greater in strength than the FG of Nigeria. The state apparatus has the legitimate instrument of force that can be deployed; despite the negatives or positives that follow, the procedural rules of engagement are determined by government. However, the deployment of the Nigerian armed security forces using the military approach to curb BH attacks is an option available to the President, subject to approval by Parliament, and it represents legitimate authority to protect the lives and properties of citizens. This option has always been readily presented through the JTF and comprises all security units and departments in the country. Overreliance on the military approach did not produce the required results expected; rather it helped to create fear among the local population. It became a fertile ground for harassment by the security forces against local residents and was a serious operational challenge on the part of the security forces, which also had their own lives to protect and those of their families they had left behind and who were vulnerable. Since it was difficult to differentiate between the insurgents and the local civilian population, some of the officers became victims to suicide blasts, while a large number of members of the innocent local civilian population were also killed in the cross-fire, as reported by Amnesty International (Barna, 2014:13). Attempts to balance the approach by the military have been inappropriate. The JTF, which was established and helped reduce the unrest in the Niger-Delta, was transferred to the newly establish command in the heartland of Maiduguri, the
BH base, owing to the gravity of the attacks (Barna 2014:14). Apart from the military option, intervention strategies, such as conciliation and arbitration or memoranda of understanding between opposing interest groups, could be combined with the military option.

To conclude, the threat to democratic consolidation is a threat to development, be it political, economic or social, since the secular corporate existence of Nigeria is threatened. The BH attacks are core national dilemmas that constitute a rare, very serious threat to key national interests, peace and security (Rasheed 2008:28). For instance, the threats by BH to detonate bombs and explosives in Abuja to disrupt the annual Nigerian 51st independence anniversary rally frightened many Nigerians and definitely many foreign dignitaries, who compelled the Nigerian state and ruling elite to cancel the annual ceremony in fear. Not only that event, but also the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) passing-out parade was called off, because of the perceived BH threats (Rasheed 2008:28). “The cancellation of the usual yearly parade and those of independence anniversary set the tone and left Nigerians wondering at the kind of psychological victory the Nigerian state has handed down to the militant Islamic sect” (Rasheed 2008:28). If not carefully handled and resolved, the impact of this intractable scenario before the Nigerian state could escalate into another civil or religious, fundamentalist war in Nigeria.

3.3.4 THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, LIVES AND DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE

The emergence of BH and its terrorist activities in Nigeria since 2009 have assumed frightening dimensions, as there has been vicious destruction of both private and public properties worth billions of Naira and countless innocent lives wasted in the carnage. These attacks are acknowledged in the documented literature and chronological table discussed earlier.
Attention to terrorism has increased sharply in recent years, but for decades now, terrorists have carried out attacks against non-combatant targets causing massive destruction to both private and public properties, with unquantifiable commercial value. This dominant era of insecurity to life and property cuts across many facets that include political, economic, religious and social aspects. The attacks of the BH sect have been damaging, both physically and psychologically, as their impact has both domestic and global implications (Ilufuye 2009:281-292).

As a result of the BH carnage across the religious divides in Nigeria and other targets, it has diminished FDI, as the location becomes progressively more unpredictable and volatile. Various governments issue travel warnings to their respective citizens through their state departments regarding their personal safety in Nigeria. All 12 states of north-eastern Nigeria have been declared unsafe for her citizens to travel to, owing to the unpredictability of the attacks. These risk scenarios and suspicions about personal safety concern not only Nigerians, but also others, particularly the expatriates who are working on key projects within a specific time frame (Ofoche 2012:5).

The internal displacement of the population affected particularly those in the north-east of Nigeria, including women and children, civil servants, traders and students. Many were kidnapped, such as the Chibok schoolgirls and other undocumented victims who remain traumatised, while their futures have been shattered by the inhumane attacks of the Islamic sect. The civilian population has nothing to do with whatever grievances the sect has against the state and its ruling elite. Many of these survivors, whose houses and means of existence were burnt or destroyed, had many families members killed. For instance, after the announcement of a state of emergency in the north-east of Nigeria, about 650 000 people
from Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States fled their respective states of origin to neighbouring states and countries, either as IDPs or as refugees, because of well-founded fears of being attacked by BH. Currently the government, with support from international communities and humanitarian organisations, is working continuously to rehabilitate and rebuild the recaptured territories ravaged by the BH carnage, as well as those rescued from the sect’s onslaughts. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) has built transit camps, which have been established in Mubi-Adamawa State and other areas in the south of the country for IDPs (The Nation, 2015).

Sabir (2007:43) states that “terrorism not only directly impacts on economic development and prosperity, but results in psycho-social repercussions which may seriously and heavily damage human personality and the society.” Consequently, because of the fear of terrorism, people struggle to perform their social and professional responsibilities. Thus, terrorism also affects the social progress and well-being of people (Spencer 1987:73).

To conclude, a combination of many factors has led to infringements of fundamental human rights. The BH attacks, as well as the Nigerian state security agents deployed to combat the BH attacks, have in no small measure infringed upon the rights of the population of the north-east. The rights of freedom of movement and the rights of freedom of association, as they relate to choices of being a Christian or a Muslim, and freedom of worship and shelter, are basic universal human rights provided for by the Nigerian constitution. The failure of the security agencies to provide security for people in Nigeria, particularly in the north-east, is a failure on the part of the Nigerian state and its ruling elite, which amounts to infringement on the rights and well-being of ordinary people who are most affected by this crisis.
3.3.5 SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA

Nigeria has vast strategic importance for Africa and for the world at large. It has a population of about 150 million and has abundant mineral resources. It is the fourteenth largest oil-exporting country in the world, but despite these huge resources, Nigeria is still regarded as a poor country with a GDP of about $374.3 billion (Ofoche 2012:11). Nigeria is plagued with socio-economic issues causing poverty and conflict. The development of the country is still fraught with weak cultures and institutions and fragile political structures. It is a country with about 250 ethnic groups sharing different cultural values. Society is heterogeneous and there is no common language apart from English, which is the official language. Northern Nigeria is inhabited by the Hausa-Fulani, who are primarily Muslims, but Hausa is a second language, as many of the groups also use their indigenous languages. The same relates to the west and east of Nigeria, where the Yoruba and Ibo languages are mostly spoken. Varieties of cultures should be a basis of strength owing to the variety of skills, abilities, knowledge and large human capacity they provide. However, it can be a source of tribal and social conflict if not well managed by government. Since independence, in 1960, the political elites in Nigeria have not managed this social complexity well. Religious and tribal sentiments were manipulated to win elections, which has caused nepotism and a huge rift in the social fabric of the nation. The political elite has been insensitive and gained quick personal advantages, to the disadvantage of the greater society. This behaviour challenges public trust, confidence and government authority, which are indispensable for nation building (Ofoche 2012:11).

Before the reinstatement of democracy in 1999, the country was mainly ruled by people from the north in both the civil and military regimes. Recent elections have observed
changes in this trend, with the election of two presidents from southern Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo and Goodluck Jonathan, in 1999 and 2011 respectively. Northern political domination seems to be fading, which has led to several religious clashes in areas where the northern and southern regions meet, such as Jos in Plateau State (Ofoche 2012:12). Recent bombings and attacks by the BH radical Islamic group in Maiduguri, Jos and Abuja signify disenfranchisement, marginalisation and opposition to political transformation. The rise of BH may suggest the advancement of long-festering extremist instincts that run deep in certain states in northern Nigeria. This may have arisen from decades of failed government projects and elite delinquency, resulting in social chaos.

BH alleges that Western values are the corrupting influence in Nigeria’s governance and claims to fight injustice and poverty, which appeals to uneducated Muslim populations in the north. The BH sect is also disillusioned with the way Sharia law, which was partially introduced in 1999 by some northern governors, has been implemented as double standard (Ofoche 2012:12). The law seems not to be applicable to the elites who have the power and authority, but only to be meant for the marginalised masses, constituting about 70% of the population, who live on less than $1.25 a day. They allege that corruption is persistent in Nigeria and has turned public service into a criminal enterprise by corrupt political office-holders, having denied the marginalised basic health and education services. In pursuit of their grievances, BH has inappropriately adopted a radical, fundamental religious stand with terrorist linkages. Tribalism is another social disorder in Nigeria, impeding economic growth by destroying meritocracy and failing to reward positive achievements (Ofoche 2012:12).

From these viewpoints Nigeria’s socio-economic outlook, its meaning, concepts and content relate to terrorism. The economy represents the entire network of producers, distributors,
consumers of goods and services in a state or country. However, the Nigerian economy has been dislocated and destroyed over the years, particularly since the emergence of the BH menace, especially in the north-east. According to the Borno State commissioner for information, Mr Inuwa Bwala, it will take the Borno State more than 20 years to recover from the current predicament. According to Bwala: “It is only natural that when you have such a situation as we have now, it will hurt and affect the economic fortunes especially where the people go out to conduct their business under the atmosphere of fear. So there is no doubt that the crisis has taken its toll on the economy as it will take us a very long time not less than 20 years to recover and get to the position we were before the BH crisis started” (This Day Newspaper 2012:3), implying a catastrophic blow to societal institutions.

According to Oluwaseun (2012:10), from the Department of Liberal Art and Social Sciences, Faith Academy Cannanland in Ota Ogun State, Nigeria, the Nigerian economy is critically dependent on FDI in natural resource exploration, particularly in the areas of renewable energy, as required for agriculture. FDI funding has contributed significantly to the GDP in many states of the northern region of Nigeria, assisting in sustaining rural livelihoods by providing a range of productive services, such as the Maiduguri Monday market. It is the biggest market in the city and is reported to have been seriously affected, as hundreds of shop owners, especially those from the south, south-east, south-west and other countries from the Lake Chad Basin have closed their shops and businesses and have all relocated to their respective places of origin. More than 12 000 shops and stalls in the market have been abandoned by traders who have fled the BH crisis. Consequently, the executive director of administration, Kaduna State Ministry of Agriculture and Environmental Resources, Shedrack Madlion (2012:5), warned that the security situation in the north has deteriorated
from bad to worse and called on the authorities to rectify the problem. According to his assertion, business operations in north-eastern Nigeria have now dropped to almost zero per cent, since no one will invest where there is insecurity. All sectors have been grounded in the northern states and the social life had been destroyed (Madlion 2012:5). It would be welcomed if the economy could be revived as a healthy social institution, shaping the wealth and resources of Nigeria in terms of the necessary consumption of goods, relevant services and well-being of its population. To restore institutions to stable and workable resources, conflict interventions are necessary.

