Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't

Nasir Abubakar Daniya

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A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of Requirements for award of:

Professional Doctorate Degree in Policing Security and Community Safety

London Metropolitan University

Faculty of Social Science and Humanities

March 2021

Thesis word count: 104, 482

Abstract

Since Nigeria's independence from Britain in 1960, the country has made some progress while also facing some significant socio-economic challenges. Despite being one of the largest producers of oil in the world, in 2018 and 2019, the Brooking Institution and World Poverty Clock respectively ranked Nigeria amongst top three countries with extreme poverty in the World. Muslims from the north and Christians from the south dominate the country; each part has its peculiar problem. There have been series of agitations by the militants from the south to break the country due to unfair treatments by the Nigerian government. They produced multiple violent groups that killed people and destroyed properties and oil facilities. In the North, an insurgent group called Boko Haram emerges in 2009; they advocated for the establishment of an Islamic state that started with warning that, western education is prohibited. Reports say the group caused death of around 100,000 and displaced over 2 million people. As such, Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram Insurgency have been major challenges being faced by Nigeria for about a decade. To address such challenges, the Nigerian government introduced separate counterinsurgency interventions called Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) and Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) in 2009 and 2016 respectively, which are both aimed at curtailing Militancy and Insurgency respectively. This thesis examines effectiveness of the two counterinsurgency interventions. The research looked at what works and what doesn't work in the two interventions with a view to evaluate their effectiveness and effects that caused the outcome. The thesis also aimed at providing guide on designing an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs in Nigeria. On the methodology deployed, the research used mixed method; both qualitative and quantitative techniques used. Stratified sampling method was adopted. Interviews, including focus group and questionnaires were the core primary data collection mechanisms used. Findings shows that although there is limited progress and positive effects after introducing the two interventions, major causes of problems that led to further escalation of violence in the two regions recently include corruption, poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance of religious teachings. Broad conclusions were that the PAP is ineffective because the system currently in place is not working; it is corrupt, lacks clarity and is not backed up by an act of Nigeria's National Assembly. It was additionally caused by unfair resource allocation and non-clean-up of oil spillage in the region. Similarly, OSC is ineffective because the intervention was so ambiguous with no realistically achievable strategic plan and no timeline of action in place. Illiteracy and poverty affect insurgents. OSC is also not backed by an act of Nigeria's National Assembly. Meaning that another subsequent government might decide to quash the two interventions in the future due to lack of enabling laws. Despite government's claim that over 30,000 people enrolled into the two interventions, as at the time of compiling this thesis, the report by the Nigerian Military stated that less than 500 people were reintegrated into the society under OSC. Overall, the thesis found that the two interventions didn't work, thus making both ineffective. One of the key contributions by the researcher of this research is the introduction of Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate (IPPPPE) framework, which is designed to guide the Nigerian government and other stakeholders with better options when designing and implementing future counterinsurgency and deradicalisation programs.

Key words: Amnesty, Boko Haram, COIN, CONTEST, Counterradicalisation, Insurgency, IPPPPE, JTF, JMTF, NNA, Niger Delta, OSC, PAP, PPPP.

Dedication

In memory of Lt. Col. Abu-Ali (late), Lt. Col Otos Umusu (late); Leah Sharibu (alive, but in Boko Haram captivity after being kidnapped in Dapchi); and all the fallen heroes that lost their lives at the 'front-line' and the ones currently standing tall in the fight against insurgency and militancy at the Niger Delta, the Northeast Regions and other parts of the country, Nigeria respectively. I couldn't have the opportunity to serve the Nigerian military, but I have been fighting alongside you in my mind, heart, soul and prayers, always.

Acknowledgement

It would be unfair not to acknowledge 100% support of my Mother Hafsat Sahabi Daniya 'Kilo', and that of my late Father Alhaji Abubakar Daniya, The 'Driver', whom despite being a driver provided all that I needed to be a Man. He died while I was on podium collecting 'iCONS' award at University of Northampton, United Kingdom in 2012. May his soul rest in peace, amin. There's no word enough to express how joyful and fulfilled I am to have completed this thesis under direct supervision of lead supervisor Dr Adegbola Ojo, Man, you're one of a kind. I felt secure, comfortable and very hopeful under your guidance. You treated me like a Brother, Son and Protégé. I am proud of the levels you have pushed me to attain. May God continue to bless you 'Prof'. Appreciations also to my second supervisor Dr Dermot McCann. Thanks for all the guidance and support. To my Family, Wives Murjanatu Dalhatu and Halima Yusuf Jega (Ex Wife), to my Kids Fareeedah, Fusaylah, Farhaana, Fawzaan, Farouk, Faheema, Yusuf & Fajrah. I appreciate your perseverance for taking away your invaluable time while pursuing this Doctorate Degree. The journey has been tough but equally rewarding, Alhamdulillah! Accept my everlasting love to you all. Top of the honourable mentions are my direct siblings: the Daniya's; Sanusi (late), Kabir, Bello, Buhari, Murjanatu, Shafa'atu, Zalihatu and Khadeeja (late).

Let me say a louder 'shout out' to the following erudite; Professor Nasir M.Yauri, Professor Ogundiya and Professor Muhammad. J Kuna, all from of Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria, and Dr Mustapha Bintube from the Nigerian National Assembly for their one-on-one guidance and the literature they provided to me respectively in the early stages of this research. Let me also appreciate Jamilu Sani for his hands-on help in typing and restructuring the thesis chapters. I would like to appreciate Sokoto State Government for its support over this academic pursuit. Special thanks to Nasir Shehu Zarummai (RIP), Faruk Shehu, Manir Muhammad Dan Iya, Umar Ibrahim Sokoto, Abubakar Chika Yabo, Abba Muhammad, Sani Muhammad Tambuwal etc. My appreciation to the John Grieve Centre for Policing and Community Safety, London Metropolitan University and its entire staff for the support and cooperation during this journey. I highly appreciate the cooperation of the office of the Presidential Amnesty Program, Abuja, staff of Operation Safe Corridor, especially staff of the Nigerian Military, the Nigeria Police Force and all other paramilitary and security agencies that participated in this research. My appreciation also goes to civilian volunteers including victims of militancy and insurgency, NGOs, ex Militants and ex Boko Haram members that responded to this research interviews or questionnaires.

To pessimistic naysayers that doubted my conviction in pursuit of this Doctorate Degree, this is my response and indeed the answer to your negativity. I thank God almighty that this journey has ended successfully. To all my lecturers, academic and non-academic staff at my former Universities and higher institutions like the University of Oxford, the University of East London, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, London Metropolitan University, 'Sokpoly' and indeed where it all started, the University of Wales Lampeter; Diolch yn fawr iawn!

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List of Acronyms

BH	Boko Haram
CONTEST	Counterterrorism Strategy
DSS	Department of State Security
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
IPPPPE	Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate Framework.
NDM	Niger Delta Militants
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NEDC	Northeast Development Commission
NI	Nigeria Immigration
NNA	Nigeria National Assembly
NCS	Nigeria Correction Service
NCS	Nigeria Customs Service
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NPS	Nigeria Prison Service
ONSA	Office of the National Security Adviser
OSC	Operation Safe Corridor
OSAPND	Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta
PAP	Presidential Amnesty Program
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
MDAs	Ministries Departments and Agencies

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   Introduction

This chapter defines the concepts and set the tune that enable the reader familiarise with the whole thesis. It covers the preliminaries that explain the main aim and the three cardinal objectives of the research. It discusses the scope and how the thesis is structured, giving details of contents of each of the eight chapters of the thesis including appendixes. It additionally discusses the relationship of this investigative work to previous work in the area and later analysis radicalisation, counter radicalisation, deradicalisation and reradicalisation in Nigeria. Furthermore, it discusses terrorism and insurgencies and finally summarizes the contents of the introductory chapter of the thesis.

Apart from the known insurgency-related problems like Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy, there are several other challenges in Nigeria, which significantly add a lot of burden to the Federal government that is already struggling to contain menace of radicalisation and militancy.   Myriad of problems from pre-independence and post-independence made it difficult for both the military and democratically elected leaders of Nigeria to govern the country with ease. From 1960 after the country got independence from Britain, insecurity, social vices, communal clashes and inter and intra religious crisis keeps bridging the gap between the poor and the ruling class; elites and politicians. There are other issues that compounded the insecurity situation in Nigeria. Corruption, unemployment, inconsistent long-term democracy and lack of electricity have been some of the major concerns that affects the populace, lack of which provide restive youth that creates a lot of instabilities in the country. The northern part of the country, predominantly Muslims produce majority of food and agricultural outputs including the cattle and other domestic animals that feeds most parts of Nigeria. Majority of Nigeria's leaders from pre to post independence to date came from the North. The regions boast of revered politicians that contribute to nation building. The region is further divided into sub-regions of North-West, North-East and North-Central. The southern part of the country, predominantly Christians is where major oil deposit is located. The south region is additionally divided into sub-regions of South-West, South-East and South-South. The Niger Delta segment that produces oil is often referred to Niger Delta region or Niger-Delta sub-region. Most of oil companies' infrastructure and that of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) are domiciled in the region. The sub-region produces oil, which is Nigeria's major source of revenue for decades. The south has more people with western education than the north.

A lot of Nigerian youths are unemployed. Corruption keeps hunting the country leading to recession between late 2015 and 2017. The nation faced huge infrastructural deficit, as majority of states does not have roads or rail lines that link major cities. Nigeria was tagged 'poverty capital of the world' by several commentators and media agencies because the country has been ranked amongst the top in the countries with extreme poverty in 2017, 2018 and 2019 respectively (WPC, 2019). As the government could not solve pressing issues facing Nigeria, a lot of extremists' groups and militants started emerging and remerging in the country. For decades, the Niger Delta region witnessed several groups that fight the government seeking for justice, equality and development. Some even fought for creation of a different country called Biafra from the current Nigeria. The prevailing situations gave rise to increase in Niger Delta Militancy and emergence of Boko Haram insurgency

in the southern and northern parts of the country respectively. In Boko Haram's case, it was killing of their leader Mohammed Yusuf in 2009 by the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) that triggered most of their violent activities as a response to his killing. Successive governments in Nigeria devised several approaches; counterradicalisation and counterinsurgency interventions to end Niger Delta militancy in the south and acts of insurgency in the north, none of which yielded significant results until during late president Umaru Y'ar Adua's term. In 2009, the then government introduced the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) to Niger Delta militants in 2009. It was established to discourage militancy in the region, with additional offers of provision of monthly stipends when militants surrender their arms and embrace the amnesty. The government also pledges demobilization, deradicalisation and reintegration of the militants into the society. The program got wide acceptance as a lot of militants benefitted, hundreds of them graduated from local and foreign universities due to scholarships given to them by the Nigerian government. Despite that, no significant infrastructural development was made by the government. The region was dirty, making it environmentally unfriendly habitat due to soil pollution as a result of oil-related contamination.

Similarly, in 2016, the Nigerian government under President Muhammadu Buhari offered similar amnesty program to Boko Haram insurgents; the amnesty is called Operation Safe Corridor (OSC), which is run under the Nigerian Military. As at the time of compiling this research, it has been over a decade after introduction of the PAP and about quarter a decade after introducing the OSC, but a lot of reports shows that the two interventions did not make significant impact that could transform the challenges faced by the country that led to the introduction of the two interventions. For decades, Nigeria has been a key player in maintenance of peace in Africa, therefore, a lot of Nigerians became worried, and the slow pace of progress of the two interventions concerns members of the international community, because if Nigeria is in trying times it often affects not only the African continent but also the world at large. Government spends huge sums of money annually in running the two programs. This research was conducted to identify what works and what did not work in the two interventions with a view to identify areas of concern and offer framework and recommendation that could guide the authorities in improving existing ones and designing future counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.

1.2.   Chapters Synopsis

The first chapter of this thesis introduced major issues to be discussed in each chapter. The first chapter consists of general introduction that explained the aim and three objectives of the research. The first aim was 'to determine and critically analyse the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria. The second aim was 'to evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation interventions that have been developed and deployed by Nigerian security forces, the PAP offered to Niger Delta Militants and the OSC offered to Boko haram'. While the third and final aim was 'to provide guidance on designing an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective two (2) above to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs. The chapter additionally discussed scope of research and structure of the thesis, where components of the research and contents of the chapters were highlighted. Other key issues discussed were The Relationship of this Investigation to Previous Work in The Area and the key topics of the thesis, that serve as the sub topic, which are Radicalisation,

Counterradicalisation, Deradicalisation and Reradicalisation in Nigeria. The latter part of the chapter highlighted issues of Terrorism and Insurgencies.

The second chapter reviewed some key literature in order to address the main context of the chapter, which is Radicalism and Radicalisation: A Review of Concepts and the Nigerian Milieu'. It explored various components of the chapter, where key segments like the detailed social, political and geographical background of the two counterinsurgency interventions has been discussed, that is PAP and OSC programs. Their aims and objectives have been analysed critically in the chapter. The chapter revisited the politics behind the PAP and OSC and how the two programs were funded. Additionally, the chapter reviewed existing literature on radicalisation, counterradicalisation and deradicalisation. It also explained the new norm, which is reradicalisation. The chapter further delved around some related historical background of some insurgent groups and some militants' groups in the Niger Delta region and across some northern parts of Nigeria. Such include MEND, IPOB, MOSOP, EMIROAF, BHRI, Boko Haram and ANSARU. Contents of the literature connotes with the research topic, aim and objectives also correlates with the third chapter, which is the methodology. The latter parts of the chapter explored theoretical considerations, Grievance Theory, coercion, Rationale Choice, Psychological Traits Approach (STA) and Coercion Tactics.

The third chapter of the thesis was the methodology. That was where research methods and other research instruments were discussed. Researchers Positionality, Sampling Strategy, Data Coding have been discussed in the chapter three. The researcher explained rationale for choosing methods and Originality of the Thesis Topic and Subject Element of the Research. Furthermore, Steps in the Research Activities was explained and later Ethical Issues Regarding Sources and/Author's Safety in Research were also highlighted. The chapter summaries the contents including explanation on the chosen research method. Data was collected using interviews and questionnaire adopting stratified sampling method. All components of the data including the raw empirical data and the sample questionnaire were attached at the appendix of this research.

Chapter four presented the data collected and explained key findings of the research in explanatory, chart and tabular forms. It highlighted the data and explained each component sequentially. Each graph presented it numbered in figure. It was then labelled and explanation on the data from the graph followed. After that, a table of age-gender response was presented on each of the corresponding charts. The latter part of the chapter explained the Evaluation of effectiveness of two deradicalisation programs: The Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta and Operation Safe Corridor in Northern Nigeria. Evidence that shows Evaluation of effectiveness of Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta and Operation Safe Corridor in Northern Nigeria.

Chapter five explained the Evidence-Based Framework for Implementing Future Deradicalisation Programs. It highlighted issues and components of the essential frameworks, Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency and Assumptions Underlying the Framework. The Methodology for Determining What Works and What Doesn't Work was discussed and later presented What Works and What Doesn't Work on the Two Counterradicalisation Interventions: PAP and OSC. On each, a corresponding table that shows what works/dodnt work, Why and where it worked/Didn't work and Sustainable measures/Countermeasures to ensure the interventions work were detailed in corresponding rows and columns.

Chapter six discussed the implications of findings of the research and how the findings could affect various segments of the society including government, private sector and the international community. An innovative framework was then introduced called 'IPPPPE' Framework. Which stands for 'Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate (IPPPPE) Framework' it was based on the RRM model, and it has components such as Preliminaries, Stakeholders, Short-term Impact, Medium-term Impact and Long-Term Impact. It is believed by the researcher that such an innovative framework could be a game changer when adopted by the Nigerian government and carefully deployed across the existing counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria, or even serve as a template for future counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. At the latter parts of the chapter, How the Framework Was Developed and Feasibility and Innovation and Applicability of the Framework were explained for easy adoption.

1.3 Research Aim

This research is aimed at exploring interventions meant to encourage deradicalisation in Nigeria. It would investigate what works and what doesn't work on the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) offered to Niger-Delta Militants in Southern Nigeria, and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) offered to Boko Haram Northern in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To determine and critically analyse the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria.

2. To evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation interventions that have been developed and deployed by Nigerian security forces, the PAP offered to Niger Delta Militants and the OSC offered to Boko haram.

3. To provide guidance on designing an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective two (2) above, to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs.

1.5   Scope of the Research

The research will focus primarily on two deradicalisation interventions PAP and OSC, because they are two of the most important and/or innovative programs developed by the Nigerian government in response to the challenge of militancy and radicalisation. Since independence in 1960, the Nigerian government has implemented sequence of interventions to address its security challenges, none of which are as significant as PAP and OSC due to their economic, social and security impact to survival of Nigeria as a Nation. The span of data collection on this research covers the government agencies, the radicals, academia and the community. Both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram were considered Radicals for the purpose of this research. Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram has been addressed as radical groups in several ways (Chukwujekwu, 2012); (Douglas et al, 2004); (Ruvalcaba, 2016); (Deckard et al, 2015); (USHOR (2013). This thesis will review their actions and factors that make them embrace radicalism in Nigeria. Target respondents on the research are officials managing PAP and those managing OSC. Others are some members of the two groups that are either in captivity or participated in either PAP or OSC interventions. The questions in the data collection instruments were drawn from the aim and three objectives of the thesis, in consideration with the aim and objectives set by

the Nigerian government after establishing the two interventions that is PAP and OCS. Notwithstanding other deradicalisation initiatives introduced in different forms, by different government agencies at local, state and national levels in Nigeria by Nigerian Government and/or other foreign agencies; the two main deradicalisation interventions that are focus of this research are primarily the PAP and the OSC.

1.6   Structure of the Thesis

The study is structured in chronological way. It contains graphs, figures, tables and detailed explanation on historical background and developments related to radicalisation and deradicalisation in Nigeria. Generally, the thesis evolves around what works and what doesn't work in the deradicalisation processes, and measures already taken by the Nigerian Government to ensure success of the two major counterinsurgency interventions.

In addition to the contents of the abstract, chapter one gives the introduction, span and rationale of the thesis. It discusses aim and objectives as well as scope and structure of the thesis. It also covers terrorism and insurgencies and later highlights the relationship of this investigation to previous work in the area. The chapter sets the tune for the thesis. The second chapter discusses the historical context that encapsulates radicalisation, counterradicalisation, militancy and an insurgency in Nigeria. The chapter also discusses domestic insurgency and other struggles in Nigeria including Shehu Danfodiyo; the Sokoto Caliphate struggle and the Nigeria Civil war. Chapter three discusses methodologies, originality of the thesis, ethical issues and safety in research. Limitations of the methodology were also discussed in the chapter. Explanation has been made on theories of radicalisation and why stratified sampling was adopted. Chapter four discussed the findings of the research, data collection and highlighted key findings of the research. The chapter discusses effectiveness and demerits of both PAP and OSC counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. It reviewed the two programs, PAP and OSC and the socio-political and other key issues connected to the two. Chapter five discusses the framework introduced by the researcher. It is an innovative framework called 'Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate (IPPPPE) framework IPPPPE framework', which aimed at improving existing and future counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. Chapter six discusses the implications of findings of the research. Both positive and negative implications have been discussed for serve as a guide in practical application possibility. Chapter seven discusses the conclusions, recommendations as well as various forms of challenges faced by the researcher. It further explores prospects for future research. The chapter offered this research recommendations, which are directly related to the data collected. Chapter eight contains the appendixes including raw empirical data.

Additionally, the research provided results in explanatory and graphical forms. It also interpreted the data, figures and graphs in more details including explanatory notes and expressions. The research makes realistically achievable recommendations on the way forward. Also highlighted areas for future research. The research could be useful to Nigeria as a nation as well as the international community. For Nigeria, the results are useful to Government; especially the executive and the legislative arms of government. They could use it for future planning, framework design and budget forecast. It could also be used as a template for further evaluation of previous or existing interventions on deradicalisation. Nigeria has both local and foreign partners. Therefore, peace and security of Nigeria as a nation is important to them. The International community has economic, security and business interests in Nigeria, they could benefit enormously with the information and results produced by the research. The terms and references of this thesis cover requirements, anticipations and

expectations intended to achieve in the research. It provides statements of objectives of the research. Roles and responsibilities of the evaluators and resources available for the evaluation (World Bank, 2011).

Some of the requirements include objectives of the research, rationale and background information, scope, definition of terms, methodology, findings, interpretation of findings, review, summary and conclusions. To achieve all the above contents of the terms of references, the research considers compliance with rules of academic writing and other considerations, which include due diligence, timeline, complete referencing, responsibility, fairness and impartiality. In order not to be too ambiguous, care is taken to ensure consistencies in achieving the aim and the three objectives of this research, with focus to getting results of the thesis in consideration to the title of the research. Overall, the ethics approval granted in 2017 serves as a guide in the conduct of this research.

1.7   The Relationship of this Investigation to Previous Intellectual Work

This research is distinct in its own way. The researcher found some academic works done that are related to the thesis, but there is limited work done to assess what works and what doesn't work on counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria, especially on PAP and OSC. As such, this research was conducted to fill such existing gaps. Nigerian scholars and research students have done significantly well in researching insurgency in Nigeria. There have been series of thesis, articles and other publications on shelves in Nigeria and abroad that investigates Boko Haram; Niger Delta Militants, Insurgencies, Radicalisation; counterradicalisation, terrorism and related areas. But the absence of research that investigates what works and what doesn't work in Nigeria creates a knowledge gap, especially for the Nigerian government to critically address insurgency challenges affecting Nigeria. Therefore, there is clear relationship between this research and existing problems affecting counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. According to (Bintube, 2015) in his assertion that explored the Social Tripodal Insurgency Model (STIM), he argued that "there is significant positive correlation between poor upbringing (socialisation) and its tendency to create insurgent recruits. As such the model blamed Boko Haram recruits background knowledge on poorly conceived complex cultural synthesis and differentiation of knowledge (Bintube, 2015, p.1). Those are some of the major undertones that caused Boko Haram. Nevertheless, Bintube's findings failed to address what works and what didn't work on PAP and OSC, which this research addresses. Although this research is not directly extending STIM model, it's assertion on differentiation of knowledge is related to this research's findings which found that illiteracy is one of the major factors that led to ineffectiveness of OSC in Nigeria. Similarly, the thesis considers the United States' Military Counterinsurgency (COIN) Shape-Clear-Hold-Build-transition (SCHBT) model, where "offensive operations represent the majority of the operations while defensive and stability operations represent a smaller fraction" (Plucker, 2015). In this model, the author concentrated on what the military could deploy in countering insurgency, which was against the previous STIM model asserted by Bintube. Having mentioned the two models, there are other available models used by several countries in developing COIN. This research developed data collection methods that collected primary data from the military, militants and insurgents' perspectives, as well as other key government officials handling PAP and OSC. Several other civilian volunteers participated in providing relevant data to the researcher.

Relatedly, Osagie and his academic colleagues in their work titled 'Causes of Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria as Expressed by the Youth in Delta State' found out that "deprivation of the indigenes of

the dividends of oil proceeds which is under economic factor accounted for the greatest cause of conflict and closely following it was political factor" (Osagie, et al, 2010, p.1). Although the finding is related to this research's finding, but the scope of their research was limited because its focus was primarily to determine the cause of conflicts in the Niger Delta region as expressed by the youth themselves. Such scope creates a gap because the primary data collection was limited; giving the overall response a limited perspective since it was only the youth were the target. Additionally, only the causes were found, their research also failed to find similar effects on Boko Haram. Therefore, this research covers such a gap as it focuses on both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram insurgents.

