



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**POLITICS OF EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE ESCALATION OF  
TERRORISM IN NIGERIA; THE CASE STUDY OF BOKO  
HARAM AND NIGER DELTA MILITANTS**

ABUBAKAR UMAR KOFAR NAISA

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA  
(JUNE 2018)

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THESIS SUPERVISOR

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NICOSIA

(JUNE 2018)

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## **DEDICATION**

In the loving memory of my late brother, Engr. Habeeb Umar Kofarnaisa (Yaya). I will like to dedicate my thesis to my beloved brother who passed away exactly nine months away from the day I defended this master's degree thesis. Life has never been the same without you brother, you used to be my friend and acted like my father. I have this to say to you Yaya;

“You will always be in my heart, I always loved having you near, and now I wish you were here brother. It's sad that you left without saying goodbye, but just remember we all love you. You did so much for me, as I didn't do much for you brother, I miss your comfort and the way you made me feel safe. I remembered how we used to call each other with silly names; I also remembered when you came to my rescue when I was stranded. I will always love you no matter how long it's been; since the day your life came to an end. I miss my big brother”.

Rahimahullah yaya, till we meet to part no more.

**REST IN PEACE LEGEND, REST ON**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **POLITICS OF EXCEPTIONALISM AND THE ESCALATION OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA; THE CASE STUDY OF BOKO HARAM AND NIGER DELTA MILITANTS**

Nigeria had been a center for attraction appearing on the news headlines in recent years with the recent activities of the deadly and notorious groups of terrorist organizations, the Boko Haram and the Nigeria Delta militants, due to their terrorist attacks on both government and civilians. With the increase in number of improved and modern weapons, suicide bombings and well-organized systems, terrorism challenge to the Nigerian government also spread throughout the country, not just as a regional warfare, but thus affects the economic, social and political development of the most populous country in the African continent.

The major objective of this thesis is to provide an analysis on how the Nigerian government should use some measures on how to counter terrorism and insurgency from both the domestic level, regional level and the international level. From the domestic level, it is being countered through the civil societies, NGOs and the hard use of military and police force. At the regional level, it is the joint task force of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Benin republics. Well known as the joint military task force (JMETF). While at the international level there was the intervention from some members of the international community both militarily and supplies, countries such as US, Canada, France, Britain, Russia and even South Africa. Whiting this context thesis will discuss how exceptionalism brought about terrorism.

The thesis utilized mainly historical, qualitative methods and theoretical postulations to support the thesis.

**Keywords:** Nigeria, Boko Haram, Niger-Delta Militants, Terrorism, exceptionalism, international community.

## ÖZ

### MÜSTESNALIK SIYASETİ ve NİJERYA'DA TERÖRİZMİN YÜKSELİŞİ : BOKO HARAM ve NİGER-DELTA SAVAŞLARI ÖRNEKLERİ

Nijerya, yakın zamanda birçok haber merkezinin ön sıralarına ülkede Boko Haram ve Niger-Delta örgütleri tarafından sivillere ve hükümete karşı gerçekleştirilen saldırılar ile gündeme taşınmıştır. Ellerindeki gelişmiş ve modern silahlar, gerçekleştirdikleri intihar saldırıları ve organize olmuş terör eylemleri ile Nijerya hükümetinin tehdit eden bu saldırılar, ülkenin ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi kalkınmasının önünde bir engel teşkil ederken, aynı zamanda en yoğun nüfus barındıran bir Afrika ülkesi olan Nijerya'yı bölgesel anlamda da kırılgan hale getirmektedir.

Söz konusu gelişmeler doğrultusunda bu tez çalışmasının temel amacı, Nijerya hükümetinin meydana gelen terör eylemlerine ilişkin aldığı önlemler ve ortaya koyduğu politikaları değerlendirerek, Nijerya'nın terörle nasıl mücadele ettiğini yerel, bölgesel ve küresel ölçekte incelemektir. Yerel düzeyden bakıldığında, sivil toplum, polis güçleri ve askeri araçlarla söz konusu saldırılar ile ülkenin nasıl başa çıktığını; bölgesel düzeyde Nijerya, Kamerun, Chad, Nijer ve Benin Cumhuriyetleri ortak gücünün bu meselede nasıl bir rol aldığını; küresel ölçekte ise uluslararası toplumun –ABD, Kanada, Fransa, Britanya, Rusya ve Güney Afrika'nın– meseleye nasıl müdahil olduğunu ve bu kapsamda terörizmin müstesnalık siyaseti ile ilişkisini araştırmak ve analiz etmek elinizdeki tez çalışmasının temel çerçevesini teşkil etmektedir.

Bu çalışma, tarihsel, niteliksel ve kuramsal yaklaşımlardan faydalanılarak kaleme alınmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Nijerya, Boko Haram, Niger-Delta savaşları, terörizm, müstesnalık teorisi, uluslararası toplum.



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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Politics of Exceptionalism and the Rise of Terrorist Organizations in Nigeria**

Nigeria, a country located in the western part of Africa, shares land boundaries in the west with the Benin republic, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and the Niger republic in the north. Its coast is located on the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean in the south and crosses Lake Chad to the northeast. The country composes of about 250 ethnic groups, but the three most dominant ethnic groups are the Hausa's with their brothering in the north, the Igbo's in the east and the Yoruba's in the south.

Since the violent destruction of the twin towers in 2001- the 9/11 episode, there has been a transformation in the political discourse in the global political arena, many argued that the rules of the game had changed; and this is a new form of a modern warfare. Many questions are raised by the problems of exceptionalism, questions like, what makes a situation to be exceptional, are there certain qualities that make or portrays something as so. And the key question of the relationships between exceptional scenario and the core practice of exceptionalism, how do they overcome the political contestation, what is at stake in discussing the phenomena and finally political scientists ought to know what are the politics of exception? Presently, a strong argument has emerged about liberty and security arguments like "should liberal states act illiberally" or do exceptional security destroys the freedom they are supposed to protect?

The case of Nigeria as the main focus of this thesis, since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the country had been witnessing different series of revolts and insurgencies in different ethnic and cultural groups. The unification of the unwilling ethnic and cultural groups which they all came with their sociopolitical, economic, religious and cultural challenges which were intensified by the British divide and rule policy to form a nation-state had failed. According to some political scholars, this divide and rule policy polarized the Nigerian society into the ruling class and the ruled which paved the way for the social inequality and injustice which made some groups to feel marginalized and being ruled with iron hand, whereas terrorists like the ones from the southern part of the country felt that their region is the economic power house of Nigeria, so they felt like they are special and different from the rest of the Nigerians but the government policies is bringing them down

on the same level with every other Nigerian, this belief of being exceptional brought about the politics of exceptionalism then gradually changed to the outbreak of terrorism. Relative deprivations yielded to religious and political acrimony which gradually developed in the country (Alozieuwa, 2013). Nigeria had been in the headlines following the recent advents of Boko Haram terrorists. Preceding the rise of Boko Haram, The Nigerian government needed to fight the Niger Delta fighters and the Boko Haram terrorists. The two groups are the result of Nigerian failure in governance that has led to youth inefficiency and joblessness, increased levels of corruption and expanding the cleavage between rich and poor people

Mostly, insecurity and various social vices from such tensions amongst the different groups dominated the geographical landscape of the nation, which emanated to the present-day state of terrorism and violent acts of this dreaded deadly groups. Socioeconomic inequalities, unemployment, injustice, ethnic delinquency, ethnic violence and religious incitements are some of the vices, which has reached and overturned in provocative movements requiring a major change. Insurgencies and terrorist terrorism have been a systematic process that led to serious challenges that threaten political and social stability and advocate military efforts to prevent or defeat them.

Boko Haram is viewed as a result of the substantial scale of socio-economic and religious instability; its belief system impeccably fits into chronicled accounts and current grievances. Religious control, destitution, and political discontent are the key factor that breeds hatred and terrorism oppression seen as the battle between the oppressor and the mistreated. While in the southern part of Nigeria (the Niger Delta states), armed militants have kept on fatal assaults that frequently incapacitate oil and gas operatives every once in a while. These attacks mainly target the army, oil workers and sometimes participate in captives-kidnapping, bombings of the Nigerian oil pipelines, and murder. The Niger Delta militant's grievances is a based on a monetary argument they see their region as Nigeria's economic lifeline tracing back to all human and development records in the country. The connection between terrorism and financial conditions ought not to be disparaged. The rise of terrorist movement can't be exclusively clarified by political factors, however halfway clarified by politics of exceptionalism social and economic

conditions. A causal connection between exceptional conditions and the open-door expenses of terrorism can give a clarification of savage activities of terrorists or militants groups on their environment.

In this thesis, the facts about the existence of the politics of exceptionalism will be explored, which paved the way for the outbreak of terrorism in Nigeria, and In addition, this work aims to discuss the possible means of countering terrorism and the possible ways by which the Nigerian state should employ in dealing with the given phenomenon by eradicating some pressing societal vices such as poverty, illiteracy and unemployment as measures that help to avert insurgency and terrorism will be discussed.

### **1. Aims and Objectives of the Thesis Study.**

The main goal of this research is to show the link between exceptionalism as a political phenomenon and the escalation of dreaded terrorist activities in both the northern and the southern hemisphere of the federal republic of Nigeria, using some key theoretical frameworks such as the moderation inclusion theory, the frustration aggression theory, the Marxist theory, the relational theory and theocratic state theory. These theories will give an in-depth analysis for the reasons of the escalation of terrorist acts that made Nigerian case to be exceptional.

### **2. Scope and Limitations**

This study has the aim of assessing the issue of politics of exceptionalism which gave rise to regional terrorist groups in Nigeria as the title of the thesis stipulates, it has a critical analysis on the reasons for such terrorist's formations. With this in mind, the research has explored both the northern and the southern parts of the country where insecurity had become the order of the day. The period of review covers from 2002 –2018. This study has provided an overview of the exceptional political approach employed by the Nigerian authorities that led to the growth of some terrorist networks; this affected the political, social, and economic situations in Nigeria. It has also made reference to the international community.

### **3. Research Questions**

The study is guided by the following research questions:

- i. What are the causes of terrorism in the Niger Delta Region from 2004 and 2011 and the causes of the terrorism in North-East Nigeria from 2009 and 2014?
- ii. What are the measures adopted by the Nigerian government on how to counter-terrorism between the given period of time?
- iii. What are the possible ways to address Boko Haram and the Niger Delta terrorist activities in Nigeria?

#### **4. Relevance Of The Study**

##### **This Study Can Be Relevant in the Following Ways:**

- ) In a world where there is a major focus on the security and securitization of the globe irrespective of religious, cultural and even ethnic creed. It is prudent that the area of security most importantly in a patriarchal and partially internal war-affected country like Nigeria can be a typical area of comprehensive research. The issue of exceptionalism or marginalization in the Nigerian political arena has posed a serious threat to the security, survival, and development of many parts of the country both in the northern and southern parts. The gaps are noted by the way and manner the various separatist's groups had been calling for inclusion in the government before they broke away, as a result of which we saw the advent of deadly and notorious terrorist groups such as the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants inflicting pain and suffering from this diabolic and perennial problem in Nigeria. This study, therefore, serves as a comprehensive work on that area.
- ) This thesis will also tend to identify the controlling mechanism to be implemented at the national level regarding the fight against terrorism and extremists in Nigeria.
- ) This study will serve as an additional literature on the issue of security degradation which is being fueled by the issues of marginalization, segregation and the politics of exceptionalism in the domestic setting of the Nigerian politics, irrespective of the plethora of security forces interventions in this area of security, it is still obvious that the underlining courses of this security dilemma still exists in the Nigerian states. This study will provide an additional review of the area which will help other academic pursuing research activities in the same field.

J) Finally, this study is a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the escalation of deadly terrorist networks in both the two major borders of Nigeria that is the northern and the southern borders and the implications on both the citizens and the Nigerian government. The thesis study will also provide recommendations that will help the government and even the international community on how to handle the factors that led to this political uprising which had and is continuing to claim the lives and properties of many people.

The design of the study is made up of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. Correspondence using interviews and desk reviews. These tools helped a lot in getting in-depth analysis on the issue of exceptionalism as a propelling force behind the everlasting growth of terrorism and sectarian insurgencies in Nigeria.

The validity and reliability of any study strongly depend upon the appropriateness of the instruments used in the data collection. It is, however, a fact that whichever procedure a researcher uses in the collection of data is very important as it determines the accuracy of the research findings. While conducting this study, related documents from various sources including the E-library as part of the secondary sources were used, among which are scientific articles, journals, newspapers and other academic publications were all consulted.

## **5. Research Problem Statement**

The conceptions surrounding the concept of terrorism have been a hindrance or obstruction towards conducting an empirical research on the global escalation of terrorism. There is a little or less substantial knowledge of what is conceptual, which necessitates a continuous commitment to the concept. However, my contribution to this trending issue will contribute to the body of research in the field of security and counter-terrorism. The research is aimed at finding the relationship between the politics of exceptionalism and the escalation of deadly and fearless terrorist groups in Nigeria with the Boko Haram and movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) as cases in point while trying to give some suggestions on how to counter this terrorist organization using some tools.

There are many perspectives of the public and their views on the causes of terrorism in Nigeria and the rapid spread of the phenomenon. This thesis research is part of many types of research conducted with the aim to understand if the rise of terrorism and its sustenance can be explained by the games of the politics of exceptionalism which gave birth to the current situation of the country. This research is not suggesting or saying that terrorism in Nigeria can be solely explained exceptionalism, but the research aims to find out if a link exists between exceptionalism and the outbreak of radical terrorism and finds a solution to this global trend, by countering its moves.

## **6. The Literature Review:**

### **6.1. The Concepts of Exceptionalism and Terrorism**

It is evidently clear that the term terrorism is one of the most difficult concepts to define, like other concepts of social science. The main accord among experts and analysts with regards to terrorism is that there is no generally acknowledged or accepted the concept that gives a full definition of the idea. A research by the National Research Council (NRC) gives it definition based on social and behavioral sciences, consisting of the following elements:

[i] Threatened use of force or violence to achieve a specific goal

[ii] Powerful intention to force society and government by inducing fear in the population.

[iii] Typically propelled by political and/or ideological motives and justification

According to Schmid, (2011).

*“Terrorism is a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties”* (Schmid, 2011),

According to this definition, this simply means that terrorism is about the assumed adequacy of an extraordinary frame or strategy of generating fear, coercive political



brutality and, then again, to a conspiratorial routine, decisive, coordinate violent activity without legal or moral limitations, focusing on principally regular citizens, performed for its propagandistic and psychological consequences for different groups of individuals and conflicting parties.

The fighting pattern of the attack by the Boko Haram terrorist group has been felt in many parts of the 19 Northern states of Nigeria and their attacks are organized to repel the federal government of Nigeria and its armed security forces. In 2011, the use of violence as a means of terrorizing individuals and properties to intimidate the Nigerian masses was the trending practices of most of the terrorist group. 2011 was the year Nigerians saw an uninterrupted and persistent use of coerciveness and violence by the Boko Haram for the purpose of furthering their political objectives. Boko Haram faction is a gathering of fanatic and zealot lawbreakers who had been propelling assaults on the citizens or nationals of Nigeria, utilizing refined strategies in picking their objectives, for example, police central command, military cantonments, markets, and other comparable targets.

In 2011 these militants were Deterministic and fearless consistency in carrying out attacks on the civilian population and government infrastructural buildings across the country. They mostly spread their attacks mostly in vastly across all the Northern States, places like "Jos, Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri, Bauchi, Yola, Zaria to Niger state and other vulnerable states in the northern hemispheres". Although Boko Haram was originally engaged at loggerhead violence with the federation, the vast majority of the victims are mostly innocent citizens, whose main purpose is to inflict fear, sadness, and rejection on the part of the public, to keep the target or achieve their goals. Such a large number of individuals had lost their friends and families and many individuals had been uprooted from their various native roots because of these barbaric terroristic acts. The culpable conduct had instigated the Nigerian federal government to build up the ethical catalyst for the hierarchical rebuilding of the state security powers so as to support its counterterrorism approach in the North and keep up its guarded strategies against the aggressors in the South.

In 2012, Boko Haram has consistently brutalized and deadly attacks and killed national security forces and civilians in many major provinces in the north. states such as

“Kaduna, Abuja, Kano, Yobe, Plateau States” and a host of others. Both residential, private and public buildings, infrastructures, goods, and services in the many Northern States were destroyed. 2012 is called the year of the Boko Haram massacre in many parts of northern Nigeria. The threats of mass slaughter, bombing, kidnapping, teacher and student’s hostage are increasing. In 2013 the Boko Haram terrorism was a serious problem to the government of Nigeria, but its activities were reduced by the national social control aggressive efforts put in place by the federal government of Nigeria. Measures against terrorism by the national security forces must largely suppress excessive forces of the terrorist group. In one of their attacks, Boko Haram attacked the town of Bama located at Borno State, which led to the death of fifty-five individuals, while in May 2013; forty-six people lost their lives in Yobe State in July of the same year. In Nigeria, the same Borno state, this terrorist group caught a fake military checkpoint in military uniforms and killed 142 people (World Almanac of Islamism, 2014; Daily Sun, 2014; Adams & Ogbonnaya, 2014; Okoli & Iortyer, 2014).