3.3.6 CONFLICT INTERVENTION STRATEGIES AND RESOLUTIONS

There are no simple solutions to the BH attacks and insurgency crisis. A concerted effort to combine hard lethal military power with an intervention strategy of dialogue within the essentials of national power and authority is needed. This would be a faster way to defeat BH and change the north-east, and also Nigeria, to peace and development. Conflict resolution is intended to resolve the sources of conflict, which are power elites, weak governance and institutions causing marginalised, indoctrinated, angry populations. The need for violence must be eliminated for balance to be restored. It is a process of conscious settlement of the issues between opposing interest groups in Nigeria.

In contemplating solutions to the terrorist crisis in the north-east of Nigeria, Hayes (2003) classified terrorists into two categories, namely absolute and traditional terrorists. However, in this research study, terrorists are classified into state and individual terrorists; terrorists are actually seen as absolute or individual terrorists and traditional or state terrorists. Therefore both terms will be applied here. Absolute, individual terrorists are not always willing to enter into political discourse or negotiations. Their demands are
immediate, universal and unconditional and this category always uses suicide attacks to
draw attention to issues that concern them. However, the traditional or state terrorist
focuses on ideology-specific issues, which are ethnic, religious or race-related in a particular
location (Hayes 2003). Thus, there are general approaches or principles to consider when
establishing dialogue or dealing with terrorists. Effective intervention strategies can be both
violent and non-violent. For absolute, individual terrorists, where the leaders are hidden,
unknown and their objectives are always unclear and asymmetric methods are used, direct
dialogue negotiations are mostly delayed, as in the case of BH.

According to Ruby (2002), authoritative application of force is a less useful option in
intervention strategies. Force is only relevant in instances when it is proposed to provide a
peaceful atmosphere needed for conflict resolution and talks to reach the intended result.
The first instance that may require application of force is the initial stages of peacekeeping,
where armed forces are deployed to create a stabilising environment to initiate the rest of
the conflict resolution processes. Outside these scenarios, force is mostly counter-
productive as an instrument against terror groups (Ruby 2002). Most appropriate strategies
for responding to terrorism are non-violent, as discussed below.

Best (2007:105) defines mediation as an informal and non-binding process undertaken by
an external, or third party that endorses the settlement of different parties to a dispute.
Mediation is usually supposed to be a voluntary process to assist the parties in a dispute by
creating a supporting environment between them for dialogue to come about. Despite the
advantages of the strategy, some view it from the position of weakness, particularly on the
part of the ruling elite, even though it has power and authority and the backing of state
instruments. Weiss (2003) suggests that negotiation options with terrorists are often
viewed as a weak, compromised position, but insists that negotiations with terrorists must be conducted properly. The fact that absolute, individual terrorists always refuse to be known and instead remain faceless must be taken into account. However, Best (2007) warns that there is a risk for negotiations from a third party perspective to inadvertently justify terrorists’ actions and provide false legitimacy. It is agreed that negotiations and mediation with terrorist groups could be ineffective, as different terrorist organisations exist and operate both domestically and internationally and similar negotiations do not apply in all instances. There are often technical and practical problems related to negotiations with terrorists to identify leadership in order to transmit messages to them. It can be challenging to locate terrorist organisations physically to broker peace deals successfully.

**Adjudication** is the use of normal universal conventional court systems as a litigation proceeding to address abnormal perceived injustices (Obiajulu 2011). Aggrieved parties to the dispute are represented by counsels, who address the courts to the parties in dispute. Evidence is gathered to determine the issues. Court rulings are binding on all parties.

**Conflict suppression** is the most frequently applied strategy in Nigeria to quell and cover up social injustices and discrepancy between the ruled and the governed, those with power and authority and those without. This is done through the deployment of state security JTF operations (army, air force, navy, police, civil defence corps, vigilante groups, thugs and task forces) to displace rivals differing from or exposing the systemic declines. It enables the state to ignore core opposing issues, causing conflicts. Often unsustainable solutions, not shared by others, are super-imposed. These are fundamental core causes of most crises across societies, including Nigeria. This conflict resolution strategy can be seen concurrently as negative and positive, depending on its application and the society in question. Since it is
indicative of unequal social relationships between interest groups, it always leads to escalation due to its spill-over effects on retaliations and counter-attacks (Best 2007).

**Realism** is the use of force to resolve conflicts. It entails both violent and non-violent strategies for conflict resolution. It was used by the regime of President Obasanjo to resolve the BH crisis, when it was termed the “carrot and stick” approach. The strategy failed to achieve the needed objectives, as Obiajulu (2011) referred to as a win-or-lose situation.

**Conflict management** is a recommended proactive measure aimed at preventing conflict before it escalates, because it does not allow conflicts to progress to the level of loss of lives and properties (Obiajulu 2011). It focuses on society, ensuring that it will use available resources at its disposal for the common good of all. This mechanism confirms management strategies and includes conflict limitations, conflict containment and conflict litigation.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter used documentary sources to review the historical background of the BH terrorist group in north-eastern Nigeria, its insurgency and the emergence of the fundamentalist Muslim sect. The background to terrorism was reviewed and BH attacks were summarised to indicate the profound challenges these attacks entailed. The impact on Nigerian societal institutions, the consequent destruction of property, displacement of the lives of people who had to flee to refugee camps in the south of Nigeria and possible conflict interventions strategies were also reviewed.

The next chapter will deal with the empirical research of the study, detailing the research design and qualitative methodology used to gather and analyse data.
CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides insight into the research design of the study, the target population, sampling selection and research methods employed in data collection for this empirical research study. Qualitative, semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and FGDs will be employed to gather data. The research techniques are based on the conflict theoretical perspective in order to find answers to the research questions stemming from the research problem of the study.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The research design was qualitative in nature and data was gathered by using primary, secondary and documentary sources. The study employs a combination of different, but related, qualitative research techniques. Semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and FGDs were used, since these have different complementary strengths and are more comprehensive when used together. Questions were asked from different respondents, who had the opportunity to give their different viewpoints. The findings will give meaning to social events, such as the impact of violence in BH terrorist attacks on
societal institutions and the consequent well-being of people in north-eastern Nigeria. The displaced, helpless population is now living in IDP camp in safer regions or states in the south, outside the core conflict zone in the north-east.

The primary data was gathered by using FGDs and in-depth semi-structured interviews with IDPs. Qualitative methods were chosen, as they provide insight into respondents’ personal experiences and lives, underscoring or explaining the meanings people have constructed about socio-economic issues and their well-being in Nigeria (Merriam 2002:5). Qualitative data collected gives a rich description of unusual, unexpected events, people’s interactions and observed behaviour, direct quotations about the experiences, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts of IDPs in refugee camps. These experiences were qualitatively analysed, by using thematic analysis through selecting categories of events or relevant issues according to the questionnaire.

4.3 METHODOLOGY

The study adopts an exploratory, qualitative approach to gather data from refugees in IDP camps in the south of Nigeria. The reason for choosing qualitative methodology is that the focus of qualitative research is mostly on human experiences and people in natural settings and the production of descriptive and explanatory data, not on neutral numbering and statistics, such as in quantitative research. Data is described and explained by substantiating it through verbal responses and anecdotes of personal lives and experiences of refugees. Therefore data is rich in context to make sense of behaviour in the wider context over a period of time, since it is meant to provide data about real lives of refugees fleeing their homes, as a result of Boko Haram attacks, losing their socio-economic livelihood in north-eastern Nigeria.
Qualitative research values data as intrinsically meaningful and organised around building theories, as this is an inductive research strategy where theory is built during data gathering, thus grounded theory, which is built from the data (Neuman 1997:328; 334). Data is in the form of words, sentences and observations gathered during the in-depth interviews and FGDs. Qualitative data contains rich description, detail and unusual events instead of formal, neutral numbers or statistics as in quantitative research, where theory is tested, based on numbering and statistics.

Respondents in refugee camps in the south of Nigeria described their experiences in concrete social settings by telling the researcher during interviews and FGDs why they fled from the north-east of Nigeria and what their situations and viewpoints were. Qualitative data is concerned with accounts of respondents’ social worlds where behaviour is examined in the form of words, sentences, paragraphs and observations which are communicated. Empirical evidence is obtained to understand and explain the social lives of specific people. Qualitative research is especially appropriate for the study of topics where attitudes can be understood in natural settings and processes that cannot be predicted in advance (Babbie 1994:280). However, qualitative research data cannot be generalised and consensus on data gathered is sometimes difficult to reach, but the data was evaluated by the researcher on its trustworthiness, credibility and dependability (Babbie 2013:409).

Although qualitative data gathering is mainly used in this study, which is organised around theorising, collecting and analysing data, it is the contention of this researcher that it is pertinent to clarify the different underlying variables (quantitative technique) causing and affecting the events in the study when gathering data. Three variables guide and explain the research process to find solutions to the research problem. For example, socio-economic,
political and religious factors are initial causes of poor governance, or independent variables, why BH emerged and launched attacks on government institutions, while BH is the dependent variable. Yet, BH is also the cause or independent variable affecting socio-economic livelihoods and hardships in IDP refugee camps, through its vicious attacks on institutions and schools in north-eastern Nigeria. These impacts are regarded as the dependent variables. Thus, a third type of variable, the intervening variable, appears in this Nigerian case as more complex causal relationships and it comes between the independent and dependent variable (cause and effect), indicating the link between them. For example, socio-economic/political factors (independent variable) cause the emergence of BH (intervening variable), while BH (now the independent variable) again causes IDP and socio-economic hardships (dependent variable) (Neuman 1997:108). Thus, there are two independent variables on which the explanation will be based simultaneously (Babbie 2013:434).