Moreover, this work, by extension, is a continuation of literary works that had been done in identifying interventions by the Nigerian governments and ways of improving them in the area of counterradicalisation in Nigeria. In an assertion by Stephen, in his work 'Youth Radicalisation and Future of Terrorism in Nigeria', he discussed some fundamental issues affecting the Nigerian youths. He identified, Neurological Factors, the Family Context, Social Milieu and Poor Education System as what makes youth vulnerable (Stephen, 2016), but he failed to identify factors leading to the vulnerability on each item on the list as well as factors leading to ineffectiveness of counterinsurgency interventions introduced by the Nigerian governments. That was not unconnected to the fact that his focus was only on psychological analysis. Therefore, this research fills the gap Stephen left because it addresses factors leading to ineffectiveness of PAP and OSC. Furthermore, the outcome of this research bridges a both knowledge gap and administrative gap, which became a menace that led to ineffectiveness of the fight against insurgency in Nigeria. One could find some academic and non-academic related writings including articles, journal publications, reviews, newspaper commentaries, magazine reviews and journalists' reports. Also, there are seminars and workshops' presentations, academic books, committee statements, public opinions and fact-finding reports. There are also undergraduate and postgraduate projects, dissertations and theses, which could be found online and on a lot of library shelves. They could be found on physical and virtual libraries. Other useful materials could also be found on majority of online and offline book shops/bookstores and eBooks, which are accessible via computers, tablets, smartphones and other handheld devices. OSAPND, whom coordinates the PAP and the Nigeria Military, which coordinates OSC are also a good sources of getting primary information related to this research topic. That is because they regularly communicate to Nigerians and international community via press releases and through conventional methods, prints and through their social media handles like twitter and Facebook. They also frequently share useful information via their official websites, especially announcements.

1.8   Radicalisation, Counterradicalisation, Deradicalisation and Reradicalisation in Nigeria

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country has been marred by several challenges. Some of the major ones include Nigeria civil war, military coup d'état and other forms of sectarian violence. Others are militancy, radicalisation, extremism and acts of terrorism such as insurgency. The latter has been considered most challenging to Nigeria. It causes series of problems such as loss of lives; loss of properties and loss of habitat. A lot of people were displaced in the Northeastern Nigeria, especially in Borno State, widely regarded as the most affected state amongst all the Northeastern states that have been troubled by the insurgency. Two major problems contributed to Nigeria's security problems. Firstly, the Boko Haram insurgency and the second is the

Niger Delta Militancy. It has been estimated that actions of the two groups in Nigeria led to death of more than 100,000 people as a result of various forms of attacks. It has been asserted that, "between 2009 and 2015, 164 attacks have been carried out by Boko Haram" (Solomon, 2015, p.85). Something must be behind escalation of such attacks. This thesis will explore what doesn't work that warrants escalation of attacks by Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Similarly, Governor of Borno State, Kasim Shettima once said during a conference that over the years, Boko Haram is estimated to have killed nearly 100,000 people, and by the end of 2016 displaced over two million in Borno State alone (Shettima, 2017). This thesis will not only cover Borno State, it will cover the activities of Boko Haram across the Northeasters region as well as Nigeria as a whole. Since strong resurfacing of Boko Haram in 2002 (Smith, 2016), previous governments have not been proactive on them, which were one of the reasons why the group became so widespread and extended their operations to international level. It was established that Boko Haram has around 6,000 hardcore militants (USIO, 2015) supporting their agenda. This research would re-examine of Boko Haram by reviewing OSC's impacts to know what works and what didn't work.

It was not surprising when the United States designated the Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in 2012. The group became so string that by mid 2015, it was reported that they controlled 14 local governments in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States (Sundaytrust, 2015). From 2015 when new Nigerian Government came into power after defeating the incumbent Government, there have been reports of improvements, that the Nigerian military caused severe damage to Boko Haram firepower all through 2016. Although, 2017 Global Terrorism index (GTI) reported that there has been 80% decrease in deaths caused by Boko Haram in 2016. In 2018, it was a sharp contrast, because several major Nigerian media sources reported against GTI report. One of the reasons is that, not only in Nigeria, governments tend to be reluctant in publicising failure. According major sources in Nigeria, 1,351 people killed in Nigeria in first 10 weeks of 2018 (Vanguard, 2018), 900 killed in middle belt region of Nigeria (Thisday, 2018), Boko Haram Killed 1,750 Christians in first 6 months of 2018 (Intersociety). Similarly, Amnesty International report that was released mid-2018 says that 1,814 Nigerians have been killed (Amnesty, 2018). That number was more than double of the entire figure reported by other sources in 2017. Terrorism activities spread across mostly northern Nigeria, but major casualties were around Northwestern Nigeria, which are predominantly Muslims.

The other major challenge faced by Nigeria is the crisis in the Niger Delta region, which was largely as a result of the militants quest for regional independence, improved resource allocation, economic and social development, job opportunities etc. Recently, the pattern changed to series of attacks on Nigeria's oil infrastructure. Not only that, oil companies operating around the region also saw a lot of attacks on their infrastructure. Some of the tactics the militants used include but not limited to kidnapping of employees of both federal government and oil companies, destruction of oil facilities, oil bunkering, theft, assassinations and other disruptive activities around the region. People killed as a result of militancy are expected to be in thousands. Amnesty international, in its 2018 report on Nigeria says number of people killed in Nigeria from January 2018 to June 2018 was more than the total number of people killed in entire 2017 in Nigeria. It specifically stated Independently verified figures indicate that since January 2018 at least 1813 people have been assassinated in 17 states, which are double the 894 people killed in 2017 (AI, 2018). Even though the

number was not as a result of Niger Delta militancy, it shows the kind of challenges being faced by Nigeria is alarming!

The Nigerian government introduced series of programs before, aimed at addressing sectarian challenges and other forms of violent undertakings. But, in recent years, major programs are the PAP and OSC. PAP was first introduced in 2009 by late Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua while OSC was introduced in 2016 by President Muhammadu Buhari's led administration. The President of Nigeria appoints coordinator that runs OSC program under the amnesty program office, which has its headquarters in Maitama district in Abuja, the Nigeria's Federal Capital Territory. Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta Affairs (OSAPND) oversees the PAP, the special adviser serves as the coordinator of the PAP in Nigeria.

PAP was more strategically supported even before it was established than OSC, because apart from establishment of OSAPND by the Government, there is also Niger Delta Development Commission and the Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs, all jointly, directly and indirectly serving the interest of the people of the entire Niger Delta region. The Nigerian president appoints heads of all the four major Niger Delta agencies mentioned above. According to information made available by office of OSAPND, PAP was established to accomplish three deliverables and initiatives; *Disarmament, Demobilization/Rehabilitation and Reintegration'* of militants. The three segments have duration of 3 months, 6 months to 12 months and up to 5 years respectively. The overall vision was to ensure peaceful coexistence of the Niger Delta as a peaceful region inhabited with modern cities with leading edge environmental management practices, economic prosperity, skilled and healthy people and social harmony (OSAPND, 2018). The Federal Government of Nigeria targeted to reach out to at least 30,000 Niger Delta militants through the PAP. Another key issues is that even though the PAP is meant for Niger Delta Militants, since inception, the head office is located in Abuja, that causes a lot of administrative delays in the implementation of most of the program's objectives. There have been questions on what works and what does not work on the program. This research intends to provide answers to such questions.

The other counter radicalisation program was initiative by Nigerian government under Nigeria armed forces is called the OSC. It was established to provide amnesty to Boko Haram insurgents, similar to that offered to the Niger Delta Militants. Even though a lot of Boko haram insurgents were reported to have surrendered to the Nigerian Army before the introduction of the program, the government felt it would encourage more to surrender when a specific program were to be introduced, that justifies the introduction of OSC. The program is full of ambiguity as its strategy; work plan, operational blueprint, conditions, limitations and timeline is vague. Nigeria Army under the Joint Task Force primarily handles the OSC. But the window is open to Boko haram members to approach any of the bodies under the Nigerian defence, Air Force, Army or the Navy to surrender to them. They would then be prepared for stages involved from *disarmament to deradicalisation up to reintegration* with the society. Even though the army press statement by acting director defence information Rabe Abubakar asserted that rehabilitating and reintegrating repenting Boko Harm members was part of operation safe corridor (Bauri, 2016), after couple of years, the information was countered by Major General Bamidele, whom was one of the forefront army officials fighting Boko Haram, saying that the army are not responsible for deradicalisation of repentant Boko Haram members. Rather, it is the responsibility of Nigerian Prison Service (now called the Nigeria Correction Service NCS) to deradicalize them (Bamidele, 2018).

Strangely, the same Military spoke to repenting Boko Haram members undergoing deradicalisation program in Gombe through the same program coordinator Brigadier General Bamidele Shafar (Abare, 2017). If the military could make a statement, then later counter its earlier official statement, then there is real problem associated with how the OSC program is being run. That also throws a heavy blow as the issue has become worrying because some of the Boko Haram members were found to be reradicalising back to Boko Haram. There have been mixed reactions on success and failures of both programs. Which is why one of the cardinal objectives of this research is to find out what works and what doesn't work out of the two major counterradicalisation interventions.

Recent report by the University of Houston erudite, a researcher with about 20 years' experience researching Niger Delta region shows that out of 30,000 militants that enrolled into PAP, from 2009 to 2018 only 2,700 (ammunitions) were surrendered (R. Gordon, 2018). That shows very slow response from the militants considering heavy and sophisticated armoury they use in their attacks. In contrast, a Brigadier General, who is also deputy commander, in charge of Operation Delta Safe says from 2016 when the operation began, they recovered over 21,700 arms and ammunitions from insurgents (K. Aligbe, 2018). Such a figure represents over 800% of what has been surrendered by insurgents within 7 years period. Lately, additional challenges began to emerge in Nigeria, such as the Fulani Herdsmen crisis, which if strong measures are not put in place could spread like cancer in Nigeria. Although 'herders-farmers' problems have been in existence for over a century, recent happenings especially in Benue, Sokoto and Zamfara states in Nigeria led to heavy loss of lives makes it more worrying. One report classified the local Militant group as the fourth deadliest terror group in the world. About 92% of their attacks were against private citizens. On average, 11 lives were lost per attack (GTI, 2015). That shows Nigeria's problems are far beyond only militancy and insurgency. It is a complex problem.

Other problems that pose challenges to Nigerian military are the increase in roadside and highway armed robbery across the country. Lately, it mostly affects northern Nigeria. Abuja- Kaduna highway has been attacked several times and several lives lost. The media and the military normally tagged it as 'Armed Bandits'; the researcher could not find rationale by neither the military nor the media on why such a title was given to armed robbers. It could be that the narrative changed because they have strategized and concentrated more on kidnappings, torching of houses, killing of soldiers and armed robberies around villages. Areas mostly affected are Zamfara, Taraba, and Benue states. Report by national early warning statistics asserted that more than 84 people have been killed and about 140 people were kidnapped recently in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna State alone (WANEP, 2018). Additionally, the term is also mixed with cattle rustlers. It is fair to say that armed robbers, armed bandits and cattle rustlers have similar attributes and intents because most of their actions were aimed at causing hardship to villagers, community and peaceful coexistence. There was a reported incident in Zamfara state that says 3,500 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) flee to neighbouring Katsina State as a result of disproportionate killings and atrocities by armed bandits and cattle rustlers in the state (Bello, 2018). Therefore, this thesis also considers other security challenges beyond militancy and insurgency in collecting data for analysis and recommendations.

There are suspicions that some Boko Haram members and militants moved to Northwest and engage in kidnappings, banditry and armed robbery. Recently, the Nigerian army have dispatch heavy armoury and personnel on intensive operations in Zamfara state tagged Operation 'IDON RAINI Corridor II'. The operation

is aimed at supporting existing security agencies already in Zamfara state, which include the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and Department of State Security (DSS). It has so far started making impacts as several arrests were made. According to deputy director Army public relations Colonel Muhammad Dole, three armed bandits arrested and 20 has been neutralized in recent onslaught in Jambiri village in Zamfara state (Dole, 2018). Additionally, Army killed 68 bandits and recovered 17 vehicles from them (Kennedy, 2018). Furthermore, 104 bandits killed and 50 hideouts destroyed by Nigeria Police Force (NPF, 2018).

In another expansion, violence erupted in Jos, plateau state where the government authorities ascertained that about 120 people were killed in one day and about 200 sustained injuries, houses burnt but three killers arrested (Atolagbe, 2018). Jos city has been synonymous to violence for about a decade. In 2010, National Commission for Refugees reported 23,950 people were displaced as a result of various crises in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria (Kangiwa, 2010). Director General Plateau State Peace Building Agency estimated that about 7,000 people were killed in the last decade due to several crises in Plateau State (Lengman, 2017). Nigeria is still struggling to effectively handle the challenges mentioned earlier. Violence keeps spreading across the Northwestern part of the country, which is seen as a peaceful region. In summary, the problems discussed could be summed up as attributes that facilitate spread of militancy, reradicalisation and other pressing vices in Nigeria. The results and finding of this research will provide clear details about what works and what doesn't in PAP and OSC.

For clarity, key terms are explained thus: interchange that brings radicalisation, counterradicalisation, deradicalisation and reradicalisation are that radicalisation is defined as a process whereby individuals and groups move from conventional beliefs to extreme ideologies. While radicalisation may be a prerequisite for violent extremism, it does not imply that those who are predetermined to becoming violent extremists. Rather the two exist on a continuum where radicalisation presents only the potentiality for violent extremism (UNDP, 2015). The definition shows how ambiguous the concept of radicalisation is. Meanwhile, deradicalisation is also defined as action or process of causing a person with extreme opinions to adopt more reasonable positions on political or social issues (Oxford, 2018). But what the definition does not provide is to clarify how to ascertain what extreme means on social or political issues. As such, the lack of clarity still exists.

On counterradicalisation, it is a process taken to guard against radicalisation. In other words, actions and precautions taken to militate against radicals and their radicalisation ideologies, including their actions and activities aimed at harming government or the society. It was also argued that programs which deal with those who have not yet engaged in violent crimes are also often referred to as 'deradicalisation' schemes, although by taking Horgan's definition of deradicalisation being a post-crime process, then dealing with pre-crime individuals holding radical views could be called 'counterradicalisation' (Pettinger, 2017). Based on Pettinger's views it could be seen that both pre-crime and post-crime processes could be considered as actions taken towards and against deradicalisation programs and activities. On the last segment, which is reradicalisation, it is regarded as a new term because one could hardly find a precise definition to it either using conventional dictionaries, online or via scholarly writings. As such, it could only be given logical definition. The researcher therefore defines Reradicalisation as the process of re-joining radical group either during process of deradicalisation or after deradicalisation. Any insurgent, terrorist, extremist or radical that re-joins a group after renouncing membership of such group is reradicalising again. Therefore, re-joining radical group is reradicalisation. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will discuss methodologies used to conduct the research

as well as findings. In order to do justice to this chapter, next topics will give definitions of key topics and background of security challenges faced by Nigeria, which include terrorism, militancy and other forms of insurgencies.

1.9 Terrorism and Insurgencies

There is wider view of terrorism by several scholars. Some definitions are elaborate while some are vague. Terrorism is Terrorism (Greenstock, 2011). That does not say much though. In another meaning, it is a systematic use of illegitimate violence as means of achieving some political objectives (Chalk, 1999). Terrorism is also considered as one of the most important words of vocabulary these days (Schmid, 2004). There are several challenges facing humanity, terrorism is one of the biggest challenges to global peace and security (Okoli Et al, 2014). Due to the changing nature of strategies used by terrorists across the globe there are several methods of conducting acts of terrorism. Therefore, there are no universally acceptable definitions for such type of crime (Schmid, 2011). Terrorists use several methods to achieve their aims. They include using explosive devices, surface to air missiles, shooting at close quarter attacks, kidnappings, use of chemical, biological and radiological (CBR) devices, (MI5, 2017). The way and manner terrorists use new methods to launch attacks and spread their ideologies and the different legal frameworks across different countries makes it difficult to give comprehensive types of terrorism. It was asserted that there are several types of terrorism, Criminal Terrorism; Dissident Terrorism; Terrorists and the Left and Right'; State Sponsored Terrorism and, Religious Terrorism to (EKU, 2017). This means both Boko Haram insurgents and Niger Delta militants have common, mixed attributes.

Criminal Terrorism: is where the terrorists act for criminal again or profit. The gain could be for the terror or the group he or she represents. The gain could be financial gain or unquantifiable gain such as to gain popularity, distract people or gain government's attention. State Sponsored Terrorism: terrorism acts on government or state by government. It is where government directly or indirectly sponsor or support terrorism. An example is how the American Government supports some Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) fighters against regime of Bashar Al-Assad in Syria. Dissident Terrorism: This is a form of terrorism where the group goes against their legitimate government. An example is Boko Haram in Nigeria. They fight against legitimate government in Nigeria to create their own Islamic state. Terrorists and the Left and Right; these are terrorist groups which are motivated by their political ideologies. They use all sort of force to intimidate government or the society. Religious Terrorism: Is terrorism acts carried out based on religious motives, beliefs and ideologies. The objectives and goals are all influenced by religious beliefs. An example of terrorist groups that connotes with religious terrorism is Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Boko Haram.

There is also New Terrorism; that arose towards the end of 20th century, which is called Ideological Terrorism; which is motivated by political and ideological system of belief. International Terrorism; this is the type that cut across various countries of terrorists' interest (Martin 2016). Similarly, there is Trans-National Terrorism, which operates in one country but sometimes expand and operate 'beyond its territory (Nia, 2010). Furthermore, another one is Criminal Dissident Terrorism; this is purely a Profit-Driven and sometimes political-driven type of terrorism. Additionally, Gender-Selective Terrorism; as its name implies, it is directed towards men, women, boys or girls of any age group. Sometimes violence is directed towards women to ensure

the target give up or surrender to terrorists (Martin, 2016). An example is over 270 schoolgirls of Government Secondary School, Chibok in Borno state, Northeastern Nigeria that were abducted by Boko Haram in 2014 (UNICEF, 2016). The act is against Islamic religious principles. Further discussions on terrorism and other related insurgencies in Nigeria would be explored in subsequent chapter. Amongst all the above definitions, none was more precise. It would be ambiguous to place other new terrorism types such as cyber terrorism, kidnappings and other vices into above definitions but they are a new dimension worth noting, it hardly suits to perfection because terrorists' resort to several means to achieve their ideological objectives.

Consequently, when looking at types of terrorism it is important to look at other perspectives that dominate the hysteria about terrorism activities as well. Especially the ones related to religious terrorism. Islam and Muslims usually comes up in most cases when religious terrorism is discussed. Nowadays, it cuts across several continents, terrorists could be found almost everywhere as against initial thoughts of having them only in Asia, Africa and the middle east. Interestingly, it was asserted that between September and May 2011, 172 Muslim-American terrorism suspects and perpetrators were identified by security and law enforcement agencies (Kurzman et al, 2001). Additionally, there are a larger number of Islamist militants in USA than anticipated (Muller, 2003). In the United States, 63 terrorists out of a total of 157 pled guilty to acts of terrorism. Similarly, in 2015, 81 Muslim-Americans were associated with violent extremist plots. Between 2011-2015, 220,000 Americans were murdered (Kurzman, 2016, p.2). Having said the above, Islam does not tolerate terrorism. A verse from Holy Qur'an clearly states that "do not kill a soul that God has made" (Qur'an, 6:151). If people decide not to embrace Islam do not fight them unless if they threaten you. Live with one another peacefully even if you differ in religion. Islam is religion of peace; "there is no compulsion in religion" (Qur'an, 2:256).

> "If anyone killed a person not in retaliation for murder or to spread mischief in the land, it would be as if he killed the whole of humanity. And likewise, if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the whole of humanity-(Qur'an 5:32)

The leader of Islamic Religion, Prophet Muhammad Peace be Upon Him (PBUH) condemns murder and terrorism. Islam is not a motive for terrorism. Terrorism is not permissible in Islamic law. If war is eminent, Islam does not even permit sneak attacks. At some point, Prophet Muhammad gave warning of up to four months to enemies that "war is eminent" before waging a war against them (Cole, 2013). Terrorists nowadays act in cowardice. They act carelessly and recklessly. They target all faiths including Muslims. Many Christians died as a result of terrorism and there are a lot of non-Muslim terrorists. Muslims killing Christians is against Islam and Islamic teaching. Islam considers Christians as the best friends of Muslims. The Qur'an provides a framework for Muslims' understanding of Christianity and Christians (Esposito, 2009). It was asserted that since Donald Trump became US President, white Americans have killed more Americans with no connection to Islam than by immigrants or Muslim terrorists (Williams, 2017). Therefore, terrorists and terrorisms know no boundaries. They attack everyone notwithstanding their religion, gender, race, and political or social affiliations.

1.10   Summary

This chapter introduced main concepts of this research to the reader. It explains the aim and three key objectives of the research. It also discusses scope and structure of the research and indeed the relationship of this investigation to previous work in the subject area. At latter stages of the chapter, the term 'terrorism' was broadly explained citing several examples to enable understanding of the context and contents of the thesis. The subsequent chapter will discuss radicalism and radicalisation in Nigeria, especially the ones that relates to insurgency, militancy and internal security challenges faced by Nigeria from the early 1960s to the 21st century.

Radicalism and Radicalisation: A Review of Concepts and the Nigerian Milieu

2.1 Abstract

This chapter discusses review of concepts of Radicalism and Radicalisation, where the writer focuses primarily on Nigeria. It explores concepts of Radicalisation, Deradicalisation, Counterradicalisation and Reradicalisation, and their efficiency and effectiveness. The writer aligned each concept with the Nigerian milieu, he uses authors' assertions in justifying each component by citing relevant examples and related official reports and public reviews. Additionally, the chapter reviewed existing, major Counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria, specifically the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC), which are aimed at addressing pressing issues of Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy respectively. The latter stages of the discussed other related groups that pose threat to the Niger Delta and Northeastern Nigeria. Furthermore, the chapter explored the successes and challenges faced by each of the programs, accordingly, including underlying causes of the crisis, Origins, politics and implications of the Niger Delta militancy and Boko Haram insurgency. To ensure insightful analysis of the literature, three main theories were explored, which are Grievance Theory Coercion Theory and Rational Choice theory. The chapter concluded by providing a summary of all the components of the chapter in its conclusion in clearer terms that could be understood by the readers of this research.

2.2. Introduction

This chapter gives detailed socio, political and geographical background on the two main flagship deradicalisation programs that are the focus of this research. That is the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) on Niger Delta Militants and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) on Boko Haram. The PAP was the first to be introduced in Nigeria and subsequently OSC. Before Nigeria's democratically elected president engaged in peaceful political transition on 29 May 1999, the country was already facing insecurity and various economic challenges, which was foreseen during the latter years of the then Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo. As Nigeria relies heavily on revenues generated from crude oil, the country lost about $20 billion United States (US) dollars in 2008, while Nigeria Liquified Natural Gas lost about $2 billion US dollars due to attacks on both public and private owned oil and gas infrastructure by the Niger Delta militants. By May 2019 the oil production was drastically reduced due to Niger Delta Militia. Daily crude oil production reduced from 2.2 million barrels a day to less than 800,000 barrels a day. According to one published appraisal, that figure is a loss of that is costing Nigeria about N8.7 billion naira (Dele et al, 2017)[1] It was not only the economy that suffered, over 1000 lives were lost while 128 persons were kidnapped in 2008 and 2009 respectively. Severity of losses made the oil and gas companies come together and collectively spend about $3 billion US dollars

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[1] Dele et al, *The Federal Government Amnesty Program in Nigeria*, (RONPE, 2017)

annually to safeguard and protect their critical infrastructure. 30,000 militants normally referred to as 'ex-agitators' are captured in the PAP (PAP, 2019)[2].