In mid-2014, two hundred and seventy-six female students at Chibok Municipal Secondary School in Borno state Nigeria were kidnapped by members of Boko Haram in the evening of 14th to 15th April 2014 (Iyekekpolo, 2016; Adekoya, Ifidon, and Chioma, 2016; Zenn, 2014). In addition, the British Broadcasting Corporation BBC, (2014) further announced that on 5 May 2014, the leader of Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau categorically stated that he is going to sell the chibok girls, stating that it was ordained by God to do so, claiming that slavery is permitted in his own version of Islam. Deutsche (2014) opined that those girls were excellent students who were aiming for a better future from securing an education. Adekoya et al. (2016) said, fifty of the stolen girls ran away from the Sambisa forest and while the other remaining girls pointed out that they were auctioned at \$ 12 each. The BBC News in 2014, stated that the fate of the remaining stolen girls in Chibok was unknown.

Boko Haram then attacked the town of Gamboru Ngala in the same State and killed 300 civilians. This group poses a serious threat to the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN), but the cooperative efforts of the recent joint task force have checkmated the intensification of its terrorist activities.

### **6.1.2. Trends and Patterns of Boko Haram Attacks in Northern Nigeria**

Boko Haram is acting in a rapid manner in Nigeria, especially in its regional base in the northern part of the country, with bombardment and mass killings. In fact, Nigeria had been prone to lots of explosives and attacks in various areas since 2000, and many lives were destroyed (Ogbonnaya, Ogujiuba & Stiegler, 2014). Suicide bombings and bomb planting were the most terrorist campaign strategy adopted by members of Boko Haram Group. Therefore, acts of terrorism are political and economic instruments targeting Nigeria as a nation, thereby threatening the peace, growth, and development of the country.

Mohammed Yusuf's teachings in the north have created a religious and political revolution ideology in the hearts of the young unemployed youth's believers. He had large followers internalizing the revolutionary ideological defense of Islamic beliefs. Mohammed Yusuf's ideological style of passing out a message and evangelical method made people to start calling them the Nigerian Taliban (WAI, 2014; Ordu, 2015). Most of Yusuf's believers became Islamic extremists who personally had an interest in violent confrontation with government forces. Originally, Muhammad Yusuf did not claim violence, but his believer encountered violently with the state security authorities. As a result of this radical action by the followers of the cleric, a full conflict exploded between Yusuf's followers and the FGN (Federal Govt. of Nigeria), this conflict led to the capture of Mohammed Yusuf and subsequently he was killed by the police in 2009. In fact, the local politicians, including the former Borno State Governor, His Excellency Ali Modu Sheriff, were involved in the conflict with the State security forces, of which about "800 of Yusuf's followers were killed" (Meligard, 2015 p. 1). After this conflict, Yusuf's surviving members were dispersed in the village, strengthened, receiving external assistance, and constantly began to attack in Nigeria.

Yusuf's vice Abubakar Shekau reorganized with the members who survived in 2010 and embarked on a violent Movement toward the Nigerian government and security forces, including civilians that are seen or perceived to be enemies of Boko Haram ideologies. Shekau has a very radical character. Since his leadership, *"Boko Haram has been involved in at least 26,287 deaths between May 2011 and September 2015 and directly*

*responsible for at least 14,226 deaths over the same period” (Meligard, 2015; 1b). Shekau’s radical nature molded his follower’s mentality, thereby making Nigeria to experience escalating tensions, as members of Boko Haram terrorist group assaulted the homes of local officials, police and local residents (Maingwa&Uzodike, 2012). Shekau and his revolutionary movement are trying to create an Islamic state through intense jihad (Adams &Ogbonnaya, 2014; Ayegba, 2015). The World Almanac of Islamism (WAI) claimed that “Boko Haram terrorist group have carried out more than 600 attacks since launching its first attack in Bauchi prison on September 7, 2010, and had been responsible for killing more than 3,800 people during that period” (WAI, 2014 p. 1).*

In northern Nigeria, Boko Haram is responsible for the mass destruction of public facilities and basic amenities as well as suicide bombings in the marketplaces and other public areas, bomb planting, and mass murders. Critically examining the violent attacks committed by Boko Haram will reveal horrible trends. In 2009, Boko Haram severely attacked destroyed various government facilities and many lives and wealth. Okoli<sup>1</sup> and lortyer (2014) stated that Boko Haram killed over 800 people in “Maiduguri, Borno, Yobe, and Kano. In Potiskum, Yobe State”, 3 policemen, and one fire serviceman were killed. Boko Haram strikes at the Customs Office, the Police Stations, Churches, mosques and residents in many villages. In July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2009, the lives of more than 200 Nigerians were taken in a fatal Boko Haram attacks (Okoli&lortyer, 2014).

In March 2010, Boko Haram killed about 300 people in the church and the marketplace. In the same year, Boko Haram released 800 prisoners, most of which are their members serving prison sentences in Maiduguri Borno state. In many northern states of Nigeria, terrorism acts such as bomb planting in populated areas and a massive increase in explosion of suicide bombers in public transport and the market are growing. The New Year Eve bombing in Abuja (the Federal Capital Territory, FCT), was perpetuated by Boko Haram in many several locations of the capital city (Ogbonnaya 2014; Okoli&lortyer (2014). For members of the Boko Haram terror group, bomb planting and suicide bombing seem to be the ultimate political weapon. It causes social depression, anger, frustration, serious mental, physical suffering, they engage in inhumane acts of threatening and repressing people in society. This problem affects all classes of the

society, both the rich and the poor, both of which are victimized, bullied and killed. And also, their wealth has been looted and destroyed.

### **6.1.3. Trends and Patterns of Niger Delta Militancy in Southern Nigeria**

While Boko Haram continuously attacks both civilians and military in the north, a cumulative militia activities by the militants of various Niger Delta region, had Nigeria in a state of overwhelming violence, barbarous acts and kidnappings in the southern region of the country (Adams & Ogbonnaya, 2014). The militants do this violent activity in order to forcefully make the Federal Republic of Nigeria to comply with their “16 Point Demand on Niger Delta” (Vanguard, 2017, pp. 1–3). These requests include the Presidential Pardons Program, Law, and Justice, then the Restructuring and Financing of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), Economic development and empowerment, participation in the oil industry and possession of oil blocks, and strengthening Niger Delta region (Premium Times, 2016).

There are many armed groups in the Niger Delta but the famous and strongest amongst them are the main concern in this thesis. Examples of which will include the “Movement of the Survival of Ogoni People” (MOSOP), “Egbesu Boys” (EB), “Niger Delta People’s Volunteer Force” (NDPVF), “Niger Delta Vigilante Force” (NDVF), “Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta” (MEND), and “Niger Delta Vigilante” (NDV). The NDV has a long history of violence, they have been in rebellion t the Nigerian government since the time of Isaac AdakaBoro saga in 1966. Isaac declared the independence of Niger Delta from the Republic of Nigeria, but this lasted for about two weeks only, he was arrested, and charged with treason and was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Nigerian government. Ken Saro-Wiwa was the candle that was in front for the struggle of the niger delta, a social movement that took his life and those of his fellow agitators in 1996 (see also Adams & Ogbonnaya, 2014; Akanni, 2014). Some Nigerian domestic political writers have referred to some of those groups as “*terrorist groups fighting for one goal or another*” (Akanni, 2014, p. 67a); others (including the present researcher), however, classify most of the militants as both militants and freedom fighters to some of their kinsmen (Arowosegbe, 2009; Ewi, 2010; Nwogwugwu et al., 2012; Adams & Ogbonnaya, 2014).

Some domestic political commentators and writers in Nigeria classified most of the militants as terrorists because of their terror-related acts of violence and insurgency. A clear illustrious example is the October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010 bombing and the fatal New Year eve bomb blast at Eagle Square in Abuja which were championed and all carried out by the movement for the emancipation of niger delta (MEND) under the supervision of one of the notorious leaders of the group in the person of Henry Okka. Several bombings at the inauguration of President Good Luck Jonathan during the election period in Abuja in April and May 2011 were done by MEND. If these extremists have continued such a campaign like terrorism in Nigeria, Nigeria will fall into a serious psychological, social, political and economic crisis, Coupled with a constant attack from the north by the Boko Haram terrorists. As justifiably argued by Ogbonnaya et al. (2014), *“economic crisis will, in turn, threaten the national security and political stability”* (Ogbonnaya et al., 2014), The militant's groups of Niger Delta have been seen and classifies as major players in numerous violent crimes such as abduction, campus and street cultism, destruction of the pipeline, and political violence in this region.

The style of insurgency in the Niger Delta region is frightful, and the cause is the structural insensitivity and dysfunction or impaired social structure and political economy, it has long been embittered and estranged the dwellers of this area to solve the environmental, political, social and economic hardships. (Ejibunu, 2007) also shared a similar view; he recognized the increasing scale of militancy and insurgency in South, particularly the Niger Delta region in Nigeria and its shocking trends and patterns. Furthermore, (Ejibunu2007), Ubhenin and Enabunene (2011) and (Ordu's2015) studies supported, Operators of Nigerian and foreign oil companies are making policies and decisions contradictory to rewarding owners of oil fields. The federal government of Nigeria adopted the traditional behavior of injustice and Instead of establishing a permanent promise with unarmed young people and landowners, the government is marginalizing them, that is one of the reasons that made them felt exceptional from the Nigerian system, then picked arms against the government (Arowosegbe, 2009). This made the youthsfall intothe victimization of militancy and insurgency acts to draw home their demands as contained in the earlier highlighted *“16 Point Demand on Niger Delta”* (for detail, see Vanguard, 2017,1-3). This ever-growing trend of militancy together with

insurgency and associated violent crimes like kidnapping, taking hostage, wreckage, mischief, and cultism do give rise to insecurity and slowed down the growth and development in Nigeria.

According to the convention for prevention and combating terrorism by African Union (AU) stated in Article 1 Section 3, which says terrorism is defined as

*“Any act which is a violation of criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of or causes serious injuries or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes damage to public or private property, natural resources, environment or cultural heritage”.* (Wardlaw1982)

one of his books did described and considered terrorism to be a mechanism for psychological war which creates a new political definition. Some people are direct targets of such behaviors while some other people are indirectly affected or psychologically impacted by those violent acts. Political terrorism refers to the threat or the maximum use of violence by either individuals or groups against the authority. The motif behind which is to intimidate the majority and force them to act according to a particular political ends (Gadzama, 2012). Hoffman 1998: 32) points out that,

*“The decision to call someone or label some organization ‘terrorist’ becomes almost unavoidably subjective, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/concerned”.* (Hoffman, 1998: 32)

Poland, 2005 limits the extent of terrorism on two shared highlights: fear and accomplishing different political ends. All terrorist acts are aimed at frightening a target population and ultimately, they pursue to gain some kinds of political ends, we can see this with the activities of BokoHaram and the Niger Deltaterrorists Consequently, he characterizes terrorism as “creating fear and terrorizing through arranged, deliberate, turmoil, and terrifying of innocent individuals to accomplish a few sorts of political closures”. This is exactly what BokoHaram and the Niger Delta militants are using as a machinery or mechanism in achieving their goals.

While Wilkindon, 1979 Differentiate political terrorism from other kinds of terrorism or rather. He insists that terrorism uses criminals, sycophants, sadists and hooligans to

achieve political objectives. Another scholar that drew the attention to this distinction by explaining the differences between the terms “terror” and “terrorism” is (Victoroff, J. 2005). He further emphasized that there might be some kind of terror activities like armed robbery, slaughter, but it does not cause the act of terrorism. In this context, terrorism will be used for the events that brought severe damage, and apprehension in people. Terrorism can't be discussed without talking about the concept of the counterterrorism; Kenneth Waltz (2013) argued that, counter-terrorism is used to describe force operations. He said it refers to a drone warfare targeted at killing, most obviously, efforts intended to deny territory to terrorist groups. Operation against terrorism may change depending on the nature of terrorist threats. Though Terrorism is a tactics and mentality that cannot be completely eradicated, but counterterrorism provides measures to disrupt, destroy, and ultimately defeat an organization utilizing terrorism.

The objective of this thesis is to explore the concept of terrorism as the Maximum forced or violence used against persons or property in an effort for the violation of state criminal law provisions, for the purposes of intimidation, coercion or ransom. This definition best describes the activities of the deadly terrorist groups operating in Nigeria that is BokoHaram and the Niger Delta terrorist who are hindering the peace and the unity of Nigeria.

## **7. Historical Background**

Terrorism and terrorists have been in existence since time in memorial, but according to some political commentators, modern day terrorism can be said to have taken a new dimension ever since the creation of the Israeli state in the heart of the middle east in 1948, which made the region to become the hotbed of terrorist activities with so many issues recorded (ward law, 1982). In the early 1960s, the world witnessed a sudden emergence of many terrorist organizations; this, of course, included groups like the shining part in Peru [1960], the Ireland republican army [1969], the Italian red brigade [1969]. Then we saw the coming of Al-Qaeda in the 1980s which broke into many regional terrorist networks, now recently we have a regional terrorist organization in



Nigeria known to be the “*Jama Alahle Sunnah Lid DawatiWal Jihad*”, popularly known as the Boko haram.

This thesis is aimed at discussing the two major terrorist organizations that are distracting the Nigerian government from both ends of the country. One from the northern part known as the Boko haram, and the other from the southern part of the country known as the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta popularly known in Nigeria as “MEND”.

### **Boko Haram**

The name of the group as it implies literally translated to “western education is forbidden” is a genocidal terrorist and extremist movement led by one man called Muhammad Yusuf with the combination of both Hausa and Arabic words, Boko which means western education in Hausa language and the word haram which is an Arabic word that implies forbidden. Though the group preferred to be called with real name “Jama’atuAhlis Sunna LiddawatiWal Jihad” meaning, people committed to the propagation of the true teaching of Islam and jihad. The group was first created in the town of Maiduguri and was believed that the group was founded around 2000-2001 by one man called Mohammad Yusuf. Though some locals argued that the sect started its activities on a low key since 1995 with the name “sahaba” they claimed not to only oppose the western education, and are also against the idea of the secularization of the Nigerian state. Before 2009, the group used to carry out its activities in a peaceful way until the government crackdown of 2009 which led to the death of its leader Muhammad Yusuf and 800 other followers. It was after his death that the groups struggle continued under the watch of Yusuf’s deputy Abu-Bakrshekau, who promised to destroy all Christian schools in Nigeria and attack the Nigerian government, they also operate in the Nigerian neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Niger Republic, and even the Chad Republic. The group had been under the supervision and command of Abu-Bakrshekau since 2009, ever since the outburst of the insurgency, the group had killed hundreds of thousands of people and made millions displaced from their homes, this vicious act made Boko haram to be the world’s deadliest terrorist group. Many political commentators stated that what appeared to be merely a public disturbance gradually changed to a major national security threat to Nigeria and the

world, especially after the ghastly attack on the United Nations' (UN) office in Abuja on 26 August 2011.

Boko haram holds that democracy is in conflict with the provision of the Islamic injunction (Murtada, 2003) the group's membership is obtained from mostly youths, unemployed graduates and street kids in the northeastern part of the country (Shola, 2015). The openness of the Nigerian border gave the group the ability to transport weapons from neighboring countries (Onuoha, 2013). The genesis of Boko haram is usually explained with some theories, that is the internal and external perspectives. The internal perspective deals with the socio-economic factors and differences in religious views in the Nigerian society, while the external view talked about Boko haram as a rising terrorist movement in the globe occasioned by the US war on terror (Alozieuwa, 2012), the group now has connections and ties with major terrorist networks such as al-Qaida and Islamic state of Syria and Levant "ISIL" (Gourley, 2012) Boko had carried out countless attacks in most parts of northern Nigeria. In January 2015 they coordinated a deadly attack which caused the lives of more than 2000 people and burned an entire town and about 20,000 people flee their homes to neighboring countries of Niger Republic, Cameroon and Chad republics seeking for asylum (Alexander, 2015).

At the beginning of their violent attacks, the group's usual attack was mostly on the security forces in Nigeria and the Nigerian politicians, and then they later included civilian places such as mosques, churches, schools and even marketplaces. They further engaged in kidnappings and they kidnapped more than 270 schoolgirls on the 14<sup>th</sup> April 2014 which raised a global alarm and a new global trend of "*bring back our girls*", which sparked every corner of the globe, this act of violence tends to show how strong the Boko haram terrorist group are.

### **The Niger Delta militants**

The movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) referred to as the Niger Delta militants in the southern part of Nigeria are militants or terrorist organization that organized and conducts a deadly attack that often paralyzes oil and gas facilities owned by the Nigerian state. They also attack the military, oil workers of foreign companies and

even kidnapping (Obi, 2015), terrorist activities in that region can be traced back to the time of Isaac Boro that is 1966 who led a rebellion against the Nigerian state, in the early 1990s the region saw the emergence of another terrorist in person of KenSaro-Wiwa, who claimed to be struggling to improve the living conditions of the Niger Delta people. In 1994, the Saro-Wiwa group known as “MOSOP” did a protest that drew not only the local attention but the attention of the international community. This protest led to the death of some Nigerians and as a result, the Nigerian government under the administration of late General Abacha executed Saro-Wiwa and his cohorts by firing range (Sampson, 2009). This political resilience method employed by the Nigerian government of that times slowed down the momentum of the agitators.