This means that the intervening variable, BH, acts as a dependent variable firstly, and then secondly, as an independent variable towards the dependent variable. According to (Neuman 1997:108) “a multiple cause explanation usually specifies the independent variable that has the greatest causal effect”, which in this case is BH.

4.4 POPULATION AND SELECTION OF STUDY AREA

The respondents are purposefully selected, using a snowball sampling method, where available, willing respondents gave the names of other willing respondents to participate in FGDs and in-depth interviews to gather data to find solutions to the research problem. A sample of two groups of people, who are the units of analysis of this study, consists of 22 respondents (16 males and six females), or IDPs from the refugee camps, namely one group
consisting of five pastors and five imams and a second group consisting of seven business people and five local community members, acting as key informants, participated in the research. In-depth interviews were conducted with these 22 respondents in camp shelters set up by NEMA in the south of Nigeria, out of the danger zone. Respondents were guaranteed total anonymity during and after this study, as names would not be disclosed.

Selection of study areas for this work was not an easy task, as personal safety came first. The target area or region for this study is the north-east of Nigeria, the area worst hit by numerous BH attacks since the crisis started. These attacks have significantly affected the socio-economic livelihood of the residents. However, this study confined itself to IDP camps in the south of Nigeria that accommodated people who were worst hit and displaced by BH attacks.

The researcher was given permission by the Nigerian local government authorities to interview people in two IDP camps, one in Abuja, namely Lugbe IDP camp in Area 1, New Kuchingoro Abuja-Nigeria, and the second one in Lagos IDP camp in the Ibeju Lekki area of Lagos State, Nigeria. This camp catered for migrant returnees and IDPs from various states of the north-east who had fled the BH attacks. In Lagos were actually two camps, one specifically for Muslims and the second one for all other refugees. The predominantly Muslim camp used to be in the same location on the Lekki Epe route, but because of security concerns expressed by the public over the continuous increase in the refugee population in the heart of Lagos commercial district within the Ajah-Epe commercial axis, was closed down by the government. IDPs were asked to relocate to the IBEJU Lekki IDPs camp, where the researcher conducted his interviews. Because of transport limitations,
accommodation and other logistics the researcher could not meet the financial costs and decided to conduct the research study at the IBEJU Lekki IDP camp.

This IDP camp in IBEJU Lekki was most suitable for the study, because the population was huge, with people of many ethnic origins found in the same camp. It housed both faiths (Christians and Muslims), was family-oriented and catered for displaced people from the BH attacks in the north-east, unlike the Lugbe camp in Abuja, which housed predominantly women and children. Logistical reasons combined with financial limitations at the time made the Lagos IDPs camp the preferred study location.

For the business people and community members interviewed, it was easier at the Lagos camp, because their relocation was firstly for safety and to restart their lives, because Lagos was the commercial hub of Nigeria with commercial potential. It was most suitable for individuals who wished to survive, given the commercial value of Lagos. The IDPs camp provided a mixed balance of the population composition needed for the study, regarding age, religion and numbers. The researcher was informed by the camp commander that the camp had been established to house a few thousand refugees, but became an overcrowded camp numbering more than a million displaced people.

For the purpose of this study the proposed sample population was those displaced in the north-east by the BH attacks, who were now living in the south of Nigeria, located safely outside the conflict zone. Millions of residents of north-east Nigeria witnessed and experienced the crisis and attacks of BH and were personally affected and uprooted from their communities. Their economic security was terminated by their relocation, while living in IDPs camps down in the south-east, south and south-west of Nigeria was extremely difficult, but they were safe, as the government was in control of the camps.
Twenty-two respondents, who were sampled through the snowball sampling technique of willing and available participants, narrated their experiences of social, economic, political and religious disruption and hardships to explain and understand their respective personal experiences during BH attacks. In most of the attacks the terrorists used grenades, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), suicide bombs and kidnappings to kill and maim the innocent civilian population, as well as destroy their properties. Apparently the exact numbers of those killed are underreported.

Qualitative analyses were chosen and employed to understand respondent’s verbal narratives, describing and explaining how events structured their lives over this time (Neuman 1997:399) during the period of BH active attacks. Valuable, rich informative data was gathered in this way.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND PROCEDURES

As already implied, questionnaires, FGDs and in-depth interviews were the main data collection techniques. Qualitative interviews are interactions between the researcher and the respondent, based on the specific questions of the interview guide in which the researcher steers the general direction for the conversation and pursues specific issues raised by the respondent (Babbie 2013: 346). A snowball sampling technique was employed to gain access to willing and available respondents living in the refugee camps. Twenty-two respondents were willing to participate. Two relevant groups of 22 respondents consisted of a group of 10 respondents with five pastors and five imams, while the second group of 12 respondents consisted of five business people and five community members. Questionnaires were compiled to guide the FGDs and key informant interviews. One questionnaire was used for both the pastors and the imams, while another one was used for
business people and local community members. The FGDs with these two groups were conducted to gain insight into the range of different views the two groups held about the economic and social impacts of terrorism among Nigerians, particularly those uprooted and traumatised by the crisis in the north-east. The FGDs also allowed for the same questions to be asked of several individuals, thus allowing all respondents to participate and give different viewpoints, which were later analysed qualitatively according to specific categories or themes. Traumatised respondents were addressed with care and sympathy for what they had lost (family and homes), as well as enduring economic hardships.

A thematic data analyses was done to categorise and analyse a pattern of themes across the full data set to establish relationships between three variables, namely the independent variable, the intervening variable and the dependent variable.

4.6 DATA ANALYSES OF QUESTIONNAIRES

Once the research study was concluded, the data (responses or answers) in note form was transcribed and grouped into two different interviews based on the FGDs and in-depth interviews. The collated data was revised to ensure all responses were adequately captured. Coding data or creating thematic categories used in qualitative analyses followed, through which emerging themes were analysed, which enabled the researcher to study themes in participants’ responses to questions based on the three research questions of the study. Qualitative techniques provided rich data about the real-life situations of refugees.

The findings and solutions relevant to the research problem, answering of the research questions and attaining the objectives are then discussed. Relevant policy implications for
future research are suggested. The validity and reliability of the research techniques prove their effectiveness when data analysis is done.

4.7  VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Validity is the degree to which an instrument or research tool measures what it is supposed to measure, ensuring soundness and effectiveness of research techniques to give meaning to social events such as the attacks of the Islamic terrorist group BH disrupting socio-economic well-being and livelihoods in northern Nigeria, causing people to flee their homes into refugee camps. These events can be rechecked from the data gathered when data analysis is done to enable credibility (Neuman 1997:138).

Reliability is enhanced by consistency of measurement to ensure the dependability of both the process and the product of the research by using similar techniques (interviews) to yield similar data at different times independently (Babbie 2013:408).

4.8  CONCLUSION

The chapter explained the qualitative methodology of the study and why these interrelated techniques were chosen to gather data. The population and area selection, data collection by snowball sampling of available respondents in refugee camps and the analyses were discussed, together with the reliability and validity of the research techniques. It was outlined how the data that was collected was to be qualitatively categorised into relevant thematic aspects for analysis in chapter 5.
5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the data analyses and empirical findings of the research study, which sought to achieve the objective to assess the social, economic, political and religious impacts of terrorism affecting the well-being of the Nigerian population, both in the north-east and in IDP camps in the south of Nigeria. Since it is imperative that all empirical research studies are based on a relevant theoretical framework, it was necessary to analyse the findings according to a broad, overarching conflict perspective, which included Dahrendorf’s theory of stratification and the religious fundamentalist theory, relating to power, authority and domination of interest groups. The relationship between theoretical perspectives and the empirical study became clear when data gathered was analysed to substantiate the research theory. Understanding of theoretical concepts and data-gathering techniques assisted in answering the three research questions of the study. The key findings will be discussed under three major sections according to the questions.

1. **Section 1** will answer the first research question:

   Does the BH terrorist group pose a threat to the socio-economic well-being of people in north-eastern Nigeria?
2. **Section 2** will answer the second research question:

*How have Boko Haram terrorist attacks impacted on the livelihood of the population?*

3. **Section 3** will answer the third research question:

*What is a viable solution or intervention strategy to deal with the impact of and fight against terrorism in Nigeria in particular?*

These research questions served as guidelines in the search for answers to the problem statement on the impact of BH on the socio-economic well-being of people in north-eastern Nigerian society, with specific reference to the displacement of citizens, tourism, trade and investment.

### 5.2 DATA ANALYSIS

The study employed a combination of different, related qualitative research techniques, such as questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, to gather data by asking questions from 22 different respondents, who had the opportunity to give their diverse viewpoints as they had different backgrounds and livelihoods before fleeing to the IDP camps. The analyses, according to thematic categories, will cover an appropriate range of data to render the researcher’s conclusions logically consistent with the data presented (Babbie 2013:504).

#### 5.2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF RESPONDENTS

There were two groups, as the units of analyses, with a total of 22 respondents (16 males and six females), or IDPs from the refugee camps, namely one (religious) group consisting of five pastors and five imams and a second (business) group consisting of seven business
people and five local community members from the north-east of Nigeria. Two different questionnaires were used for business and religious people, with different livelihoods and experiences to assist in conducting FGDs and key informant interviews. These respondents were safely sheltered in a refugee camp outside Lagos, in southern Nigeria, set up by NEMA.

The questionnaires were handed to the respondents and FGDs were conducted with these two groups, encompassing 12 and 10 respondents respectively, to gain insight into the range of views they held about the economic and social impact of terrorism among Nigerians, particularly those uprooted by the crisis in the north-east, allowing all respondents to participate and give different viewpoints, which were analysed qualitatively according to thematic categories to find answers to the research questions.

A. Biographical data of business people

In this biographical category of business and farming/trading, the seven respondents interviewed were aged between 40 and 60 years. More than 50% of the respondents had known no other place as home and had lived there for more than 10 years, within which period the region had witnessed some of the worst terrorist attacks. The figures below explicate the main demographics, showing a total of seven respondents, among whom were five males and two females. Although it was initially anticipated to have only five respondents in this group, because of uncertainty about the cooperation of the respondents, seven (7) respondents participated voluntarily.