Less than two months after the coming of the new administration, on 25 June 2009, it was the day the PAP was announced by the Nigerian government under the leadership of the late President Umar Musa Yar'adua. The proclamation was for the Niger Delta Militants in Nigeria who have been involved in a series of armed violence against the Nigerian Government for a series of demands, including breaking away from Nigeria, resource control, improved social and economic welfare amongst other demands. The PAP office was established on 11 July 2009. On the PAP was aimed at granting unconditional amnesty to all the militants that willingly surrendered their arms to the Federal Government of Nigeria within sixty (60) days. The Nigerian Government was trying to stabilize the region because the Militants had already damaged not only the Federal Government's owned infrastructure but that of the local and international oil companies' as well. There are several groups that engage into Niger Delta militancy ranging from local ones that use locally manufactured weapons to high profile ones that import highly sophisticated armory into the region from within Nigeria and abroad. After the introduction of the PAP, the Federal Government of Nigeria appointed the then Minister of Interior Abba Moro as the Chairman of the PAP for one year before the Government subsequently change nomenclature of leadership to Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta, whom also serves as the Coordinator PAP.

According to the Nigerian Government, the PAP was introduced to ensure ex-combatants were transformed from militancy to productivity, by equipping them with skills to gainful employment and productivity. To achieve that, PAP adopted the United Nation (UN)'s Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) model but 'Developed a home-grown process, which has become a global reference point" (PAP, 2019)[3]. The DDR model was a report by the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations segment, with the aim to serve as a tool for global policy makers in properly executing DDR operations. Realistically, the DDR is not just a model as asserted by the Nigerian Government, according to the UN publication on 'New Horizon Discussions', the DDR is actually a section under the UN, which clarified that "the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Section of the Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions (OROLSI) of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) initiated a study to document the innovative programs that DDR practitioners are implementing in the field"[4] (UNDDRC, 2015).

According to the information by the DDR section of the UN, there is also "Reinsertion"[5], which is a segment of the DDR, but it was not sighted by the Nigerian Government as one of the core components of its DDR model. On the other hand, the second counterradicalisation intervention introduced by the Nigerian Government is called the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC). OSC was introduced in 2016 to serve a similar purpose like the PAP but it was primarily targeting Boko Haram insurgents. One of the cardinals aims of

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[2] Office of The Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta, The Coordinator of the Presidential Amnesty Program (CPAP), *Presidential Amnesty Program* (OSAPND 2019)

[3] CPAP *Home-Grown DDR*

[4] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Second Generation Disarmament, Demobilization and reintegration (DDR) Practice in Peace Operations. A Contribution to the New Horizon Discussion on Challenges and Opportunities for UN Peacekeeping* (2010)

[5] The United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Resource Centre (UNDDRC) *What is DDR*, Secretary-General, note to the General Assembly, A/C.5/59 (2005)

establishing OSC is Rehabilitation and Reintegration of repentant Boko Haram members. Even though a lot of Boko haram members surrendered to the army before the introduction of the program, the government felt it would encourage more to surrender when specific program was to be introduced, that justifies the introduction of OSC. nevertheless, OSC is full of ambiguity as its strategy; work plan, operational blueprint, conditions, limitations and timeline is vague. Nigeria Army under the Joint Task Force primarily handled OSC. But the window is open to Boko haram members to approach any of the bodies under the Nigerian defense, Air Force, Army or the Navy to surrender to them. They would then be prepared for stages; from disarmament to deradicalisation up to reintegration with society. Even though the army press statement by acting director defense information Rabe Abubakar asserted that rehabilitating and reintegrating repenting Boko Haram members was part of operation safe corridor (Bauri, 2016), after a couple of years, the information was countered by Major General Bamidele, whom was one of the forefront army officials fighting Boko Haram, saying that the army are not responsible for deradicalisation of repentant Boko Haram members. Rather, it is the responsibility of Nigerian Prison Service to deradicalize them (Bamidele, 2018). Subsequent sections of this chapter will explore critically the two major counterradicalisation interventions, which are the PAP and the OSC.

This section discusses the term 'concept' and the way various authors defined it. Although the concept is often used in social sciences, other disciplines use it accordingly. The major similarity in the definitions shows that concept is regarded as an idea or thought. Therefore, one may use the word 'concept' to represent what he or she wants to communicate to readers or sell to the target audience.

Basic definitions by Google dictionary defined concept as an abstract idea; plan or intention; an idea or invention to help sell or publicize a commodity (Google, 2019); an idea of how something is, or how something should be done (Longman Dictionary, 2019); a principle or idea (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019); an idea or abstract principle (Collins Dictionary, 2019). Cognitive psychologists and philosophers assume concepts are the basic constituents of thought and belief (Wallis, 2015). In Social Science research, the concept is commonly used by students, authors and academia in general. The term is used interchangeably though. Each writer justifies its meaning not only according to his/her point of view, but justification is often made by referring to some related literature. Govert Valkenburg, in his publication 'the role of concept in Social Science' asserted that A concept is an idea, often a single word, that captures a broader idea. Things by which social scientists use to refer to very specific things (Valkenburg, 2017). In his arguments, he further justifies the writer's views that concept is used interchangeably, with various perspectives, depending on the writer. But the demerit with his views was his inability to make a stand, because he concluded by asserting that conceptions usually are not right or wrong, as such his views are debatable and vague.

In another perspective, concepts are being less hyped because despite its importance in the field of social science it received relatively little attention from Social Scientists over the years. concepts are a central part of our theories, yet researchers, apart from Sartori and Collier, have focused very little attention on social science concepts per se (though see Ragin 2000), Goertz asserts. He argues that a concept involves a theoretical and empirical analysis of the object or phenomenon in a given situation. A good concept draws distinctions that are important in the behavior of the object (Goertz, 2005). In this context, Goertz's views were more of comparative views between what both Sartori and Collier said regarding concepts that asserting his own

independent views. As such, the major key points of his views were his definition, which indicates 'theoretical and empirical analysis as keywords in the definition of concepts. A more elaborate definition was by Princeton University's publication titled Social Science Concept, authored by Gary Goertz asserts that Concepts lie at the core of social science theory, because it provides substance to theories; they form the basis of measurement; also influence the selection of cases (Goertz, 2005). Evolutionary biologists would say that concepts are like natural species. Mathematics seems to be that area of intellectual activity, where the difference between concepts and definitions, and consequently the difference between seeing something on the one hand and calculating it on the other. In contrast, it was the reverse definition in Philosophical context, Philosophy is reasoning by means of concepts, says Kant (Otte, 2016).

In this thesis, the word 'concept' is considered as an idea or viewpoint asserted by either the writer or a third party. Concept used in this thesis could also have either a social or analytical perspective as asserted by Bant Otte in the previous paragraph. Subsequent sections would discuss how other authors assert their perspective on Radicalisation, Counterradicalisation and Deradicalisation. It also discussed Reradicalisation, Insurgency and Terrorism.

2.2.1. Radicalisation

There are varying views about how radicalisation evolves. Authors, countries and academic institutions all have various perspectives about Radicalisation, which are sometimes in connection with others' views while it sometimes varies accordingly. It is also essential to know the transition behind radicalisation and major types or radicalisation to be able to proper rightful understanding of radicalisation concept. The Canadian Centre for the Prevention of Radicalisation Leading to Violence (CCPRLV) asserted that Radicalisation leading to violence takes different forms depending on its context, time and period. It may also be associated with different causes or ideologies. The center therefore mentioned four types of Radicalisation thus: Right-Wing Extremism; Politico-Religious Extremism; Left-Wing Extremism; and, Single-Issue Extremism (CCPLLV, 2019).

Although a renowned publication by the Journal for Deradicalisation asserted that there is no single agreed definition of deradicalisation, it defined it as a process by which an individual move towards committing a violent act based on extremist views. At the most basic level. According to Neumann (2013: 874), 'radicalisation can be defined as the process whereby people become extremist' (Hardy, 2018). The demerit of Hardy's definition is it was more of a perspective of the case studies of the United Kingdom, Australia, Denmark, Sweden and The Netherlands Counter Violent Extremism's policies only, as it was clearly stated in the publication's abstract. As such it leaves a gap because there was no perspective of the United States, Asia or the African Continent's viewpoints of radicalisation. In China, radicalisation is seen differently, they term it as part of "religious extremism", which is the ideological basis for terrorist attacks in China. China's counterradicalisation strategy considers three forces of transformation into radicalisation; Separatism, extremism, and terrorism (Zhou, 2017). But the major problem with China's deradicalisation strategy is the blueprint was solemnly designed to address the Uyghurs, a Muslim ethnic group in China's far-western region of Xinjiang. As such, the country ignored other potential influences that lead to radicalisation such as what CCPRLV asserted in the previous paragraph. Therefore, China's definition and viewpoint on radicalisation

could not be universally applicable. In the United Kingdom, the Secret Service (Mi5) defines radicalisation as the process where people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then join terrorist groups afterwards (CEP, 2019). Similarly, in Denmark, the Danish Security and Intelligence Service defines Radicalisation as a process by which someone to an increasing extent resort to use undemocratic or violent means, including terrorism, in an attempt to reach a specific political and ideological objective (PET, 2009). However, the United Nations Development Fund, which is often regarded as the United States' controlled, views it differently, it asserts that there are forms of positive radicalism, because it has created positive societal change in gender equality and human rights movements. Groups like Occupy Wall Street and other citizens' movements in countries like Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Myanmar, Burkina Faso, and Tunisia have sought progress and change through peaceful protest. So, the term radicalisation is not necessarily the problem; it is becoming associated solely with an anti-liberal, anti-democratic and religiously fundamentalist agenda and its links to the use of violence (UNDP, 2016). UNDP's views give radicalisation an entirely fresh, debatable dimension. Because more often when the word 'radicalisation' is mentioned people think about it negatively. Nevertheless, it is still debatable, because each country has its specific regulations on the status of positive radicalisation.

Additionally, it is also debatable whether it is allowed to use radical ways to achieve positive societal changes in any given society. In Nigeria for example, people are expected to seek permission from relevant authorities, normally from the Nigeria Police Force and other security agencies before engaging into any people driven protests. Otherwise it would be termed illegal and may lead to prosecution and possibly conviction to jail, or fine or both. In Nigeria, radicalisation is seen with several mixed perceptions. Some authors sees it as violent Islamist radicalism in northern Nigeria has surged in the past decade, the notion of jihad in Nigeria has long historical roots From 1802 to 1812, which led to Usman Danfodiyo Jihad established the Sokoto Caliphate (Sodipo, 2013), some called it a holy war or a revolution (Olaosebikan, 2011), to some it is even called a Jihad (Sokoto, 2011); Fulani Jihad (Aremu, 2011). While others see it as simply a struggle (BABITT, 2009). Therefore, there is no universally acceptable definition for the term radicalisation in the United States Homeland Security arena (Abrahams,2017). In This research, the focus is on the negative form of radicalisation and illegal and illegitimate methods used by groups and individuals to achieve their aims against governments, groups and individuals in a particular location or space.

In summary, the definitions discussed provided a mix of theories. For conceptual clarifications, there are aspects of personal construct theory, where people develop personal constructs about how the world works (Cherry, 2019). It was supported by the fact that various countries define radicalisation in their own perspectives, not considering other nations' peculiarities. There are also aspects of coherent theory (of truth), which asserts that the truth of any proposition consists in its coherence with some specified set of propositions (Stanford, 1996). Although coherent theory is more centric on accurate values wherever they may be present, it has relevance in previous definitions because it correlates with UNDP's definition provided earlier in this section, because it is objective in the sense that it considers both negative and positive aspects of radicalisation. There are also components of social movement theory in the definitions.

The theory focuses on why social mobilisations occur and their possible consequences to the society. The demerit is that the theory's major focus is mainly on the social sciences discipline, nevertheless, it is significant

because it gives ethnographic perspective to the thesis, because radicalisation in this context is focusing more on human aspects than the scientific or technological one. There are also components of strain theory in criminology and sociology in these definitions. The theory was believed to be developed in the United States of America (USA), it argues that people commit crime as a result of the availability or lack of specific social structures. In the early 30s in the USA, there was a strain between the socially encouraged goals of society and the socially acceptable means to achieve them (Hall, 2018). The theory is significant when aligned to peculiarities in Nigeria, because, the assumption is that some insurgents from the Niger Delta fights the Nigerian government due to lack of basic social amenities and infrastructure in the region, but there are also reservations because there were also attacks in Nigeria's capital city Abuja, where infrastructure and social services are available. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that each of the theories discussed above gave a conceptual perspective that could provide useful tips on how best Nigeria as a country could develop an acceptable holistic framework to address radicalisation.

2.2.2. Counterradicalisation

Counter Radicalisation as the name implies means measures put in place to mitigate radicalisation. Since radicalisation is a process by which an individual or a group gradually adopts extreme positions or ideologies that are opposed to the status quo and challenge mainstream ideas (PSC, 2018). It is also a process which occurs in due course of time with sustained efforts (Zahid, 2016). Therefore, anything that goes contrary or was designed to go against the said processes is counterradicalisation. Although Adil Raheed was not a proponent of the use of the word 'Radical' in a negative way. Countering actions against any unlawful "violent extremist action" (Rasheed, 2016) is counterradicalisation. Rasheed's views were that even the use of the word 'radical' was unfair, because renowned freedom fighters like Nelson Mandela and Thomas Jefferson used radical approach to impact positively around the societies they lived, made, as such radical was not the right word to use.

Such an assertion could be seen as valid, but in modern day scenarios, the word radical and radicalisation have been popularized by the UK and the USA and the academia around their countries, making it difficult to discard the use of radical, radicalisation and counter radicalisation words. The center for strategic international studies USA sees acts of shielding, detecting, preventing, accessing acts of radicalisation as a form of counterradicalisation (CSIS, 2018). The center published counterradicalisation model developed by the French government called 'prevent protect. Which offered 60 preventive counterradicalisation measures with focus on 5 key themes that includes Tailoring disengagement schemes and Training local stakeholders and assessing practices of countering radicalisation. Although France's approach to counter radicalisation is vast, as it is in tune with strain theory of criminology and sociology, but it lacks simplicity in its application and procedures. The 60 preventive measures, which is supported by France Committee for Prevention of Delinquency and Radicalisation, each requires various components and steps and there is no exact clarity on which government agency is responsible for what.

Additionally, it does not give consideration to dynamism of radicalisation because it focuses more on human aspects than the coherence of other influences leading to radicalisation as pointed out by the coherent theory in the previous section. In Nigeria, when radicalisation is discussed what comes to mind of many people is

Boko Haram or Niger Delta Militants, and some other emerging groups such as armed bandits and kidnappers, not necessarily the concept of radicalisation itself. The Nigeria Army considers Radicalisation to Boko Haram as Ideological (Buratai, 2019). It is not unconnected with the reason why Nigeria promulgated and passed a law 'Terrorism Prevention Act 2011', which was amended in 2013. The law though primarily on terrorism, it addresses components of radicalisation, insurgencies and extremism, but it did not explicitly address all issues of radicalisation. Therefore, the government launched a Policy Framework and National Action Plan, which addresses core issues of counterinsurgency, including deradicalisation. The document adopts "Whole-of-Government " and a "Whole-of-Society approach" that enables active participation of multiple stakeholders in counter radicalisation in Nigeria (Musa, 2018).

In This context, the Nigeria approach combined both personal construct theory and social movement theory. The demerits of "Whole-of-Government" (WoGa) and a "Whole-of-Society approach" (WoSa) are many: bureaucracy in Nigeria is so cumbersome, because there are three arms tiers of government; Executive, Judiciary and Legislature, and Local State and Federal Government. Each was established by the Nigeria Constitution. It means having a whole government approach to counterradicalisation would be very difficult. Furthermore, (WoSa) approach is also challenging because of lack of awareness; inadequate communication infrastructure; insecurity in most of the affected areas and the financial resources involved in implementing policies practically in Nigeria. Corruption, inconsistent polices and literacy could pose challenges towards implementation of both (WoGa) and (WoSa) approaches of Counterradicalisation in Nigeria.

2.2.3. Deradicalisation

Deradicalisation is one of the major components of counterterrorism interventions that is being implemented in several places across the globe. It is a process that can only be applied to individuals or groups after radicalisation has occurred (Clutterbuck, 2014). Although no one standard definition of Deradicalisation exists, but it was defined as a process of abandoning an extremist world view and concluding it is not acceptable to use violence as a means of achieving one's aims (Bell, 2015). It is a process where people that got radicalised via various means are put through different aspects to radicalise them back to normalcy. The debatable fact is what makes one a radical in the view of others. To some, radicalisation leading to violent extremism is what worries the society most. The International Peace Institute (IPI), USA defines it as programs, which are geared toward peacefully moving individuals and groups away from violent extremism.

Additionally, a process of divorcing a person, voluntarily or otherwise, from their extreme views. The institute views deradicalisation component not only to violent extremists, rather it could be focused according to the need of governments on, prisoners, potential terrorists, convicted criminals, repentant extremists etc or even deradicalisation from their radical aims such as abandonment of extreme views, disengagement from terrorism or rehabilitation into society (IPI, 2010). Therefore, by IPI's definition, the focus is mainly on extremism (views), while the process was divergent with various components into it. That makes their position unclear and ambiguous to understand. Since radicals are in various forms, each deradicalisation process should correspond with what it affects. For example, if someone got radicalised based on ideologies, it needs to be ascertained whether or not such ideologies are positive or negative or if such ideologies go against laws of where such a person reside or not. It does not make sense to put someone that got radicalised and led to violent

extremism into the same process of deradicalisation with someone that got radicalised to fight for independence of his nation. In one of the German perspectives, the Task Force on Gendered Right-Wing Extremism Prevention (TFGRWEP) asserted that Deradicalisation means the individual or collective change from a criminal, ideologically radical or extremist identity to one that is noncriminal or moderate (TFGRWEP, 2016). Such an assertion is conflicting because it could be seen in two ways: changing from criminal ideological or extremist ideology to non-criminal or moderate is deradicalisation; also, the definition either does not see or ignore radical freedom fighters, it sees them as non-radicals.

The Delegation of the European Union to Nigeria and Ecowas (DEUNE) considers deradicalisation as multiple processes that involve support to various radicals to ensure changes of their mindsets, actions and attributes to the ones acceptable to the governments and societies in which they live. That was why it offered huge financial and material support to the Nigerian Government on deradicalisation of prisoners. Which was aimed at contributing to a reduced level of violent extremism and terrorism via safe and evidence based Deradicalisation intervention aimed at deradicalising Violent Extremist Offenders (VEOs) domiciled in various prisons in Nigeria (DEUNE, 2019). Looking at Nigeria's situation, DEUNE's perspective is relevant but the challenge is that not all the radicalised individuals have violent views. Because Nigeria too has many radical fighters that go against the Nigerian government with a view to get equality or improved services that either affects them or affect Nigeria as a Nation.

Example is Omoyele Sowore, the founder, publisher of renown online news medium Sahara Reporters, Comrade Deji Adeyanju, Kadaria Ahmed amongst other prominent people, who are all publicly fighting the government via protests, rallies and demonstrations. But none of them is proven to be carrying arms. Furthermore, the Nigerian government is not only holding radicals at the prisons. There are radicals being held by other institutions as well. Example the Nigeria Military is responsible for OSC, which concentrates more on Boko Haram members. There is also PAP, which concentrates more on Niger Delta militants. They both have several mandates on how to handle radicals, they have them at various locations in Nigeria including at the prisons. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that, the assertion made after extensive research on Kuwait Universities' students that there is no standard definition of deradicalisation (Kyle, 2017), which conceptually, fairly addresses all forms of deradicalisation to enable it to become universally acceptable is true.

2.2.4. Reradicalisation

Reradicalisation, it is regarded as a new term because one could hardly find a precise definition to it either using conventional dictionaries, online or via scholarly writings. As such, it could only be given logical definition. Reradicalisation refers to the process of rejoining radical groups either during the process of deradicalisation or after deradicalisation. Any insurgent, terrorist, extremist or radical that rejoins a group after renouncing membership of such group is reradicalising again. Therefore, rejoining radical groups is reradicalisation. The challenges on defining reradicalisation has to do with the scope. One may radicalise from violent extremism but radicalise to other forms of radicalisation.

2.2.5. Insurgency and Terrorism

There is wider view of terrorism by several scholars. Some definitions are elaborate while some are vague. Terrorism is Terrorism (Greenstock, 2011). That does not say much though. In another meaning, it is a systematic use of illegitimate violence as a means of achieving some political objectives (Chalk, 1999). Terrorism is also considered as one of the most important words of vocabulary these days (Schmid, 2004). There are several challenges facing humanity, terrorism is one of the biggest challenges to global peace and security (Okoli Et al, 2014). Due to the changing nature of strategies used by terrorists across the globe there are several methods of conducting acts of terrorism. Therefore, there are no universally acceptable definitions for such type of crime (Schmid, 2011). Terrorists use several methods to achieve their aims. They include using explosive devices, surface to air missiles, shooting at close quarter attacks, kidnappings, use of chemical, biological and radiological (CBR) devices, (MI5, 2017). The way and manner terrorists use new methods to launch attacks and spread their ideologies and the different legal frameworks across different countries makes it difficult to give comprehensive types of terrorism. It was asserted that there are several types of terrorism, Criminal Terrorism; Dissident Terrorism; Terrorists and the Left and Right'; State Sponsored Terrorism and, Religious Terrorism to (EKU, 2017)

Criminal Terrorism: is where the terrorists act for criminal again or profit. The gain could be for the terror or the group he or she represents. The gain could be financial gain or unquantifiable gain such as to gain popularity, distract people or gain government's attention. State Sponsored Terrorism: terrorism acts on government or state by government. It is where government directly or indirectly sponsor or support terrorism. An example is how the American Government supports some Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) fighters against the regime of Bashar Al-Assad in Syria. Dissident Terrorism: This is a form of terrorism where the group goes against their legitimate government. An example is Boko Haram in Nigeria. They fight against the legitimate government in Nigeria to create their own Islamic state. Terrorists and the Left and Right; these are terrorist groups which are motivated by their political ideologies. They use all sorts of force to intimidate the government or the society. Religious Terrorism: Is terrorism acts carried out based on religious motives, beliefs and ideologies. The objectives and goals are all influenced by religious beliefs. An example of terrorist groups that connotes with religious terrorism is Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Boko Haram.

There is also New Terrorism; that arose towards the end of 20th century, which is called Ideological Terrorism; which is motivated by political and ideological system of belief. International Terrorism; this is the type that cut across various countries of terrorists' interest (Martin 2016). Similarly, there is Trans-National Terrorism, which operates in one country but sometimes expand and operate 'beyond its territory (Nia, 2010). Furthermore, another one is Criminal Dissident Terrorism; this is purely a Profit-Driven and sometimes political-driven type of terrorism. Additionally, Gender-Selective Terrorism; as its name implies, it is directed towards men, women, boys or girls of any age group. Sometimes violence is directed towards women to ensure the target gives up or surrenders to terrorists (Martin, 2016). An example is over 270 schoolgirls of Government Secondary School, Chibok in Borno state, Northeastern Nigeria that were abducted by Boko Haram in 2014 (UNICEF, 2016). The act is against Islamic religious principles. Further discussions on this and similar domestic terrorism and other related insurgencies in Nigeria would be explored in subsequent chapter. Amongst all the above definitions, none was more precise. It would be ambiguous to place other new terrorism types such as cyber terrorism, kidnappings and other vices into above definitions, but they are a new dimension

worth noting, it hardly suits to perfection because terrorists' resort to several means to achieve their ideological objectives.