In 1998 it has been noted that the Kaiama declaration by the Ijaw youths which opened the ground for the modern day militancy and terrorist activities in the region (Sampson, 2009) therefore undoubtedly we can say that the Niger Delta militancy started in the late 1990s as a protest by the indigenous people of the Niger Delta region against the Nigerian government over the issue of environmental degradation and pollution caused by the activities of the oil companies operating in the region.

## **8. Hypothesis**

Terrorism and internal crisis made Nigeria to be seen under the umbrella of Political exceptionalism which led Nigeria into its present state of affairs; this had a negative impact on the Nigerian political system. Negligence and weaker political administrations led Nigeria to be vulnerable and prawn to internal domestic problems in both northern and the southern part of the country. Despite the fact that the Nigerian government had used amnesty as a means of curbing insurgency, now the state is adopting the hard way of dismantling and weakening the terrorists. This thesis study tends to provide a means by which Nigeria can easily deal with terrorism and insurgency, by easily changing the system of governance to a true federal system with state absolute control of resources, this way, the government will be much more transparent and securitization will be the priority of each state of the federation.

## **9. Setting And Outline of the Thesis**

Apart from introduction and conclusion, this thesis is structured into three different chapters, each of which is divided into sections and subheadings in order to make a clearer analysis that will give details of the research. Chapter one covers a general look at the core idea of exceptionalism, how it had affected the Nigerian political realm, its causes, effect and relevance in the Nigerian fight against the insurgency. The second chapter will review and discuss the steps and roles of both civil societies, regional bodies and international community working towards fighting the ever-growing terrorists and sectarian violence, and the responsibilities of the government of Nigeria in implementing international practices that promote counter-terrorism with the aim of protecting the civilians of the country. The third chapter will focus on how to counter the insurgency and counterterrorism, this chapter will explain in details how to checkmate this rising phenomenon in Nigeria and it will suggest the approaches to be adhered to by the Nigerian armed forces in combating the growing trend.

## 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of exceptionalism politics and the rise in the escalation of terrorist activities in Nigeria cannot be explained from a single perspective or a single theoretical phase, there are many theories to be employed in discussing this pressing issue. Several theories have been put forward that offers a useful explanation of the rise of terrorism. These theories do not cover everything; they disclose events from a specific point of view. (Robert Cox 1981) stated that: *“Theory is always for someone and for some purpose”* Therefore, we can clearly say that there is no single ambiguous theory that can categorically explain the rise and escalation of Boko Haram terrorists and the Niger Delta militancy in both northern and southern Nigeria. Some theories that advanced and can so far tend to discuss this rising phenomenon include the theocratic state theory, the frustration-aggression theory, Marxist conflict theory, the moderation inclusion theory, the vengeance theory, and the social Darwinism theory.

The fundamental and systematic operation of Nigeria’s Boko Haram terrorists and the Niger Delta armed groups has become too strong and sophisticated to be ignored and left alone for puerile Nigerian politicians, Therefore, it has become a necessity and very important for an unbiased research of this group’s actions and strategies in the academic field of Nigerian security. The recent successful activities of Boko Haram in the northeastern part of the country and the rapid attacks on the Nigerian naval forces working in the Nigerian Niger Delta area not only creates uncertainties about the ineffectiveness of Nigerian security forces but also avoids the cloud of chaos. Which undermines Nigeria’s existence and national dream. This topic linked us to the politics of

exceptionalism in Nigeria, and how this deadly groups came into existence in the country. These theories though useful, could not offer the perfect explanation of the activities of those terrorist organizations in Nigeria, though a brief look at their postulations and provisions will aid in writing this thesis.

Firstly, there exist the theocratic state theory argument employed in this thesis research work is solemnly related with the Boko Haram Terrorist Group, its core idea is that Boko Haram seeks for the formation of an Islamic state based on the “*Khalifa system*” and the “*Sharia system*”. The religious state hypothesis of terror-based oppression isn’t just shared by Boko Haram yet by other Salafi-Jihadist bunches in the world, similar to al Qaeda, like al Shabab of east Africa, and lately the ISIS. The rejection of the offer from the Nigerian former president for a dialogue by Boko Haram on the grounds that he, the president is a “*Kafir*” [*unbeliever*] and he should convert to Islam before any dialogue, this points out the theocratic theory of Boko Haram. (Alozieuwa, 2012) This argument is important, but at the same time, it has failed to give a good explanation about why other Salafi groups exist before or prior to Boko Haram. The criticism of Boko Haram from these Salafi groups have been the loudest within the Islamic community in Nigeria because the majority of Nigerian Muslims condemn Boko Haram and their activities

Secondly, there is the frustration-aggression theory, the term frustration aggression refers to the act of preventing an individual or group of individuals from making any advancement, progress or even having success in life, which results in dissatisfaction in the life of an individual or a group of individuals who turn to retaliate or react in a violent manner to show their protest against the hindrance to succeed. This produces the feeling of anger which can bring about aggression and aggressive behavior.

The core ideas of this theory asserted that “*all forms of aggressive behavior, whether in the context of personal or interpersonal/intergroup, is in a way linked to some key factors or actors striving for a particular goal*”. The theory argued that individuals do launch attack on others when they are frustrated. So we can say that frustration is a social condition which makes individuals or a group of individuals not to be able to obtain the pleasure they are expecting to enjoy(Dollard et al., 1939). According to (Ayegba, 2015), he stated that the poverty line and the unemployment rate in the country both in the northern and

the southern parts of the country is playing a great role in the escalation and creation of insecurity in the country. Or we can say that the lack of access to some basic amenities among the populace is also a contributing factor in the rise of militancy and insecurity in the country. In discussing the frustration-aggression theory, there are other factors which lead to terrorism which are being put down by the prominent scholars; this includes the unemployment which stands to be a crime causation factor. The most important thing to note is that terrorists use frustration-aggression mechanism to communicate their anger and deprivation in the society.

The fact remains that, terrorism and terrorist attacks carried out in Nigeria are all clear expressions of frustration received from the nation. These make this rebellious Nigerians frustrated and angered the youth in the Niger Delta regions. The ill-treatment of some oil companies and the Nigerian derivation policy or failure to give their regions good oil revenue generated from their various communities gave rise to the escalation of the militancy and struggle for secession in the southern part of the country. (Nwogwugwu & Emmanuel, 2012)

In discussing the frustration-aggression theory, there are other factors which led to the rapid escalation of terrorism which is being put by the scholars of terrorism; they talked about "unemployment" which is seen as a crime causation factor. The most important thing to note is that terrorist's use frustration-aggression mechanism to communicate their anger and deprivation in the society. The militants in the southern part felt they were exempted, exploited, sidelined, frustrated and even overlooked upon by the Nigerian government's unfair Derivation of Crude Oil Revenue Distribution and sharing of the resources acquired from their various communities (Nwogwugwu, Emmanuel & Egwuonwu, 2012). The people in the riverine Niger Delta part of the nation especially the ones coming from the oil regions are kept idle and are suffering from abject poverty, they they felt reduced and frustrated by oil companies and the Nigerian government (Arowosegbe, 2009). A nation like Nigeria enabling her youth to be lazy is staying on a time bomb because depressed people are looking for a way in making rebellion and violence (Tell Magazine of 10 August 2009, p. 38 cited in Ayegba, 2015). The terrorist or the insurgent fighters felt that they were not taken by the ordinary rule of the country, they

felt being marginalized by exception and, therefore, seeking the opportunity to leave the Nigerian government and establish an independent state (Arowosegbe, 2009; Nwogwugwu, et al., 2012; Ubhenin&Enabunene, 2011; Adams &Ogbonnaya, 2014). The obvious and clear point is that if Nigeria remains as it is, without fully considering the social demands of its citizens, people will seek independence elsewhere (Arowosegbe, 2009). In other words, anger and confusion will be subjected to this situation and then get involved in crime and abuse, since people are looking for illegal opportunities to achieve their reduced goals. Additionally, terrorizing the society among the youths especially the lower class is strongly linked with different forms of frustration such as inadequate financial status (Greenberg, 1977).

Regular frustration causes aggression and depression by those who have experienced depression deprivation and pains. That is why; therefore frustration-aggression theory or hypothesis is generally referred to as a relative deprivation theory (Feierabends&Nesvold, 1971; Ayegba, 2015). Here, the efforts of the Boko Haram members to establish Islamic “sharia” as a national religious law of Nigeria eventually face hatred from the Nigerian masses. Adesoji (2010) agreed that the long desire of Boko Haram to establish their own version of religious belief in the entire northern Nigeria ignited the spread of religious extremism in the northern region as it is currently carried out in some parts of the Middle East by radical Arabs, in Iraq the Maghreb, in Somalia the Levant and even in some parts of the East Africa by the Al-Shabab in Kenya and Somalia. Similarly, *“The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise that the existence of frustration leads to some form of aggression”* (Fawole, 1994 pp. 12–13). As solid in the basics idea of frustration-aggression hypothesis, militants in the Niger Delta region of the southern Nigeria launched most of their violent attacks due to the frustration they experienced in the environment of Pollution and environmental degradation with rewards that are not in harmony with environmental and social damage and treatment effects.

According to Gurr (1970), frustration shows a collectively shared displeasure in the social structure. Depending on the size, the magnitude, and the degree of the displeasure, if the founders of this discontent are the main actors, it will definitely bring about rebellion



amongst the people seeking for change. The insurgents sometimes use the combined approach to competing in opposition to the political system and political agents involved or actors while submitting their personal demands. Because their needs (often) cause criminal charges, demonstration of protests and protest stimulants, it sometimes leads to frustration that often reflects bad habits. It should be considered absent from a private government and as an important factor supporting fighter's freedom and other stakeholders involved in one or more forms of violence. When people have a great anticipation of political structures, they begin to feel deprived of religious influence or economic improvements from the political system in place and the religious expectations, constitute insurgent groups expressing their feelings or acts of terrorism, violent protests or non-dynamic feelings

(Gurr, 1970; Obi, 2008; Ayegba, 2015). Ucha (2010) asserted that, in today's society, many young people in Nigeria's streets continue to be torn by anger because of unemployment; they tend to become rebels who can possibly see the guilt and revolt as a way to build a better future for the state. The clear point is that terrorists and militants uses frustration aggression as a mechanism as a means of communicating with the state or the society

The Marxist conflict theory is also vital in discussing this pressing phenomenon. Marxist conflict theory argued that interaction between individuals in a society is based on conflict, not consensus, powerful groups may tend to use their powers to maintain their status quo in the system. Some scholars adopt to the radical or sometimes referred to as the new criminology theory which is an offshoot of the Marxist theory, Karl Marx was one of the individuals that produced the theory of conflict after he was Ralph Dahrendorf who improved the theory further during the rise of capitalism. The central ideas of the Marxist conflict theory are; 1. The class that exists in the society, 2. Inequality in the society, and 3. How the society serve the powerful class in the society and disregard the lower class thereby causing conflict which includes civil war and the escalation of terrorist activities (Mc Gregor, 2000) according to Marx and Engeles, in every society, Criminals usually come from the lower class, and this crime that they engage into is as a result of unjust, social conditions that reject productive work or labor. Marx in his theory argued that

capitalist's societies make laws that criminalize any action that contradicts private property so as to please the bourgeoisies and suppress the have-nots, this is exactly the case in the Federation of Nigeria, this issue gave rise to the escalation of terrorism in the south because the oil companies there are destroying the land of the commoners and making the government to inciseures them, while up in the northern part of the country the issue of BokoHaram is as a result of the high level of corruption and nepotism among the various ranks of offices in the civil service. Marxist believe that the root cause of all conflicts in any society is the class-based patriarchal nature of the economies of many states in the world (Mooney, 2003) therefore the argument here is that the terrorist activities like that of Boko Haram and the Niger Delta terrorists are because of the frustration and corruption with poverty and unemployment perpetuated by official corruption which is seeing by many Nigerians as a determinant in wealth accumulation by those in the corridors of power in the country.

Another important theory is the moderation inclusion theory, the theory argued or provided some sets of interrelated concepts by which radical political groups are being taken away or being eschewed from Non-violent platform favorable to medium policy using election compromise and non-conflict strategies. This can be done both on ideological and behavioral levels, the theory traced back to Robert Michel's whom discussed on how to moderate the religion and bring it into the umbrella or rather the arena of politics, nowadays the theory is strongly associated with Islamic political groups and the rise of Islamic political parties. Though if we link this theory to what is happening in Nigeria, we will see that BokoHaram is not a political party and are not about one but they have some politicians amongst the various political parties that serve as there agents and sponsors, so the only way this theory can be used on the BokoHaram militants is through moderation using bargaining and agreements with the federal government on certain issues which the terrorist organization agreed upon, example of which is the release of the detained BokoHaram members across the country. One can't be talking about Islamic political parties and groups without talking about political Islam. What is political Islam? We can say that political Islam is recent term used to describe the acts taken out by individuals or organizations for the purpose of the transformation of their states or nations in accordance with the teachings of Islam (Khan, 2014) this

movements had become global and are seeking to establish a global or state Islamic caliphate, just like what Boko Haram are trying to achieve in northern Nigeria. Though the political Islam is of two types, the radicals, and the non-radicals there are those that seek polity through peaceful democratic process, and those that use force like the Boko Haram in Nigeria, this sect is globally referred to as jihadists, while the former is referred to as Islamists by the media (Khan, 2014).

The relational theory, this theory attempts to explain exploring social, political, economic, religious, historical relationships such as the one between Niger Delta armed militants and Boko Haram terrorist armed group, in modern Nigeria. Differences in culture and value and group interests have had a certain influence on the relationship between individuals and groups. Thus, in the past history of conflicts between groups, there were many conflicts led to the development of Negative stereotype, intolerance with discrimination, (Faleti, 2006:54-55). The difference in value created the dichotomy of “us” and “them” which in political terms we usually refer to as the theorization the fact that ‘others’ are perceived as different makes them feel they are not entitled to a particular societal privilege. The members of the terrorist sects usually attracted several statements in where they usually operate, that acted on the basis of the perception of the local residents in several communities. There were sects and their members described as terrorists and people with a psychiatric disorder (Faleti, 2006.p.450). The idea behind the viewpoint of revenge has long been a persuasive explanation about the terrorist activities by Boko Haram because ever since Yusuf was detained by the police and later died in the custody his detention by Nigerian security forces which led to his death only brought the psychology of “we” and “other people” and decided to revenge the members through terrorist activities (Daily Sun, 2012).

Politically Motivated Theory, we can also call this theory the Oil Block Cartel Theory, however, With the incentive from the present Niger Delta people, if President Jonathan returns, the conclusion will be drawn that many existing oil field owners will lose their licenses and wealth, this argument had created so much division among both the masses and the elite politicians of Nigerian coming from different regions of the country. This theory is mostly or often associated with the past speeches of Nigerian politicians and

their bid to make the country ungovernable if a certain candidate is not elected as president we have heard this coming from people like AsariDokubo from the Urhobo tribe, the head of the Niger delta avengers in the person of Tompolo. The second most recent idea is the belief that the opposition parties and their leaders have penetrated dissatisfied sects and brought comfort to them as compensation for the constant efforts threatening the incoming president's return. The calculation of this ascension is thin and laughable. This is due to the fact that all northern politicians have offered public support to the government and have condemned the terrorist acts in politics. Anything Nigerians have decided to believe in, the politically motivated theory is still a formidable hypothesis about the goal of Boko Haram and Niger Delta militants.

We also saw how The Social Darwinism Theory is applicable in the Nigerian system, this refers to the ways of thinking of some specific group or class of individuals to others, scholars attempted to apply the concept of natural selection to human societies. The concept first started in the 1880s but was not effective until around (1939-1945) during the Second World War, it came up from the core ideas of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler's act that justifies terrorism. This theory will surely provide a foundation for our discussion on the rise of the deadly terrorist sects or groups in Nigeria. The philosophy of this theory extorts conflict, political violence as a tool of natural evolution, the theory stated that terrorism is not a game only played by the state actors, the theory sees terrorism as an instrument of the weak against the strong though some military theorists counter and perceived terrorism as an asymmetric warfare. Furthermore, the social Darwinism theory tends to portray the views of some particular sect of people as being superior to others we can relate this with the views of Boko Haram seeing themselves as a hybrid sect of Muslims the perfect Islamic injunctions which are merely a version of their own view or belief. Many political theorists adopted the social Darwinism theory to justify against the government's program to aid the poor, they believed that poverty was a result of natural inferiority. Social Darwinism had a large impact on the immediate societies, the theory is a major player in the modern contemporary world today, the idea behind the theory can be related to the reason for the escalation of terrorism in Nigeria, the core survival of the fittest, the theory justifies laissez-faire and the social division. We can

conclude by saying that the theory provided a ground for a scientific, political and natural outline to rationalize war, conquest and the establishment of an empire.