Of the seven respondents, four were married, one was cohabiting and two were widowed. Among them were two Christian males, one Christian female, two Muslim males, one Muslim female and one male atheist. Their qualification status and duration of stay in IDP
camps showed four West African Senior School Certificate holders (WASSC), two bachelor’s degree holders and one National Certificate of Education (NCE) holder. They had lived in the IDPs camp for between one month and three years. All the respondents were Nigerian citizens, who had lived in their ancestral homes from birth. The next table explains their biographical data.

**Table 2: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF BUSINESS PEOPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>STAY IN CAMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Cohabiting</td>
<td>B Degree</td>
<td>1 Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>M, M</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>WASSC</td>
<td>1 Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>B.S.C.</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer/Trader</td>
<td>F, C</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>NCE</td>
<td>8 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer/Trader</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>WASSC</td>
<td>3 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer/Business</td>
<td>M, M</td>
<td>M, C</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>WASSC</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Biographical data of local community members**

Seventeen questionnaires were handed out to various respondents, but only **five (5)** of these were returned. Among those were three female respondents and two males. As shown in respect of occupation, there were two retirees, two students and one farmer, who fell within the age bracket of 18 to 65 years. The respondents were three Christians and two Muslims, of whom two were married, two were single and one was widowed. The duration of their stay in the camp ranged from one week to 12 months. The following table explains the five local community members’ biographical data. They were inhabitants from the north-east of Nigeria by nationality.
Table 3: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>DURATION IN CAMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rtd Teacher</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>B degree</td>
<td>11 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>WASSC</td>
<td>7 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Primary school certificate</td>
<td>2 Months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>1 Week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rtd Police Officer</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Nigerian</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Advance level (A/L)</td>
<td>12 Months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Biographical data of religious leaders

Twenty-two questionnaires were handed out to this group of respondents at the IDP camp. Of these, thirteen questionnaires were returned, but three of those returned were considered inconclusive. Therefore only ten (10) questionnaires were suitable for use, based on the information the study was seeking. The ten respondents represented nine males and one female. Distribution by religion was five Muslims and five Christians. Among them were five respondents who were imams, three pastors, one retired civil servant who was also a Christian, and one female evangelist. Their ages ranged from 22 to 67 years. The study also revealed that nine male respondents were married, while the only female respondent, aged 22, was an undergraduate single respondent. The study revealed that all the respondents hailed from the north-east of Nigeria by nationality and had lived in IDP camps for periods from one week to three years, after they had fled from BH insurgency/attacks in their home towns. The following table reflects religious leaders’ information.
### Table 4: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>NATION-ALITY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>STAY IN CAMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rtd Soldier /Imam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Standard 6</td>
<td>7 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rtd C/Servant</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Imam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>NCE</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rtd Asp/Pastor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>4 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>1 week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Imam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelist</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>1 week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>HND</td>
<td>5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>NGR</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>BSc</td>
<td>3 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3 DATA ANALYSES BASED ON THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The two questionnaires for the two groups of respondents constituted relevant questions based on the guiding research questions. The responses were divided into appropriate thematic categories for qualitative analysis, according to the three research questions to be answered by all 22 respondents. These answers emanated from the FGDs and interviews held with all key informants and were qualitatively analysed to explain social, economic, religious and political impacts of BH attacks in Nigeria by quoting individual responses to substantiate arguments put forward. The voices of IDPs were heard as they told of their experiences and hardship in the north-east, compelling them to flee to IDPs camps in the south.
5.3.1 SECTION 1 WILL ANSWER THE FIRST RESEARCH QUESTION

Does the BH terrorist crisis pose a threat to the socio-economic well-being of the population in north-eastern Nigeria?

In answering the first research question the relevant answers, gathered from the interviews and FGDs, were classified into themes and were used to analyse why people had moved away from north-east Nigeria. These themes were: **witnessing BH attacks and the causes thereof, how these attacks had affected their social and economic livelihoods, how terrorist activities had affected their businesses, incomes and employment levels.**

The question on the impact of BH terror attacks on business and trade activities among residents of north-east Nigeria drew unanimous agreement among respondents who concurred that the activities of the terrorist group, BH, had had a negative impact on the entire north-eastern regional economic and social outlook. This region was once, arguably, the food basket and economic trade hub of western and central Africa. The respondents stated that the terrorist activities of BH affected the business environment negatively, with psychological and physiological consequences for people and the environment as properties were destroyed and people lived in fear of being attacked. Even prior to the crisis, there were fears that led to a decline in business, then the actual attacks came that led to loss of lives and total carnage, as well as the destruction of property that led to total collapse and relocation of people and businesses, especially corporate entities. In confirmation of literature in this study, a woman in her early 50s reported during one of the FGDs in the IDP camp:

“Before the crisis I owned a big shop where I used to sell both men and women’s clothes, and I made huge sales, mostly at weekends and towards month ends when
salaries are paid from which I also paid my staff, paid my children’s school fees. I am a widow with six children to feed and look after, how did I manage this, my shop and late husband compounded, but properties were all maliciously destroyed and burnt down. Now I am living in this camp, with no future for me and my children ... we can’t go back because we fear for our lives; while fleeing I saw many dead bodies of both women, men, children littered everywhere in the bushes, some with both hands tied together, others without limbs. It is so hard to understand, it’s like a dream or a movie! Because many people I knew had been killed during this mindless Boko Haram attacks”.

It was found from the interviews that the terrorist group, BH, had a lot of power and authority wielded through indoctrination, domination and violence against the government and local populations. It had control and domination over vast percentages of landmass in the north-eastern region that comprised about nine states out of 36 states or provinces in Nigeria. At the time of concluding this research, the tables had turned against BH, as its active operational capabilities had been limited, contained and confined to Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, and to the Sambisa forest, where BH had its operational and leadership base where it took the abducted Chibok schoolgirls.

During the interviews a businessman reported:

“Surviving and doing business in the north-east is a challenge that very few business owners could meet ... before the BH crisis and attacks started I had five branches across the north-east, but today, to remain in business I had to close down three of my branches due to the increased cost in doing business. Because I had to factor a lot of attributes into considerations such as customers’ safety while in my premises ... I was forced to upgrade, installed CCTV cameras, scanners and hired trained security guards from a registered and licence security company at my two remaining shops just to assure my customers/clients of their personal safety, and to be frank the upgrade and equipment were quite expensive, and I struggled to pay my bills, because we were not making sales and profits, because the customers were not there, probably people were still afraid for their personal safety ... just unimaginable ...”
Thus, all was not lost in terms of employment, as a result of the attacks and subsequent return of relative peace to other areas in the north-east. The attacks led to big businesses, e.g. banks, hiring more trained security guards, military and police personnel to upgrade security with improved modern equipment at their respective premises. Respondents concurred that the BH attacks had forced big businesses and owners to invest in the procurement of extra security upgrades such as CCTV cameras, body scanners and bomb detectors. As a result of this extra cost on security upgrades, the actual operational cost for doing business in the north-east and country wide had increased, leading to a hike in basic prices of goods and services to compensate for security upgrades in an attempt to recoup losses and improve their profit margins.

It was reported that the BH crisis and attacks on local populations, especially farmers, by kidnapping and taking them hostage and forcing them to fight, had the worst devastating impact, especially among farming communities. Most of those who refused to fight were summarily executed. These communities represented the food basket of the region, which was an immediate push and pull factor in local communities that represented the food-producing chain from their farmlands, thus raising fear of a possible food crisis, which would be more disastrous than the BH crisis itself. This had already caused an upset in the prices of basic food commodities, e.g. rice, beans, yam, millet, maize and tomatoes. The situation could cause food shortages in countries such as the Republic of Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic, because these countries still depend on Nigeria for food imports, which have deteriorated as a result of the attacks in the north-east of Nigeria. The BH attacks also affected and caused inflation in such areas, e.g. transport cost for goods and services.
During the FGDs, in-depth exchanges with some of the business representatives were conducted and one of them said:

”The crisis situation is gradually improving day after day as more residents accept to return as the security situation improves normal lives will restart thereby making ends meet, I see hope with the improved strength in the deployment of our security forces and assets at strategic locations, it will build confidence in the minds of business people and the local residents to finally accept the call to return back to their ravaged communities to pick up the pieces especially those who chose to close their shops for fear of being attacked”.

The actual reasons for fleeing their homes in the north-east were noted as fear of surprise attacks by BH, and the decision by the suppliers to pull out of business for fear of losing their lives and businesses in the process. This fact related to the indoctrination, domination and manipulation BH exercised on communities. The study also revealed that as peace gradually returned to these restless areas, few entrepreneurs were willing to set up new businesses, fearing more attacks in future that could result in further losses without compensation from the government, owing to the recession because of the drop in the international oil market price index. A review of some of the responses during the FGDs corresponded and agreed with similar studies carried out by Sabir (2007), Gaibulloev and Sandler (2010) and Klein (2007), which offered a unified submission that terrorism was a push factor that encouraged economic uncertainty. This attested to the fact that BH dominated and manipulated all sectors of society by violence. It triggered an increase in the cost of doing business, due to the associated risk in the business environment that limited and inhibited investment in key areas that generated income and employment, whether in tourism or FDI. The attacks caused businesses to divert to other safer locations across the
country, but at great cost to create employment to increase the levels of income among households. This confirmed that the well-being of people was affected (Question 1).

5.3.2 SECTION 2 WILL ANSWER THE SECOND RESEARCH QUESTION

3. How have Boko Haram terrorist attacks impacted on the livelihood of the population?

In answering the second research question the relevant answers, gathered from the interviews and FGDs, were classified into themes used to analyse how BH had impacted on the livelihood and well-being of the population. These themes included why respondents were living in refugee camps and how the terrorist attacks affected their well-being and social lives, and also their interactions with people at meetings and shopping malls, cultural and religious functions.