Consequently, when looking at types of terrorism it is important to look at other perspectives that dominate the hysteria about terrorism activities as well. Especially the ones related to religious terrorism. Islam and Muslims usually comes up in most cases when religious terrorism is discussed. Nowadays, it cuts across several continents, terrorists could be found almost everywhere as against initial thoughts of having them only in Asia, Africa and the middle east. Interestingly, it was asserted that between September and May 2011, 172 Muslim-American terrorism suspects and perpetrators were identified by security and law enforcement agencies (Kurzman et al, 2001). Additionally, there are a larger number of Islamist militants in USA than anticipated (Muller, 2003). In the United States, 63 terrorists out of a total of 157 pled guilty to acts of terrorism. Similarly, in 2015, 81 Muslim-Americans were associated with violent extremist plots. Between 2011-2015, 220,000 Americans were murdered (Kurzman, 2016, p.2). Having said the above, Islam does not tolerate terrorism. A verse from the Holy Qur'an clearly states that "do not kill a soul that God has made" (Qur'an, 6:151). If people decide not to embrace Islam do not fight them unless if they threaten you. Live with one another peacefully even if you differ in religion. Islam is religion of peace; "there is no compulsion in religion" (Qur'an, 2:256).

> "If anyone killed a person not in retaliation for murder or to spread mischief in the land, it would be as if he killed the whole of humanity. And likewise, if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the whole of humanity-(Qur'an 5:32).

Going by the above assertions from the Qur'an, acts of terrorism and violent extremisms witnessed in Nigeria are condemned by Islam, as such null, void and out of tune with Islamic principles. The leader of Islamic Religion, Prophet Muhammad Peace be Upon Him (PBUH) condemns murder and terrorism. Islam is not a motive for terrorism. Terrorism is not permissible in Islamic law. If war is eminent, Islam does not even permit sneak attacks. At some point, Prophet Muhammad gave warning of up to four months to enemies that "war is eminent" before waging a war against them (Cole, 2013). Terrorists nowadays act in cowardice. They act carelessly and recklessly. They target all faiths including Muslims. Many Christians died as a result of terrorism and there are a lot of non-Muslim terrorists. Muslims killing Christians is against Islam and Islamic teaching. Islam considers Christians as the best friends of Muslims. The Qur'an provides a framework for Muslims' understanding of Christianity and Christians (Esposito, 2009). It was asserted that since Donald Trump became US President, white Americans have killed more Americans with no connection to Islam than by immigrants or Muslim terrorists (Williams, 2017). Therefore, terrorists and terrorists know no boundaries. They attack everyone notwithstanding their religion, gender, race, and political or social affiliations.

2.2.6.   Efficiency and Effectiveness of Counterradicalisation Interventions

The key words in this thesis are insurgency, terrorism, effective and Radicalisation. Others are Radicalisation, Reradicalisation and militancy. Having said that, notwithstanding the key words mentioned earlier, the primary focus is the Boko Haram and Niger Delta Militants, and the concepts of application of efficiency and effectiveness to measure the impacts of PAP and OSC. However, the success and failure of the two

counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria, which are the focus of this thesis, that is to say PAP and OSC are measured by their respective efficiencies and effectiveness. Google defined Efficiency as the state or quality of being efficient in your actions, or actions designed to enable being efficient or to achieve efficiency (Google, 2019). Similarly, it also defined efficiency in the state or quality of being efficient. Effectiveness is the degree to which something is effective (Cambridge, 2019), or when it is successful in producing a desired result; success (Google, 2019). Therefore, efficiency is a process leading to effectiveness.

Effectiveness is the outcome of efficiency. American authors Palmer and Torgerson asserted three concepts of efficiency, giving it economic perspective: Technical; Productive; and, Allocative. The concept related to this thesis is productive. Maximisation of outcome for a given cost, or the minimization of cost for a given outcome (Palmer & Torgerson, 1999). This research's focus is on effectiveness, which is measured by the outcome of efficiency of the two counter radicalisation interventions in Nigeria, that is PAP and OSC. The challenge is the fact that Palmer and Torgerson's views focus more on the economic outcome, but this thesis accesses effectiveness beyond the economic perspective. It also focuses on social, environmental, religious and political perspectives as well. Therefore, despite the constraints, the research uses it as a basis to guide how to measure other perspectives, since all the interventions have economic aspects, because each has a financial/monetary provision that enables its operation.

The Productivity Commission (PC) of the Australian Government further gives additional perspective on the economics of effectiveness by asserting that the term 'cost effective' is sometimes used to mean that the outcome of an action was worth more than its cost. In Australia's perspective, efficiency and effectiveness are applied in different scenarios on policies and programs. There are no specific templates that draw a borderline on limitations of how to measure efficiency or effectiveness (PC, 2013). Such a broader perspective is difficult to adopt because it does not provide a limit to neither efficiency nor effectiveness. A clearer view was asserted by the Social Transformations in Contemporary Society (STES) on organizational assessment: effectiveness vs efficiency, which was an article by Ilona Bartuševičienė and Evelina Šakalytė that made reference to Frey and Widmer (2009), saying Efficiency levels of movement is from input to process. While effectiveness moves from output to outcome then to impact (Bartuševičienė & Šakalytė, 2013). Such perspective was more relevant to this thesis because it gives guidance on how organizations could measure success or failure using effectiveness or efficiency. Contrastingly, STES's views were focused more on organizations than individuals, which makes it difficult for this research to apply to individual Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram Members that are enrolled on PAP and OSC respectively. Nevertheless, it is also significant since the research focuses more on Effectiveness of the two counterradicalisation interventions than the effectiveness of individuals. Having said that, the research is aware of the fact that it is through measuring effectiveness of the interventions to individuals that would form one of the basis of measuring effectiveness to PAP and OSC.

In this thesis, effectiveness means the positive impacts, differences made by implementation of the PAP and OSC to both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram in Nigeria, and to the improvement of security situation in Nigeria. Effectiveness of PAP and OSC are vital because such are the outcomes that are used to measure overall success of the said two counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria, that is the PAP and OSC. Efficiency in this thesis means the quality of the effectiveness seen from the processes of PAP and OSC, disarmament, demobilization, deradicalisation and reintegration. PAP and OSC are considered effective when

the responses received from the respondents is positive, and if it supports the attainment of the objectives of both PAP and OSC. Some factors are also considered in identifying what is effective, while those enrolled into the deradicalisation processes are the ones to testify whether the interventions are effective to them or not, some factors are physical.

For example, If there is a reduction of attacks on oil infrastructure in the Niger Delta Region after the militants enrolled into PAP, that shows the intervention is effective in reduction of attacks on oil infrastructure. Same applies to reduction of poverty, if militants feel their financial and economic situations improve after they enroll into deradicalisation processes under the PAP then the program is effective. Such effectiveness could also be seen when the Oil production increases. Therefore, improvement from one segment of the problems faced by militants could be a factor for improvement of another problem etc. The same analogy is applied to the Boko Haram on OSC, when there is reduction of Boko haram activities after the introduction of OSC then the program is considered effective. The effectiveness could be measured by the response of the Boko Haram members that enroll into the deradicalisation intervention, that is OSC.

Such effectiveness could also be seen when there are less attacks, killings and kidnappings by the Boko Haram or when people around the insurgency dominated areas are free than before. In summary, the people living around the Niger Delta and Boko Haram prone areas, the officials handling the two counterradicalisation interventions PAP and OSC and the militants and Boko Haram members that enrolled into PAP and OSC are the major sources of information that form the basis of determining whether PAP and OSC are effective or not. Their responses to the data collection instruments form the primary basis of determining effectiveness. The responses are then compared and validated by the official responses, other responses by the public and stakeholders and the findings by the media and academia.

2.3   Origins, Politics and Implications of the Niger Delta Crisis

This section of the chapter discusses the roles played by politics over the crisis in the Niger Delta region. It explained major political actors and causes of the crisis. The chapter highlights perceptions and assertions by both the public commentators and academia. The author then asserts his perspective about the whole viewpoints and later summarises the section. Politics is an integral part of Nigeria's challenges, developments and prospects. Since the amalgamation of Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria by the colonial powers, which was facilitated by Britain in 1914, political interference could be seen or heard across the country as a result of the way politics influenced several facets of Nigeria's socio-economic developments. That notwithstanding, same politics is being used to cause disunity in Nigeria. That was one of the reasons why former President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo was quoted to have said the only time Nigeria political leaders spoke with one voice was for granting political independence by Britain (Uzun & Adegboyega, 2016).

On the politics of oil, according to the Nigeria National Petroleum corporation (NNPC), Nigeria is Africa's largest producer of oil and sixth largest producer in the world. Crude oil is the country's major source of income for decades. on full production, Nigeria produces 2.5 million barrels of crude oil per day (NNPC, 2020). Majority of the Oil is domiciled in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. It is a region that has the Oil producing States (OPS). The region is rich considering the natural wealth of oil, but it is prone to a series of crises. Despite

the enormous wealth potential of the Niger Delta region and indeed Nigeria, the oil has been a mixed bag of fortune and misfortune, of blessings and curses. To the country, Nigeria, it is a blessing, while the communities around the Niger Delta region continue to face severe challenges that are often associated with political influence. The region is highly heterogeneous in terms of culture and ethnicity. The major groups are the Ijaw, Edo, Delta Cross, Yoruba and Igbo, where each consists of subgroups.

The Ijaw, who are reported to have settled in the region longest (Duru, 2010). Despite Duru's assertion, just over 14 million Ijaw people constitute a minority in Nigeria behind major tribes of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba (Pulse, 2020). Nevertheless, for the first time in Nigeria history an Ijaw Man, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, the then Vice President became the Nigeria president in 2010 after the then President Umaru Musa Yar Adua died. He went on to win the subsequent election and led the country until 2015 when the opposition political party The All Progressives Congress (APC) took overpower from him and indeed the then ruling party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Jonathan's leadership shows Nigerians how even a minority could have a chance of leading the polity. Although Jonathan initially came to power by necessity, winning the elections after he finished their joint tenure demonstrates how politics could play a part in Nation building.

Although Onifade et al, (2013) asserted that lack of arrest and prosecution of some key people that contributed to insecurity in Nigeria by previous administrations, including Jonathan's administration contributed a lot in the Niger Delta crisis, Okeke, (2017) views Jonathan differently. He asserts that the attitude of Jonathan was indisputably uncommon among the African leaders, who quite often refused to leave presidential positions even when defeated by the opposition in general elections. The writer's view is that none of the two assertions proves that neither the northern part of Nigeria, which predominates Nigeria's previous leadership, nor the southern part of Nigeria, which predominates the country's wealth has a direct political strategy that could be linked with insurgency in the Niger Delta region. Nevertheless, the research found some connections between ignorance of religious teachings and Boko Haram activities. Furthermore, politics played a role in the way Nigeria's constitution addresses resource allocation.

Nigeria's constitution clearly stated that the oil producing states should be getting not less than 13% of the revenue being accrued to the Federation account (Constitution, 1999). Despite that, the oil producing states are not getting the 13% in full as provided by the constitution (Dickson, 2018). Such kind of treatment by the Federal government of Nigeria shows the politics that shapes the Niger Delta crisis emanated from the government's inability to implement constitutional provision. Apparently, successive governments were run by the Military and politicians, most of whom came from the non-oil producing regions of Nigeria. The majority are from the North, which are predominantly Muslims. Nevertheless, the politics could not only be associated with the leaders that came from other regions because Obasanjo ruled Nigeria both as a military head of state and as an elected president for 2 and 8 years in 1976-1979 and in 1999-2007 respectively.

Also, Jonathan ruled from 2010 to 2015. Both of them came from the South West and South-South (Oil producing states in the Niger Delta) regions respectively. Both Obasanjo and Jonathan are Christians. Although both Obasanjo and Jonathan played a part by using their respective political positions to provide additional support to the Niger Delta region; example Obasanjo established the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in the year 2000 (Odisu, 2017), while Jonathan's administration was behind the Presidential Amnesty

Program (PAP). Having said that, findings of this research shows none of their interventions was seen to have made a significant impact to alleviate sufferings of the Niger Deltans.

In the Nigeria political scene, most renowned politicians have influence beyond their region. That was not unconnected with the fact that since Nigeria's independence in 1960, the democratically elected leaders, especially the President and Vice President come from different regions, different religions. That was done to poster harmony and peaceful coexistence between Nigerians. Such a political foresight was not unconnected with the fact that the party that was once called the largest political party in Africa (Azeez, 2009), the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria provided in its constitution that, it adhered to the policy of the rotation and zoning of Party and Public elective offices in pursuance of the principle of equity, justice and fairness (PDP, 2019). Such a provision in one of the biggest political parties in Nigeria shows that a politician from one part of the country could equally have a very significant influence on another part. Because zoning the elective officers' influences such inter regional influence of several political actors.

Therefore, although there are other actors from other regions, the actors chosen here are based on the fact that their primary political registration point rather than their overall influence in the Nigerian politics. As such, the main political actors include former Nigerian elites and leaders as well as some influential politicians that either ruled as Presidents, Governors, Ministers and party leaders. There are also nonpoliticians that have influence as one of the main actors that played key roles in supporting the Niger Delta politicians. The major actors include the former Nigerian President Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. Born in 1957 in Ogbia, Bayelsa State, Nigeria. He is an Ijaw by tribe from Bayelsa State. He was so powerful as the number one citizen of Nigeria between 2010 and 2015. He was the one that promoted the PAP and financially supported its sustainability.

At one time in 2012, according to the approved budget of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which was passed into law and assented by the president (Budget 2012), his government allocated more money for the PAP than the health sector. Overall, the PAP and NDDC were allocated around 114 Billion Naira in the 2012 approved budget. That was the first time such a huge allocation was made to the region. Despite that, ongoing insecurity in Nigeria shows that the region retains its title as the poverty trap (Ebiede, 2009). Another political actor is Chief Edwin Clark. He was born in 1932 in Kiagbodo, Delta State, Nigeria. He is an Ijaw by tribe from Delta State. He was a very influential politician and traditional ruler. He has been in politics since pre-colonial Nigeria. He has been one of the most influential during Jonathan's led government until 2015. He is a graduate of Holborn college in London. Clark commands respect in the Niger Delta region. He owns a private University in Delta state. Clark is an outspoken elder statesman. He recently released a statement from the United Kingdom urging incumbent Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari not to abandon the Niger Delta region as the country recovered some money stolen from Nigeria and taken abroad by former leaders (Clark, 2020).

Another political actor is, a political activist known as Melford Dokubo Goodhead Jnr before he converted to Islam and changed his name to Mujahid Dokubo-Asari. He was born in 1964 in Buguma, Rivers State, Nigeria. He was the leader of Ijaw Youth Council (IYC). He was amongst early beneficiaries of PAP in Nigeria. A World Street Journal Report in 2012 indicates that Dokubo Asari received $9 Million annually from the Nigeria Government as a result of embracing the amnesty program (WSJ, 2012). Asari later founded Niger Delta peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF) in 2003. Although Dokubo-Asari is richer, popular, vocal and famous than

most of the NDPVF members, the respect he commands declined drastically due to his involvement with Nigeria government officials. Some even see him as an informant to the Federal government of Nigeria (Strafor, 2008: 2009). Dokubo has been a very influential leader in the Niger Delta region for over almost 2 decades. He has been arrested several times by the Nigerian Government. He once threatened the Nigerian leadership that his Biafra will drive President Buhari and all Fulani tribes back to Fouta Djallon (Dokubo, 2017).

Similar political actor in the Niger Delta region is Nnamdi Kanu. He is aa British-Nigerian Man and is the founder and current leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). His exact date of birth is sketchy; it was asserted that he was born in the 1970s (Makinwa, 2017). He gained prominence in 2015 when he was running Radio Biafra as a Director. As discussed in the previous section, IPOB is a faction of MASSOB. According to (Offodile, 2016), two groups lay claim to IPOB. The first was led by Nnamdi Kanu while the other led by Justice Eze Ozobu (OFR). They used to be one group with the same objectives but breakaway when Kanu decided to use violent ways including use of arms and ammunition to achieve his faction's goals. Uwazurike was quoted to have said during an interview that, in 2009, he went to London and opened radio Biafra, appointed Nnamdi Kanu as director, handed it over to him to manage, with a view to spread the cause of Biafra across the world (Uwazurike, 2017).

Unfortunately, politicians hijacked Kanu and he started working for them. (Thompson, 2016) supported that argument, saying IPOB took a new dimension from earlier agitation since 2015 after emergence and inauguration of new backroom members under Nnamdi Kanu. That was one of the geneses of rivalry between the two Biafra factions. It was argued that IPOB has additional factions as well; they include The Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, Igbo Leaders of Thought; Biafran Zionist Federation (BZF); Radio Biafra; and The Supreme Council of Elders of Indigenous People of Biafra (SCE) (Ugorji, 2015). Nnamdi Kanu has significant followership in the Niger Delta region. That was proven recently during the burial of his parents in Umuahia, Abia state, Nigeria where heavy security was provided to avoid chaos. Several Major Nigerian media outlets published the scenes online and on YouTube (Mob TV; Viable TV; Vanguard; Punch, (2020). Nnamdi Kanu is an integral political actor in the Niger Delta region, thus the justification to include him amongst the list.

Another key political actor is Timipre Marlin Sylva. He was born in 1954 in the Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, Nigeria. Sylva has been an active politician since 1990 when he won elections as a member of the then Rivers State House of Assembly, before Bayelsa State was carved out of Rivers in 1996 by the Military government (Abaca, 1996). Sylva derived more followers in Bayelsa because of his previous position as the Governor of Bayelsa State from 2007 to 2012. He is the current Minister of Petroleum resources in Nigeria. An appointment by the ruling party the All Progressives Congress (APC), where he defected from his former party the PDP in 2014. Sylva's defection was attributed to his former party's denial of a ticket to him to contest for a second term as Governor of Bayelsa State (Adedayo, 2019). Sylva's influence is relevant to Bayelsa politics because of his close relationship with both Goodluck Jonathan and Edwin Clark. also influential around the militants' circle as the likes of repentant militants like Pastor Reuben Wilson and Government Tompolo worked closely with him when Jonathan was the president. Subsequent section will highlight the political influence of Tompolo.

Chief Government Ekpemupolo Tompolo, popularly known as 'Tompolo' was born in 1971 in Warri, Delta State Nigeria. He was popularly known for being the Commander of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). It is a militant group that became more popular during former President Jonathan's administration. Tompolo was tagged a fugitive by the Nigerian Government. A few years later he was also declared as the most wanted Man in Nigeria by Nigeria Joint Military Task Force (JTF) as they could not arrest him after a series of attempts (Sahara, 2012). He was so influential that the Nigerian Government was said to have awarded a contract to his company for maritime security in 2011. Director General Nigeria Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) said that his company still has a contract with the Nigerian Government (Akasike, 2017). During Jonathan's led administration a lot of militants enjoyed special privileges in the Niger Delta region and even in Abuja the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria, where Nigerian president official office is located. Tompolo is still an active player in the Niger Delta politics because he is still rich and commands respect. Recently, the Concerned Citizens for Izon-Ebe Development (CCID) in Delta State invited him to complete a project that has not been done by the Government (Onduku, 2020). That singular act alone proves how relevant Tompolo is in the Delta State's political scene. Therefore, he is amongst prominent political actors not only in Delta state but across Niger Delta region as well.

Another integral player in the Niger Delta politics is the former Special Adviser to the Nigerian President also the Coordinator of the PAP, Professor Charles Dokubo. He was born in 1952 in Akuku Taru Local Government in Rivers State. Dokubo is a British trained academic that specialises on Nuclear weapons Proliferation and control. He also has a master's degree in peace studies. He was appointed as the Special Adviser to the President and the Coordinator of PAP in 2018. There were high hopes that he would do well (OSAPND, 2020). Dobuko is popular in the Niger Delta region especially to the youth and repentant militants. He has done significantly well in sending several former militants to schools abroad and also built five vocational training centers across the Niger Delta region (Zuokumor, 2018). Dokubo is therefore one of the main political actors in the NIger Delta region that influences so many issues including the ones connected to PAP, thus the justification for his inclusion into the list of major political actors.

2.3.1. Underlying Causes of the Niger Delta Crisis

Although each political actor has his own contributions to the Niger Delta regions crisis and solutions, there are a lot of viewpoints about the causes of the militancy crisis in the region. It was asserted that economic factors, which are deprivation of the indigenes of the dividends of oil proceeds, accounted for the greatest cause of conflict. Another factor was the political factor (Osagie et al, 2010). Such an assertion is valid but what was missing was the causes of the factors. Another author is of the view that the rising militancy in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria is an outcrop of the poor quality of the Nigerian leaders. They failed to address the root cause of the problems holistically. That resulted in escalation of militancy (Abang, 2012). Abang did not clarify what he meant by the root cause, no clarity of what the root causes were.

Similarly, it was argued that there are 8 core areas that causes militancy in the Niger Delta region: the lack of local control of resources, underdevelopment, relocation of local government headquarters, poverty, marginalization, environmental pollution, inadequate education opportunities, and poor implementation of the

PAP (Brisibe, 2018). The latter assertion implied that multiple factors contribute to the causes of the crisis. Furthermore, failure to manage the crisis is also attributed to have caused deterioration of the crisis. Brisbe's assertion sounds broader, but there is still a gap because he did not clarify what aspects of PAP require proper implementation. Because there is disarmament, deradicalisation and reintegration. Similar viewpoints with Brisibe were asserted by Onwubike, it has been added that inappropriate decisions and inactions of the Nigerin government and the oil and gas industries to control the deteriorating side effects of the Niger Delta crises to the communities contributes a lot in the escalation of the crisis (Onwubiko et al, 2013).

On another perspective, lack of security of lives and property on land, in the creeks, and in the waterways of the Niger Delta region causes a lot of problems that led to the escalation of the crisis (Afinaton & Ojakorotu, 2009). In similar assertion, lack of strengthening security arrangements in the region, lack of enforcing improved collaboration between the police and local security including private and community-based security organizations contributes to escalation of the Niger Delta crisis (Chukwuemeka et al, 2013). The assertion is valid as it touches relevant areas that cause escalation of the crisis, but he has not made it clear on what kind of collaboration needed. Is it collaboration for intelligence sharing, capacity building or practical training exchange? Such clarity should have been made. A recent Polish Scientific Journal (PSJ) publication asserted that the the discovery of oil and its exploration in huge quantity throughout the years has resulted in clashes as opposed to harmony between the host communities (including the Niger Delta Militants), oil companies and the Nigerian government (Mavayerore, 2020). All the assertions by the authors have been valid and have narrated key points about the causes of the conflict. But uncertainties about new trends of acts of militancy in the Niger Delta region increases chances of getting additional factors.