Lastly, there is the system theory which was theorized by Ludwig von Bertalanffy, he argued that;

*“System theory is the transdisciplinary study of the abstract organization of phenomena, independent of their substance, type, or spatial or temporal scale of existence. It investigates both the principles common to all complex entities and the models which can be used to describe them”* (Von Bertalanffy, 1968)

It can be rephrased as a comprehensive study of a general system with the sole purpose of explaining the principles applicable to all types of systems of all levels in all research fields. This term derives from Bertalanffy’s General System Theory (GST), and it is also used in other fields such as Talcott Parsons’ behavioral theory and Nikolas Lehmann’s social system theory. In this context, the word systems are used to refer specifically to self-regulating systems, (Von Bertalanffy, 1968)

### **1.1.The Idea of Exceptionalism And Its Spillover Effects On Nigerian Security**

The term exceptionalism may have so many different meanings to so many different individuals or a group of people, but in social sciences, we can see it to be the condition of being different from the norms and values of a state, a nation or even a region. According to Agamben, (2010) the term “state of exception” refers to a space governed by the renouncing of law, where *“application of the law is suspended but the law remains in force”* (Agamben, 2010). These *states of exception* appear to be spaces that have been abandoned or neglected by law, but in fact, they are spaces that have been prescribed and created by law as per a long-standing legitimate corpus that holds that the constitutional provisions and political standards can be suspended amid times of crisis. The mechanism behind this renouncement isn’t to oust existing loci of power and control, rather the intention is to ensure and recreate political typicality and the status quo in times of crisis.

The main aim of this chapter will be to explain the relevant concepts used in this thesis study which will aid to better understand the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants' phenomenon. These include the concept of "state", the concept of the state of Nigeria, the concept of terrorism. And in addition, the chapter will review on violence and terrorism in Nigeria so as to fill the vacuum existing gap in the emerging literature on the Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militant's phenomenon that tends to be a continuous threat in the internal security affairs of Nigeria

According to the 2006 national census carried out in Nigeria, the total population of Nigeria was about 150 million people at that time, but today, the population of the country has risen to about 180-200 million people. This chapter of the thesis examines a general look at the core idea of exceptionalism, how it had affected the Nigerian political realm, its effect, and relevance in the Nigerian fight against the insurgency.

## **1.2. The Extent Of Exceptionalism**

The exceptionalism in the Nigerian context will be related to how the central power tends to sideline some certain parts of the country i.e. the people of the riverine also known as the Niger Delta region and the people of the Chad basin, which are referred to as the Boko Haram. Taking the Niger Delta first, it is evidently clear that the government of Nigeria failed to provide the region with the basic amenities needed for the survival of the people, the oil exploration rendered their land vulnerable and the people exposed to so many hazardous situations, the level of poverty in that part of the country is very high which gave rise to so many crimes and militancy movements. Inadequate land for agriculture, inadequate educational facilities, bad road network and good drinking water. All this accumulated and made the youths to pick arms against the Nigerian state because they feel like they are the main source of the federal revenue and at the same time they are being sidelined in the Country's Decision Making Process.

Secondly, the rise of the Boko Haram is more of a political move, which is mostly seen as a struggle for territorial control. Though the Boko Haram had been hiding under the shades of "western education is forbidden", but their driving force is to establish an Islamic caliphate in the northeastern part of Nigeria and some parts of Niger Republic,

Cameroon, and the chad. The group felt like they were sidelined for long in the domestic politics of Nigeria, they were looking for a platform to exercise their might to the Nigerian people and government. They came up as a result of the negligence by the Nigerian authorities, the northeastern part of the country happens to be the bedrock of poverty in the northern part of Nigeria. Joblessness, political clash, and extreme poverty are the forces commanding the youths in the geopolitical region.

Keeping the Nigerian case of exceptional politics as the main topic of discussion in this thesis, we also have similar issues in some other countries of the world where politics of exceptionalism played a role in the domestic politics of the country, putting in mind that every country, nation or a state has its own interpretation of exceptional politics.

In Puerto Rico, the Dominican island Republic, and Cuba, the link between “race” and national identity from the proportion of two theoretical frameworks can be seen and be sighted as a clear example of the exceptional politics the ideological imbalance or inequality hypothesis and the Iberian Exceptionalism. Consistent with the imbalance or inequality, in all three Caribbean countries, there was strong and consistent evidence of race hierarchy. However, in line with the hypothesis of imbalances and inequalities, and even the exceptional view of Iberia, there was a general tendency for all "races" to be equally established in the country, both in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, perhaps unexpectedly, the Cuban Blacks are more attached to the nation than the White Cubans. These clearly portray that the precise interface between racial and national identity will be acutely influenced by the specific socio-political context within each nation. However, the exceptional criticism of Iberia has recently received considerable criticism. Critics of this model argue that the concept of racial democracy is merely a hegemonic ideal used to cover up the race hierarchy and to blunt the political mobilization of the black race. It was when Castro came to power that he stopped the racial discrimination and exceptionalism in Cuba, this racial exemption caused a series of conflict between the white Cuban's and the black Cuban's, this act made the political and social scientists call the situation as the Cuban exceptionalism, this happened in virtually all the Caribbean islands. Thus, Iberian exceptional critics do not rule out racial discrimination, People with light skin color were able to maintain a hierarchical and flexible race relationship based on

skin color, given a higher position and privilege than those with dark skin. Although, the only thing that is considered to be “exceptional” about the Caribbean’s is It is a racial containment rhetoric that is used to disarm and mitigate things otherwise that might be more explosive and controversial racial politics.

### **1.3. The Theoretical Framework Of The Chapter**

The concept of exceptionalism politics and the rise in the escalation of terrorist activities in Nigeria cannot be explained from a single perspective or a single theoretical phase, there are many theories to be employed in discussing this pressing issue. Various theories have been advanced that offered a useful explanation on the rise in terrorism. These theories are not exhaustive. They explain the phenomenon from a specific point of view. Robert Cox, (1981) stated that *“Theory is always for someone and for some purpose.”* (Robert Cox, 1981) Therefore, we can clearly say that there is no single theory that can wholly explain the rise and escalation of Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria, but there are theories which can be related to the menace in elaborating or discussing the rise and impact of terrorism in Nigeria. Some theories advanced so far include the theocratic state theory, the frustration-aggression theory, Marxist conflict theory, the moderation inclusiontheory,the political motivation theory, and the social Darwinism theory. All these theories had been elaborated, discussed and dwelled upon by the writer in the theoretical part of this thesis.

### **1.4. The Concept Of State**

The "state", like many other concepts of political science, was the subject of intensive discussion among political scientists. Discussions around the phenomenon are related to There are various problems such as essence, function, conversion mechanism, definition, historical origin, and modern setting (Demetriou, 2003: 107). Other political scientists of the school of the statist institution mainly consider the state as an autonomous institution and social control entity, but many others mainly Marxists, neo-Marxists, and post-structuralists see it as “institutional hard coating of power that emerges from society”



(Demetriou, 2003: 107). These aforementioned features of the state are in correspondence with the definition of Max Weber (1946) who argued that; "*The state is the only human community with the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within the designated parameters in which the community belongs*" (cited in Metropolitiski, 2011: 1). This definition of Max Weber is the most widely accepted and used in both modern and comparative politics. Thus, the word 'state' is used in a Weberian sense by Beblawi and Luciani (1987: 4) to describe; "*The social system subject to government or power, and the apparatus or organization of government or power that exercises the monopoly of the legal use of violence.*" similarly, Yates 11 (1996: 14) defined the state as "*The structure of power and authority that exercises the attributes of sovereignty within a given territory or country.*"

Furthermore, the state is being seen as a political association with effective political and military control over a geographical area. Verifiably, backpedaling to history, the most essential contention about the rise of the state has been that best in class by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Writing at the time of the English Civil War, Hobbes he guarantees that individuals will fall into a circumstance of an endemic rough clash which would ensure nobody even the most fundamental security. These individuals are expected to sign a social contract that ensures their general wellbeing and prosperity by selecting strong and capable leaders who dominate sovereignty to maintain the soundness and stability of the political order. In this way, from the perspective of Hobbes, Lock, and Rousseau, the state can be seen as a product of a contract between the people and the state to serve the people and protect their interest. (Ajayi, 1997: 69) Given these highlights, a state is then anticipated that would be compelling all things considered: build up solid and viable organizations; control and guard its sovereignty; have a strong populace; exercise sovereignty and have the assets to guarantee the prosperity of its citizens, and appreciate the acknowledgment and regard of different states as a bonafide member of the global community (Osaghae, 2007: 692) This aside, the monopoly of legitimate power which states exercise allows individuals to escape what Hobbes called the "*war of every man against every man*" (cited in Fukuyama, 2004: 1; Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012: 96). Even though, the same coercion and coercive power which gives the states the power to protect property rights and provide safety, at the same time also

allows them to *“confiscate private property and abuse the rights of their citizens”* (Fukuyama, 2004: 1). Therefore, in this context, the social contract between states and citizens is affected and in some cases the state may be facing some internal problems and challenges from groups and internal pressures such as riots, protest, and even militancy, which Nigeria is facing today from Boko Haram in the northeast and the Niger Delta militants from the south. Maley (2003: 163) argued that Complex remedial policies are often needed to incite subtle processes to rebuild political order in the country of question. Sarah Berry (1989: 47) argues that state power in most of the African countries is used *“To manipulate the rules of access to land, labor, and capital by influencing legislation, administrative practices or the outcomes of judicial procedures”* (Berry, 1989: 47). Nigeria is well suited to the above description of some states in Africa. Recently, the legitimacy of the Nigerian state has been challenged by southern armed groups, inter-sectarian violence, Boko Haram terrorists threatening the country from the north, it would also be very important to examine the emergence of terrorism and terrorists in the Nigerian state and the key factors that have made it vulnerable to Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants attacks on the sovereignty of Nigeria as a country.

#### **1.4.1. The Nigerian state**

Since the history of the emergence of the Nigerian state is too wide, we cannot provide a comprehensive summary here, but for the purpose of this paper, this thesis aims to analyze and will emphasize the political events that contributed to the expansion of the country's overgrowing violence and the Nigerian Vulnerable or fragile relationship between the masses and the federal government. The collective political body known as Nigeria was a sudden or by chance a false colonial policy. One of which can be said to be the amalgamation of 1914. This amalgamation is a false marriage because it brought together and unified people of different ethnic, political, religious, and regional affiliations without taking their background differences and grievances into consideration (Abdullah, 2011: 28),

It is clearly evident that the historical memory and events of these people were limited only to the common experience of a single colonial ruler and the collective struggle for independence from 1914 to 1960. It is no big surprise that as of late, there is still doubt

among Nigerian nationals toward their central government, especially in view of the gathered plunders and depredations of their rulers, showed in the endemic degree of first-class defilement and corruption, abandoned open institutions, and political insecurity and instability(Lewis, 2006: 91) these qualities of the Nigerian state are very vital in breaking down the issues of state delicacy in the nation, particularly from the authoritarian point of view, by authoritarian I mean the leadership, Grievances coming about because of the bad administration lead numerous The Nigerians are confident of eccentric governance and contrary to the central management governance system they consider it to be ineffective (Forest, 2012: 30), Such initiative failures, combined with its acquired provincial highlights, have decreased Nigeria to a delicate state. In this situation, Boko Haram has developed and emerged, acting like *deus ex machina* to a considerable lot of its devastated members, promising them a superior life in this world and beyond.

#### **1.4.2. What Made Nigeria to Be Exceptional From Other Countries?**

Nigeria is a very rich nation blessed with human and natural resources, a country which is a home to about 200 million people, but due to some political miscalculations, Nigeria is lagging behind its independence mates since 1960. Many claimed that the high level of poverty has been one of the major keys that led the country to its present state of insecurity since the coming of the civilian rule in 1999. The notion that poverty is responsible for the conflicts in developing countries has been disproved by empirical evidence. But to counter this assertion this thesis will use some of the empirical evidence from sound literature to justify the assumption that poverty is one of the driving force responsible for the insecurity in Nigeria. At this point, it is very important to conceptualize poverty and insecurity.

Poverty: the definition of this term remains an issue of dispute amongst the political scholars, poverty is multidimensional, it has different faces in different scenarios, it is multifaceted and complex therefore it is both a relative and subjectional phenomenon, to

sum it up, there is no single definition of poverty, every individual has his own views of poverty. The United Nations defined poverty as;

*“A denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness, and exclusion of individuals, households, and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation.”* (United Nations 2011:2).

This definition by the United Nations made the United Nations high commission on Refugees (UNHCR) to state that is when the basic resources needed for daily life are in absentia to the people, resources such as power and security which are founder mental for a good standard of living (UNHCR, 2004). Though the term had been conceptualized by many as lack of financial power to cater for basic needs. Studies had proven that poverty is more than just lack of income, it goes beyond that. According to the Copenhagen declaration of 1995, it clearly stated that *“poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivations of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education, and information”* Despite the abundant resources in the country, the level of poverty in both the northern and the southern part of the country is alarming, especially in the northeast and the south-south regions. This level of poverty tends to make the terrorists to easily captivate the minds of the jobless youths who are suffering from the severe poverty which the corruption in the system had created.

Insecurity: Nigeria is insecure and this is a fact because of the activities that are going on presently in the country. Security is one of the backbones of any successful country, in any country where there is no security, the crime rate will be high and the population will be open to attacks from the enemies of the state both within and outside the country. wherever a state fails to provide adequate security for its populace, that state is considered to be a failed state or a weak state (Rice, 2007) according to rice, Nigeria and 61 other countries are considered to be weak states because ever since the installation of democratic rule in the countries, the countries have problems economically, politically and

even socially. The level of insecurity in Nigeria today has intensified since 2009, the Boko Haram boys and the Niger Delta militants are just attacking the populace from all angles, Boko Haram alone had killed more than 13 thousand people ever since they became strong in 2009, while the militants in the south are busy kidnapping oil workers, bombing pipelines, and armed robbery. The failure of the Nigerian government to provide adequate security to its citizens prompted for the citizens to establish their own civilian taskforce to fight back for their lives known as the civilian JTF.

### **1.5. What Is Terrorism?**

Terrorism has no universally accepted definition because someone's freedom fighter maybe someone's terrorist (Gerald Seymour 1975). The international community had been divided over an acceptable definition of the phenomenon, though there is a desperate need to address the phenomenon with immediate effect Terrorism had become the major source of concern in the world ever since the al-Qaida strike on the twin towers in America. The United Nations stressed that any insurgency can be battled by means of counterterrorism strategy (counterinsurgency). Terrorism refers to a political violence targeted at civilians deliberately, or the illegal use of the instruments of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political goals. However, as Dedeoglu (2003) points out in his article attempting to define terrorism, there is no consensus on the definition.

*“Different people and different countries have different views of the same behaviors in this arena. A terrorist to one is an insurgent, guerilla, militant, rebel, revolutionary, freedom fighter, warrior, soldier, or hero to another” (Dedeoglu, 2003).*

At the height of any form of terrorism is unpredictability. It only seems fitting that there are ambiguities and skepticism regarding a definition for terrorism itself. The word terrorism is viewed in different ways, one's freedom fighter is another's enemy or terrorist a terrorist is a faceless enemy of a government or a state which is marked by extreme brutality. It has been a global problem faced by many countries for decades it has even shaped the makeup of human civilization which has serious implications for national security, locally, regionally and even internationally. In accordance with the global terrorism database, the cases of terrorism between 1970 and 2017 are quite high and mostly transcends from domestic to transnational incidents.

For the purpose of this thesis study, the writer tends to define Terrorism as a threat of violence, or violence against someone or something. These threats and actions may be contrary to the public and the government. In general, the goal is to promote political agendas and religious beliefs.

### **1.5.1. Types of Terrorism**

According to Wilkinson (2006: pp 328), he suggested that the phenomenon of terrorism was laid out to manifest a situation of extreme fear which is being pushed towards the wider target, and considered by the society it happens on as extra moral activities because it violates the norms and values of the society, and It is mainly/mostly used for influencing the political moves and behaviors of governments and organizations. Wilkinson also divided terrorist movements or groups into various groups or compartments. There are the ethnic nationalist groups, which are driven by identity and political motivation, ideological terrorist groups which are those that push for the creation of an ideological state, (communist states), and lastly the religious political groups which has the intentions of creating or establishing a religious governed state, example of which is the Boko haram of Nigeria.

The main purpose of these terror activities is to demoralize the civilian population so that it will be leverage on the national government, for the purposes of intimidation, coercion or ransom causes of terrorism seems almost impossible to have a specific reason, because they change over time, terrorist activities does not emerge in a vacuum, and are not about vacuum. Political, social, economic &religious factors determine the extent to which a terrorist attack induces destruction. In this thesis, I am going to highlight some important types of terrorisms and how they are being used by the terrorists to inflict the fear in the minds of their subjects.

State-Sponsored terrorism, which consists of terrorist acts on a state or government by a state or government, is the type that is being organized and carried out by a state for the purpose of achieving a particular objective. State sponsors of terrorism impede the effort of any state to fight its own internal terrorism; such countries provide a critical foundation for the terrorists to prevail. The argument here is that without state-sponsored terrorism,

terrorist groups will have a difficult time in the obtaining, generating and securing funds, weapons, materials and even be able to acquire the arms they carry out their operations with.

Dissent terrorism, these are terrorist groups which have rebelled against their governments, then we have the Left and Right terrorist groups, which are rooted in political ideology. i.e. the communist states, then we have the religiously motivated terrorist and criminal Terrorism, which are terrorist's acts used to aid in criminal activities.