This empirical research study found that the local population, specifically business people, had fled to safer environments and refugee camps (IDPs) across the countryside to the south to protect their lives and investments for fear of being targets of BH attacks, or being caught up in the cross-fire. However, the study found that not all residents in the north-east were affected as a result of the conflict. It must be kept in mind that the region in question consists of nine states with an estimated population of 48 million. Among these states, one of the worst hit was Borno State, where the epicentre of BH was.

Meetings of individuals at public arenas and attendance of religious functions, as well as citizens relocating to other regions, were described as stressful and difficult, because of well-founded fears of being attacked in north-east Nigeria by BH militants. Because of the speed with which BH terrorist activities had affected local communities, populations and
regional social interactions, respondents pointed out that they were put under pressure and manipulated by BH attacks to adjust their lifestyles as residents and kept indoors for fear of the unknown. These notions of domination and manipulation of the population and the intensity and violence, as well as the radical nature and suddenness of the attacks, corresponded with Dahrendorf’s viewpoint of power struggles among interest groups, namely between the population and BH. Viewing of European championships and premierships at local clubs stopped, as did drinking beer and enjoying the local meat, known as soya, because of fear of being targeted in the pub by BH. This fear of being attacked was acknowledged by respondents each time they were in the public arena, such as places of worship, schools, shopping malls and public parks, because these locations are always sub-targets for terrorists to score cheap goals, as dozens had lost their lives in the past in such venues. To quote from a male respondent in one of the FGDs:

”In the good old days before the advent of the bad guys BH, who decided to ruin our lives and happy time, I frequent local pubs for soya, combined with a bottle of beer to watch or view my favourite football clubs play; but these days I prefer to stay away since my cousin was killed in similar circumstances, because it is difficult to know which joint will be the next target by BH. So far (fear of attacks) have kept people indoors”.

These responses as stated above concurred with some earlier studies, such as Sabir’s (2007) analysis of findings about fear of terrorist attacks. In this case, the BH terrorist attacks had indeed changed people’s normal social and legitimate responsibilities, such that residents performed their duties in a state of fear, which in part influenced their social progress and well-being. This had also reflected negatively on the income level of residents in relation to their business operations.
In the course of the FGDs it was discovered that respondents claimed that:

“the waves of the BH Islamic terrorism had deprived us of our social life entertaining, refreshment and outdoor activities, and people are even afraid of visiting or socialising in parks”.

Consequently, the sudden and violent attacks had a serious impact on their social well-being and the income-generating problem of local authorities that would have earned much more if tourism as a sector had been spared by terrorism. It also affected and reduced the earning capacity of the local population who derived their livelihood from social engagements.

Resulting from the responses to the research question in the FGD on how terrorism had affected local residents’ attendance of religious functions, the research findings revealed that the attacks had not hindered or stopped residents from performing their religious functions, since such responsibilities were considered to be sacred and could be performed without residents attending normal functions. Normal religious gatherings that were considered rituals declined, but weeks after each attack, the core of faithful members gathered to take stock and carried on. During one of the FGDs one of the Christian evangelists said:

“I know I am a servant of God, but I also possess that human component in me ... that is why when this mindless attacks occur I felt bad and sober for my congregation and especially the fallen victims. Within those difficult times Sunday services are conducted without the congregation in attendance ... the Church of Christ have always suffered persecutions, but the gates of hell shall never prevail against the Son of God. I had to be strong for my congregation and God has been faithful to our supplications, because the faithful always come back to the church and somehow return back to normal”.
It was also discovered that the relationship between Muslims and Christians was affected, but this elicited quick intervention from the President-general of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic affairs (NSCIA) and the Muslim spiritual leader, the Emir of Sokoto Alhaji Muhammadu Saad Abubakar V, the Sultan of Sokoto. They condemned the activities of BH, while the government described the group as a criminal gang. The findings corresponded with the broad conflict theory, which stated that interest groups were focusing on power, authority and dominance as the root causes of attacks and that conflict within society arose as a result of the ideological struggle for fundamentalist Islam to be instituted throughout Nigeria. Positions of dominance, authority and power rather than control over the means of production were important. This was true in Nigeria because the BH terrorists and the Nigerian government dominated and manipulated each other by fear and violence.

It was also reported that some local populations were afraid to perform their religious functions such as Eid al-Adha or Eid al-fitr, two important Muslim religious feasts celebrated worldwide each year that are considered the holiest after fasting and prayers and end with Ramadan. This is a special Islamic religious celebration, but locals were openly fearful of being sub-targets for attacks by extremist groups. One of the Imams in the contact group said:

"True Muslims are not terrorists, because Islam does not advocate the killing of people in the name of religion and as an Islamic scholar and teacher I condemn in the strongest terms the actions of this group acting in the guise of Islam and call on all religious faiths to unite and fight in self-defence, because you never can tell who will be next".

This statement confirmed how the livelihoods of Christian and Muslim populations, who did not belong to the fundamentalist BH sect, were affected negatively by the violence and suddenness of the attacks (Question 2).
5.3.3 SECTION 3 WILL ANSWER THE THIRD RESEARCH QUESTION

What is a viable solution or intervention strategy to deal with the impact of, and fight against terrorism in Nigeria?

In answering the third research question, relevant answers or themes gathered from the data were analysed on how respondents regarded terrorists, how they experienced terrorist attacks, what the government could do to prevent attacks, how to develop an intervention strategy to fight against terrorism in Nigeria and whether people had received counselling after terrorist attacks to resolve social and economic impacts.

Against the background of the understanding of terrorist attacks in north-eastern Nigeria and the impact on the population, respondents in the first FGD described who they thought terrorists were. They described them as:

“evil people whose main goal is to kill people so as to further their religious, political and extremist ideologies”.

In the second FGD half (11) of the respondents described these terrorists as:

“A bunch of selfish people who do not care about others, particularly innocent victims, but rather are interested in their selfish objectives”.

These responses confirmed that individuals understood exactly what BH terrorists were about in Nigeria, since their actions and activities were premeditated, violent and aimed at causing massive carnage affecting victims and targeted audiences, thereby disrupting social, economic, political and religious livelihoods. The responses also included an understanding of the culture, conditions and indoctrination under which religiously inspired terrorists were recruited to harm others having different belief systems, because the power of ideology is
inherent in religious conflict situations. These findings substantiated the views of the broad conflict perspective regarding interest group power struggles.

The research study identified two interest groups in the crisis, namely individual and state terrorists seeking to achieve their specific objectives. Both state and non-state actors could be ‘terrorists’, depending on the context and circumstances. Therefore, terrorism is a tactic of choice available to all groups with authority and power in society. According to Ogunrotifa (2012:6), terrorism is an expression of an unending power struggle between interest groups. In this case of the Islamic sect, it uses the cover of religion as a platform of struggle, implicit in the hidden structures of domination and structured contradictions in societies. This description is in line with the assumptions of the United States Department of Defense (Ofoche 2012), which defined terrorism as a calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, the intention to coerce, intimidate and manipulate society or the government in the pursuit of goals that are ideally political, ethnic, religious and ideological or fundamentalist in scope.

It was also reported by a respondent in an FGD that beyond personal benefits accruable to core Muslim sect members of BH, their modus operandi of “intensity, violence, radical and suddenness” had been coordinated successfully by using religious fundamentalist indoctrination. This was exemplified in 2012 when one of the people who attacked the police headquarters in Abuja Nigeria, Mohammed Mangar, had 12 million Naira in his personal account, which was about 98,000 dollar at the 2012 exchange rate. He was a successful businessman trading between Nigeria and Dubai and was in the prime of his life. At 35 years of age he volunteered to sacrifice his life despite all his personally acquired material possessions. Nothing could explain this exceptional dedication other than
philosophical, fundamentalist Muslim religious indoctrination based on radicalisation of Islam. This corresponded with the conflict theoretical premise and the fundamentalist religious theory that conflict in society arose as a result of the struggle for dominant (religiously inspired) positions of authority and power, not control over the means of production, or money in this case. Therefore, positions of dominance, power and extremism were most important to these terrorists.

It was also reported by another respondent that in a related incident on 25 July 2012 in Bauchi State, a young 19-year old suicide bomber or absolute terrorist blew himself up before arriving at his target and did not die immediately. When he was rushed to the military hospital he kept saying he had no regrets whatsoever about becoming a suicide bomber and that he was only performing religious duties to Allah. There were also reports of young BH members, mostly in Borno and Yobe States, harassing their parents and demanding that they allow them to respond to the will of Allah (God) by responding to terror and killing those of a different religion, considered as *infidels* or non-believers.

It was found that both the government and terrorists had adopted similar strategies to harm each other, to drive home their agendas of dominance, power and authority on the issues under investigation. Because of the serious security situation in the north-east, the main base and theatre for terrorists and combined military operations, it was reported that it had become fertile ground for harassment by security forces against local residents. The Fulani tribe was targeted especially because of their Arabic heritage and origin; they lodged complaints, but eventually managed to find their way into the IDPs camps.

A 50-year-old Muslim male respondent said:
“constant and continued dialogue between government and tribal leaders must occur and proper deployment of military and police personnel to rural areas is necessary to enforce law and order at rural locations. Secondly, the government must fast-track dialogue on restructuring true federalism to ensure opportunities and needs are provided on a timely basis”.

The FG has the highest law-making authority, and no ethnic or interest group is greater in strength than the FG. The President has the power to deploy the Nigerian armed forces using the military approach to curb the BH attacks, subject to democratic approval by Parliament to protect the lives and properties of citizens. The intensity and violence of the attacks, as well as the radical nature and suddenness of the asymmetric, unconventional attacks by BH, occurred according to Dahrendorf’s conflict theory of power struggles (Turner 1974:130-135). The JTF comprised all security units and departments in the country, but overreliance on the military approach had not produced the required results expected; rather it had created fear of harassment by security forces among the local population.

Respondents reported the following regarding military strategies and other interventions. A 41-year-old Christian male respondent said:

“I strongly support the current military approach to limit their capabilities, but urge the government to assemble a team of experts that can negotiate and dialogue for a resolution of the crisis, because many innocent persons have been killed and the killings are continuing on daily basis where most of the killings are not even reported”.