2.3.2. The Influence of Politics of the Niger Delta Crisis

The researchers view of the effects of politics as it affects stability in the Niger Delta Crisis brings disunity. Key political players in the region belong to different political parties, the PDP and the APC. The APC is the party that controls the central Government, the incumbent President's political party. White majority of the states that make up the Niger Delta region are controlled by the PDP. That creates a priority gap. Because the Federal Government's ideas and initiatives are often different from the States'. Another effect of politics is the way the PAP is being supported by the Nigerian central government, which is saddled with the responsibility of funding the program. The PDP led government was the one that established the office of the OSAPDN under which the PAP is being supervised by the Special Adviser as the coordinator, but the government that succeeded PDP, which is the APC has not been giving the program similar attention like the previous government. That is not unconnected with political affiliation.

The Nigerian president recently suspended the incumbent coordinator of PAP, Professor Charles Dokubo but did not appoint anybody to replace him. Rather directed the National Security Adviser (NSA) to set up a committee to oversee the program. Another effect of politics that triggered the Niger Delta crisis is the way the central government gives appointments to key political players in the region. For example, the Niger Delta region is dominated by the PDP, a party that does not control the Federal Government. In order to balance political influence of the PDp in the region, the Nigerian President strategically appointed a former Governor

as the Minister of Petroleum Resources. Because he decamped from the PDP to the ruling party the APC, because he was denied the opportunity by the PDP to run for a second term as Governor. Such ministerial appointments are political. The ministry is one of the most powerful Ministries in Nigeria because it controls what directs the economy; Oil. Apparently, the major Oil is derived from the Niger Delta region. In Nigeria political scene, politics is mostly being dictated by money. It is widely believed that politicians use money to get elected into various political positions. Therefore, getting a 'juicy Ministry' helps one to accumulate followership in his domain, which could be used in the elections to the advantage of his/her political party.

In the other way, politics has its positive advantage in managing the Niger Delta crisis, for example former Nigerian President Jonathan used his political affiliation and membership of the then ruling party the PDP to develop PAP and provided finances to ensure its sustainability. Although the program was launched by his predecessor, Jonathan coming from one of the Niger Delta states, Bayelsa made it even easier for him to do what he deemed right in promoting peace and harmony in the region. He did that without facing any major challenge because he was the leader of Nigeria. Therefore, politics has its positive way of making things right and Jonathan used his time and political position and brought some level of sanity in the Niger Delta region also made several people rich through the PAP. In summary, going by previous assertions of my multiple scholars and the researcher's viewpoints, it is fair to say that politics in the Niger Delta region plays both positive and negative roles that resulted in the increase in the crisis in the wealthy oil region of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

2.3.3.   The Impact of the Crisis on the Social, Economic and Environmental Stability of Nigeria

The writer previously asserted the key political actors that either played or continue to play roles in the Niger Delta crisis, there have been a sequence of crises that arose as a result of political actor's direct actions or inactions. Such examples are the emergence of various militant groups that spread their operations not only in the oil rich region but across the country as well. Some of the groups have been in existence long before the PAP was introduced in 2009, while others' presence goes as far as outside the country, but both were established to address issues connected with the Niger Delta, Oil and the breakaway of a part of Nigeria to create another sovereign state. Some of the groups which are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.4   Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND)

Although several armed and insurgent groups existed in the Niger Delta region before MEND, it is regarded as a group with a wider coverage than most of its predecessor insurgency groups. Its scope of operation covers from the creeks of Ondo State in the west, to the mouth of the Cross River in the extreme east of Nigeria's Atlantic coast and up north to the point of primary bifurcation of the river Niger (Muzan, 2014). Although the exact date of MEND's formation is sketchy, the group became popular in January 2006 when they engaged in several pipeline vandalism and claimed responsibility for it. They also claimed responsibility for several kidnappings in the region, where most of the victims were foreign expatriates working for Oil companies like Shell and Chevron (Hanson, 2007).

Due to the complex nature of how MEND operates and how they claim responsibility for major attacks on Nigeria's oil infrastructure, it is very difficult to know their operational structure and leadership. The only known name from MEND is their self-acclaimed spokesperson Jomo Gbomo, who often makes a press release after major incidents like attacks on oil facilities or kidnappings happen. There was no clear leadership though, because even the spokespersons sometimes differ. Brutus Ebipadei and Major-General Godswill Tamuno have also communicated with the press and claimed leadership roles in the group (Hanson, 2007). A BBC report anchored by Sesan Murray shows that Jomo Gbomo and Godswill Tamuno were both claiming leadership of MEND. The former leads the faction in Rivers State and Bayelsa while the latter controls the Delta faction (Murray, 2007).

In 2006, during President Olusegun Aremu Obasanjo's Administration, MEND extended their brutal operations to cities; they attacked an Army Barrack in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, and a Tanker garage in Warri. They planted and detonated bombs in the two places respectively (Courson, 2009). But, the incident in Abuja the Federal Capital Territory, which is the city where the official residence of Nigerian President lives, also the major administrative hub in Nigeria that made MEND and the name of Henry Okah to appear frequently on MEND. It was asserted that by time that; Henry Okah was the leader of MEND (Time, 2008). A leader that expands MEND's operations beyond Niger delta region to nationwide operations (Muzan, 2014). Later, Okah personally denied being the leader of MEND. Afterwards, he left Nigeria in anonymous circumstances after he realised Nigeria security agencies were after him. He was arrested in Angola and extradited to Nigeria in 2008 to face treason charges against him, he was subsequently charged by the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Soon afterwards, Okah's lawyer, a famous Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) Femi Falana expects Okah to be convicted and sentenced to death. Okah was freed in 2009 by Nigeria government under the PAP but the South African authorities arrested him after he was linked to two bombings in Nigeria capital city of Abuja and Warri respectively.

Four years after his trial in 2013 in South Africa, the court found him guilty and sentenced him to 24 years in prison (Abidde, 2013). Okah appealed the conviction to the Supreme Court of South Africa. In 2016, the apex court upheld the convictions but reduced his jail sentence to 20 years (Nwabughiogu, 2016). Despite emergence of new militant groups in the Niger Delta Region such as MASSOB and IPOB, MEND's activities continue albeit in a lower profile than a decade ago. Recent ruling on one of the cases involving Okah and his Brothers, where the former president was behind the trial, the court dismissed the case against them. MEND released a statement afterwards, signed by its factional leader Jomo Gbomo that the former president was a liar, that after 7 years trial the court could not find any basis to convict the Okah Brothers (Gbomo, 2017). Missing a leader like Okah may likely affect their overall capacity. Additionally, going by that conviction, Okah would be 72 years by the time he finishes serving his jail term. Only time will tell if MEND would survive to see the year 2036 when Okah would be freed, that is if the sentence were to take effect from 2016.

2.5   Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) and Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Africa (EMIROAF)

Ogoni people live in the Rivers State of Nigeria, which is part of the mainstream Niger Delta Region. There were about half a million people that live in six kingdoms. Ogoni people were said to have lived in Ogoni land

for over 2000 years (Boele et al, 2001). Since Shell started producing Oil from the Niger Delta region in 1968, the first conflict that arose between them and the Ogoni community was in 1970 when the latter sent a petition to the then Military government complaining of Shell's environmental attitude that threatened their lives and well-being. Shell was on a joint venture with British Petroleum (BP) then. In what was considered the largest demonstration ever, in 1993, over 300,000 Ogoni people peacefully protested against Shell's activities and its environmental destruction (Ikerionwu, 2014). There have been a lot of oilfield blowouts in that year.

MOSOP was initially a non-violent group formed in 1990 with its motto as 'freedom, peace and justice'. The same year Ogoni elders signed a bill of rights, which was meant to control economic resources, development and other affairs of people of Ogoni land (P.U, 1993). The most popular name on MOSOP was Kunele Beeson 'Ken' Saro-Wiwa, or 'Saro Wiwa' as often called by the media is a member of the group of Nigerians known as the 'Ogoni Nine' that were hanged by Nigeria Military government on 10 November 1995 in Port Harcourt prison (Falola & Doron, 2016). Saro-Wiwa was a very widely respected writer, poet, environmentalist and a Man that sacrificed his life to defend his people and the Ogoni land. In his own words, he sees himself as a publisher, writer, environmentalist and human rights activist. Even before the emergence of MOSOP, Saro-Wiwa was the President of Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Africa (EMIROAF). A non-violent organization that advocates for freedom, peace and justice to people (Saro-Wiwa, 1995). Over two decades since the execution of Saro-Wiwa and eight others by General Sani Abacha led the military regime in Nigeria, the families of the deceased are still battling it out with the Shell company at various courts seeking redress. Similarly, Amnesty International's report in June 2017 on Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution proves that Shell has been complicit in execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa (Amnesty, 2017). As at the time of writing this thesis, the researcher could not find available proof to show that MOSOF still exists as an organization pursuing the same course as late ken Saro-Wiwa and his teeming followers in the mid 90s. But the historical antecedents and elements of objectives it tried to achieve could still be felt by the activities of current militant groups in the Niger Delta region. Consequently, that has been the justification of including them in this context.

2.6   Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB)

The historical events that gave birth to MASSOB dates back to 1998 and 1999 when the then Nigeria Military Government announced that the general elections would be held in 1999. Ralf Uwazurike, the young man at 39 years of age then along his friends and business associates supported the People's Democratic Party (PDP), a party the produced Olusegun Obasanjo as the winner of presidential elections who was later sworn in on 29th May 1999 as Nigeria's President about 20 years after he ruled Nigeria as Military head of State (Offodile, 2016). Few months after the elections, Uwazurike, dispatched a document titled 'Biafra Bill of Rights' (Biafra News, 1999) to the United Nations Headquarters in New York, USA seeking for actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (Ekonta, 2012). MASSOB was a radical youth movement, seen as the second-generation Igbo nationalist movement (Oluoha, 2014). Mr Ralf Uwazurike, a Lawyer by profession was credited as the founder of MASSOB (Ekonta, 2012).

Strangely, the group was formed in Lagos, not actually in any of the southeastern states of Niger Delta. During an interview with Nigerian Newspaper Insider Weekly, Uwazurike was quoted as saying that his personal reason for forming MASSOB was to avenge the death of his sister Mary, who died as a result of Kwashiorkor

disease (malnutrition) that was caused to her as a result of Biafra-Nigerian war, which happened in the 1960s (Metumara, 2009). The group was an armed group and had on several occasions confronted both the Nigeria Police and the Nigerian military. MASSOB adopts the same flag as Biafra, which is visible in most parts of southeastern Nigeria. The group is a logical follow up to the failed Biafra agitation that resulted into bloodshed but later surrendered to the Nigeria Government. According to the United States Department of Justice publication (USDJ, 2005), MASSOB is a non-violent movement. But Nigeria security agencies were concerned about the ghost of their leadership. Several of them were arrested, as it was a very fringe group that has gained recognition from the southwestern people because the Government of Nigeria over-reacted to its causes of operations. MASSOB even went ahead and declared that by the end of year 2013, Nigeria will breakaway into six different republics thus; Biafra Republic (Igbo East), Arewa Republic (Hausa-Fulani) North and Odua Republic in the South. They didn't mention the other three (Muzan 2014).

It was logical to argue here that Uwazurike's timing was the most relevant to the new democratic leadership in Nigeria in two fonts; one, President Obasanjo was a key player when Ojukwu-led group surrendered to Nigeria Army in 1970 as a senior military officer then. Two, pushing for the MASSOB agenda could make a clear point to Obasanjo as Commander in chief of the Armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Note that Obasanjo held similar position after the assassination of the then Nigeria Head of State General Murtala Rufai Ramat Mohammed. Obasanjo, the then Major General, ruled Nigeria for six years after the Biafra war, between 1976-1979. According to (Falode, 2013), despite security problems witnessed by Obasanjo's administration, he tried a lot in limiting activities of MASSOB, OPC and MEND. Uwazurike did not get what he expected from Obasanjo's regime. Consequently, in 2000, Olusegun Obasanjo established the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), with the aim of rapid and sustainable development of Niger Delta (NDDC Act, 2000). The act repealed and replaced Oil, Mineral Producing Areas Commission Decree 1998. To douse more tension in the Niger Delta region, Obasanjo Government also announced pardon and conversion from dismissal to retirement to all the former servicemen including the Army and Police military that defected to Biafra during the Biafra-Nigeria War. He pledged to also pay all their entitlements (Metumara, 2009). That action was seen as the first initiative by any Nigerian Government to ensure equity and stability in the Niger Delta region.

Uwazurike was popular then and had a wider connection not only in Nigeria but also across the African continent. He travelled to Togo on a solo mission, unfortunately for him, Obasanjo's government and Togolese authorities shared intelligence, they arrested and detained him when he attended OAU Summit in Lome, Togo without invitation. He was said to have made an attempt to storm the venue (Adekson, 2004). He was later charged with treason. He was subsequently arrested on several occasions, sometimes alone, sometimes with his supporters, in some instances his supporters alone, but would later be released. His last release on bail was for him to attend his dead mother's burial (Okereke, 2001), Newsday, (2015), (247, 2011), (Vanguard, 2017).

Late Ojukwu who alongside his wife Bianca visited him in Owerri prison noticed Uwazurike's bravery (AllAfrica, 2010). The visit is not surprising because Uwazurike says he knows Ojukwu for almost twenty years and he has been closing to him for five to six years, even before he started MASSOB. He claimed he was one of the closest people to Ojukwu. He was on regular phone calls with Ojukwu's wife Bianca a few minutes before he died. (Uwazurike, 2011). After Ojukwu's death, even before he was buried, Uwazurike was

controversially conferred with the title of 'Ezeigbo Gburugburu', signifying that he was the successor to Ojukwu and all his beliefs and struggles for the attainment of Independence for the Republic of Biafra (AllAfrica, 2012). Although the appointment was marred by controversy as some of the Igbo leaders denied ever meeting with relevant elders to take unanimous decision before conferring the title to him.

One of such Igbo leaders was the former Governor of Anambra State, Dr Chris Ngige, who claimed that Dr Alex Ekwueme was the highest-ranking Igbo leader (Ngige, 2012). By then MASSOB's popularity began to fade. Soon afterwards, it faced a major blow due to a faction that emerged out of it called Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). It was led by one of Uwazurike's former protégés, Nnamdi Kanu. More on IPOB would be discussed in the next section. In all the travails suffered by Uwazurike for the past 18 years, MASSOB has not achieved its aims. Recently, there was a call by northern youth that the Igbo people should relocate back to southern Nigeria. But Uwazurike and other prominent Nigerians like retired Major Almustapha were seen in Kaduna State, Nigeria trying to douse the tension (Chidinma, 2017). Nnamdi Kanu is a popular name across Nigeria, it remains to be seen if IPOB's quest for Biafra would succeed ahead of Uwazurike's MASSOB. Overall, the MASSOB-IPOB groups serve as one of the most important components of insurgency in Nigeria. Its history, crisis and transition are relevant to this research. Hence, it is justifiable to include it in this context.

2.7 Biafra Liberation in Exile (BILIE) and BILIE Human Rights Initiative (BHRI)

Various pro-Biafra groups across the world decided to come together and formed BILIE and registered it in Europe. It was an organization registered under the United Nations recognized Indigenous Peoples Organization (IPO). The primary concern of the group is protecting and upholding the human rights of Biafrans. The group has its humanitarian segment called BILLE Human Rights Initiative that was registered in Nigeria (BILIE, 2017). Unfortunately, the researcher could not find the name when a search was conducted on the United Nations' portal that contains the UN's IPOs list in (UN, 2017). There was no evidence available for this research to show that BILIE was an insurgent group or use any form of violence in its operations both in Nigeria and abroad. But, being an extended arm of IPOB, it could not be disconnected with insurgency since IPOB occasionally uses arms in pursuing their agenda.

On the other hand, there is also the BILLE Human Rights Initiative (BHRI). Recently, two factions of IPOB emerged. Nnamdi Kanu controls one and Eze Ozobu (OFR) controls the other. Ozobu is a former Justice; he is a well-respected traditional ruler in Enugu State. Kanu's faction is considered a violent group while Ozobu's is considered a peaceful one. BILLE Human Rights Initiative (BHRI) is also an arm of IPOB. Both factions of IPOB subscribe to BHRI. Kanu's faction registered with BHRI in 2012. BHRI acts as a Liberation Movement for the IPOB. Legal instruments were signed by IPOB authorizing BHRI to act on its behalf on all litigation issues at national and international level. The United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs gives BHRI special consultative status in 2015 (Offodile, 2015).

It was asserted that BHRI was dissolved on 2 February 2016 (Amazonaws, 2016). The documents were deposited on a secured server and it did not disclose the reasons behind the dissolution. BHRI, being the National Liberation Movement for IPOB under international Law, instituted action at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on behalf of IPOB (Offodile, 2016). Even though there are a lot of other Igbo dominated

'splinter groups, radical, pseudo-radical and non-radical have emerged including but not limited to; The Igbo Concerned Citizens (TICC), Igbo Elders 'Forum (IEF), Igbo Renaissance Movement (IRM), Biafra Zionist Movements (BZM). As at 2017, IPOB is one of the most talked about groups in terms of call for the actualization of Biafra (Thompson et al, 2016). The fate of IPOBs quest for Biafra state is still on for now, only time will tell on what the future holds for Kanu and his teeming followers at IPOB as well as other Igbo dominated groups that call for curving of Biafra State out of Nigeria.

The above-mentioned groups play an integral part in reshaping the security situation in the Niger Delta region. There are reports of several new groups emerging and another unique transformation emerging due to neglecting the militants by the Government of Nigeria. This research found evidence of the emergence of net trend called 'reradicalisation'. Which means militants change their strategies and began a fresh quest are reradicalised individuals and sometimes form groups to continue attacking oil facilities and other critical oil infrastructure within and outside the Niger Delta region. The writer will discuss more on reradicalisation in subsequent chapters.

2.8   Origins, Politics and Implications of the Boko Haram Insurgency

Considering the way politics play a role in shaping the Niger Delta crisis as discussed in the previous sections, politics equally play a role in reshaping the crisis not only in Northeastern Nigeria but across the country as well. This section of the thesis will discuss major highlights and political-related issues that escalate the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. It is essential to provide an overview about the main causes of Boko Haram, as follows:

In 1999, Nigeria returned to civilian democratic rule after successful general elections. Soon afterwards, 19 Northern states introduced some form of Islamic 'Shari 'a' law in their states. Three years later, the North Eastern part of the state saw the emergence of a group that is today called 'Boko Haram' (Smith, 2016). Boko Haram Group members call themselves Jama'ah al- Ahlu al-Sunnah Li al-Da'wah Wa al-Jihad (Shuaibu & Salleh, 2015). Meaning, "People of the Sunnah (the practice and examples of the Prophet Muhammad's life) for Preaching and Jihad Group" (BBC, 2014). 'Boko Haram' is a combination of Hausa and Arabic words respectively, a language spoken by the majority of people across Nigeria, especially the northern part of the country, and indeed several other African countries, Boko Haram's Arabic name literally means 'western education is prohibited'. The word 'Boko' is a Hausa word meaning 'western education'; while 'Haram' is an Arabic word meaning 'prohibition' or 'prohibited.' 'Boko Haram' often abbreviated 'BH' or hash tag #BH by social media. It is an extremist self-acclaimed 'Islamic' sect in Nigeria, which spread across the lake Chad region. Their belief is that false Muslims from the northern part of Nigeria seized political power. As such, they waged a war against them as well as against the Federal Republic of Nigeria to make the country a pure Islamic state (Walker, 2012).

Monetarily, 'Boko Haram' is a wealthy extremist group that has the financial capacity to acquire both local and international armory. In 2014/2015 alone, the group generated income of about $10 Million through payment of ransom to them from kidnappings, looting, and smuggling. They also make money from trafficking,

taxation, extortion, cash from the banking system and external donations. (Fanusie & Entz, 2017). Locally, the figure represents about N3, 000,000,000.00 (three billion Nigerian naira). It is a huge amount as several Government agencies in Northeastern states of Nigeria get below that figure in their approved annual appropriation. Boko haram is a very violent extremist group that uses all available means to cause discomfort to the government and communities. The Nigerian government and other West African countries that bordered Nigeria, especially Cameroon, Niger and Chad face huge challenges as a result of Boko Haram. They use special weapons including bombs, arms and ammunition of various degrees of lethal capacity (Muzan, 2014). Additionally, Boko Haram is increasingly active as a deadly extremist group. They attack both the state and civilians. They killed more than 15,000 people, 6,000 in 2015 alone, and about 2.8 million have been displaced around lake chad region with nearly 6.5 million people in need of emergency care, support, food and other aid services to survive (Blanchard, 2016). Official figures released by Borno State Government shows that as of December 2016, about 100,000 people died due to Boko Haram Insurgency (Shettima, 2017).

One of the highpoints of Boko Haram was the kidnapping and abduction of about 300 schoolgirls (Davieson, 2014). But some reports say the number was 276 schoolgirls taken from Government Secondary School Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria in April 2014. Out of which 43 of the girls were reported to have escaped from captivity. The same day they attacked Chibok they bombed a bus station in Nyanya, Abuja that killed 76 people (Chiluwa & Ikufor, 2015). Kidnapping and killings have been happening around the Chibok area, but it was the schoolgirls' abduction that became so popular (Habila, 2016). UNICEP report indicates that since then, about 1.3 million children have been uprooted by Boko Haram violence across four countries around the lake chad region. Boko Haram has used children as low as eight years old as suicide bombers. Between 2014 and 2015 children have been used by Boko Haram as suicide bombers 48 times, Cameroun having highest number of 21 incidents. 25% of all the young suicide bombers are Girls. (UNICEP, 2016). In May 2017, the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari announced the release of 82 Chibok Girls by Boko Haram after intensive negotiations with the group in exchange for some suspected terrorists being held by the Nigerian authorities (Guardian, 2015).

There were reports that the government paid a huge sum of money to secure the release of the girls (BBC, 2017), but Nigeria minister for Information debunked it saying that no money was paid to the terrorists' group (Mohammed, 2015). In 2013, the United States Government classified Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) alongside its sister organization Ansaru (USDS, 2013). A lot of damage has been done to Northeastern Nigeria due to Boko Haram. Report by the North East Initiative in 2016 shows that it would cost over N2 Trillion (approximately $3 Billion) to rebuild Northeastern Nigeria (Danjuma, 2016). But a document released by Nigerian Government in the same year 2016 called 'Buhari Plan; Rebuilding the North East', shows that only "N12bn (billion naira) has been appropriated in the 2016 budget for immediate intervention in the north east" (Buhari Plan, 2016, p.56). Assertion by World Bank Report on rebuilding North Eastern Nigeria shows areas that have been mostly affected by Boko Haram Insurgency, it pledges $2 Billion Dollars to Nigerian Government (World Bank, 2016). Nigerian Government's intervention in rebuilding the northeast is considered inadequate. Many attributed that to growing attacks by Boko Haram. This research aimed at finding out whether such a claim is valid or not.

Boko Haram still holds a lot of Women and children captive including about over 100 Chibok Schoolgirls. During a recent interview on BBC's 'Hardtalk' program, the Nigeria Chief of Army Staff confirmed that Boko haram has been defeated but not eliminated (Buratai, 2017). Similarly, recent happenings show that Boko Haram no longer controls major parts of North Eastern Nigeria, their casual attacks are still proving that the group is not completely eliminated neither in Nigeria nor across the neighboring countries of Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad and Niger Republic. Overall, Boko haram has been weakened but not eliminated. In subsequent chapters, the researcher will discuss methodologies used to conduct research as well as findings on what works and what doesn't work on both PAP and OSC interventions in Nigeria. Next section discusses Ansaru.