### **1.5.2. Historical Perspective of the Conflict in The Niger Delta Region**

The population census in Nigeria showed that about thirty-one million people live in the Niger Delta which is about twenty-four percent of Nigeria's total population; the census showed that about sixty-two percent of them are below thirty years of age. The region is very diverse with more than forty different ethnicities that speak 250 or more different languages. The largest ethnic group is the Ijaw group, while other minor ethnic groups include the Itsekiri, Urhobo and Ibibio- and the Efik. After the independence of Nigeria in 1960, disputes began to occur between the community, oil companies, and the federal government. In 1966 Isaac Boro, the leader of the Niger Delta Volunteers Force declared independence of the People's Republic of Niger Delta and urged oil companies to negotiate with the declared government, not the legitimate government of the Federal Government of Nigeria. After the 1967 Biafra war, the military government dominated the military regime from 1969 to 1999. Since 1999, the states and local governments in the Niger Delta are more voicing among their dissatisfactions, believing that they are central resources and power concentrations. The community is in conflict with the security forces, with the oil company and with each other, various problems such as payment, land acquisition, environmental destruction and so on. Armed groups are implementing a systematic campaign to meet their needs from government and oil companies and young people who are unemployed have been involved in criminal acts and have used the situation to justify their moves. Given the perceived inequity that they are not and would not benefit from their own resources and that negative outcomes of extraction would have to be faced, this act made series of extremists appeared. Although most are politically essential, they are violent to seek necessity, but other organizations use violence in

activities such as kidnapping foreign oil workers against ransom or oil theft. Oil extraction and exploration is a capital rather than labor-intensive industry and therefore provides little employment. The region is entangled or disadvantaged by a very difficult geographical terrain which makes infrastructures to be very expensive to acquire and effects of environmental degradation because of oil extraction has an immense effect on daily activities such as fishing and agriculture.

### **1.5.3. Causes Of Terrorism**

In discussing this concept, we have to lay the factors that were put forward to the rise of this fearless terrorist acts, why terrorism occurs, how the process works, and what are the social and political effects of terrorism on Nigerian sovereignty. Terrorism occurs because of many reasons be it political, social, economical or even religious, the terrorist groups in Nigeria has their different reasons for out breaking, taking boko haram as an example, they used religion as their means of justification stating that the western education is totally against the provisions of their version of Islam, but it is evidently clear that the motif behind their activities is solemnly political and economic, they are struggling to have a political ground and territory from the Nigerian sovereignty, more also they need the absolute control of the economic root of Nigeria in the northeastern region because, they believe that if they manage to get such, they will be able to be one of the strongest proclaimed Islamic state in Africa with a strong connection to ISIL and the al Qaeda network. Terrorism doesn't come as impromptu, it has a process and stages that guides it, it usually starts with argument with the system in practice of a state then due to negligence, the network will then gradually start to be spreading then the radicals will then adopt it after which they will recruit jobless youths and brainwash them, from that moment on, terrorism will escalate and then turns to be a very big threat to the state. Just as Boko Haram and the Niger delta militants started from the grassroots level of radicalizing youths to pick arms against the government. This has a social, economic and political effect on the country and the general population.

Modern-day nations and states have a substantial or sophisticated weapon armory which terrorists do not have access to and cannot compete with states in modern warfare. This made the terrorists engage in unconventional attacks like suicide bombing and guerilla



attacks to show their power, capability, and presence in a state. The second factor is the overgrowing population increase in the developed modern areas gave the terrorist an easy target to impact high collateral damage in the society. The third factor can be said to be the ever-growing growth of the mass media because the terrorist uses the new media in reaching out to the public easily and the last factor can be said to be the advancement of technology (Adegbulu, 2013).

Schimid (2004) stated that terrorism is more of a difference with other forms of violence like war which is being driven for the purpose of political reason; he argued that terrorists usually aim at two targets, the primary target, and the secondary target. The primary targets are those political opponents which could be a state, institution or a body while the secondary targets are the civilians. According to Shrivastava and Martin (2015), terrorist groups should be seen through three lenses, as an organization, a network or even a social movement.

As an organization, they easily transform from an exemplified to an integral structure, while as a network it transforms from buoyant to splinter and as social from encapsulated to disarticulated (Comas, Shrivastava and Martin, 2015).

Understanding the roots of terrorism cannot make light off because it varies from one terrorist to another. The first argument with respect to modern day terrorism is the use of religion to justify any violent act of terrorism, terrorists have been using religion as a means to inflict violence, the case of Boko haram is a typical example, they had been using their own version of religious belief to carry out attacks on the Nigerian masses (Lutz and Lutz, 2004). Another important thing to note is the socio economic variables which are lined in discussing the escalation of any form of terrorism, Muazu (2010) stated that the dissatisfied environment to which the Nigerian masses live and the governmental policies are contributing heavily to the escalation of terrorism in the country, this made the citizens feel like the country is unjust to them, no guarantee for individual safety and security, this is evidently clear that the continuing failure of the Nigerian government to address this pressing hem contribute to the state of political imbalance and security challenges in the country.

#### **1.5.4. Conceptualizing Terrorism In Nigeria**

Normally, terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, the Niger Delta militants, and similar networks fall into the category of “irregular warfare,” because they lack the organization of a revolution, even though they have the same aims. Insurgents usually take advantage of remote areas, where they build momentum and gain local support in order to operate effectively. An insurgency may take the form of ethnic or religious identity related to political or economic struggle. Insurgents tend to use guerrilla tactics such as bombing, ambushing, kidnapping, killings, and assassination in order to create fear or gain recognition. The concept of terrorism oppression does not have an all-around generally acknowledged and accepted the definition. It is therefore conceptualized distinctively by various researchers throughout the years. To this end, Angus Martin (2003) argued that the international community has never prevailed in building up an accepted complete definition of the concept of terrorism. There are so many Contradictions usually associated with the use of violence in the context of conflicts for attaining liberation. Concluding a comprehensive convention on international terrorism is totally impossible, though this may include a single, scenic, comprehensive, legally binding, criminal law which gives the correct definition of terrorism. According to Ruby (2012) in his own view, he maintained that states use the term of terrorism to refer to a wide range of events, which may include the state oppression and killing of innocent civilians, to shootings in public places by terrorist gunmen. So also, Victoroff (2005) asserts that terrorism is a form of aggression against innocent’s civilians or a government, aimed to achieve political goals.

On the other hand, Crenshaw (1988) and Hoffman (1999) described the features of terrorist orientations. To them, a terrorist's ideological perspective provides some sets of beliefs about the external world that not only foster an identity around a commitment to a course but also shape expectations about the rewards of terrorism and dictate the extent to which the terrorists’ goals are dependent on the cooperation of the authorities. Terrorists see themselves playing a role as one of the extreme martyrs who expect to receive both social cognition and reward after death in paying respected sacrifices (Silke, 2003). Accordingly, most terrorists feel that nothing is wrong when killing people and

injuring them. They seem to share the characteristics of psychological being known as an antisocial personality disorder or psychotic personality disorder. the common feature is the idea like "I am good and right." You are wrong and bad. "It is a very biased way of thinking that they get away from their opponents and makes it easier for people to kill, which is not as simple as they are expected from low intelligence and moral people. Terrorists have an average intelligence and are developing sophisticated ethical and moral development. A closedminded certainty is a common feature of terrorist thinking (Merari 1990).

The idea of terrorism stresses the reality the terrorist's course is ill-conceived similar to the instance of Boko Haram and the Niger delta avengers in Nigeria. In any case, there is likewise the likelihood that those agitators and terrorists (Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants) see the central authority itself as illegitimate.

#### **1.5.5. The Link Between Terrorism And Corruption**

Terrorism has been seen in various perspective and perceptions; it is both a strategy and tactics, though some call it a holy duty or a crime, a justified reaction to political or democratic oppression. To cut it short, terrorism is very hard to define. Corruption and terrorism are similar when it comes to the damage they can cause in any state or society. Terrorism destroys the society with immediate effect while corruption destroys the society by inflicting poverty and hatred amongst the upcoming generations which sometimes results in genocide (Farouk 2012). Terrorism is destructive horrifying and even heinous, because it escalates insecurity and fear, many negative acts of corruption and terrorism tend to make the two concepts to be described as "monsters of destruction"

#### **1.6. How Exceptional Politics Affects The Nigerian Political Circle**

This part of the thesis is going to show an array of exceptional measures used by Nigerian government which made a part of the citizens to pick up arms against the government or the state, the issues that brings about such includes detention without trial of the law offenders, the deliberate denial of human rights, the denial of civil liberties, connivance in torture and neglect of the provisions of the international law. There

are theories and debates which are being put through by scholars of international and domestic politics that explains how exceptional politics affects a state.

The security and securitization theory is an argument that erupted or came about to discuss the relationship between security and liberty the debate covers questions such as, do exceptional security destroys the freedom they are to protect?

Since its introduction, the security studies represent the core ideas of International Relations, mostly aligned with the core issues of war and peace. It came up after the Second World War, and have become highly related with Strategic Studies with focus on the military and militarization. even with the growing growth in the international relationship agenda, especially with the rise of economic, social and political challenges that counts, the immediate escalation of new security challenges, may likely lead to the emergence of the new international and regional actors. According to Barry Buzan "*Security is the pursuit of freedom from threats in other words, security is all about survival*" (Buzan, 1991: 18), although this concept tends to remain unclear to many security theorists. The realist's school of thought defines it as a freedom from any military threat to the survival of the state in the anarchic international system. Stephan Walt makes his definition in an explicit way, he said that "*It is the study of the threat, use and the control of the military force*" (Walt, 1991). Relating this with the ongoing security challenges in Nigeria, this study tends to justify that despite the fact that it was as the result of the neglect and exception that made security concerns to be high and alert in Nigeria, the government is now struggling to pursue for freedom from the threats of the two notorious deadly terrorist groups from both ends of the country, applying the military and the police force to achieve the objective, though all this tends to be failing, the battle seems unending for now. Copenhagen Security School conceptualizes security as a process of social construction of threats. This includes securitization entities (mainly political elites) that declare certain issues urgently and as a threat for the survival of the subjects of rejection, which work with the audience to legitimize the use of special measures to neutralize the threat

Colonial history right after Nigeria, in particular, the civil war in 1967, attracts the aftermath of creating a unified federalism that is supposed to boost Nigeria and wipe out

the remains and fear of these events on a regular basis this is 2018, but the news of the Nigeria - Biafra War in the 1960s, and the sad photograph of the hungry child who was weakened by the bear flowers more than 40 years ago, and many other horror stories flooded every day. War based on this view, portrays that there is nothing between "evil and good", But Nigeria certainly is no different and is a victim of intellectual escape to dispel the most urgent problem of Nigeria, deviating away from the connivance in the Current issues in Nigeria and other syndromes that bears the burden of developing challenges in Nigeria. It's the 1914 Amalgamation, the post-independence elites, key instigators, and participants of the Civil War many of whom are now deceased, looking at the grounds of this "uniqueness", it is clear that Nigeria is not the only "artificial" colonial creation based on the creation of arbitrary boundaries. Except for countries like Ethiopia and Liberia, many Africa boundaries were artificially created by British, French, German, and other European colonial rulers.

Since Nigeria is not the only "artificial creation" or neither the only country to have experienced a civil war and internal conflict, one wonders why some of our "intellectuals" thrive on exhuming the buried sentiments of the past and why they obstinately insist on invoking demons of a traumatizing past of which no side can claim to be wholly innocent or wholly guilty, because these are the little discussions that added salt to the wounds, it reminds some people about the past which tends to ignite the fire of terrorism, insurgency and all forms of civilian revolts against the government. In many areas of Nigeria today, electricity, high-quality medical care good education, and other basic infrastructure which can be found in many nations have overcome over the years are still lacking in Nigeria. This is really an "headache". It is mysterious. Young people in Nigeria have no adequate employment, economic opportunities, valuable role models; all this tends to expose the country to the present state of insecurity the country is facing today. So far Nigeria is not unique, with these problems, but the country attained an "exceptional" Condition when she acts together Becoming a powerful nation built on the richness of her diversity, and riding behind a fierce industrialized economy to which will make her overcome the robust middle class, which provides a moral and socio-economic leadership and an array of business opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa Providing equal rights to citizens without regard to religion or ethnicity. Nigeria will truly become exceptional, not when there is a

serious lack of basic developmental infrastructural development, and when about 70% of the Nigerians struggle in abject poverty in the face of wondrous wealth of the mostly elite few, as monumental corruption continues, the majority of young citizens are further contrasted and committed in trivial altercation stoked-up by intellectuals who should otherwise be beacons of social cohesion. Then Nigeria remains another African country that just can't get it right.

## **2. THE ROLES OF NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, CIVIL SOCIETIES, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL BODIES WORKING TOWARDS FIGHTING TERRORISM AND SECTARIAN VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA**

The effectiveness of any counterterrorism move solely depends on the model and measure employed in dealing with the situation, according to Crelinsten, (2009), he stated that

*“Any counter-terrorism policy adopted by any state or international body is always a ratio between the use of hard and soft power”* (Crelinsten, 2009).

He further described hard power as the state use of monopoly to fight terrorism by using its military and other law enforcement agencies, while the soft power according to him can be related to the persuasive mechanism either by the use of economic reforms, strong communication or a sound educational approach or sometimes with the diplomatic approach (Crelinsten, 2009).

The fact remains that the terrorist groups in Nigeria intensified their terrorist acts within Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin from the north and the Niger Delta region from the southern part of the country. This malicious act by this perpetuated terrorist group had drawn both local and international attention. The most common mode of operation of these terrorists' organizations has taken the forms and dimensions of shootings, kidnappings, and use of Improvised Explosive Devices. The Nigerian government has responded to the series of terrorist attacks engineered by these terrorists. Though, despite the government's response or retaliation, the terrorists tend to continue to unleash

their terror on the masses of Nigeria. This chapter seeks to assess government's counter-terrorism moves on how to checkmate the terrorists. In this chapter, the study will tend to uproot salient questions like what are the policies, what are the pressing factors which informed government's rationale for adopting these policies, how effective the policies have been and how government and the international community can have proactive strategies to address the terrorism menace.

The negative effects of insurgency and terrorism led many nations to the quest for the techniques on how to counter the act, this quest led many political scientists to discover the counterterrorism theory as a manual to combat terrorism, the framework of this thesis comprises of three core elements which are friendly element, enemy element, and the global environment. This element has some logical lines which are categorized into two approaches, that is the direct and the indirect approach. The direct approach is an effort directly applied to the enemy; the indirect approach is applied indirectly and affects the global or operational environment. The purpose of this framework is to create a stable environment against terrorists and their organizations, to separate, neutralize, and prevent the recurrence of the threat caused by terrorism.

## **2.1.The Nigerian Government Counterterrorism Approach/ Nigerian Government Responses**

The nature of terrorism and its driving mechanism in various countries differs, and this will determine how it should be checked and countered. These explain the reason why Chailand (1987) views the concept of counterterrorism to be more of a response to terrorism and also as a crucial outcome of terrorist acts.

To begin with, the Boko Haram first before the Niger Delta militants. The pressing insecurity menace in the northeastern part of the country Encouraged the policy formation by the Nigerian government, and the emergence of bilateral and multilateral relations. This includes the state of an emergency declaration, enactment of a going-out ban (curfew), and the establishment of the Nigerian army 7th Division, the immediate relocation of army command headquarters to Maiduguri, Prohibition and restoration of global mobile communication system (GSM) services, the immediate establishment of the



Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) consisting of the youths that are ready to fight Boko Haram and finally the government set up a panel to negotiate with Boko Haram (Akinbi, 2015; Akpan et al., 2014) . Others include the setting up of a committee on the spread of small light weapons. According to Kudnani (2015), the government should use the police investigations, the military intervention and preventive – what he called the hard and soft approaches to counterterrorism, though he argued that military action which is more of a hard approach should be exercised where the terrorists defy or counter the soft approach. In his conclusion, he stated that measures used by a certain country maybe different to another country. The Nigerian government had been an active player in all the three phases of counter-terrorism such as the process for the de-radicalization -which is a preventive measure from using the hard military power on the terrorists (Amy, 2014; Dasuki, 2013). This thesis, will then, adopt the definition provided by Stepanova; because it broke into both anti-terrorism, counter-terrorism, which is inseparable, this definition fits well with the Nigerian situation. The definition by Stepanova goes as thus:

*“Counter-terrorism is seen as a security task performed by the security component of a national or international authority, the use of political, legal, economic, civil society and other peace-building instruments for the purposes of both countering and preventing terrorism is more broadly referred to as anti-terrorism” (Stepanova, 2003: 8).*

Therefore, the anti-terrorism mentioned in this definition will be used as a single definition of counter-terrorism measures, because both move hand in hand.

The multinational joint task force in collaboration with the Nigerian armed forces agreed to join in forces to face the common enemy that is carrying out activities in their respected territorial sovereignty. The African Union reserved about 7,500 armed personnel to confront the militias but they had to wait for the United Nations to give the final approval, in addition to that, the AU also created an African police force (AFRIPOL) to fight Boko Haram and other terrorist groups disturbing the peace in Africa.

In discussing the Nigerian government counterterrorism approach on Niger Delta militants, one argument that comes is the amnesty as a question of legitimacy. Amnesty is a political tool used by governments for both good and bad purposes. Slye (2002) argues that “amnesties have been granted at times of great social stability and at times of

great social unrest” (p. 174). Therefore, amnesties can be scrutinized based on decision-making and morals. However, scrutiny of pardon is derived from the domain of law, especially international law. Here we are focusing on the Nigerian context, on the 25<sup>th</sup> June 2009, under the provision of the Nigerian constitution, the then late president Umar Musa Yaradua granted amnesty to the Niger Delta militants requiring all the armed groups to hand over all weapons and ammunition in their possession and openly denounce the militancy. Before the amnesty was granted, the Nigerian government was acting violently through social movements, which unleashed state terror through its intense repression, and became more violent in that approach which made the number of extremists to drastically increased, they made things very difficult for the government in that area making Angola becoming the highest oil producing state in Africa.