These operations were challenging on the part of the security forces, who also had their own lives and those of the families they left behind to protect. Since it was difficult to differentiate between terrorists and the local civilian population, some of the officers became victims of suicide blasts, while numerous innocent members of the local civilian
population had also been killed in the cross-fire, as reported by Amnesty International (Barna, 2014:13). The JTF that was established and helped reduce the unrest in the Niger Delta was transferred to the newly established command in the heartland of Maiduguri, because of the gravity of the BH attacks (Barna, 2014:14). However, in the researcher’s opinion, aside from the military option, other intervention strategies should be combined. A 38-year-old Christian woman reported:

“The conflict has never given way to any constructive society, therefore the need for government to dialogue should be key to attain a peaceful society and advise government to apply the most appropriate strategy, as the military approach alone had been inappropriate”.

Another respondent, a 65-year-old Muslim man, had this to say:

“I call upon improved security awareness and visible policing, constant dialogue through Town Hall meetings and provisions of support to citizens, especially the youths who are increasingly becoming frustrated with the unfolding trends”.

Therefore, it was determined that respondents were of the opinion that a combination of violent and non-violent ways of conflict intervention was the most appropriate strategy for peace and conflict resolution in Nigeria. Negotiation as a strategy with BH was regarded as a viable intervention option (Question 3).

To conclude, the data analyses and documentary findings were presented here according to various themes or qualitative categories, which sought to highlight the research objectives and provide answers to the three research questions. The analyses covered an appropriate range of data to render the researcher’s conclusions logically consistent with the data presented (Babbie 2013:504). The responses coincided with the overarching conflict theory. The core concepts of the theory included power, authority, dominance, marginalisation of interest groups through indoctrination, manipulation and violence. These led people to
experience alienation, caused by the inherent material and ideological structure of society as a whole, through the socio-economic and religious oppression of one group over another (Haralambos and Holborn 1992:781-783). Alienation referred to the marginalisation of BH by the Nigerian government, as well as the alienation of the population by BH. The overarching conflict perspective included understanding of religiously inspired terrorism, their culture and indoctrination to cause harm to the population to exert their dominance and manipulation. This view on power struggles corresponded with the broader conflict perspective.

Opposing interest groups (government, BH and populations) that constantly coerced and attempted to gain power, authority and dominance were inherent in the social system in Nigeria, while unconventional conflict and tension became regular features in the north-east. The concepts “intensity and violence” of the attacks and the “radical nature and suddenness” of decisions made by the religiously inspired BH were interdependent on each other. These concepts fell directly within the scope of Dahrendorf’s conflict theory on power struggles of interest groups. The radical and sudden change of unconventional tactics by militant groups, escalating to full-scale attacks, reflected radical and sudden decisions due to the dominance of the ruling elite exerted through state terrorism. This fact underlined that BH attacks were a consequence of the initial conflict within the Nigerian ruling party, which gave rise to divisions with conflicting group interests. Poor governance was the initial cause (independent variable) of BH attacks (dependent variable). When group interests were at risk, whether social, economic, political or religious, groups made deliberate choices based on their ideological or fundamentalist motives. In this case BH (independent and intervening variable) caused carnage, which was the effect (dependent variable) of attacks
on the population, without caring about the far-reaching, negative impact on the social and economic well-being of populations.

The prospects for resolving the BH terrorist insurgency in Nigeria are optimistic, should an appropriate, effective and broader set of conflict resolution strategies, as recommended, be applied. Such conflict resolution options would stimulate much desired peace and put Nigeria back on the path of socio-economic development and the well-being of populations.

5.4 SUMMARY

It was found that BH attacks caused a reduction in consumer-based services, forcing the government and other sectors of the economy to invest in upgrading multiple security measures to curb the violence. Additional financial costs significantly reduced the efficiency and redirection of investments such as FDI to safer locations for more productive economic gains and benefits (Klein 2007). The economic and social impacts of BH attacks had inevitably affected employment, inflation, the supply chain of basic necessities such as petrol, gas, telecommunication, internet connectivity, basic food supply, electricity and water supply; most of these sources had been totally destroyed.

Consequently, “terrorism not only directly affects economic development and prosperity, but also has psycho-social repercussions that seriously damage human personality and society” (Sabir 2007:3). Thus, socio-economic impacts had multiple direct negative effects on social interactions among local residents in the north-east. It created a situation of “fear of the unknown” and uncertainty, such that individuals were afraid of meeting in public places like shopping malls, open market arenas, restaurants and even to attend religious functions. Because of fear of the unknown, populations fled to safer locations, both within
and outside the region. Initially there was suspicion and discontent between Muslims and Christians in refugee camps, because of different belief systems and personalities. Military intervention and non-violent intervention strategies were proposed to prevent further BH attacks.

It was indicated that these findings, as answers to the three research questions, substantiated the broad theoretical conflict perspective of this study. An inductive qualitative strategy, focusing on the BH attacks and the impact thereof on the well-being and livelihood of populations in the north-east of Nigeria, built new theory on the topic.

### 5.5 CONCLUSION

The answers to the three research questions emanated from the FGDs and in-depth interviews with key informants conducted with internally displaced respondents from the north-eastern part of Nigeria, now living in refugee camps in the south-east near Lagos, Nigeria. The data gathered was qualitatively analysed according to themes or categories to give voice to IDPs by quoting their individual responses to substantiate arguments put forward. The findings indicated that all three research questions in this empirical study were addressed and answered based on the broad overarching conflict perspective. The data analysed substantiated the theory.

The next chapter will focus on the final conclusions and recommendations in an endeavour to find solutions to the research problem and to suggest future research on the topic.
CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of the research study, findings, final data conclusions, interventions and recommendations on the impact of BH attacks on the social, economic, religious and political well-being of populations in the north-east of Nigeria. It gives conclusions to the research questions, which are: Does the Boko Haram terrorist group pose a threat to the socio-economic well-being of people in north-eastern Nigeria? How have Boko Haram terrorist attacks impacted on the livelihood of the population? What is a viable solution or intervention strategy to deal with the impact of and fight against terrorism in Nigeria in particular? It makes recommendations on intervention strategies to curb BH attacks and to achieve conflict resolution in Nigeria.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

From this empirical research study it was found that BH is a Muslim fundamentalist terrorist group, dissatisfied with the political elites in the Nigerian government who had power and
authority, but instead of presenting its grievances through dialogue and diplomacy, BH decided to adopt a violent, extreme strategy according to its religiously inspired viewpoint. The power of ideology is inherent in religious conflict situations as BH stands for the absolute fundamentalist beliefs of the rejection of Western capitalist values and education. BH promotes strict obedience according to the Quran to the purest and undiluted form of Islamic tradition and the institutionalisation of Sharia law. Different extremist elements have sought to radicalise all the northern states of Nigeria as early as the 1940s and continue their efforts to date. Their attacks on state institutions and local populations had a negative impact, impairing and destroying multiple facets of social existence in the north-east. It was widely accepted and reported by respondents that terrorists, wherever they operated, sought to inflict wide social, political and economic damage upon their targets. They did so intentionally, causing harm to the “capitalist” economy in multiple direct and indirect ways. BH sought to Islamise Nigeria fundamentally by whatever means possible, laying bare its indoctrination and dominance through brutality, violent attacks, killings and destruction of property and people’s livelihood.

The research traced the origins of the religiously inspired Muslim sect, its ideology, the dimensions of its attacks and the impact of these on the social, economic, religious and political institutions and well-being of the populations in north-eastern Nigeria. The fundamentalist BH sect was entirely against Western values, democracy and capitalist economic values, which according to it restrained the dictates of Islamic religion. It was revealed that the sporadic, unprecedented and sudden attacks by BH caused the economic prosperity in the north-east to dwindle. The current government pledged enormous resources in the fight against BH attacks, which could otherwise have been used
meaningfully for infrastructural and capital development. This would have culminated in economic advancement of the region, but resulted in loss of lives and property that led to the displacement of the population, who mostly lived in the south in IDPs camps. These events had a negative impact on political development, given that economics and politics are interdependent. In the absence of economic development, political development is nearly unattainable. The intensity and violence of the BH attacks, as well as the radical, sudden nature of the asymmetric, unconventional BH attacks were in line with Dahrendorf’s conflict theory of power struggles of interest groups (Turner 1974:134).

The members of BH became frustrated and aggressive and devised any means possible to fight against the status quo (dominant group) of the Nigerian government, since they were motivated by their religiously inspired expectations of a better society where the basics of life would be met, but in the Nigerian context these needs were not met (marginalised groups without power and authority). Nigeria is typically characterised by poverty, ethnicity, religion, unemployment and marked inequality, which trends were evidently prevalent across the country and particularly in the north-east. The attacks and killings further deepened the Nigerian predicament, specifically the north-eastern quest for social, economic and political development and well-being of populations, since the attacks created fear of further attacks. Many relocated to safer locations, some as IDPs in refugee camps, while others fled to neighbouring countries.

Traders in the area invested in extra security measures to safeguard their properties, while customers saw a rise in the operational cost that consequently led to increases in the price of food and other services, as the business operators sought to regain their profit margins. Socially, the BH attacks led to some individuals adjusting their lifestyles, as postulated by
Sabir (2007:4): “due to fears of terrorist attacks people try to escape from their social and professional responsibilities”. This prevented some from frequenting pubs, restaurants and shopping malls as they did before the start of the crisis. Some Muslims and Christians in refugee camps reported a drop in attendance of religious gatherings.

The use of individual terrorism, or suicide bombers, by the BH sect against the Nigerian state was countered by the ruling interest group, that was better equipped and armed to engage in dangerous military assault against them. In this regard, the use of state terrorism by the government continued to be resisted by the combative BH sect. The attacks are likely to persist until BH retreats, is defeated or negotiates a truce through dialogue and ceasefire agreements. The study of BH attacks and the responses of the Nigerian government, together with the support of foreign governments, justified the critical theoretical argument that the state also engaged in terrorism against its own citizens (Gunning 2007; Silke 2009; Jackson, Smyth and Gunning 2009; Herring 2008).