2.8.1. Who are the main political actors of Boko Haram Insurgency?

There are several actors on the issue of Boko Haram. There are religious preachers and politicians that both played roles that shaped the Boko Haram crisis. Muhammed Yusuf, a Northeastern Nigeria founder of the Boko Haram group in 2002. Yusuf is oriented by Salafist 'Salafism Movement/Sect'. By 2014, the group spread its bases to neighboring Yobe State in Nigeria where it started launching attacks against Nigeria Police (Joda & Abdulrashid, 2015). Muhammed Yusuf was inspired by the renowned 14th century Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyya (START, 2014). Yusuf Initially focused on teaching his disciples religious education until it first received funding from Osama Bin Laden. In 2009, his members clashed with Nigeria security agencies, which led to several arrests including the arrest of Yusuf himself. He was initially detained by the Military in Giwa, in Maiduguri, Borno state, Nigeria and later handed over to the Nigeria Police Force in Maiduguri. A report by Human Rights Watch in 2012 narrated that an eyewitness confirmed that while he was inside police headquarters, the Nigeria Mobile Policemen (Anti-Riot Police Mobile Force) heartlessly shot him three times. He later died inside police headquarters in Maiduguri (HRW, 2015). His brutal death, which was spread across the country especially through social media, energizes his supporters to respond. He gained additional popularity and sympathy from many angels as a result of circumstances that led to his death.

Similar integral player is Abubakar Shekau, who normally addresses himself as 'Alshekawi' surfaced as the new leader of Boko Haram Soon after Yusuf's death, Shekau was his second in command, deputy. He was regarded as the craziest commander of all, a 'ruthless commander' due to his notoriety'. He is a Kanuri by tribe; he was born in Nigeria and is believed to have been in his 40s (Telegraph, 2014). Shekau speaks Kanuri, Hausa, Arabic and Fulani (Fulfulde) languages, because his group dissociates with anything western, thus the justification of not speaking English by him (Naij, 2015). As at the time of compiling this thesis Shekau remains the most vocal leader of Boko haram since the death of its founder Muhammed Yusuf. Running a terrorist organization is expensive. Terrorists' activities are normally costly; therefore, Boko Haram gets support from various segments and directions. Shekau is still the known leader of the main Boko Haram.

Another key political actor is Ali Modu Sheriff. Born in Ngala town in Borno State, Nigeria in 1956. He is a British trained businessman, a graduate of London Business School, University of London, United Kingdom. Sherif is an influential politician in Nigeria, especially in Borno State where he served two consecutive terms of four years each as the Governor of Borno State from 2003 to 2011. He was also elected Senator representing Borno State three times in his political career ((Borno, 2009). He won his various political posts under different political parties. He later joined the PDP and became its National Chairman. Sherif was the Governor of Borno

State when Boko Haram was found. He previously met with the founder Muhammed Yusuf. Their meeting was seen by many as the reason why It has been asserted that he is the main sponsor of Boko Haram (Galtimari Panel, 2011; Davies, (2014); Lawan, 2016). He later denied such allegations (Sherif, 2014). His influence and popularity not only in Borno State but across the Northeastern region and indeed the Nigerian political scene makes him one of the most influential actors linked to Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Additionally, another key political actor is Kashim Shettima. He was born in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria in 1966 from the famous Kashim Ibrahim family. He is regarded as very liberal and accommodating. History of Boko Haram and challenges of insecurity in Borno and indeed the Northeast could hardly be complete without mentioning Shettima. He became the Governor of Borno State when the Boko Haram insurgency became intense. He was the first Governor in the Northeast to establish the Civilian Joint Task Force (JTF) to support the Military in fighting Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State. There are about 25,000 JTF members in Borno State (Agbibao, 2015). Kshim is a vocal politician that has been aggressive to all forms of insurgency in Borno State. His influence reached its peak during his second term in office when he was elected as the Chairman of the Northern State Governors Forum (NSGF). The forum consists of Governors from the 19 Northern States notwithstanding party affiliation Nigeria (NGSF, 2015). Shettima later became so powerful and a very close ally of the incumbent President having both of them been elected under the same political party (APC). His internal policies and programs in Borno state were inherited by his successor after he finishes his term in 2019. His political influence got him elected as Senator representing Borno Central until 2023.

His experience of succeeding Ali Modu Sheriff, the alleged sponsor of Boko Haram, ruling Borno State as Governor for 8 years plus ensuring his anointed candidate succeeded him as the Governor of Borno State shows how active Shettima is when it comes to politics related to the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno state and indeed Northeastern Nigeria. He is seen as Boko Haram's nightmare because of the way he openly supports the Nigeria Military against them also how he has been on the offensive on them. Boko Haram attempted to attack him on several occasions since becoming the Governor, but on one fateful day in Borno State, they managed to attack him convoy where about 5 people lost their lives. Luckily Shettima escaped unhurt (Gusau, 2019). Shettima is indeed a key influential figure in the Nigerian politics and indeed an integral part of people that have a stake in the insurgency issues around Borno and Northeastern Nigeria.

The next political actor is the current Governor of Borno State, an Engineering Professor, Babagana Umara Zulum. He was a Kanuri by tribe. Born in Mafa Local Government in Borno State, Nigeria in 1969. Although he was a newcomer into the political scene, his discipline and perseverance has drawn the attention of the country after he became the Governor of Borno State. He came from a humble family, he once said he used to trek 7 kilometers daily to attend school in Borno. Now even his Wife is a PhD holder (Mbonu, 2019). Zulum's character is incredible, he tries to lead by example. On several occasions he was seen eating or drinking by the roadside with his security personnel. Such a humane character is not so common amongst Governors in Nigeria. He actively participates in public events and randomly visits schools even in some of the areas where Boko Haram controls. From the day he took over from Shettima and pledged to provide all necessary support to crush Boko Haram, the group has been looking for avenues to frustrate his government. Barely 4 months into his leadership Boko Haram attacked his convoy. Luckily, he escaped unhurt but the Military vehicle accompanying him was pelted with bullets. Various newspapers carried the report, which was later confirmed

to the researcher by government officials that prefers his identity not to be disclosed. Within 24 hours after the attack, Zulum showed bravery by visiting the University of Maiduguri that was also attacked by Boko Haram (Jos, 2019). Zulum possesses charisma and is following in the footsteps of his immediate predecessor in the fight against insurgency in the Northeast and indeed Borno State, Nigeria. Such attributes make him amongst the key players that are related to the fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria.

2.8.2. Underlying Causes of the Boko Haram Insurgency

Various authors researched the Boko Haram insurgency not only in Nigeria but across the lake Chad region. There are different perspectives to the findings and conclusions of the authors, some of which have been presented in the subsequent paragraphs of this research. Adetoro Rasheed, a renown Nigeria-based political scientist with several years of experience asserted that socio-economic injustice and widespread poverty are amongst major causes of insurgency in Nigeria (Adenrele, 2012). The researcher acknowledged that Rasheed's assertion was valid and reflects some of the findings of this research, but it lacks clarity in justifying some of the points raised. For example, he mentioned poverty but did not specify to who and where it affects what. Additionally, his assertion did not clarify how it caused the insurgency. Nevertheless, the key words there, 'injustice', 'poverty' are amongst the major causes of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Another assertion was by Oladayo Nathaniel, where he corroborated a previous assertion by Adetoro, where he asserts that socio-economic implications as a result of frustration and lack of income influences the youth to become foot soldiers of Boko Haram (Awojobi, 2014). The view is also validated by the fact that lack of income could influence the youth to engage in antisocial vices. It could also lead to frustration, which has a tendency to influence negative thinking. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that Oladayo's assertion is relevant to this research thus its justification for inclusion into this section of the chapter. Additionally, further assertion that included economic related problems has been asserted by a group of erudite, where they added that the economic, social, religious and ethical causes have triggered Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria (Adelaja, 2018). One thing distinct from the previous authors on this is the inclusion of religious and ethical factors. Such gives a wider view about the causes of Boko Haram. Nevertheless, it also lacks clarity on what they meant by including the religious segment in their assertion. Furthermore, there was no clarity on how the ethical factors became part of the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

The Brookings project asserted that the inevitable result of poverty in Northern Nigeria is one of the causes of Boko Haram (Thurston, 2016). In other author's views, Agbiboa, citing various sources says a number of reasons have been variously adduced, including (1) a northern feeling of alienation from the more developed Christian south of Nigeria; (2) rampant government corruption; (3) incompetent and brutal state security services; and (4) the belief that relations with the West are a corrupting influence (Onuoha 2012; Mustapha 2012; Kukah 2012; Agbiboa 2013; Zenn et al. 2013), therefore they are some of the reasons why Boko Haram rebels (Agbiboa, 2015). The Henry Jackson Society's publication viewed it from a different angle, asserting that lack of cooperation from the neighboring countries, specifically Cameroon, is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria (Guitta & Simcox, 2014). The precise conclusion was asserted by a co-authored paper, which concluded that socio-economic factors are the primary causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria (Olofinbiyi & Steyn, 2018). Regarding the intensity of Boko Haram's attacks in Nigeria, the 2009 death of its

leader, Mohammed Yusuf, increases Boko Haram's anti-government campaign, it intensified its violence across Borno and the Northeastern part of Nigeria (Mbiozo, 2017). Seun's views is that on the one hand are scholars who emphasize insurgency as fallout of religious activities, while on the other hand are those who prioritize the political marginalization as one of the root causes of insurgency in Nigeria. Therefore, a balanced consideration could make the claims valid (Bamidele, 2018). Bamidele's assertions are relevant but the researcher views it as constrained. That is due to the fact that he only restricted it to 'politics' and 'religion'. He ignored other key components such as 'poverty' and 'unemployment', which form an integral part of root causes of the problem. Overall, all the authors' claims are relevant, and it serves as one of the basis of developing data collection instruments for this research.

2.8.3. The Role of Politics in the Boko Haram Insurgency

Politics played a role in causing insurgency in Nigeria, especially in the Northeastern part of Nigeria. When one looks at the official name of Boko Haram itself, 'Jamāʿat Ahl al-Sunnah li-l-Daʿawah wa al-Jihād (Arabic: "People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad'. Although the word 'jihad' literally means 'struggle' (RABIIT, 2009), authors often view it as a word associated with violence. But the political related issue on their name is one their popular name 'Boko Haram', which is a combination of Hausa and Arabic words meaning western education is forbidden. Their claim, according to several Islamic scholars, contradicts the Islamic provision, it also contradicts Nigeria's constitutional provisions. The Nigeria constitution clearly spelt out that any other law that is inconsistent with its provision shall be void (Constitution, 1999). For Boko haram to achieve their aims they need a different government structure that contradicts the constitution, as such, they need to force it on both the government and the Nigerian people. That is one of the ways Boko Haram's political intentions connects with this thesis.

Some authors assert it based on scenarios, a joint publication by Petros and Kebin asserts that they looked at different scenarios in which the government can and cannot mobilize against the insurgency and establish conditions in which a government may actually choose not to mobilize against a possible domestic threat such as insurgency (Siqueira, K., & Sekeris, P. G., 2012). Their assertion has a human and democratic face, it is political because it revolves around the decision of the elected members of parliament and other public office holders. The conditions they establish determines what the government could or could not do. It is a good strategy but has been vague on why issues of insurgency could be given light treatment than decisiveness. Therefore, the researcher did not agree with their assertion, especially when applied to a highly volatile country like Nigeria where various acts of insurgency are emerging.

Treating the Boko Haram issue lightly was part of what escalated their operations beyond Borno state, because they have now spread across many countries in West Africa. Sometimes one could not predict what politicians could do. During the former Nigerian President's reign, his ruling party the PDP were accused of politicising Boko Haram in Nigeria by misinforming Nigerians about the true position of the insurgency and their sponsors (Muhammed, 2014). Another author asserts that corrupt politicians have caused economic poverty and inequality which have resulted in grievances in northern Nigeria (Oyekekpolo, 2018). In turn, it enhances the ferocity of insurgency in Nigeria. The researcher has a contrary view to Oyekekpolo's. Although it is relevant to blame politicians for failure to properly address issues of insurgency in Nigeria, civil servants also support

the politicians actualizing their political aims. He said they inflicted political poverty on Nigerians, but the majority of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) in Nigeria have civil servants as Chief Accounting Officers (CAOs), which means, CAOs are the ones controlling all the finances of their respective agencies. Civil servants are signatories to all government accounts. Therefore, politicians are not the only ones to blame.

Another author Efeikhena asserts that the increasing wave of violent conflicts across Nigeria under the current democratic regime is no doubt partly a direct consequence of the activities of ethnic-communal groups seeking self-determination in their environments (Jerome, 2015). As per the assertion, democratic regimes operate under democracy, and politicians get elected into the system. Therefore, the researcher aligned with the author's view because violent conflicts in Nigeria escalated higher from 1999 to date, and that could not be unconnected with the way the politicians improper handling of communal claims about their environments. An example is the Niger Delta region that requires cleaning of contaminated Oil in the environment and the people of Borno State that waited for the Government to provide IDP camps for them, but it took long before the Government started providing such essential services and infrastructure to them respectively.

The founder of Boko Haram's assertion about politics and democracy shows how influential politics played key roles in reshaping the insurgency in Northern Nigeria. He says, democracy, partisan politics and other narratives were part of why they fight the Government. They do not believe in the current system of government that is why they offer alternative government to Nigerians (Montclos, 2014). Such assertion has connection with this research because the democratic system being operated in Nigeria gives birth to politics, as such politicians are produced. The only difference is the alternative offered by Boko Haram, which does not have a political process of electing leaders that would govern the society. But in summary, both systems have political-related objectives that each one of the systems is trying to achieve, that is where the political influence connects the two, justification in including them in this section.

In researcher's views there are several effects of politics in escalating the insurgency crisis in Nigeria. First is the lack of confidence the political system is bringing into the psyche of the society. Politics and indeed political affiliation influence the elected public officials to assign incompetent people to head sensitive agencies without having neither experience nor qualifications that would enable them to perform. Similarly, due to Nigeria's constitutional requirements, a secondary school certificate is the minimum requirement for an election into the position of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN), and when elected, the same president is given the power to appoint Ministers. Additionally, there is no minimum requirement for appointment as Minister. Which means a politician with a high school equivalent certificate, could be appointed as the Minister of Education, Minister of Defense of Minister or Minister of Interior (security) in Nigeria. One would not expect such an appointee to perform compared to appointing a professional or highly educated one that comes from a different political party. Therefore, politics play a negative role that affect the performance of government officials in charge of curtailing insurgency and insecurity in Nigeria.

Another perspective of the negative roles of politics is the way the politicians abandon initiatives, projects and interventions by their predecessors. There is a lack of continuity in the political process in Nigeria. There is hardly a government that comes without abandoning existing projects and programs. That is not unconnected with the change of government where an opposition political party defeats the incumbent party. That creates

an injection of fresh ideas that are not always needed by society. Each Government that comes in would try to create something new so that after their tenure they would claim credit. Most of them are more interested in taking credit for what they introduce than completing existing projects and share credit with their rival political party.

Similarly, the political system under democracy is designed in such a way that no matter your educational qualification, work experience, age of capacity, so long as you do not align with a political party there is no guarantee that the government in power would work with you. As such, even the most experienced people that have the capacity, ability and experience to handle security challenges do not necessarily get the opportunity to manage critical sectors of the economy, including the security circle. That is one of the reasons why elected politicians appoint their loyalists into critical and highly sensitive positions of authority like the security, because they are sure they would act according to their scripts. In several instances the politicians' script is not always what a country as complex as Nigeria wants.

On the positive aspects of politics, the only foreseeable positivity is the avenue provided by democracy to enable people that feel aggrieved by existing politicians to join politics, register political parties and contest elections to ensure the right things are done. Even with that, the politicians have their ways of manipulating the electorates and even influencing electoral bodies to ensure that the new entrants into the political circle did not get elected into sensitive positions like the President, Governors etc. Therefore, the researcher is of the view that the negative effects of politics into the insurgency situation in Nigeria outweighs the positives.

2.8.4   Impact of the crisis on the social, political, economic and environmental stability of Nigeria

Although the crisis has been existing for a while in Nigeria, its roots could be traced back to the precolonial and postcolonial era respectively. That is why it is essential to include some of the key historical context that has socio-political stability in Nigeria. One of the two key issues that equally directly affects the economic and environmental security, not only in the Northern Nigeria but across the country and indeed some parts of west Africa include the Usman Danfodiyo Movement, Maitatsine Insurgency and the Ansaru movement, which is a component, faction of the Boko Haram insurgents.

2.9.   Shehu Usman 'Uthman' Dan Fodio 'Danfodiyo' Movement; The Establishment of Sokoto Caliphate

 Shehu Usman Danfodiyo was born at Marata, which is located within Galma, Madawa District of Niger Republic (Idris, 2013). Omotoso, (2011) asserted he was born in 1168 Hijri (Islamic year) equivalent to 1754. His parents were both Fulani whose ancestors migrated to Futa Toro, Senegal, possibly in the 15th century. Later, they moved to Degel, where he grew up. Degel is located near Chimmola town in Gwadabawa Local Government, Sokoto, Nigeria (Muhammad, 2019), quoting (Umar, 2019). His Father teaches him how to read Qur'an. "He later studied under Malam Jubril in Agadez, Niger Republic" (Omotoso et al, 2011, p.55-56). Shehu's father was Muhammad Ibn Salih popularly known as 'Fodiyo'. His mother was Hawwa Bint ibn Usman (Sulaiman, 2010). Shehu was a renowned Muslim scholar that qualified as a teacher in 1774. "In 1780 he was employed to teach at the royal court in Gobir" (Omotoso et al, 2011, p.56).

In 1804 he migrated to the small town of Gudu, a local government within present Sokoto State, Nigeria between 1804-1810 (Mohammed, 2009), or 1804-1912 (Tangban, 2014). Shehu fought several jihad battles within that period leading to conquering of the Hausa Muslims dynasties within the axis of Sokoto state, Kebbi and Zamfara States. Subsequently, Danfodiyo founded Sokoto caliphate around 1809-1812, and it lasted until the advent of British colonialists in the early 20th century. Danfodiyo died in 1817 (Mohammed, 2009). It is interesting to add to Mohammed's assertion that Sokoto Caliphate still exists as at 2019 with Sultan Sa'adu Abubakar III as current Sultan of Sokoto State, whom has been on the seat since 2006 after the death of his predecessor Sultan Muhammadu Maccido Abubakar III on an ADC Airline plane crash in Nigeria. Report by Accident Investigation Bureau (AIB), Lagos Nigeria shows that Adverse weather circumstances, Inability of the flight crew to apply windshear recovery procedures and the use of unfitting tools for winds hear recovery procedure during simulator recurrence (AIB, 2006) were part of the problems that caused the plane crash.

In founding the Sokoto Caliphate by Danfodiyo, some sees it as a holy war or a revolution (Olaosebikan, 2011), or even seen as Fulani Jihad (Aremu, 2011). Some call it Political Surgeries; the caliphate was pre-colonial political entities (Sokoto, 2011). Other scholars view it as fundamentalism (Tangban, 2014). Danfodiyo did not win it easily as he fought many battles against Hausa, Gobir and Kabbi dynasties. When Danfodiyo came to Hausa land they already had administrative structures, Gobir Kingdom already practices Islam albeit deceptively, Kabbi Kingdom blends religion with some traditional beliefs while Zamfara Kingdom, especially the present Chafe were having a lot of Islamic scholars but majority mixes religion with pagan practices (Idris, 2013). Throughout Danfodiyo's travails his primary objective was to spread message of peace and ensure the administration of justice across all domains he visited. It has been asserted that Danfodiyo's reasons were for the purpose of implementing social, legal and religious ideas of Islam (Sheriff, 2016). British colonialists defeated Sokoto caliphate in 1903. From 1904-2017, there were 20 sultans of Sokoto, which started from Danfodiyo in 1804 to present Sultan Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III, whom was appointed to the throne in 2006 (Sokoto, 2011).

Generally, the word 'Jihad' dominates the concept of Danfodiyo's quest before the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate. As such, it became a debate as to what it signifies and its influence to Muslim insurgents. But there is a sharp contrast to that assertion. Current Sultan of Sokoto referred to Danfodiyo's quest as 'events' and later *'Jihad'* (Sokoto, 2011). *'Jihad'* is an Arabic word, which according to Royal Aaal Al Bayt Institute of Islamic thought (RABIIT, 2009) means 'struggle'. According to (Knapp, 2003) and (Latif & Munir, 2014), the definition was consistent. That being the case, using the word jihad against Islam or using it by any terrorist group doesn't mean Islam is a violent religion as perceived by many. Since Nigeria's independence from 1960 onwards, the social-economic, political and religious landscapes of Nigeria have been considerably persuaded by religion. The justification to include Danfodiyo's struggle as amongst the literature is useful as it gives background of knowing challenges faced in making the country Nigeria what it is today, especially as regards to struggles faced by majority of Muslims Northern Nigeria, thus the need for above historical context.

2.10   The Maitatsine Insurgency, Ideology and Uprising in Northern Nigeria

It was Islamist group headed by Muhammed Marwa popularly known in Hausa language as 'Maitatsine' or 'Allah Tsine', meaning the one who damns, or one who curses regularly during speeches. He was born in 1927 in Cameroon. He declared that reading any book other than Holy Qur'an was sinful including practicing Prophet Muhammad's practices, teachings and explanations, which are considered as Sunnah by Muslims. At latter stages of his life he even came close to declaring that he was indeed the true prophet not Prophet Muhammad PBUH (Tangban, 2014). He rose to prominence after the government cracked down on him due to his very extremist views of Islam and spread of violent views that criticized government in the late 1970s. Maitatsine's declaration of himself as a prophet and his abhorrence of Western technology and its products makes people see him as an extremist (Falola, 1998), (Isichei, 1987), cited by (Adesoji, 2011).

In 1980 his followers led an uprising in Kano that resulted in loss of lives and many government and public properties were destroyed. Two years later in 1982 military crackdown led to the killing of about 4,000 people including Maitatsine. It was asserted that Maitatsine died in 1980. Between 1982-1983 his followers raised against the government for the killing in Bulumkutu town in Borno State, as well as in Yola, Gombe, Kaduna and Bauchi respectively (Isichei, 1987). Human Rights Watch reported "violent clashes between the Maitatsine and government security forces in late 1980 left more than 4,000 persons dead" (HRW, 2012, p.22). Over three decades after the Maitatsine crisis, Nigerians, especially those that witnessed the incidents, see the current Boko Haram insurgency as having similar attributes with Maitatsine groups.

It is not surprising because both groups condemn western education. Boko Haram means western education is prohibited. The word 'Boko' is a Hausa word meaning 'western education', while 'Haram' is an Arabic word meaning 'prohibition' or 'prohibited' (Yahaya, 2010). An example of Maitatsine uprising is surely one of the relevant examples of insurgencies in Nigeria that could be aligned to Boko Haram insurgency that is prevalent in Northeastern part of Nigeria (Akaeze, 2009). Latter stages of this chapter will discuss Boko Haram in more detail. The chapter is arranged serially to guide the reader on how sequential the events unfold up to current challenges. The next paragraph mostly affects the southern part of Nigeria; it discusses what has been termed as the first form of raise against the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which was led by Major Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro.