Since the announcement of the amnesty by the Nigerian government, thousands of weapons have been handed in by the militants, although despite the amnesty deal offered, major groups such as the Movement for The Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) promised to cease fire but not to surrender their weapons because they don't believe that the policy has room for a dialogue and did not address the main source of their struggle. From this study, the cause of the crisis in the oil region is the lack of human capabilities which are fundamental for one to have a decent and life. Such amenities lacking in the region include arable land for agriculture, employment, security, and education. The Ogoni people had something called the Ogoni bill of rights written by the MOSSOP (Movement for the survival of Ogoni people) which is a nonviolent social movement in the region and the bill goes as thus:

*“That the search for oil has caused severe land and food shortages in Ogoni one of the most densely populated areas of Africa...That Neglectful environmental pollution laws and substandard inspection techniques of the Federal authorities have led to the complete degradation of the Ogoni environment, turning our homeland into an ecological disaster... That the Ogoni people lack education, health, and other social facilities...That it is intolerable that one of the richest areas of Nigeria should wallow in abject poverty and destitution... That the Ogoni people wish to manage their own affairs”.*

Disarmament, demobilization, and the reintegration of the Niger Delta Amnesty or the DDR program had three main goals. In furtherance of these objectives, the militant's

force, in exchange for the pardon of reintegration has been invited to submit their weapons and ammunition. The unemployment rate, lack of knowledge and skills (illiteracy), and was to be introduced by the government, the program is to stop the terrorism, and to deal with what is believed to be the major cause of violence in the region. In order to solve these problems, the government has embarked on re-training and skill / vocational education programs. And also, and through the grant of exemption from prosecution, the government, wanted to re-integrate the combatants to disarm and demobilize them, then install them to the private sector of the society. The reintegration program itself contains three elements, social, economic, and the political re-integration. The ultimate aim of the program is to end the violence, which has been for a longtime. The program ends the violence, in order to evaluate how much, it contributed to the establishment of long-term peace I have to generate the measure to capture the impact of the Niger Delta Amnesty program.

## **2.2. The Civil Society Approach**

In discussing the civil societies approach, we ought to know who the civil societies are. Civil societies should not be considered as an NGOs even though they are related, these societies usually play a vital role in influencing the participation of individuals in political, economic, and social development in making a strong policy. According to John Locke (1632-1704), people establish an existing community in which their social life develops which the state has no say. To John Locke, this is un-political. He stressed that the first task of any civil society is to protect the individual's rights and property against the state and its arbitrary interventions (Merkel and Lauth 1998, p. 4; Schade 2002, p. 10). However, the term civil society is generally used to classify persons, institutions, and organizations that have the goal of advancing or expressing a common purpose through ideas, actions, and demands on governments (Cohen and Arato, 1992). According to Bratton (1994), he described civil societies as community cooperation, or a structure of voluntary association, and as a social interaction between countries characterized by the network of public communication.

### **2.2.1. Roles Of Civil Societies In Fighting Terrorism**

Terrorism is a global problem and Nigeria is considered essential for humanity in the war against terrorism. Therefore, the commitment of Nigerian stakeholders is essential for mitigating the pain of terrorist victims. The roles played by civil societies in the collective fight against terrorism created awareness between IDP's NGO's and civil societies. This study is equally important for all those interested in understanding similar studies in relation to other aspects of terrorism.

Nigeria is currently drowning in the ocean of some unstable situation. One of which is the problem of national insecurity. Armed groups in both northern and southern Nigeria are security concerns not only in Nigeria but also in sub-Saharan Africa and the international community. The rebellion of Boko haram and the Niger Delta militants is a serious threat to the security of Nigeria and it is also a serious challenge. The terrorist activities of the two groups terrorizing Nigeria have put the country in a state of fear. Nigeria's importance in the African continent cannot be underestimated or looked down upon. Nigeria, with a growing population of more or close to 200 million people, and home to the continent's largest economy, yet because of the embezzlement of public funds and the Nigerian corruption and economic mismanagement, an average Nigerian lives below \$1 dollar of the United Nation's wealth of nation's standard. Most Nigerians are poorer today than they were at independence in 1960. They became victims of resource curse and prevalent corruption. In this background, the Boko Haram terrorist seems to pursue and defend their primitive view on western educational institutions in northern Nigeria. According to the survey, the rebellion of Boko Haram led to the demise of many thousands of lives; nearly 500,000 people destroyed hundreds of schools, chapels, government buildings and already devastated economy in the northeastern part, one of the poorest areas of Nigeria, which devastated Nigeria.

Though some of the Nigerian news outlets reported that the government is in collaboration with the security operatives on how to counter terrorism, In March 2014, the Nigerian security advisor announced a soft approach to terrorism. With hundreds of civil societies in Nigeria, they all have played a key role in not only bringing about a change in the governing system of Nigeria, but the issue of tackling insecurity. They engage in a massive movement that influences the government policies, we have seen such influence

during the nationwide protest on the Nigerian fuel subsidy crisis, the popular hashtag of the #BringBackOurGirls protest which was championed by the civil societies within the country.

According to the Amnesty International (2014), the #BringBackOurGirls campaign managed to get a worldwide recognition from Europe to America to Asia and virtually all parts of the world, this was all done by the influence of the civil societies this move made other countries to pledge support of providing intelligence report and some regional counterterrorism strategies for the purpose of fighting terrorism in the country (Amnesty International, 2014). Other civil societies like the Nigerian safe school initiative also has the same goal as any other civil society of fighting terrorism and making schools in Nigeria, especially in the northeastern part of the country safe for kids and students to learn without the fear of being attacked or even abducted. Looking at this alone, it is evidently clear that civil societies are dedicated to humanitarian services in Nigeria. The spectacular role of civil societies cannot be underestimated in the role they played in the fight against Nigerian rebels. This is because of the ability to organize in groups of independent social, professional or rights on behalf of personal concerns, local communities, or the interests of others. Barnes (2006) stated that civil societies often combine approaches that foster public consciousness and aim for the transformation of attitudes and relationships of conflict with formal legal strategies. They can be witnesses of violations and may impair the moral authority and legitimacy of abusers. For example, civil societies can be able to manifest both “power to resist” by mobilizing mass movements for change and the “power to expose oppression by delegitimizing the oppressors (Barnes 2006). More so, the civil societies have the “power to persuade” decision makers on ways to respond to conflict and even enumerate on the problems that gave rise to the issue of insecurity. Civil society’s response to conflict situations and identify the central agenda of issues to be addressed in dealing with peace and security issues more widely. They can analyze the situation, formulate recommendations, develop policy options, and participate in policy dialogue to deal with disputes. They also can mobilize advocacy campaigns to create political will within decision makers and implement strategies to achieve desirable results.

The civil societies help to create a useful climate for talks. Civil society actors sometimes play a direct role in peacemaking. They can help to open a communication channel between the parties to the conflict. Using their informal and less important status, you can provide a confidential "back channel" that conveys messages to and from peers, they also can facilitate an unofficial dialogue process with Government leaders and people close to the armed opposition party are involved. This method provides opportunities for parties to engage in the necessary communication to determine whether political negotiations are feasible, and build relationships, whilst deepen their understanding of the views on others' conflicts, and explore solutions options.

### **2.3. Roles of Regional Bodies in Fighting Terrorism**

Regional countries or bodies had played a key role in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria, countries like Cameroon, Chad Republic, Niger Republic, and even the Benin Republic. The discussion of the terrorism has always formed a strong part of political science and the international relations. Scholars like Barry Buzan discussed and enacted the complex theory for the purpose of better understanding of the dynamics of violence at the regional level. According to Barry Buzan (1991: 190), regional security complex can be defined as; *"A group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another"*. This simply means that security and violence move hand in hand, he stressed that security cannot be analyzed from the perspective of the states alone; they must consider the regional view due to the geographical proximity.

According to Ansorg (2011:176), he stated that liberal and neoliberal institutionalism laid their emphasis on the interdependence between nation states. He further said that regional level does emerge through institutional and economic cooperation, which is the desire to increase prosperity and a lasting solution to common problems. Governments do establish rules to regulate the interstate relations (Keohane and Nye 1977, 5; Nye 1971) they call such as the international regimes. Although these interdependencies are useful for establishing regional peace, they create strong interstate dependencies and increase the risk of spread of conflict due to the influence of state contagion (Keohane

and Nye 1977). However, even though the concept of the region can contribute to explaining national behavior in international systems, the region is not the focus of analysis in these approaches. Rather, the state and governance elites in international systems are the main concerns of analysis. Therefore, the regional dynamics of security and violence has been caught inadequately.

Regional conflict is those that involve neighboring countries where they experience same interstate conflicts which usually has same significance on the affected states just like the Boko Haram insurgency involves all the Nigerian border neighbors and the whole of the West African region. According to Wallenstein & Sollenberg (1998), they said that regional conflict is *“situations where neighboring countries experience internal or interstate conflicts, and with significant links between the conflicts”* (Wallenstein & Sollenberg, 1998: 623). The complexity associated with such regional conflict situations arising from geographical proximity is essential to analyze throughout the regional perspective, not from the national perspective. A related example of the regional conflict complex is the Boko Haram of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, the Tormented triangle of Central African Republic, and the horn of Africa (Giroux, Lanz and Sguaitamatti 2009: 1-2). The meeting held in 2014 by the 16 member states of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) held in Paris and London, came up with a sub-regional strategy of countering terrorism and the security situations in Nigeria, in the meeting, they also proposed efforts to create a strong sub-regional counterterrorism forces to tackle Boko Haram and all other forms of terrorist and militant activities in the region. It was in that meeting that the representative of the African Union also agreed to deploy 7500 regional troops from the West African region to engage in a physical combat with any form of security threat arising. The multinational joint task force that was established by the affected countries of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon was for the purpose of patrolling the common borders of those countries to counter the terrorist's expansion around the Lake Chad basin. This multilateral regional agreement gave Nigeria the mobility to survey its borders with all the neighboring countries, by January 2015; Nigeria had already sent about 25,000 troops, Cameroon about 7,000 as at January 2015, Chad sent 2000 troops while Niger republic sent 2,500.

#### **2.4. The International Community Approach to Counter Terrorism in Nigeria**

The United Nations model also called the 5D model stands on a quinquennial frame which comprises of “dissuading” people from supporting terrorism, “*denying*” the gateway or means of carrying out attacks by the terrorists, “detering” states and individuals from supporting terrorism, “*developing*” the capacity of the state to defeat terrorism and finally, “defending” the human rights (United Nations, 2006). The refusal of most of the terrorist’s groups to accept the term terrorists based on what they do make it difficult to create or have a one-stop counterterrorism strategy on the global international community.

Gambari (2006) a professor of political science and a terrorism expert, argued that the 5Ds are good for countering terrorism but he also said that the regional organizations like the US and the Commonwealth of States with the aid of the European Union (EU) have to cooperate with the UN in combating the deadly menace. All these regional bodies have their various approaches which do not go in contradiction with the 5Ds but work in coactions. Kielsingard (2006) provided 3 approaches which he derived from the UN strategy, this are the military (deter, develop, and defend), the law enforcement agencies (deny, develop, and defend) and finally the human right (dissuade, develop and defend), he stated that human rights should by all means necessary be the root of any counterterrorism approach (Kielsingard, 2006). Relating this argument with the reality of terrorism in Nigeria, it is evidently clear that the international community within the African continent ruled out an intervention in Nigeria, Chad Republic, Cameroon and the Niger Republic, this military intervention helped in suppressing the terrorists in especially northeast Nigeria, the machinery supplied by South Africa, the joint military coalition of the affected countries together with the help and training from the European troops from France, United Kingdom, and even the united states. The counter-terrorism tactics employed in curving the terrorist’s expansion by the joint international task force was militarily to deter the terrorists and to defend the borders of the affected nations, to enforce the rule of law governing each country and to protect the human rights of the people in the affected areas. During the Paris summit of 2014, the pressing security concerns bedeviling Nigeria was discussed, and they came to the conclusion that there should be a coordinated patrol and border surveillance within the borders of Nigeria in the northeast. Members of the Lake Chad basin commission collectively send troops as the



multinational joint task force with the support of the United States, United Kingdom, and even the European Union. In 2015, the African union exercised its joint military exercise with about 7500 soldiers from Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and the Republic of Benin all for the prevention of the expansion of the terrorist networks in Nigeria.

In contrast to the aforementioned strategies used by the international community, Gupta (2004) stated that terrorists usually operate in groups, therefore said that not only the military efforts can be used but ideological alternatives such as education, adequate social services and the maximum use of the press to broadcast the social positive values (Gupta, 2004). To sum the review of this view of the international community, it has signified that to counter-terrorism, there are the reflections of both hard and soft approaches or even the mixture of both.

In 2016, Nigeria engaged in a high level of participation in the regional security and counter-terrorism conference held in Ethiopia and another one in the capital city, Abuja. The meeting was for the purpose of Nigeria's cooperation and coordination with the neighboring countries to check the issue of the escalation of terrorism in that part of Africa, especially the rapid power accumulation of the notorious Boko haram sect. Nigeria happens to be a member of different organizations for tackling terrorism and insurgencies both within Africa and the wider world. Nigeria is an active member of the trans-Sahara counterterrorism partnership (TSCTP) which is a security initiative between the United States and six other African countries, which was established to improve security sector and the capability to counter any threat.

The international community expanded its support for Nigeria in its mission to curb terrorism in the Nigerian borders in the lake chad basin. Israel trained 6,000 Nigerian police officers. Italy also trained 340 Nigerian security guards who play various roles in anti-terrorism measures in 2011. The British Special Forces joined Nigeria's DSSS in the rescue mission operation in Sokoto in March 2012. French military joined the security forces of the United States, the UK, Canada and Israel, to strengthened the capabilities of Chad, Cameroon, and Niger to fight Boko Haram. China, Russia and South Africa have assisted in the Chad Lake area in terms of weapons procurement and supply. More countries have joined Nigeria to rescue the stolen girls abducted by Boko Haram.

## **2.5. Direct Approach**

This can be said as the actions or approach being exercised towards the terrorists and their terrorist organization these measures are taken to neutralize imminent threats and to lower the operational capacity of terrorist organizations. The purpose of the direct approach is to repel specific threats by neutralizing or disassembling the network and to prevent re-emergence of neutralized threats once countered and suppressed. However, the long-term effectiveness of direct application is limited by the elasticity and reorganization capacity of terrorist organizations. A line of effort peculiar to the direct approach is to disrupt terrorists and their organization and deny access to and use of weapons of mass destruction the first lines of effort (LOE) centered mainly on the terrorist's infrastructures and their style of leadership which provided them with connectivity and resources. The second line of effort focuses on denying acquisition, development, or the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) against sovereign States.

### **2.5.1. Indirect Approach**

This approach connotes the operational environment is suitable to achieve successful counter-terrorism operations the purpose of the indirect approach is to allow partners to operate on terrorists and their organizations. it also aims for environmental improvement and stabilization in order to weaken the capacity and support lines of the terrorist organization. The indirect approach entails foreign domestic affairs, unconventional warfare, stable operation; private military operations; counterintelligence; information manipulation; psychological manipulation and strategic communication

### **2.5.2. Combining the Two Approaches**

The combination of these two approaches in the theory of counterterrorism brought about the desired end of counterterrorism operations. A direct approach aimed at neutralizing and dismantling terrorist organizations cannot achieve full victory against terrorism. An indirect approach to counter-terrorism is necessary to achieve desirable success, an indirect approach to counter-terrorism focuses on Inform and Influence Activity (IIA). It

affects the environment by shaping and stabilizing it to deny safe havens of terrorists. It also denies access to the population infrastructure that is ripe for terrorist recruitment activities of terrorist organizations.

## **2.6. Measuring Disarmament, Demobilization, And Measure Of The Success Of The Reintegration**

The Possibility of peace-building in the Niger Delta was pushed by the then president late President Umar Musa Yar'Adua, after the introduction of the Niger Delta Amnesty program in August 2009. Before the introduction of the program, the armed confrontation had escalated between government forces and militant's fighters. Not only that the conflict brought about the death of many people, but was producing social displacement, it is also effective on the economic life of the country that relies on direct oil exports. The idea of building peace through the DDR was made with the efforts of policymakers, DDR program, is believed to be effective in promoting peace in places plagued by armed violence (Humphreys and Weinstein 2007) it reduces the risk of a return to conflict. United Nations (2000) believes that intentional disarmament program, it ended the armed conflict can possibly go a long way in preventing the return to armed conflict. Similarly, spear (2002: 14) is claiming that

*"peace requires breaking the command and control structures operating over rebel fighters. This would make it harder for them to return to organized rebellion".*

Muggah (2009), stated that demobilization and disarmament are essential for a sustainable peace to occur, he further stated that this must be aligned with the economic reintegration, social rehabilitation, and political reintegration. With respect to the economic reintegration, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) stated that if there is a lack of income-earning opportunities for young people, then there will be the risk of conflict, similarly, the International Peace Academy (2002: 5) said peace in post-conflict societies is fixed to the ability of ex-combatants to have a living by legitimate means, in order to create peace in post-conflict societies, the reintegration process must" create some economic opportunities to the militants". (Humphreys and Weinstein 2007: 534).