It is likely that if the BH attacks were to be resolved, either through military intervention or dialogue, the use of individual terrorism by sectarian groups would re-emerge in the future unless the endemic root causes are addressed. Aggrieved members would no longer tolerate the series of frustrations they suffered and would find solutions by joining or forming sectarian groups and resorting to the use of individual terrorism in response to the current state of government affairs. Conflict resolution, either violent or non-violent, would resolve the sources of the conflict and restore a situation of balance, thus eliminating the need for violence.

The study acknowledged the effort and concerns of the Nigerian state with internationally associated nations through the organisation of international conferences, meetings on
military aid and non-combatant assets in the war against BH attacks, although the BH group had not openly supported negotiations or dialogue with the government. Thus, the current military approach used by the FG against the insurgents remains the only viable alternative adopted to date in the resolution of the crisis in the north-east of Nigeria.

However, this study held the position and viewpoint that it was wrong to view negotiation, mediation and dialogue with terrorist groups, such as BH, as a sign of weakness on the part of the FG. Refusing to talk to terrorists, and instead only relying on state security apparatus, could be a defensive response that could escalate the crisis, since the actual cause of the dispute is ignored. It is important to agree that all terrorist-related grievances leading to attacks are founded on real core issues affecting society. These are deprivations based on inequalities, poverty, unemployment, marginalisation and lack of opportunities, as well as total failure of government to provide life-changing infrastructural amenities to the marginalised masses. However, dialogue not only provides opportunity to understand the basic composition of terrorism fully, but also conveys a sense of achievement on the part of the insurgent group that they had been successful in bringing their plight to the attention of those with authority and power. Therefore, the news that the BH terrorist group in Nigeria had requested the government to do a prison review for its members in detention regarding the Chibok schoolgirls they had abducted was an indication that it was ready to negotiate. This is why this study seriously advocated and placed emphasis on dialogue and negotiation, which should be taken seriously as an intervention strategy in a terrorist conflict-related resolution to resolve all core substantive issues.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the BH leaders and membership had remained faceless and unknown, making it very difficult for the group to be summoned. That was why the
Nigerian security forces’ immediate execution of individuals suspected of being BH sect members was inappropriate and rather cast doubt on the ability of the state to govern, thereby escalating the crisis. This is why arbitration is still a relevant and appropriate intervention option.

Therefore, it is the researcher’s personal opinion that members of the BH sect arrested for their involvement in mindless vicious attacks should be charged in an appropriate court of jurisdiction and allowed access to a counsel of their choice. Their grievances, demands and others unknown facts might thus be pacified and made known. Furthermore, there is a need for proper enlightenment among Nigerians to make good use of the court system in conflict resolution, instead of taking the law into their own hands, while the cost of litigation should be downsized. All these steps would make arbitration and adjudication processes very attractive. In time this process could be seen as an alternative to violent confrontation between those in authority (government) and aggrieved individuals who feel cheated out of the system that was supposed to satisfy their needs.

Recommendations emanating from the study were made. If followed meticulously, these would help curb the activities of BH and support the current Nigerian government’s socio-political and economic development endeavours.

6.3 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

It is concluded that the activities of the religiously inspired fundamentalist terrorist group, BH, undermined progress and growth in the north-east of Nigeria. The study highlighted and showed the harshness of what the BH crisis represents. It devastated and damaged the
good image of Nigeria within the United Nations through its mindless attacks on innocent populations. These attacks had a negative impact on the socio-economic and political drive for development by government. A more serious consequence is the incapacity on the part of government to solve the carnage of the BH sect, which has culminated in further underdevelopment of Nigeria across socio-political and economic areas. The government at all levels has to be proactive rather than reactive to attacks by developing central feasible strategies for addressing the issues of corruption, poor governance, poverty and unemployment as the root causes of the attacks, as this would encourage and promote sustainable development in several aspects lacking within the Nigerian state.

The unconventional, asymmetric nature and manner in which these intense, violent and sudden attacks were carried out remained a surprise, which inspired fear of even more radical attacks among the local population. The study revealed that the moment the ideology and campaign of religiously inspired Muslim sects found an echo and support from a section of disenchanted and frustrated members of the less educated marginalised, the more they were willing to join the BH sect in large numbers. The sect became a dominant interest group, or political force, capable of challenging the state through the use of individual terrorism. This type of terrorism was implemented through indoctrination and manipulation to attack the ruling elite, who had the power and authority. This was relevant not only in the Nigerian case, but also in the Arab world. In the Middle East, for instance, profound socio-economic unemployment problems, poverty and malnutrition represent the weakest link in the capitalist system being practised in that setting (McLaren and Mandpur, 2005: 203). Interestingly, this left room for fundamentalist sectarian groups such as Al Qaeda and others to agitate for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of an
Islamic state to deal with the negative effects of capitalism. Therefore, the present
movement of individual terrorism in Nigeria, parts of Africa and the Middle-East was a result
of long decades of participation in the process of global capitalism that bred antagonistic
interest group relations over time.

The social, economic, religious and political effects of the BH attacks remained a potential
threat to Nigerian national security and the international community as a whole, despite
efforts by the current government to defeat the terrorists. However, the sophistication of
the attacks, the geographical range, the display and number of documented targets that had
been successfully attacked by BH had increased since its inception in early 2000. BH had
also expanded its influence beyond the Nigerian borders and had established links with
other extremist groups, both within the region and on the African continent. There were
reports that BH benefitted and received training from Al-Shabab, AQIM and MOJIWA and
from Ansa Dine in a Timbuktu training camp in Mali. The stubbornness and dominance of
this group was due to its increased indoctrination and confidence in operational capability,
as there were gaps in the incumbent government strategy to bring an end to their attacks.

In this conclusion, the study identified gaps and suggestions to help confront the BH crisis.

The government’s confidence in its military force to combat the BH attacks had not included
other non-violent elements of intervention to bring about peace and security to the worst
affected sites in the north-east of the country. It is suggested that the government should
take action to build sound relationships with communities where the Muslim sect is known
to have operational bases, in order to deny them sanctuaries and to gain useful intelligence,
increasing the ability of the security forces to pre-empt the terrorists’ plans. More effective
border control policing would sever the links between BH and other terrorist groups in the
SAHEL region, such as AQIM and MOJIWA, thus disturbing its influx of arms, financial support and training. This would also ensure that BH fighters trained in foreign bases do not have or gain admission to the country to return and re-join the insurgency group, BH. Doing this would greatly enhance the livelihood of the population in the north-east, by improving their social, economic, religious and political well-being and giving them the opportunity to return to their former homes.

The fight against terrorism and other conditions that mostly destabilised the economic affluence of society and harmed the population in the north-east demanded multi-facet level assistance between nations, with real impartial experience in counter-terrorism to excel and arise against opposing interest groups. Thus, the government should enhance its strategies, seek assistance from developed nations and employ suitable capabilities of capacity building, intelligence gathering and sharing. Senior leadership should emerge to reinforce the current efforts to end the BH attacks. The government should also fortify its criminal justice system to ensure speedy trials of people engaged in terrorist-related activities in the country. The circle of recruitment and indoctrination by the Muslim sect to perpetuate attacks will not cease unless the government and the private sector rise to the challenge of providing social benefits to the population. The sources of the conflict should be resolved. This would diminish poverty, generate employment and grow infrastructure, as well as escalate the literacy rate in the north-east of Nigeria. There are no simple solutions to the insurgency crisis, rather a conscious effort to blend the military lethal power, which seems to be the only option available to government, with an intervention strategy of dialogue. This would progress faster to defeat BH and change the north-east and Nigeria to a route of peace, development and well-being of the population.
The role of conflict resolution in resolving the insurgency crisis cannot be over-emphasised, as well as restoring peace and eliminating the need for violence. Those who oppose terrorism should endeavour to engage in a broader set of conflict resolution strategies to ascertain one workable strategy and to adopt and use it to their advantage (Hayes 2003). Harik (2004) also observed that governments and other interest groups could engage in conflict resolution strategies with terrorists, which included amnesty and involved the right treatment for all arrested terrorists. Conflict resolution could play an important role in resolving insurgency and the terrorist crisis, if properly utilised and applied in Nigeria and elsewhere. It is a process of conscious settlement of the issues between groups.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the conclusions, it is evident that the BH attacks continue. Therefore, to rectify the situation by proposing intervention strategies, the following recommendations are made.

1. The three tiers of government under the current federal presidential system (federal, state and local government) should address firstly the serious issues of poverty and unemployment, as well as other structural economic issues that are central motives for the activities of the BH sect. Job creation and meaningful engagement for the jobless youth to return to the economy should be instituted, since most are already educated university graduates who have been recruited and indoctrinated into the terrorist sect.
2. **Global partnership** is urgently required, especially to activate joint border patrols with neighbouring countries along the 2600 kilometres of very undefined, porous borderlines with Chad, Cameroon and Niger to control the influx of arms and weaponry to prevent BH from linking with other violent extremist groups in the SAHEL region, such as the Islamic AQIM. Countries with great military potential and capability, such as the USA, Russia, the United Kingdom and France, could assist in providing non-military and non-lethal support. Additional training slots at the USAWC would provide a global threat perspective to the Nigerian officers dealing with counter-terrorism operations. However, the African Union has the perception of “African solutions for African problems”. Therefore, the Nigerian government could think about home-grown solutions, to solve the problems internally and accept that war against terrorism is not left to the government alone, but should rather be fought by all Nigerians by way of dissemination of information and intelligence to assist the security agencies in the war against terrorism.