2.11   Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan (Ansaru)

ANSARU is 'Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan', meaning Vanguards for the Protection of Muslims in Black Africa. The group became popular after they released flyers in Kano state announcing its formation; saying it was a "humane alternative to Boko Haram. Saying that they only target the Nigerian Government Interest and Christians in self-defense" (Global Security, 2016. p.3-5). ANSARU is a faction of 'Boko Haram', regarded as 'Boko Haram' with more interest in international operations, mostly outside Nigeria. It was established in 2012. The leader of Ansaru was Mohammed Nur, known to have been the third in command during Mohammed Yusuf's reign as leader of Boko Haram, and second behind current Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau (Pantucci & Jesperson, 2015). Although Khalid Barnawi is also touted as being a leader of Ansaru but Nur was alleged to have masterminded the bombing of the UN building in Abuja in 2011 and similar attack during Christmas in the same year with the support of his disciple Kabiru Sokoto (Zenn, 2014). ANSARU is as deadly, notorious as Boko haram. In November 2013, the United States

Government classified Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) (USDS, 2013). Ansaru is ideologically aligned to Al-Qaida. In 2016, one of the top leaders of Ansaru called Khalid Al-Barnawi was arrested in Lokoja, Kogi state in Nigeria (Abubakar, 2016). As at the time of compiling this thesis, both Boko Haram and Ansaru still exist albeit with limited presence in terms of frequency of attacks and kidnappings. But their overall influence and dominance especially in the Northeastern part of Nigeria is weakening. Even though Ansaru is not as popular as Boko Haram, it poses a serious threat to Nigeria's national security. It also added to the scope of insurgency in Nigeria and indeed West Africa. Integrating Ansaru into this research is relevant, thus the justification to include it in this historical context.

2.12   Other Violent Insurgencies Affecting Nigeria's Democratic Stability

In order to understand the concept of insurgency in Nigeria it is important to provide an overview of the country and highlight key security related events surrounding its existence. Nigeria currently operates a federal structure of government. The country consists of over 250 ethnic groups. English is the official language while Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba remain three main local languages spoken across north and southern parts of the country (Ekpo, 2010). Over 500 Languages are spoken in Nigeria (TFL, 2014). Islam and Christianity are the major religions in Nigeria. Muslims constitute 50% of the population while Christians were 40%. The remaining 10% follow traditional or indigenous beliefs (CIA, 2017).

Before the European occupation of Africa, many tribes lived in a well-organized empire including Nigeria. Even before the British came to Nigeria, it has been asserted that despite the absence of a written constitution then, there has been a "well-organized system of governance" (Deji, 2013, p. 84). Nigeria is Africa's most populous country (Falola & Heaton, 2014). The country is the largest producer of oil in Africa and sixth largest producer of oil in the world (NNPC, 2017). Nigeria has over 183 million inhabitants, located in West Africa on the coast of Guinea. Apart from Oil, Nigeria has abundance of other natural resources such as iron ore, tin, natural gas, lead, zinc, limestone, coal, niobium, gypsum and arable land (OPEC, 2017).

Nigeria's history is myriad with a lot of conflicts. Prior to Nigeria's political independence from Britain in 1960, there have been a lot of uncertainties on how the northern and southern parts of Nigeria co-exist. Insurgency has been evident since then (Emmanuelar, 2015). Each region has its peculiar insurgency-related problem. It was not surprising when the colonial masters facilitated penal code and criminal code to aid litigation predominating north and southern Nigeria respectively due to religious differences because Muslims and Christians have dominated north and south respectively. After Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999, durable peace remained elusive in the country. Since Nigeria's civil war in 1970, Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram insurgency pose the greatest security threat to Nigeria (Aghedo & Osumah, 2014). Therefore, in order to provide comprehensive insight into Nigeria's insurgency history; religion, regional control and resource sharing often come to the fore. Part of this chapter focuses on the historical background of Nigeria's Islamic fundamentalism and militancy and its possible connection or influence with insurgency in Nigeria.

The chapter also discusses Shehu Danfodiyo, a renowned Islamic scholar that revolutionized Northern Nigeria and indeed most parts of West Africa and influenced many people to embrace Islamic religion. His movement resulted in the establishment of Sokoto caliphate, which still stands and led by one of his descendants, the

sultan of Sokoto, who doubled as the leader of the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs in Nigeria (SCIAN). Apparently, the researcher was born and brought up in the same Sokoto State; his house is meters away from where Danfodiyo was buried in the Hubbare Area of Sokoto North, Sokoto State, Nigeria. Similarly, Hubbare is meters away from Kanwuri, the official home of the Sultan, the Seat of the Caliphate. His inclusion and the inclusion of other relevant militant groups into this chapter is very significant in knowing religious and Militancy influences and how they affect the security situation in Nigeria. Sokoto caliphate plays key role towards Muslim and Islamic affairs in Nigeria and indeed several parts of West Africa.

2.13 Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)

IPOB is a group of agitators based within and outside Nigeria that calls for the breakaway of Nigeria, they want another country called Biafra to be curved out of Nigeria. According to the IPOB document that was sent to the United Nations titled *'Expiration of Nigeria's Amalgamation Proclamation and Restoration of Sovereign State of Biafra'* IPOB existed before 2015. In the two-page letter which was signed by Nnamdi Kanu as Director of IPOB and Ikechuku Anyiagu and Emmanuel Okafor as Administrator and Secretary of the IPOB respectively on 19 December 2013, the letter was calling for all members of UN Member states and UN Committee on Human Rights to recognise Biafra as an Independent State. According to them, from 1st January 2014, the proclamation for the amalgamation of Nigeria ceased to exist, as it was meant to last for 100 years only 1914-2014 (IPOB, 2013).

Nnamdi Kanu, a British-Nigerian Man is the founder and leader of the IPOB. His exact date of birth is sketchy; it was asserted that he was born in the 1970s (Makinwa, 2017). He gained prominence in 2015 when he was running Radio Biafra as a Director. IPOB is a MASSOB faction. According to (Offodile, 2016), two groups lay claim to IPOB. The first was led by Nnamdi Kanu while the other led by Justice Eze Ozobu (OFR). They used to be one group with the same objectives but breakaway when Kanu decided to use violent ways including use of arms and ammunition to achieve his faction's goals. Uwazurike was quoted to have said during an interview that, in 2009, he went to London and opened radio Biafra, appointed Nnamdi Kanu as director, handed it over to him to manage, with a view to spread the cause of Biafra across the world (Uwazurike, 2017). Unfortunately, politicians hijacked Kanu and he started working for them. (Thompson, 2016) supported that argument, saying IPOB took a new dimension from earlier agitation since 2015 after emergence and inauguration of new backroom members under Nnamdi Kanu. That was one of the geneses of rivalry between the two Biafra factions. It was argued that IPOB has additional factions as well; they include the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo, Igbo Leaders of Thought; Biafran Zionist Federation (BZF); Radio Biafra; and The Supreme Council of Elders of Indigenous People of Biafra (SCE) (Ugorji, 2015).

Nnamdi Kanu is facing a lot of challenges. According to Igbo for Nigerian Movement (INM), a renowned Igbo group in the southeast, "creating Biafra out of Nigeria will only cause more problems for us" (INM, 2017, p.1). Kanu has not been perceived as a leader of thought in the southeast, he is rather seen as a creator of new religion (Onochie, 2017; (Ojudu, 2017). Since his arrest in 2015, Nnamdi Kanu has been attending several court sittings facing trial for treasonable felony. Justice Nyako of Federal High Court Abuja, in addition to health grounds as contested by his legal team, under very strict 12 bail conditions granted him bail thus:

"He must not hold rallies, not grant interviews, not be in a crowd of more than 10 people, must provide three sureties in the sum of N100 million each, one of the sureties must be a senior highly placed person of Igbo extraction such as a senator, the second surety must be a highly respected Jewish leader since Mr. Kanu said his religion is Judaism, the third surety must be a highly respected person who owns landed property and is resident in Abuja, he must deposit his Nigerian and British passports on progress of his health and treatment on a monthly basis". (Premium Times, 2017, p.1-2).

The above conditions given by the federal high court Abuja were seen by many commentators as "Stringent, unconstitutional, unacceptable and improper in a constitutionally recognized and democratically practiced country like Nigeria" (Sunday 2017, p.1). Kanu's bail issue has dragged on for long before being granted bail on health grounds. One of the conditions is that he would not be in a crowd of more than ten people. Such a condition is seen as a breach of Nigeria constitution, which provides for freedom of association to all Nigerians. According to video analysis on Nnamdi Kanu's breaking bail conditions by It was indicated that after Kanu's release, it took him only five days to break two of the bail conditions. First, he attended a gathering of more than 10 people (TV360 Nigeria, 2017). Second, he was interviewed by Al Jazeera Network. When asked by the interviewer what he feels about breaking the bail conditions his answer was 'I don't care'. Kanu was scheduled to return to court on 12 July 2017 for continuation of his trial.

In summary, under Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB has not achieved its goals either on its own or by extension, has not achieved the aims of its predecessor MASSOB. Even though both IPOB and MASSOB's presence is still felt as both group's leaders are facing treasonable litigations against them that was instituted by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that the above rationalisations on both MASSOB and IPOB groups are relevant and added up significant information that is useful to this research. Because it discusses elements of Militancy and indeed the way militants use violent forces to achieve their goals

2.14   Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and its Splitter Groups

The Oodua People's Congress (OPC) was a group that was founded by the Yoruba's in 1994 (HRW, 2003); (Canada, 2006) and 1997 (Muzan, 2014), (Global Security, 2000). The Pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group was primarily formed to promote and protect the interest of Yoruba people. (IRBC, 2017). Yoruba people are regarded as having the second highest population in Nigeria; they were about 39 million (CIA, 2016). Yoruba states in Nigeria were located in the south west of Nigeria. The states that constitute the majority of Yorubas in Nigeria are Ekiti, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Osun, and Lagos. Kwara, Kogi and Edo states are other states not in the South West location (Yoruba, 2015).

Dr. Fredrick Fasheun is the founder of OPC. A surgeon by profession, he was trained in Britain and China. The group is a strong ally of National Democratic Coalition NADECO. OPC has an estimated 6 million members (IFE, 2017). They have a significant followership from within the Yoruba elites. According to former Governor of Ondo State, Olusegun Mimiko, a renowned Yoruba figure in Nigeria, Yoruba's feel more secure with OPC than Nigeria Police. He sees the establishment of the OPC group by Fasheun as a significant legacy for the Yoruba people (Mimiko, 2015). OPC was established during the volatile period after the annulment of June 12 general elections in Nigeria which was held in 1993 by the then government of General Ibrahim

Badamasi Babangida (IBB). The elections were judged the "freest and fairest elections ever held in Nigeria. A claim ascertained even by the International Community" (Amnesty, 1996, p.1-5).

OPC is considered a nonviolent group until its faction emerged under the leadership of Chief Otunba Ganiyu Adams. He was the secretary of the main OPC. Series of clashed between OPC faction groups as well as violent activities from within the OPC led to emergence of the faction called Oodua Liberation Movement (OLM), often called Revolutionary Council of Nigeria to emergence of another group (Muzan, 2014). Adams was declared wanted by Nigeria authorities in 1999 after some serious clashed between his faction and Nigeria police. The sum of N100, 000.00 was announced as prize money for anyone that arrested or led to his arrest. In 1999, OPC was banned by President Olusegun Obasanjo (HRW, 2003). In one instance, they invaded a police station trying to rescue some of their detained members.

In 2001, the Nigeria Police Force in Lagos arrested Adams. (Suleiman & Adeyeye, 2001). Politically, both Fasheun and Adam's faction seem to be inclined with Government. During President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration. Adam's faction asked Government to give the contract for securing of oil pipelines as awarded to Niger Delta militants. While Fasheun's faction confirmed that they handed contract proposal to the government but have not received response on it yet (Ezeamu, 2013). Fasheun later joined active politics and registered a political party called Unity Party of Nigeria. It was asserted that President Goodluck Jonathan was behind registering the party because the founders were his associates (Ogundeko, 2014). Although Adam's faction accused Fasheun of using OPC funds to fund the political party. Fasheun was alleged to have collected money and supported the then ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), which lost the elections to All Progressives Congress (APC). After Nigeria general Elections, Fasheun denied aver collecting money from Jonathan's administration (Godwin, 2015).

2.15   An Overview of the Presidential Amnesty Program

Nigeria's resource income and wealth has been a major driver of conflict for almost half a century and most of it comes from oil, which is abundant in the Niger Delta. Most of the popular insurgency against the Nigerian state and multinational oil companies came from that region (Ushie, 2013). Despite abundant resources, people of the Niger Delta region, which is considered as the wealthiest region in Africa suffer extreme poverty, contaminated environments, poor infrastructure, and high unemployment rates. Seeing that both the Nigerian Government and the Oil companies did not do something tangible to address such problems, violent uprising erupted against them which affected the oil production (Adubo & Tobor, 2016). The Nigerian Government under the leadership of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua proclaimed the Presidential Amnesty Program on July 11 2009. The program is aimed at encouraging the Militants, especially the ones in the Niger Delta region to voluntarily surrender their arms to the Nigerian government for an amnesty to forgive and rehabilitate them into the society. The amnesty was initially aimed to last for sixty days only for the agitators to lay down their arms in exchange for amnesty as a step towards redressing the adverse security situation in the oil rich Niger Delta region which had almost brought the nation's economy to its knees due to the way the militants attacked the oil facilities, in turn the country's oil production was drastically reduced. It causes serious financial setbacks to Nigeria (OSAPND, 2020).

It is in that regard that the Federal Government of Nigeria constituted a committee called the 'Presidential Panel on Amnesty and Disarmament of Militants in the Niger Delta' was constituted in mid 2009, to conduct comprehensive facts finding and submit reports and recommendations for consideration. After the committee submitted its report, they recommended for the Federal Government to grant amnesty to Niger Delta militancy as means of achieving peace and stability in the region. The Federal Government later adopted the committee's report and proclaimed Amnesty to Niger Delta Militants on 25 June 2009. "Where it grants amnesty and unconditional pardon to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the commission of offences associated with militant activities in the Niger Delta" (Yar'adua, 2009).

The Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) commenced operations on July 11 2009 for a period of 60 days for the agitators to lay down their arms in exchange for the amnesty (PAP, 2020). The Federal Government appointed Major General Godwin A. Abbe (retired) as the Chairman of the Presidential Amnesty Committee to oversee the Presidential Amnesty Program between 2009 to 2010. The President subsequently appointed a Special Adviser on Niger Delta Affairs, who acts as the Coordinator of the PAP (CPAP). The PAP is designed to have a lifespan of 5 years, from 2020 to 2015 where it is expected to terminate after achieving all its goals (Kuku, 2011). The vision, goals and objectives were mentioned by (OSAPND, 2020), below:

A Niger Delta Region populated with modern cities with leading edge environmental management practices, economic prosperity, skilled and healthy people and social harmony

Objective: To contribute to security stabilization in the Niger Delta through the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and sustainable re-integration of ex-militants as a precondition for medium- and long-term development.

Participants: Ex-Militants who accepted the federal government's amnesty offer and registered for the rehabilitation and integration program.

Although the PAP adopted the United Nations' Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) model, it domesticated it to what it called 'Homegrown DDR' to suit Nigeria's needs. It breaks each component into segments. The implementation plan comprises three stages. Stage 1: Documentation and Disarmament. Stage 2: Demobilization via engagement into nonviolent training programs to erase their beliefs in violence. Stage 3: Reintegration. This is by integrating the demobilized militants into the society

The Federal Government of Nigeria is the major financier of the PAP. The OSAPND receives funding from the presidency via the approved budget of the Nigeria National Assembly annually. Report released in 2014 shows that the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) invested about N243 Billion Naira in the implementation and execution of the PAP to the Niger Delta Militants. That is nearly N50 Billion Naira only annually. The said amount is not up to revenue generated in five days from Oil in the Niger Delta region (Kuku, 2014). N63.2 Billion Naira only was released by the Federal Government in 2015 (Boroh, 2016) , N50 Billion Naira in 2016 (Akande, 2017), N65 Billion Naira in 2017, 2018, 2018 and 2020 respectively (Buhari, 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). The total sum of N616.2 Billion Naira was allocated to the PAP from its inception in 2009 to 2020.

That is over half a trillion Naira, which is over $1.7 Billion United States (US) Dollars using an exchange rate of N360 to $1.

Although such an amount of money is huge, according to a report by analytical company BudgIT it is not up to the Nigerian Government's 13 days oil earnings when a barrel is sold at $65 (BudgiT, (2020). Despite the above investment into the PAP the problem of militancy in the Niger Delta region has not been eliminated yet. But the Nigerian Government said 30,000 militants were disarmed and captured into the PAP database, including 822 Women during the first, second and third phase of the disarmament program (PAP, 2020). Despite the claim, scholars were of the view that the PAP has not been effective because of "faulty policy formulation with an attendant weak implementation strategy that have bred corruption" (Ezejie et al, 2020). Another author asserted that the results showed that the steps in PAP intervention functions yield poor and negative nonsignificant effects (Adubisi, 2020). Despite the huge number of militants reported to have registered, the PAP failed to address sources of the conflict, which resulted into the militancy in the region (Udoh, 2013). That was one of the reasons why the Federal Government for the first time since the commencement of the PAP, ordered a review of the program with a view to enhancing it. The review would be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Although from the launch of the PAP in 2009 there was no formal review that was ordered by the Nigerian government, several reviews have been made by the academia on various segments of the PAP. Such reviews are mostly academic, which have been included in most of the contents of this chapter, where relevant contents are cited accordingly. Each review by the author(s) has a specific target it wants to achieve. Similarly, this thesis aimed at reviewing some of the key components of both the PAP and OSC in Nigeria. PAP has been marred by several allegations of mismanagement, corruption, unprofessionalism and lack of long-term sustainable plan. It is in that regard that, for the first time since its inception, after receiving a series of complaints and petitions against management of the PAP, the Nigerian government suspended the Special Adviser on Niger Delta Affairs, also the Coordinator of PAP. The PAP was immediately handed over to the Nigeria National Security Adviser and was directed by the President to Nigeria to set up a committee to oversee the program. Such a decision was as a result of the caretaker committee's recommendation to the Nigerian President. ion was as a result of caretaker c (Adesina, 2020). The President further ordered for the review of the program with the aim of repositioning it for better service delivery. According to the Government, the aim is to make it a more "transparent, accountable, corrupt-free and institutionalized process" (Ganagana, 2020) to the Niger Deltans.

The Nigerian government did not give a specific timeframe for the caretaker committee to conclude the comprehensive review of the PAP. It is therefore expected that the review could take a while to complete, since the review period is expected to cover the duration of the program from 2009 upwards. It is expected that the committee would come up with a comprehensive recommendation that would reposition the PAP to ensure it address the vision, goals, objectives and the underlying Strategic and Operational Objectives of the Intervention which are the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of the Niger Delta militants.

2.16   An Overview of the Operation Safe Corridor

After over a decade of Nigeria's fight against militancy in the Niger Delta region, and about half a decade after the introduction of the PAP, which opened a window for militants to embrace amnesty, with the aim of ensuring drastic reduction of violence in the region. While the country launched PAP, about the same time a terrorist group called Boko Haram emerged in Northeastern Nigeria. 1n its 2018 special report, Forbes classified Boko Haram as the fourth deadliest terrorist group in the world. The group killed 1,254 people in 2017 alone (Forbes, 2019).. The Federal Government of Nigeria, through the Defense Headquarters (DH), launched a program similar to the PAP, which was aimed at enticing Boko Haram members to embrace amnesty the same way a similar gesture was offered to Niger Delta militants. It was called the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC). It was initially announced in 2015 and commenced in May 2016 (CDD, 2016). The main focus of OSC is the Boko Haram members that mainly reside around the Northeastern part of Nigeria. Areas mostly covered by the Boko Haram are Adamawa State, Bauchi State, Borno State, Gombe State, and Taraba State. According to the first press release by the Nigerian Government through the Military, the OSC's vision was that the Federal government and its commitment to end the war against insurgency in the North East and in furtherance of its efforts to rehabilitate and reintegrate surrendered and repentant Boko Haram terrorist members established OSC by establishing rehabilitation camp to repentant Boko Haram members to participate into the program (Abubakar, 2016).

The OSC is not structured like the PAP. From the first announcement of the program, the strategic plan for its implementation was not made public by neither the Military nor the Federal Government of Nigeria. The OSC was targeting insurgents that have a 'low-key' level of extremism. That is a difficult issue because it is uncertain what mechanism the Government would use in determining who is low-key or not amongst them. That was not unconnected with the reason why in its report, Brookings Institute asserts that the OSC is launched with "highly opaque and unclear criteria" of who constitute high risk or low risk amongst the Boko Haram members (Brookings, 2018). But a series of comments made by the military on several occasions shows that the objective is to ensure that all Boko Haram members embrace the OSC and surrender to the Nigerian Military. They would then be enrolled into the Deradicalisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration programs. The programs include "psychosocial and vocational training to become useful to themselves and society". (Shafa, 2016).

Although the Nigerian Government adopted the United Nations model of DDR (Ibrahim, 2020), its practicality is not always seen despite almost half a decade after the launch of the OSC. on the OSC. Clarification was only heard in 2018 when the Federal Government of Nigeria in collaboration with the International Organization for Migration agreed on a short- and medium-term action plan for the OSC to include key segments of Demobilization, Disassociation, Reintegration and Reconciliation for those associated with Boko Haram members. Because the Nigerian government's Office of the National Security Adviser did not have a holistic strategy on OSC before, they will likely produce a more detailed one soon (Brechenmacher, 2018). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, the following four components would be used as the concept of implementation plan for the OSC.

Stage 1: Disarmament; This involves encouraging Boko Haram members to voluntary surrender their arms
Stage 2: Demobilization: This involves engaging them into various trainings to take away their ideological thoughts. Stage 3: Reintegration: This involves reintegrating them into the society after undergoing stage one

and stage two. Stage 4: Reconciliation: This involves continuous engagement with them and the community in which they live

2.17   How the PAP and the OSC are Funded

OSC is not a structured government agency like the PAP. PAP has a Special Adviser, a highly placed political appointment that is below only Ministers. By virtue of such appointment, the holder is given an annual 'vote of charge'; a budgetary provision for such an office to specifically utilize. In OSC's case, it is managed by the Military, which does not have the privilege of getting a special adviser who directly supervises it, rather, it is being managed by professionals that have very limited access to political opportunities, because they are not close to the President like politicians. Therefore, by default, since the program was established under the Nigerian Defense Headquarters, the Nigerian Government is the primary financier of OSC, since the entire defense relies on Government's funding.

The OSC is also having support from other government agencies that handles issues related to development, peace and interventions. Recently, the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development pledged to collaborate with OSC to end insecurity in the Northeast (Farouq, 2020). It is not surprising because the newly established Ministry has an adequate budget that supports humanitarian affairs and social development, issues that are critical in addressing problems caused by the Boko Haram insurgency. It has been asserted that about N4.6 Trillion was allocated to the security sector between 2012 to 2015 (Dataphyte, 2020). In 2018, the total sum of 75 Billion Naira was budgeted for internal military operations, which includes OSC (BudgiT, 2018). In 2019 alone, about N1 Trillion naira was allocated to the security.