In terms of political and social reintegration, those policymakers and other important stakeholders must recognize the success of the DDR program, which is tied to social, political mainstream and the ability to re-integrate ex-combatants into the mainstream. For example, the United Nations (2000: 11) *“convert combatants who pursue their objectives through force to civilians who pursue their objectives through other means.”* For this reason, it is necessary not only to have the former combatants to participate in the political process but also to return to the political system that such participation is the only way to solve outstanding complaints. Similarly, Humphreys and Weinstein (2007), emphasize the need for combatants to reconcile with their communities, families, friends, and neighbors. Therefore, social acceptance is an important determinant of post-conflict settlement and stable peace.

### **2.6.1. The Making of Amnesty with the Niger Delta Terrorist Militants in Nigeria**

In the early 1990s, the struggle of ethnic minorities in Niger Delta was largely nonviolent, covering both the Nigerian state and the multinational forces of oil. These were driven by self-determination, respect for human and environmental rights, resource management, or a fair share of oil revenue explored from that area. Minorities such as Ogoni succeeded through MOSOP when the peaceful initial request was ignored, Nationwide and the global campaign for self-determination, resource management, ethnic minorities, environmental rights that ultimately matched high-priced repression by Nigerian troops. (Obi 2014:254; Amunwa and Minio 2011). It is noteworthy that new opportunities were opened by the heritage of oil production over 50 years, but excessive wealth, societal repression, and regional militarization, together with the paradox of high-level unemployment, brought oil theft, which is a legacy of suppression and militarization that promoted crime amongst the Niger Delta youth. The Young people began to see violence as a means of struggle, negotiations, survival, and as a means of accumulating political interests. Some commentators have blurred boundaries between resistance and criminality (Obi 2014; Ikelegbe 2011).

In 2007, Initially, after dismissing the movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) as a criminal organization, Nigeria recognized the negative impact of increased concern in the form of huge loss of oil production and profits. There exists a strong

reaction of rebels to global crude oil prices. The Nigerian government began to put some alternatives to the military approach which failed to stop the MEND movement attacks on the Nigerian oil fields

Prior to the amnesty declaration by the Nigerian government, the Nigerian troops bombarded some parts of the Niger Delta region in 2009 by the joint task force targeting the militia hideouts (Obi 2014, p.254), after that bombardment, all the government's effort to neutralize the terrorists fell abortive due to the military's inability to silence the terrorists, this made it compulsory for the government to sign peace amnesty program with the militant leaders. The Nigerian government later introduced a committee which includes several stakeholders from the region which brought about a measure that will assist the federal government in pursuing a sustainable development project and environmental security in the region.

This chapter dwelled mostly on counter-terrorism approach by the government of Nigeria. And this is also reflected on how both international and regional bodies helped in combating terrorism in Nigeria, the chapter further went on to describe and discuss how and what tools were used by both the Federation of Nigeria and the international community in helping Nigeria to fight the menace. The chapter further discussed the policy of reintegration used by the government, and how it effectively had an effect on the rise of the terrorist networks especially in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, and the African Union efforts of establishing an African police force for the purpose of securitizing Africa from any form of security threat.

### **3. COMBATING AND ENDING INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA**

*"With guns, you can kill terrorists; with education you can kill terrorism."* – Malala Yousafzai.

Counterinsurgency referred to by the acronym COIN is the opposite of insurgency.

In other words, it involves a combination of measures taken by a legitimate government of the state to deter or suppress rebel factions. Thus, for example, while the armed rebels or terrorists are about to annihilate the existing political authority and establish theirs, the counterinsurgent armed forces revives the existing political regime and either reduce the right to take over the armed groups or annihilate the armed groups.

Terrorism and terrorist activities of Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants have been a nightmare for the Nigerian government for many years, despite the efforts to curb the situation, no success of total disarmament had been recorded, over the years the groups had grown stronger and ruthless, this groups had already tarnished the image of Nigeria on the path of the international community, its government, its people and even the international reputation of the country. As discussed in the previous chapter, though the discussion was not deep, the writer talked about the counterterrorism measures used by the international community and some measures adopted by the Nigerian government. In this chapter, sophisticated and more advanced methods of combating and ending terrorism in both the northeast and the south-southern part of Nigeria by Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants.

In 2012, Nigeria made it public that it has a new intelligence gathering plan amongst its security agencies; this had to be pursued side by side with a good ICT system and an adequate power supply of electricity to make this project necessary. But for Nigeria to be able to fight terrorism, the country needs to first and foremost emulate from the path of those countries that are industrialized, especially the countries that had the experience of the fight against any form of terrorism, insurgency or even militancy (Folarin, 2016). The Nigerian armed forces should be empowered and trained with the ability to respond quickly to attacks. A brilliant example was when some federal college students at BuniYadi in Yobe State were killed in a four-hour operation and the security forces were not available for their rescue. For the Nigerian government to be able to combat or bring an end to terrorism, the government had to wake up to most of its socio-economic responsibilities. A country bedeviled with unemployment opportunities, poverty, underdevelopment illiteracy and most importantly, lack of basic amenities for the public use, corruption at its apogee and a high cost of living, all of which brings about grievances towards the system gives terrorist activities a breathing room to survive. If all this had been tackled, then terrorism wouldn't have attracted the future generations.

### **3.1. Border Security and Securitization**

Border security and securitization are essential, ensuring the maximum monitoring of inflow and exit of immigrants and migrants may checkmate the possibility of sinister motives and moves by the foreigners, this move will help in cutting off the terrorist's supplies of arms which are usually transported via the borders of the neighboring countries. According to The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), they have obliged that the protection of people is the fundamental obligation of the government, because the security of the individual is a basic human right that has to be given and protected even though the Nigerian government have all the justifications to use any means of countering terrorism.

Boko Haram and the Niger delta avengers met all the conditions that defined a terrorist group according to the Terrorist Prevention Act (TPA) of 2011. The local definition of terrorism in each country reflects the historical, social, political and legal situation of the region. These factors usually define how terrorism is opposed in a particular country.

Different countries at different times may not even be able to condemn certain acts as terrorism, others do not hesitate to do so (Sampson 2015, 29).

### **3.2. Terrorism as a threat to democracy**

It is agreed that terrorism is a global threat to democracy, rule of law, human rights and the general stability of life. As a member of the United Nations and the African Union, the country is bound with the resolutions made by those bodies. The constructivist's perspective focused more on the social causes that escalated terrorism in Nigeria. The measures further referred to in this research came from the premise that the problem of Boko Haram is prospering and can only be solved by a combination of appropriate national security measures and a solution that hinders Nigerian state.

According to David Kilcullen a famous counterinsurgency and counterterrorism theorist, he proposed the "Three Pillars of Counter-Insurgency" which he names – Security, Political And Economic.

*"This is a framework, not a template. It helps people see where their efforts fit into a campaign, rather than telling them what to do in a given situation. It provides a basis for measuring progress and is an aid to collaboration rather than an operational plan" (Kilcullen, 2006: 4).*

He said that the three pillars are of equal importance, and if unbalanced they may tend to be parallel. The table stated that too much security without political interference may tend to give the terrorist groups more power, and so also with the economy without security gives room for the escalation of soft targets for the terrorists.

According to these three pillars, the central idea is not to reduce violence to the point zero or to kill all the insurgents, but the primary goal is to return the whole system to normality, though normality in one society maybe different than normality in another place. He clearly stated that his three-pillar model may not be a correct model for certain places or nations but may be very effective in some countries (Kilcullen, 2006: 7). While applying this theory on the counterterrorism and counter insurgency approach in Nigeria, we shall see how security wise how the military, the police, and general population security was used as an instrument of hard power to hit the terrorists hard, the deployment of troops to the Niger delta to overcome the illicit behaviors of the Niger Delta avengers and the rapid



military “Operation Fire For Fire” and The “Operation Lafiya Dole” deployed in the northwestern part of the country are all clear demonstration of hard power used by the Nigerian government to suppress the insurgents.

Politically, the mobilization of the people and creating awareness about terrorist acts is vital for the government to archive its target audience in fighting the mayhem; instruments like social integration approach are used in this aspect to accommodate the institutional capacity. Economically, this is more of the soft approach where the country uses the humanitarian assistance and the resource infrastructure management as a soft tool for moderation and inclusion. The theory of ‘moderation inclusion’ hypothesis had been discussed in-depth by the writer at the theoretical framework of this thesis.

### 3.3. (Kilcullen’s Three Pillars of Counterinsurgency)



**Figure 1** (Source: “Remarks delivered at the U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Conference, Washington D.C.”, 28 September 2006)

The diagram above was used by Kilcullen as the backbone of counterinsurgency and counter terrorism. According to him, security, political and economic approaches are the three pillars.

Under security, he made mention of the military, the police and the paramilitaries as one of the tools to be employed in countering terrorism and insurgency, so here we can employ the frustration aggression hypothesis to justify the assertion the terrorists will be frustrated and forced to come out of their hiding places, this method is regarded as the securitization process, because the use of force by the military and the police was employed. This is what he regarded as to establish.

Politically, Kilcullen discussed about the political mobilization, governance extension institutional capacity and social reintegration. Here, the moderation inclusion theory can be applied because the terrorists will be moderated and then given the chance to participate in the political process, this process can be called the process of consolidation.

Economically, he laid emphasis on humanitarian assistance, development assistance and the general growth of the economy, here, the Marxist conflict theory has to be employed to check the gap between the rich, the middle class and the low earners, for the purpose of bridging the gap and controlling the spread of terrorism.

While on the other hand, Martin van Creveld (2008), opined that; *"The first, and absolutely indispensable, thing to do is throw overboard 99 percent of the literature on counterinsurgency, counter-guerrilla, counterterrorism, and the like. Since most of it was written by the losing side, it is of little value"* (van Creveld, 2008: 268) He further went on to clarify his definition by saying that: *"by definition, a strong counterinsurgent who uses his strength to kill the members of a small, weak organization of insurgents - let alone the civilian population by which it is surrounded, and which may lend it support will commit crimes in an unjust cause, while a child who is in a serious fight with an adult is justified in using every and any means available - not because he or she is right, but because he or she has no choice"* (van Creveld, 2008: 226).

It may be true that the above statement is true, but Van Creveld's proposal on how to fight the insurgency seems to be different from this initial position. His first method depends on super-intelligence which should provide Persons who have knowledge of the physical and social environment of conflict and armed groups. As soon as such superior intelligence is

achieved, the insurgents must be trained to adopt high expertise and discipline in order to exercise discrimination and be restrained. Such discrimination and restraint do enable the counterinsurgents to sever members of the public from the terrorists while delaying time the counterinsurgents become nauseated and unnerved by their own actions. Van Creveld proposed five rules for defeating the terrorists, and they are:

1. There is a situation that requires cruelty, refusing the necessary atrocities is a betrayal of those who strengthen you. When cruelly pushed, you will not threaten your opponent, but you will not hide your will.
2. In making or deciding to strike, it is much better to strike too much than few. If another strike is required, it will reduce the impact of the first strike. Counterattacks will endanger the moral of the insurgents to counterattack.
3. The government has to act as soon as possible. More life will be saved by decisive actions earlier than prolonging the rebellion. The longer the delay or wait, the bloodier and deadly the situation of the population, the more savage action will give you an impression
4. Openly strike. Do not apologize, no excuses for "incidental damage", do not express regret or promise investigation. Then make sure that as many people as possible know your strike. Media is useful for this purpose, but do not allow the media to interview survivors to evoke sympathy.
5. Finally, he advised the striking ability to remain anonymous incase the mission failed then the blame should be laid on the field commanders so that they tell the world what the state is capable of (Van Creveld, 2008: 241-245).

His approach is more of a Machiavellian or to some extent a realist approach which centers the powers on the individual state actors only.

According to Robert Thompson, a legendary military officer in the British armed forces and a highly respected counterinsurgency expert who countered Mao Tse-tung technique of rural guerilla insurgency, and is regarded as the world leading expert in the field of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. He argued that some measures must be

analyzed and applied by the agents of counterinsurgency in defeating the insurgents/terrorists.

Robert (1966) proposed five principles for a successful counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations.

According to him, firstly the government must have a viable and reliable aim of rendering support to its subjects which includes tackling corruption and ineffectiveness. Secondly, the government must operate in line with the provisions of the law for maintaining the support of its populace. This attribute includes detentions and military operations. Thirdly, Robert (1966) stated that governments must have a strong plan, which includes preserving and the maintenance of security, military, political, social. Economic, admin and policing and all measures that insurgency may likely have an influence upon, this role must be clearly defined and ensure that there is no gap in all government actions. Fourthly, the government must prioritize fighting insurgency; the motif is to exterminate the terrorist support by starving the resistance units. Lastly, in fighting insurgency, the government must secure its base first, the sovereignty of the country must be protected by all means necessary and all the developed areas of the state must be protected by the government for the purpose of gaining confidence of the people, while in this process, the population must be ready for a long counterinsurgency and counterterrorism exercise. (Thompson, 1966: 52-57)

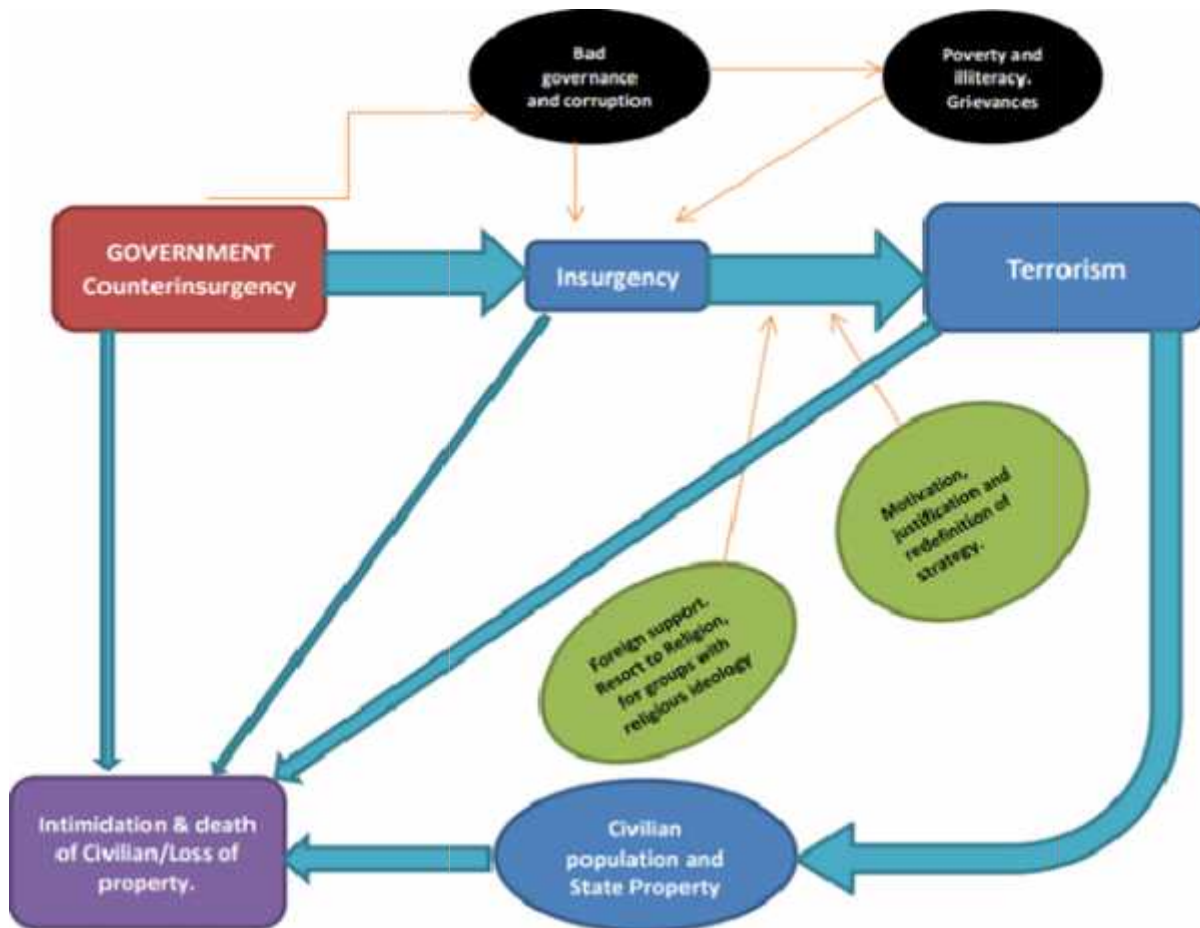
Therefore, rather than killing the insurgents. Robert focused his point on the utility to win legitimacy is the key to the success of the fighting insurgency and all forms of terrorist acts. Such legitimacy is supported by people as both the government and the rebels or the insurgents are striving to gain population support, to win this support, the military must be good to the citizens in the affected operational areas.

Despite the fact that Robert Thompson admitted that his five basic principles of fighting terrorism came up as a result of trial and error, if these provisions shall be employed on the Nigerian state, it will be tangible and effective in curbing the issue of insurgency both in the northern and the southern part of the country. As the giant of the African continent, Nigeria must fight and counter-terrorism and terrorism for the economy and the general well-being of the populace.