3. **Promotion of public awareness on how to mitigate the impact of terrorism** is important. Since terrorism and insurgency thrive on fears and paranoia among populations, it is significant for the population of the north-east to collaborate in a public awareness drive that should be internally based on public participation and facilitated by an accountable government department, e.g. the disaster management agency. Important issues include the founding of neighbourhood watch groups to inspect individuals moving into their neighbourhoods, preventing those with dubious characters who are likely to be involved in terrorism from settling among them. Citizens should be proactive instead of reactive.
4. **Establishment of counselling centres** is necessary to counsel local residents who still fear unexpected attacks and experience trauma to resume their normal social activities, including visiting public places and attending public functions. This would assist them in learning how to deal with their fears and suspicions in their own space and to resume their previous social and economic ventures to be reintegrated into society.

5. **Healthy rapport between citizens and police should be promoted**, because the study revealed that some marginalised local residents had complained of harassment by the dominant Nigerian state security forces when they were escaping from BH attacks. This could have a negative impact on the state’s ability to confront terrorism, as some of these victims of harassment could decide to join forces with the terrorist cells to seek revenge against the state and its security forces for the perceived physical, social and economic injustice. Therefore, it should be important to adjust the rules of engagement for domestic security forces to be more proactive than reactive (people-friendly), so as to ensure the confidence of the marginalised local population and solicit citizen support against the terrorists. This is needed for closer alliances, especially among the many tribes and faiths, because by so doing the government (power and authority) could create a condition of reliance that should profit all and lead to shared understanding between the population and police.

6. **Cohesion between Muslims and Christians** needs to be promoted. In the course of this study the disconnection between the two religious groups was found, due to the
attacks, the composition of the attackers and the casualties rendered by them. It became clear that it was necessary to adopt a community-based strategy intended to deny BH members a safe haven to stay and to prevent, plan and stage more coordinated attacks. However, the two religious groups need to build cooperation for the unity of members and to establish closer ties with domestic security agencies and other participants to enhance integrated joined intelligence sharing by endorsing cohesion to confront those who had caused hardship in their lives. Since the crisis had caused casualties on both sides, it has become necessary for Muslims and Christians to set aside their differences and unite for peace to confront and combat radicalisation of the youths, who were foot soldiers, executing attacks that should be prevented in future. Both sides have to remain vigilant.

7. **Criminal justice reforms and enhanced prison security** should adapt to the changing dynamics to play their part to prosecute all cases brought before the justice system speedily and firmly in a fair manner. Those convicted should be separated from society and confined in a facility that would prevent convicted suspects from escaping from such facilities.

8. **A peace and conflict resolution strategy should be** aimed at finding a win-win situation as a solution that will be mutually acceptable to all parties to the conflict.

Strategies of conflict resolution are **mediation, negotiation, arbitration, adjudication, conflict suppression, realism** and **conflict management**. The strategy used most often in Nigeria is the **conflict suppression** approach, which will be briefly underlined.
6.4.1 INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

The following non-violent intervention strategies were offered and recommended to effect a lasting solution to the challenges of terrorism and attacks in Nigeria (Obiajulu 2011).

1. **Conflict suppression** is an important strategy that was often used to quell and cover up social injustices and disagreement between the ruled and the governed, those with power and authority and those without. This was done through the deployment of the state security JTF operations (army, air force, navy, police, civil defence corps, local vigilante, thugs and task forces) to displace adversaries that were opposing or exposing the decays within the system. It enabled the state to hide core contending issues, causing conflicts. Often solutions that were unsustainable and not agreed upon by others were super-imposed. These are the fundamental core causes of most crises in societies, including Nigeria. However, this conflict resolution strategy could be seen concurrently as negative and positive, subject to its application and relevant society. As it has previously been indicative of unequal social relationships (power struggles) between interest groups in a conflict situation, it has mostly led to escalation due to the spill-over effects of reprisals and counter-attacks.

2. **Realism** entails the use of both violent and non-violent methods as an intervention strategy. It was used unsuccessfully in Nigeria when proposed by President Obasanjo to resolve the BH crisis. It was termed the “carrot and stick” approach, but failed to achieve the objectives, as it was referred to as a win-or-lose situation (Obiajulu 2011).

3. **Conflict management** is a proactive, viable measure aimed at preventing conflict before it deteriorates to loss of lives and property (Obiajulu 2011). It focuses on
confirming that available resources are used for the common good. It confirms management strategies and therefore includes conflict limitations, containment and litigation.

It is recommended that conflict management be applied in pre-crisis situations where loss of lives and property has not occurred. It is considered viable for BH attacks, as conflict suppression applied by the Nigerian government (deployment of the JTF) has not yielded the intended outcomes; it has in fact shown minimal effectiveness.

The confronting and killing of BH sect members by the JTF counter-terrorism attacks proved the conflict suppression strategy inappropriate and less proactive to the crisis in the north-east. The impact of this strategy was counterattacks by the BH sect upon unsuspecting local civilian populations, their property and sources of livelihood in their home towns and villages. More concerning was the fact that recruitment into its ranks appeared to be on the rise. Conflict management as an alternate strategy might be important in ending the flow of new recruits and in the final resolution of the crisis, both globally and domestically. At domestic level, BH and other ethnic militias in Nigeria adopted unconventional asymmetric tactics to make their grievances known, thereby creating opposition to group interests.

An urgent need for applicable intervention strategies and for a change of tactics in the war against BH exists, since its activities lead to the social, economic, religious and political dislocation of the population. It has been documented that deployment of the conflict suppression strategy gained huge successes in Western countries with developed economies, formidable intelligence and the use of military might. However, this strategy has failed in pluralist societies with ethnic, cultural and religious orientations in Africa and needs more investigation.
6.5 AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has not exhausted all the aspects of the impact of terrorist attacks on societies, specifically that of BH in Nigeria and in other regions of Africa where intrastate wars are rife. Therefore, further empirical studies could be conducted to find a suitable solution and a comprehensive base on which policies and legislation could be applied to intervention strategies to combat terrorist insurgencies and the grievances of local populations, which lead to the destruction of infrastructure, as well as the well-being and livelihood of populations.

The study was significant and sociologically relevant, because it provided insights into the lives of Nigerian populations in the north-east affected by the BH violence and disruption that caused negative social, economic, religious and political underdevelopment.
LIST OF REFERENCES


*This Day newspaper*. Five killed in Maiduguri. 3/6/2012:3.


APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRES TO BE ASKED TO KEY BUSINESS COMMUNITY INFORMANTS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Dear Participants,

I am Lawrence Eka Ebi, from the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am currently undertaking Master’s degree studies and I am interested in understanding the impact of the Boko Haram terrorist group on the economic and social interaction among residents of north-east Nigeria. I kindly request your responses, which will form part of this research study to effectively address the effects of terrorism. Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and your name shall not be mentioned in any part of this research study. Thank you for your agreement to participate in this study.

(1) What is your occupation?

(2) What is your age category?
   (a) 18-22  (b) 23-27  (c) 28-32  (d) 33-37  (e) 38-42  (f) 43-47  (g) 48-52  (h) 53-58  (i) 59 and above.

(3) Your gender?  (a) Male  (b) Female

(4) Marital status?  (a) Married  (b) Single  (c) Divorced  (d) Widowed  (e) Separated  (e) Cohabitating.

(5) Your religion?  (a) Christian  (b) Muslim  (c) Hindu  (d) Atheist  (e)Traditionalist  (f) Others.

(6) What is your level of education?  (a) Primary education  (b) Secondary education  (c) Post-secondary education (please indicate level)..................................................

(7) Why are you here and how long have you been living in this camp?

(8) What are the living conditions like in this camp? Are you being assisted and by whom?

(9) Have you ever personally witnessed a terrorist attack in your neighbourhood?
(10) How was the attack carried out?

(11) In your opinion, what do you think are the impacts of these BH terror attacks?

(12) Why do think terrorist attacks are mainly targeted at north-east of Nigeria?

(13) In your opinion, how have the BH terrorist activities affected you personally and your trading and business activities?

(14) In your view, do you think terrorist attacks have affected resident entrepreneurs’ level of income?

(15) How have BH terrorist activities/attacks affected employment levels?

(16) Are you aware of any individuals/entrepreneurs who have relocated out of the N/E?

(17) In your opinion, how have terrorist attacks affected individual attendance to cultural and religious functions e.g. Church or Mosques? If yes, how?

(18) In your view, have terrorist attacks affected how people interact in public, including meetings at hotels bus stations and shopping malls?

(19) In your observation, has the relationship between Christians and Muslims been affected with regard to terrorist attacks?

(20) In your estimation as family and community leaders, have you noticed any reduction in the number of people attending religious functions or obligations?

(21) Have you ever been approached by people for counselling following a terrorist attack?

(22) In your opinion, how can the social and economic impacts of B/H terrorist attacks be resolved?

Thank you for your participation and kind regards.
QUESTIONNAIRES TO BE ASKED TO THE PASTORS AND IMAMS

Dear Participant,

I am Lawrence Eka Ebi, from the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am currently undertaking Master’s degree study with interest in understanding the economic and social impacts of terrorism in north-east Nigeria. I kindly request your responses, which will aid this research in effectively addressing the effects of terrorism in Nigeria.

Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and your name will not be mentioned in any part of this research. Thank you and kind regards for agreeing to participate in this study.

QUESTIONS:

(1) What is your nationality?
(2) How old are you?
(3) What is your educational qualification?
(4) Why are you here? How long have you lived in this camp?
(5) In your opinion, how will you describe the living conditions in this camp?
(6) How have you been assisted and by whom?
(7) Do you have a family? If yes, where are they?
(8) Have you personally witnessed any terrorists attack? If yes, did it affect you?
(9) In your own opinion, how have the B/H terrorist activities affected trading activities in the north- east of Nigeria?
(10) Are you aware of any individuals who have moved away from north-east Nigeria as a result of the B/H terrorist attacks?
(11) In your opinion, have the B/H terrorist activities affected how you attend social and religious functions: e.g. Church or Mosque?
(12) In your view, have terrorist activities/attacks affected how you interact with people in public, including meetings in motor stations/parks, bus stops and shopping malls? If yes, how?

(13) In your opinion, can you describe who a terrorist is?

(14) In your observation, what can be done to prevent terrorist attacks from occurring?

(15) In your opinion, what do you think are the impacts of terrorist attacks?

   Thank you very much for your participation.