### **3.4. (Explanatory Table of Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism)**

The table below tends to explain how bad governance leads to insurgency and the escalation of terrorist networks, resulting in the destruction of property and the lives of the innocent civilians. The table tends to explain the root causes of terrorism and insurgency as a result of bad governance which is characterized with the embezzlement and corruption at its highest order, this leads to the massive growth in poverty and illiteracy which makes especially the youths the chance to offer themselves when the chance of insurgency and terrorism arises, because they felt that the system failed them.

In Countering insurgency/ terrorism, most of the times the military is mostly used as a hard power, this act tends to more likely give more motivation and inspiration for a counterattack by the terrorists, especially with groups like the Boko Haram that has a religious background, they will probably take it as a war against their ideology, a war to wipe their religion off, this gives the terrorists the room to recruit more members as fighters to continue fighting which may gradually lead to a classical terrorism. While in the case of insurgent groups like the Niger Delta militants, the use of hard power on them makes the insurgents to bomb the pipelines supplying crude oil which is the main source of income of the Nigerian state, using the military power didn't work on them that was why the Nigerian government had to offer an amnesty program for them as the only way of addressing the issue. Therefore, in countering terrorism, the government can use both the hard power and the soft power in overcoming the ever-rising tensions in the Nigerian state.



**Figure 2** (Source: "The Rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria "Combating Terrorism Centre", 2011.)

## Conclusion

The ubiquities or omnipresence of insecurity in any country deputize threat to the lives and properties of the subjects of the state. Nigeria has been facing the ups and downs of insecurity challenges since gaining independence in 1960. In this regard, Nigeria must curb this threat of insecurity for the nation to progress forward.

The main aim behind this thesis is to prove that exceptionalism in the Nigerian politics had played a vital role in the escalation and outbreak of insurgency, militancy and terrorism in both the northeastern part of Nigeria, Borno state to be specific and in the south southern part of Nigeria particularly the Niger Delta states (the oil producing states). The conflict in the Niger Delta region since in the 1990s is due to the presence of foreign oil companies in the region and the feelings of marginalization from the Nigerian government, while Boko Haram from the north which became noticeable in the early years of the millennium uses the guerrilla warfare tactics in carrying out their deadly attacks, the reason of such malice is as a result of endemic corruption whitening the political class, that made those Boko haram terrorists hide under the umbrella of religion to justify their terrorist acts.

Considering the issue of insecurity which is becoming a widely discussed phenomenon in the world, not just in Nigeria, which affects the development of any nation, this thesis tends to centralized its view on the issue of insecurity in Nigeria and to some extent the neighboring countries bordering Nigeria. In the first chapter of the thesis, the writer used the concept of state and the concept of terrorism to explain how the system in place contributed indirectly to the political mayhem bedeviling the country of Nigeria.

Nigeria like many other countries in Africa has been affected negatively by the advent of internal crisis which is being driven politically by the so-called Boko haram sect in the northeastern part of Nigeria and the Movement for The Emancipation of Niger Delta, popularly known as (MEND) together with other regional terrorist organizations in the south. This also had created serious security problems in most part of the country, security threats that reached the level of threatening the unity of the most populous black

nation on earth. Politicians, government workers, members of the armed forces and even students felt the impact caused by terrorism in Nigeria.

The study of the politics of exceptionalism is important in the Nigerian context because it tends to open and expose how the Nigerian system due to its inefficiency via greed and the embezzlement of public funds and corruption gave birth to the cancer of insecurity bedeviling the country for more than a decade. The advent of the Niger Delta militants and the most recent advent of boko haram made Nigeria to be exceptional in the global stage. This research paper brought the results by applying some key theoretical postulations such as the Marxist conflict theory, the moderation inclusion hypothesis and the frustration aggression theory and a host of other theories as discussed in the first chapter of the thesis to proof that terrorism and insurgency had become the new order of the day for many youths that found themselves jobless in Nigeria, which Nigeria must address sooner or later for the survival of the sovereignty of the country.

The main contribution behind the thesis study has been to help show the way to move forward for the Nigerian nation, though to some it may be simple, but in reality, it seems to be a very rigid road. The Nigerian government must snub corruption from its governmental officials, nepotism, regionalism, religious segregations and embezzlement of public funds. These factors are the machineries that are fueling the fire of terrorism and insurgency in the country because these factors made some individuals to feel like they are not part of the Nigerian government system.

For Nigeria to move forward, this thesis suggests that Nigeria has two options if the country really wants to move forward. First is that Nigeria should adapt to the concept of true federalism and give the states the power of absolute control of their resources, having the individual state-controlled police for the maximum security of every state.

Secondly, it is a fact that Nigeria runs one of the most expensive governments in the world, the cost of governance is high because Nigeria spends a lot of funds on the elected government officials whereas many of its citizens are leaving below the poverty line, so this thesis research suggests that Nigeria should switch its administrative system from the presidential system to a parliamentary system, because the parliamentary system is much more closer to the masses and the voice of the voiceless may likely be



considered, thereby bringing the people closer to the government and this will reduce the rate of terrorism and insurgency in the country.

Therefore, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis research, the case of Nigerian insecurity is exceptional because Nigeria is a very rich nation blessed with human and natural resources, a country which is a home to about 200 million people, but due to some political miscalculations, Nigeria is lagging behind its independence mates since 1960. Many claimed that the high level of poverty has been one of the major keys that led the country to its present state of insecurity, since the coming of the civilian rule in 1999. The notion that poverty is responsible for the conflicts in developing countries has been disproved by empirical evidence. But to counter this assertion this thesis research used some of the empirical evidence from sound literature to justified the assumption that poverty and a bad system of administration are few of the driving forces responsible for the insecurity in Nigeria at this point.

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## APPENDIX

### Outline of Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria since 2009

TABLE 1.0.

<b>Date (Timeline of Attack)</b>	<b>Place, Nature, and Casualties</b>
7th September 2010	Bauchi prison break where Boko Haram freed 700 prisoners
31st December, 2010	December 2010 Abuja Attack
12th March 2011	Muslim Cleric Imam Ibrahim Ahmed Abdullah assassinated for criticizing the violent groups in Northeast Nigeria
22nd April 2011	Boko Haram freed 14 prisoners during a jailbreak in Yola, Adamawa State
29th May 2011	May 2011 Northern Nigeria bombings
16th June 2011	Boko Haram claims responsibility for the 2011 Abuja Police Head Quarters Bombing
26th June 2011	Bombing attack on a beer garden in Maiduguri leaving 25 dead and 12 injured
10th July 2011	Bombing at the All Christian Fellowship Church in Suleja, Niger State

11th July 2011	The University of Maiduguri temporarily closes down its campus citing security concerns.
12th August 2011	Prominent Muslim Cleric Liman Bama was shot dead by Boko Haram.
26th August,	2011 2001 Abuja Bombing
4 November 2011	2011 the Damaturu attacks
8 February 2012	Boko Haram claims responsibility for a suicide bombing at the Army Head Quarter in Kaduna
16 February 2012	Another prison break staged in central Nigeria; 119 prisoners are released, one warden killed
8 March 2012	During a British Hostage Rescue attempt to free Italian Engineer Franco Lamolinera and Britain Christopher Mccances, abducted in 2011 by a splinter Boko Haram group, both hostages were killed
31 May 2012	During a Joint Task Force (JTF) raid on a Boko Haram dens, it was reported that 5 sect members and a German hostage were killed
3 rd. June 2012	15 church members were killed and several others injured in a church bombing in Bauchi. Boko Haram claimed responsibility through spokesperson Abu Qaqa
17th June 2012	Suicide Bombers strike three churches in Kaduna. At least 50

	people were killed
17th June 2012	130 bodies were found in Plateau state. It is presumed they were killed by Boko Haram Terrorists
3 rd. October 2012.	Around 25-46 people were massacred in the town of Mubi in Adamawa, Nigeria during a night time raid
8th March 2013	The Kano Bus bombing; at least 22 killed and 65 injured, when a suicide car bomb exploded in Kano bus station
19th April 2013	Deadliest attack since 2009: gun battle with security, forces leaves 260 dead and nearly 1000 injured
7th May 2013	At least 55 killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks in army barracks, prison and police post in Bama town
6 July 2013	Yobe State school shooting: 42 people mostly students were killed in a school attack in North East Nigeria
29 September 2013	College of Agriculture in Gujba: 40 male students killed
14th January 2014	At least 31 people killed, over 50 people injured in a suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno State
25 February 2014	Federal Government College attack: Fury at military over Yobe death at least 29 teenage boys dead at Federal Government College Buru Yadi

14 April 2014	2014 Chibok kidnapping: Government properties including the only girls' secondary school attacked. At least 16 killed or missing and 234 female students kidnapped. The Boko Haram militants said it would treat the assaults
14th April 2014	April 2014 Abuja bombing: two bombs exploded at a crowded bus station in Abuja, Nigeria, killing at least 90 people and injuring more than 200
1 st May 2014	A car bomb exploded killing at least 19 people and injured at least 60 in the same area of Abuja as the April bomb
5 May 2014	2014 Gamboru attack: Boko Haram attacked the towns of Gamboru and Ngala in Borno State, Nigeria. They started shooting in a busy market place, set houses on fire and gunned down anyone who tried to flee. The death toll of the massacre has been set as high as 336
13th May 2014	Menari, Tsangayari, and Garawa: Boko Haram attacked the three villages, killing around 60 people in Manane; Vigilantes fought back, killing over 200 Boko Haram militants
17th May 2014	Paris Summit: the summit in Paris has declared Boko Haram is pas of antiqued as leaders from West African nations resolved to mount a region-wide offensive against the group that is hiding more than 200 school girl's hostage in a dense jungle. Western nations have

	pledged to provide technical expertise and training to the new regional African effort against the Islamic extremists
30th May, 2014	30th May, 2014 Assassination of Muslim leader Alhajl Drissa Timta the Emir of Gwoza in Borno
2 nd June 2014	Men dressed as soldiers slaughtered at least 200 civilians in three communities in Gwoza. A community leader who witnessed the killings said that local residents had pleaded for help from the military, but it did not arrive in time. It took a few days for word from survivors to reach the provincial capital of Maiduguri because the roads are extremely dangerous and phone connections are poor or non-existent
29th May-June 5th 2014	6 attacks, killing 506 civilians, 5 military; 20 women and 3 men abducted 60 Boko Haram killed by Cameroon's military
13th June – 19th June 2014	2 attacks, 93 civilian killed, 8 Boko Haram killed by Borno Vigilante government
20th June – 26th June 2014	4 attacks, 93 civilian killed, 60 abducted. A military fighter jet bombed an unknown number of Boko Haram in counter-attack; 25 Boko Haram and 16 soldiers killed in an attack on the military base. Cameroon military killed 10 Boko Haram near the border
4 the July – 10th July 2014	4 Boko Haram attacks, 11 civilians, 1 vigilante, 33 soldiers, 4 police killed. 53 Boko Haram was killed while capturing a military base and

	<p>police station in Borno on the 4th of July. On the 6th, soldiers killed a Boko Haram kingpin and havea brother at their home in Kaduna; also on the 6th, 44 Boko Haram were killed in 2 military operations in Borno</p>
<p>11th June- 17 July 2014</p>	<p>4 attacks, 81 civilians killed many of these slots by a fighter jet in a failed counter-attack. German teacher kidnapped and 2 vigilantes killed on July 16 in Adamawa, presumably by Boko Haram</p>
<p>25th July – 27th July 2014</p>	<p>2 attacks in Kolofata, Cameroon, including the kidnapping of the wife of the Vice Prime Minister, Amadu Ali, as well as a local religious leader and mayor, SeiniBoukar-Lamine</p>
<p>11th August 2014</p>	<p>28 civilians killed, 97 kidnapped, all men and boys, in attacks on villages in Borno State in rural Northeast Nigeria. Many homes torched in the raid.</p>
<p>February 13, 2015.</p>	<p>Around 30 Boko Haram militants attacked the village of Ngouboua in Chad. Witnesses report that the militants torched two-thirds of the homes in the village before they were pushed back by the Chadian military. This was Boko Haram's first attack in Chad, and analysts believe it is a revenge attack for Chad joining Nigeria, Niger: and Cameroon in a military coalition against them (10 killed, 4 wounded)</p>
<p>October 2015</p>	<p>Boko Haram fighters bombed Abuja, Nigeria and suicide bombed a mainly Nigerian refugee camp in Chad (54 killed, 51 wounded)</p>

November 27, 2015:	A Boko Haram suicide bomber detonated explosives in Dakasoye, Kano, Nigeria, targeting a Shiite religious procession (22 killed, 38 wounded)
February 9, 2016:	Two female suicide bombers detonated explosives at a displaced person camp in Dika, Nigeria (58 killed, 80+ wounded)
August 21, 2016:	Militants attacked Kuburwa village, killing civilians and raping women (11 killed, unknown wounded)
18 March 2017	At least six people were killed and 16 wounded after four female suicide bombers blew themselves up on the outskirts of Maiduguri city
2 April 2017,	The Nigerian military began what it said was its "final offensive" to retake Boko Haram's last strongholds
In September 2017	Boko Haram militants kidnapped about 40 young adults, women, and children and killed 18 in the town of Banki, 130 km southeast of Maiduguri, Borno State, on the border of Nigeria and Cameroon
19 February 2018	Boko haram stormed the town of Dapchi and kidnapped about 108 school girls
21 March 2018	Boko haram returned the kidnapped girls back to their parents.

) **SOURCE:** This table is being obtained from Classified Cable Source, US Embassy Abuja, February 2018 & some of the information's on the table were obtained from BBC Page

## APPENDIX 2

### Outline of Niger Delta militant's historical emergence in Nigeria

TABLE 2.0

<b>DATES</b>	<b>HISTORICAL EVENTS</b>
1956	Oil is first discovered in commercial quantities in the town of Oloibiri
1966	Isaac Boro leads a 12-day revolt, declaring independence for the Niger Delta People's Republic
1967-1970	Nigerian Civil War begins with the declaration of the independent Republic of Biafra (southeastern Nigeria) in May 1967 and ends in 1970 with the defeat of Biafra
1969	Petroleum Decree gives ownership and control of all petroleum resources to the federal government
1995	Ken Saro-Wiwa the pioneer head of the Niger Delta militants was executed by the then government of General Sani Abacha
1998	The Kaiama Declaration (Ijaw youths)
2005	In December, MEND emerges as an umbrella militant group in the Niger Delta. Hostage takings and attacks on oil facilities increase
2007	President Yar'Adua and Vice-President Goodluck Jonathan win the April elections, and they pledge to give their full attention to



	the Niger Delta
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) **SOURCE:** *This table is being obtained from a report on Niger Delta Social and Conflict Analysis, May 2008*

## **Biography**

I was born in Ashaka, a company located at the northeastern part of Nigeria on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1990. Born and raised in a Muslim family, my father was once the head of human resources of the largest cement producing company in Nigeria, later on joined the public service and served as a state commissioner. My mom is a business woman and a housewife as well.

I started my nursery education at Margret well nursery school, then proceeded to management estate primary school Ashaka where I studied up to primary 4, from there we moved back to our hometown of Kano state Nigeria where I joined the famous spring primary school where I completed my primary education. Then I had the opportunity to be admitted in one of the best secondary schools at that time, the prestigious St. Thomas secondary school where I obtained my secondary education for six years. In 2009 I started a Diploma program at Bayero University where I bagged a diploma in public administration, and then I proceeded to a degree program in political science in the same university, after a long strike of about thirteen months, I finally left the university in 2013, and in 2014 February to be specific, I joined Near East University where I completed my bachelor's degree. In 2016 I was awarded a scholarship due to my outstanding performance to proceed with my master's degree in international relations, and today here I am again with another outstanding result.

These achievements couldn't have been possible without the support of my parents and my lecturers here at Near East University. A big thank you goes to the entire management of the University for the Opportunities given to me.

## ABUBAKAR UMAR KOFAR NAISA

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YAKIN DOĐU ÜNİVERSİTESİ

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03.07.2018

Sayın Abubakar Umar Kofar Naisa

Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu'na yapmış olduĐunuz **“Politics Of Exceptionalism And The Escalation Of Terrorism In Nigeria, The Case Of Boko Haram And The Niger Delta Militants”** başlıklı proje önerisi, sadece ikincil kaynak kullanıldığı için Etik Kuruluruna girmesine gerek yoktur. Bu yazı ile birlikte sadece ikincil kaynak kullanmak şartıyla arařtırmaya başlayabilirsiniz.

Doçent Doktor Direnç Kanol

Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu Raportörü

*Direnç Kanol*

**Not:** EĐer bir kuruma resmi bir kabul yazısı sunmak istiyorsanız, Yakın DoĐu Üniversitesi Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu'na bu yazı ile başvurup, kurulun başkanının imzasını taşıyan resmi bir yazı temin edebilirsiniz.



YAKIN DOĐU ÜNİVERSİTESİ

BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK KURULU

03.07.2018

Dear Abubakar Umar Kofar Naisa

Your project "Politics Of Exceptionalism And The Escalation Of Terrorism In Nigeria, The Case Of Boko Haram And The Niger Delta Militants " has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

*Direnç Kanol*

**Note:**If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.