Another avenue where OSC gets indirect funding and support is through the North-East Development Commission (NEDC). one of the commissions' main responsibilities is the 'Receiving and managing funds allocated by the FG and the international donors for the '*Resettlement, Rehabilitation, Integration'* and construction of roads, houses and business premises of victims of insurgency and terrorism, as well as tackling the menace of poverty, illiteracy, ecological problems and any other related environmental or developmental challenges in the North-East States and for related matters" (NEDC, 2017). The NEDC was established in 2017, a year after the OSC began operations. But it only took off operations in 2019 The commission's mandates include two out of four main components of OSC, that is rehabilitation and Reintegration, although NEDC called the latter 'integration'. That gives OSC a new leaf into where it gets additional funding away from the security funding via the defense as well as funding beyond the security votes. According to the Nigerian president, N55 Billion Naira only was allocated to NEDC in 2019, (N10 Billion Naira only for Take-off and N45 Billion for humanitarian intervention programs across the region), and N37.8 Billion Naira only in the 2020 budgets (Buhari, 2019). If the NEDC is given adequate financial and manpower support by the FGN, it would go a long way in complimenting the OSC intervention.

There is growing concern about the expenditure within the security circle. It has two major dimensions. The first is the 'security vote'. It is an undisclosed amount of money that is being allocated to the President's office for security issues. Similarly, the same 'security vote' is allocated to all the 36 state Governors in Nigeria, for similar purposes as that of the president. It is unclear how much is allocated to them monthly or annually. But

ts is quite a significant figure. What compounds the problem is that a lot of security operations are conducted outside the public domain, which makes it vulnerable. Recent convictions and sentencing of high-profile Nigerians including former governors and former heads of the Military by various Nigerian courts as a result of corruption and financial related crimes clearly shows that there is a foul play in the way the security votes are managed.

Despite consistent complaints by Nigerian and severe consequences of mismanaging the security votes, only recently, the Nigerian Governors Forum tabled a fresh demand to the Nigerian President on behalf of the 36 Governors seeking an increase in their respective 'security votes' (NGF, 2020). But there seems to be some form of resistance from high ranking authorities. The Chief of Defense Staff challenged the Governors that most of them hide behind the immunity and misuse the security votes allocated to them (Buratai, 2019). Going by the way the politicians ignore the call of Nigerians about the security vote, it is highly unlikely for them to take General Buratai's comments seriously.

Image 1 & 2: Credit: PAP (2020). Image 1 on the left are the beneficiaries of the Presidential Amnesty Program. They graduated from Afe Balalola University, Ado Ekiti. Four (4) out of the twenty-three (23) PAP sponsored graduates bagged first class degrees. The other image (2) on the right are some of the repentant Militants that surrendered and participated in the PAP. They met with the PAP leadership and discussed peace development required in the Niger Delta region.

2.18   Theoretical Considerations

It is essential for the purpose of this research to give a clearer background about the concept of radicalisation before discussing radicalisation theories. Given that researchers and governments cannot reach consensus in defining even the term 'terrorism', perhaps it should not be surprising that such a diversity of views exists in defining even more nuanced concepts related to radicalisation. Several authors say there is no universally acceptable definition of the term radicalisation. Because 'radicalisation' is a concept that draws so much comments, debate and indeed controversies, especially regarding counterinsurgency and counter terrorism. The challenge has always been on its definition. Nevertheless, it was defined as the idea of a process through which an individual adopts an increasingly extremist set of beliefs and aspirations. In other words, the process by

which individuals adopt violent extremist ideologies that *may* lead them to commit terrorist acts, or which are likely to render them more vulnerable to recruitment by terrorist organizations (UNODC, 2018).

Winter & Feixas, in their joint article titled 'Toward a Constructivist Model of Radicalisation and Deradicalisation: A Conceptual and Methodological Proposal', argued that policy recommendations influence definitions of radicalisation, especially when it comes to how Nation's view it. For example, the UK has defined it as "process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then join terrorist groups" (HM Government, 2009, p. 11), while a European Union (EU) defined it as "a phenomenon of people who regard the use of violence as legitimate and/or use violence themselves in order to achieve their political objectives which undermine the democratic legal order and the fundamental rights on which it is based" (EUCR, 2016, pp. 4).The EU's sister agency, the European Commission (EC), has similar assertion but with a more direct concept. It defines radicalisation as a complex process in which an individual or a group embraces a radical ideology or belief that accepts, uses or condones violence, including acts of terrorism (EC, 2020).

All the definitions by the UK, EU and EC signifies the lack of uniformity in the definition of radicalisation. Nevertheless, the three definitions have all captured two key words, 'process' and 'phenomenon'. The two words align with attributes of rational choice approach, which has been the choice of this researcher. Nevertheless, apart from the rational choice, which is considered as "the most promising theory of radicalisation", other four key theories would also be discussed in this chapter, which include structural or societal theory, relative deprivation, social movement theory and psychological theories (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015).

2.19   Grievance Theory

Regan Patrick, in his publication titled 'Sixteen Million One: Understanding Civil War', asserts that after world war II, civil war has been one of the most common armed conflicts in the world, leading to the death of about 16 million people by 2009, thus leading the increase in the civil war literature over the decade (Hoeffler, 2011). Various scholars have debated on greed vs grievance or greed and grievance as the causes of conflict and civil war, and even include violent conflicts such as rebellion and insurgency. It was argued that certain natural resources such as oil increase the likelihood of conflicts in a nation (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000). Such an assertion reflects what is happening in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, where oil has been the major focus of the conflict. Individuals and groups try as much as possible to utilize the richness of the region to achieve their aims. Grievance theory is one of the oldest and has one of the oldest explanations of why people engage in political-related violence.

Terrorism and political-related violence could best be explained using the Grievance theory. It is a theory where Grievance explanations are among the most popular when it comes to evaluating political violence in general and terrorism in particular (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015). Several authors we of the view that grievances are part of what makes Niger Delta militants use violent means to ensure the Nigerian Government and the Oil producing companies in the region responds to their causes, but assertion by Collier has diagnosed that civil wars are more likely to occur in some countries in the developing world without offering adequate explanation

of why this may be so (Bensted, 2011). Which means only some of the factors like greed and grievances are identified but several other reasons for use of violence by the Militants could not be identified.

When the theory is applied to Boko Haram there is an interesting outcome. One of the initial grievances the Boko Haram had over the Nigeria Government is the killing of its founder Muhammed Yusuf allegedly by the Nigeria police in 2009. That is one of the justifications why they turned from a local group with grievance to a violent insurgency (Cold-Ravnkilde et al, 2015). Additionally, the theory when applied to Boko Haram could give a different perspective because the group have increased their scope of operation and needs beyond the killing of Mohammed Yusuf. A clear example is where they attacked the United Nations (UN) building in Abuja, Nigeria in 2011. Logically, there is no relationship between killing them. leader with the UN building. Such an act goes beyond what addresses grievances. It could be argued that some actions of Boko Haram might draw the attention of others to sympathize with them or to enable their causes to get more attention. This could be seen when they abducted 276 Female students from Government Secondary school, Chibok in Borno State Nigeria 2014. The rationale behind the abduction could not be connected to the killing of their leader, since their abduction could not bring him back to life.

In a similar scenario, the Niger delta militants' attack on their fellow militants does not seem to be correlating with their respective grievances. Because one of the major issues they use to justify their acts was the inequality they face from the Nigerian Government, because their environment is contaminated with oil and nothing tangible has been done. They also have grievances related to the way the Oil companies are hot doing enough in Corporate Social responsibility (CSR), they don't care much for the people of the region they vastly use to make fortune for decades. Therefore, militants fighting each other does not make grievance sense, since none of them could solve each other's problem. The widely publicized feud between Mujahid Asari Dokobo, the leader of the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) and Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is an example of problems that erupts between militant groups (Concise, 2019).

2.20   Coercion

Informed by the theoretical underpinnings of Self-determination theory 'SDT' (Tabrizi, 2015), coercion is defined as the act or process of persuading someone forcefully to do something that they do not want to do (Collins Dictionary, 2020). The theory of coercion has various dimensions. In the context of radicalisation, this research aligns with the investigations into compulsion or motivation look at external actors: charismatic leaders, rebrand preachers, radical clerics or intellectual gurus, and assess their role in recruiting new members for terrorist organizations ((Maskaliūnaitė, 2015). There are a lot of myths and misconceptions about how coercion affects one's choice and decisions. J.D. Meier argued that coercion is motivations deadliest enemy. The more you try to coerce yourself into an activity, it takes away your motivation. It becomes oppression. At the end of it all you end up undermining your capabilities of making your own decisions and choices. Robert McNamara added that "*Coercion, after all, merely captures man. Freedom captivates him.*". Don't kill your motivation with too many "should" or "oughts."Don't say, "I'm doing this because I should." Instead, say "I'm doing this because I choose to." (Meier, 2020). This argument aligns with what some members of Boko Haram produce mixed conceptions.

For example, the underaged Boko Haram members that were being coerced to take bombs and detonate themselves in the crowd. Although they end up achieving the aims of killing both people and them, it is actually someone's aim that is achieved rather than theirs, because they were forced to do that. Another perspective to that is that since they are underaged, they might not have their own motivation rather than the motivation of their principals that coerced them to kill themselves while killing others. But the issue the writer have with Meier's view is that, the adult Boko Haram members that coerced themselves to kill people could both have achieved their aims of killing people even though they were coerced, at the same time achieve their aims because they joined Boko Haram knowing that there is a potential to be asked to kill someone in the course of their activities. Therefore, it is not fully correct to assume that forcing yourself to do something takes away your motivation.

Eleanor Beevor, in her thesis, 'Coercive Radicalisation: Charismatic Authority and the Internal Strategies of ISIS and the Lord's Resistance Army', viewed coercive theory on apocalyptic theology, she asserts that it coercively radicalizes its captive subjects. It is considered a violent experience of emergence of religious rules learned in the process, and millennia of "grand narratives" framing violence as purification. These stages present an image of leaders as divinely endowed with spiritual knowledge and access in religion and other forms of authority in leadership positions they hold. Such a scenario can create a sense of dependency on the leaders and their instructions, potentially motivating violent and altruistic behavior from initially unwilling subordinates and followers (Beevor, 2017). Such instances of coercive influences are seen from the followers of both Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram. Where some of the repented members could not give any tangible reason on why they joined their respective groups. Rather, the influence, especially the oratory skills and the forceful nature of threats to their lives and the lives of their families. In some instances, their leaders, especially Boko Haram give them targets to achieve, failure of which could lead to severe consequences including hard labor punishments or even death.

Young people have been integral in advocating Boko haram ideologies. Mshella Birma Wayuta, in his report, which was widely publicized by the Reconciliation Resources, asserted that Boko Haram has been widely popular in the Northeastern part of Nigeria because of the group's ability to recruit (either voluntarily or through coercion), retain and motivate its recruited fighters. The youth are so vulnerable due to youth restiveness, poverty and unemployment in the region. The young people are the prime target of Boko Haram from recruitment into the group. Especially those who have been marginalised by their communities, such as substance abusers, orphans or sex workers (Wayuta, 2019). Such groups of orphans, sex workers and substance abusers were easily coerced into embracing Boko Haram ideologies because of their economic situations. Some easily embrace insurgency because of the meagre stipends they get to support themselves and their families while others are coerced due to other factors such as religion or cultural beliefs. There are some sex workers and substance abusers that are non-Muslims, as such they see anything Islam as wrong. Such categories require forceful enticement or ideological coercion to convince them to join the group.

Women are some of the major recruits and target of insurgency when it comes to coercion. Female suicide bombers as coerced, their actions proved that they cannot act out of their own volition. They were being influenced, forcefully. There is enough evidence to support such assertion. Young girls, too young for it to make an informed decision about their lives have been convinced into what they termed as martyrdom. It is

widely reported that some of the Women have been remotely detonated by their male accomplices. It is such tragic that coercion influences them to kill humans with ease and without remorse. In Nigeria, within the period of 2 years (2014-2016) alone, more than 200 Women suicide bombers blew themselves up in various locations and died, killing more than 1000 people in the process, combined (Anyadike, 2016). Therefore, coercion is an integral component that insurgents use not only to recruit members but to entice them to commit to their causes as well. They end up committing grave crimes as high as killing of innocent people not only in Nigeria but across the lake chad region as well. Coercion is one of the recruitment modes Boko Haram use in Northeastern Nigeria and indeed across the affected countries in Africa.

2.21   Coercion Tactics

Coercion tactics are strategic methods used by the coercer to instill doubt or fear into someone. That goes beyond only the radicalisation tactics. Several institutions apply different tactics to coerce their targets in achieving their aims. Although scholars differ in its perspective, the social scientists relate it to behavioral and psychological control, while the medics view it differently. A publication by wellness and health expert Cindy Lamothe, titled 'how to recognise coercive control', which was reviewed by renowned Psychiatric consultant Dr Timothy J.Legg, argued that there are 12 major signs of coercive control: isolating you from your support system; regular monitoring your activity;   denying you autonomy and freedom; limiting your access to money: name calling and putting you down; turning your children against you; reinforcing gender-based traditional roles; making jealous accusations; controlling aspects of your health and body; threatening your pets and children, and regulating your sex relationship (Lamothe & Legg, 2019).

Another tactic is the military tactics. It is a method that traditionally pursued a strategy of annihilation or exhaustion that focuses exclusively on military victory (Sullivan, 1995). But Schelling is of the view that "Military strategy can no longer be thought of as the science of military victory. It is now equally the art of coercion, of intimidation and deterrence. Military strategy, whether we like it or not, has become the diplomacy of violence (Schelling, 1966). Boko Haram use several tactics, depending on their target. If they want to target the civilians, they use force to instill fear into the society of kidnap members of family. If they target government or the military, they sometimes conduct offensive raids, assaults, and ambushes against thinly stretched and poorly resourced Nigerian security elements and civilians (Tradoc, 2015). Boko haram also engages in other tactics like kidnapping and compulsion in religion to ensure their targets submit to them using coercion.

2.22   Rational Choice

Although there is wide view that terrorism in general, especially the 'suicidal terrorism is seen as irrational. Some authors believed that the current rational choice explanation pays insufficient attention to long standing questions. It deals more with social institutions in current sociology textbooks and neglects the questions posed by Sociology founders (Ultee, 1996). Not every academic is an advocate of rational choice, but a lot of economists and indeed political scientists have a contrary view (Caplan, 2006), including the author of this research. Any radicalisation theory that links process to rational series of choices is considered to have an edge over other theories. It is a type of analysis that sees participation in terrorism same way one conducts as a cost

benefit analysis before partaking any serious activity (Maskaliūnaitė, 2015). Terrorist groups make decisions fully based on collective rational after making cost benefit analysis of joining and participating in the group's activities. This is because, terrorists use rational, they "choose between terrorism and 'all other activities'" (Anderton & Carter, 2006).

In Nalbandov's article titled 'Irrational Rationality of Terrorism', asserts a wider dimension to rationality by saying that rationality is relative: a typical example is the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in 1914 by Gavrilo Princip, a member of the Serbian terrorist organization "Black Hand," led to more significant political shifts than the killing of the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 by the LTTE, which caused no noteworthy international or regional political deviations. Such points show that rationality could affect not only terrorism and radicalisation but might result in political deviation as well. Furthermore, he asserts the following classifications concepts of rationality; *strategic* rationality, *group level* rationality and *tactical* rationality. The three represent long term effects of terrorists' actions, aggregation of individual decisions and reveal the level of strategic objective of terrorists respectively (Nalbandov, 2013).

This research is inclined with the rational choice theory in many fonts. It correlates with major attributes of both the Niger Delta Militancy and indeed Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Since rational choice theories are more concerned about behavior than psychological traits, Boko haram is considered rational because they take deliberate action in killing people to get maximum benefit from their actions (Armiya'u, 2019). In Yahaya's assertion, which has been derived from his thesis, titled 'Analysis of the Economics of Terrorism in Nigeria: Boko Haram and Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta in Perspective", argued that "the rational choice theory takes individuals who engage in terrorism as rational beings, and their behavior is motivated by the costs, benefits, and the opportunity costs of violent activities" (Yahaya 2015). Although Yahaya's assertion is valid, the possible demerit is that Boko Haram is seen as a product of large scale socio-economic and religious insecurity, its ideology perfectly fit into historical narratives and modern grievances. (Forest, 2012), therefore, it relates more to strategic rationality, which is long-term and tactical rationality, than the group level rationality.

Several members of Boko Haram, by some findings of this research, seem to have been motivated by economic-related issues, which included poverty and unemployment. Boko Haram are also strategic in advancing their ideological reach out. Such instances are seen where they collaborate with other terrorist groups outside Nigeria, sometimes even outside the African continent. With regard to that, another author Michael Ulher, in his thesis titled 'Boko Haram: why they became affiliates of Daesh' (Daesh is a renown terrorist group popularly known as Islamic State of Iraq and Levant), argued that although Boko haram align well with Rational choice approach, he regards their decision in collaborating with Foreign Terrorist Organisations (FTOs) as something unusual, because by joining the group Boko Haram exposes themselves to a more serious trouble because the world would be focusing on them like other well-known FTOs. Therefore, he considers such a decision by Boko Haram as a "rational collective entity" (Ulher, 2017), which often takes a collective decision as a group. Which additionally shows that terrorist groups do take group decisions on top of their individual rational interests as well. Therefore, the decisions taken could either relate to economic or social reasons.

That also brings about the possibility of seeing rational choice as a theory that not only reflects on the economic aspect of choice but social aspect as well. In support of that, John Abraham, in his well publicised work titled 'Ideological Radicalisation: A Conceptual Framework For Understanding Why Youth In Major U.S. Metropolitan Areas Are More Likely To Become Radicalized' argued that one of the rational reasons behind radicals' choices is due to "lack of social integration, lack of economic participation, social isolation, exclusion, and being viewed as second class citizens" (Abrahams, 2017, pp.8) by their respective governments. They were being treated as an 'option' rather than 'priority'. Such assertion further shows that radicals could be influenced by reasons that are not indirectly economic, but socially relevant in influencing one's economic situations. One of the reasons why rational choice has been the focus of this research is because the author thinks it aligns well with this research, both on Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgents. Therefore, Rational choice theory supports much of economists' understanding of economic behavior in the central paradigm of modern micro-economic theory, which has been more widely applied to explain a number of social behaviors (Hoeffler, 2011) including that of both Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram.

It has been asserted that knowing how people perceive the merits and demerits of risky behaviors such as radicalisation, terrorism or violent extremism gives an insight towards developing research testing rational choice theory aiming to explain and predict peoples' intentions to engage in, or support of radicalisation, terrorism or violent extremism, including but not limited to militancy (Dhami & Murray, 2016). Therefore, for the purpose of analysis, this research will adopt Cayran's basic principles of rational choice theory, which are individuals are rational and they think in logical way; individuals have interests, interests defines utilities and sometimes their interests differs; individuals make choices and their choices influence utility preferences; individuals make choices in rational ways to increase their utilities; and, a person does not have full control of results over his/her choices (Cayran, 2018). This often happens when one makes a choice in the interest of one's self as well as the group. Applying Cayran's assertion to Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram could provide consistent links. On Niger Delta militants, response obtained via data collection shows that 34% and 33% of the 209 respondents 'strongly agree' and 'agree' respectively that Niger Delta militancy is lucrative. Lucrative is defined as a job or an activity that produces a lot of money (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Therefore, militants expect a lot of financial or material gain from their activity, which is one of the reasons why they participate in militancy activities in the Niger Delta region. As such, it justified the researcher's assertion that rational choice is an appropriate theory that aligns with this research. Similarly, 45% and 41% of the total 209 respondents 'very strongly agree' and 'strongly agree' that poverty causes militancy. See figure 4.5. Poverty is defined as the condition of being "extremely poor" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020). The World Bank defined the condition of being extremely poor as people living on less than $1.90 a day (World Bank, 2018). Therefore, associating one with poverty includes such a person's financial and economic position. As such, rational choice theory applies to this research with regards to the Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. Furthermore, 26%, 33% and 27% out of the 201 respondents said they 'very strongly agree', 'strongly agree' and 'agree' that unemployment is one of the major causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. See figure 4.5. Unemployment is determined whereby people that are available for work at a given period are not in paid or self-employment at that particular time (OECD, 2001). Therefore, it is logical to assert that unemployment is an attribute of poverty, and poverty is related to the economic and financial status of a person. As such, using rational choice theory on this research is justified.

Individuals are rational: Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram are both rational. That is in the sense of their individual and collective interests. That is one of the reasons why they fight to defend one another in a group. For example, although some militants joined militancy due to poverty, others joined it to fight for sovereignty of Biafra. But their rational decisions did not make them fight in the same group. Some decided to join a group led by Dokubo Asari while others decided to join Nnamdu Kanu. There is a similar scenario on Boko Haram, those loyal to Abubakar Shekau in the Nigeria axis have different aims in Nigeria from the ones across other parts of the lake Chad region. But they rationally join hands and attack different countries around the region.

They think in a logical way; they weigh issues before making decisions. Some militants decide to be loyal to militant groups than the Federal republic of Nigeria. That makes them logically believe that their chances of success as militants are more than being loyal to their nation. As individuals, Boko Haram members have interests, some prefer to become leaders of the group while others prefer to come close to the leaders. Some were forced to join the group but later became notorious for personal reasons, therefore, interests define utilities and individual interests differ. By the time Boko attacks or kidnaps innocent people, the interest of their leaders is normally the priority. They take the bounties of what they loot to the group leadership even if they are individually in need of the bounties they loot. That was the justification for saying a person does not have full control of results over his/her choices, because the leadership takes control of what a militant or Boko Haram member got for the group.

Stages of PAP and OCS: There are stages that has been spelt out by the Nigerian Government in the implementation of counterradicalisation intervention PAP: Stage 1: Documentation and Disarmament; Stage 2: Demobilization via engagement into nonviolent training programs to erase their beliefs in violence; Stage 3: Reintegration. This is by integrating the demobilized militants into the society. OSC: Stage 1: Disarmament; this involves encouraging Boko Haram members to voluntary surrender their arms; Stage 2: Demobilization: This involves engaging them into various trainings to take away their ideological thoughts; Stage 3: Reintegration: This involves reintegrating them into the society after undergoing stage one and stage two; Stage 4: Reconciliation: This involves continuous engagement with them and the community in which they live.

2.23 Psychological Traits Approach (STA)

To understand STA, it is essential to explain Traits Theory, which is In psychology, is also called dispositional theory. It is an approach to the study of human personality. Trait theorists are primarily interested in the measurement of *traits* that which can be defined as habitual patterns of behavior, thought, and emotion (Kassin, 2003). That brings an issue of trait approach, which is a way of studying personality that places emphasis on the traits of an individual as markers of personality. They are continuing patterns of behavior and thoughts that are generally stablises with time. They are sets of things; activities; and, actions that people use to describe another person such as being good, bad, ugly etc (Alleydog, 2020). Although the nature of psychological traits is difficult to ascertain in one sentence, but it was argued by mid 19th century scholars that Comparison of factor patterns among subjects differing in age, education, occupation, sex, cultural grouping, and species will contribute toward an understanding of the conditions under which traits develop (Anastasi, 1948). Courtney

Ackerman, while explaining the "Ocean Model', asserts that there are five big personality traits, and they are all about asking the question, 'who are you'? It is a simple, yet a very difficult question to answer, not only to scientists but to social science erudite. The Big Five is still the most mainstream and widely accepted framework for personality. The 'OCEAN five' are openness to experience; consciousness; extroversion; agreeableness; and, neuroticism (Ackerman, 2019).

2.24 Summary

This chapter discussed concepts of Radicalisation, Counterradicalisation, Deradicalisation and Reradicalisation. Some theories of insurgency were discussed, including Grievance theory, Coercion theory and Rational choice theory. It also analyses key definitions from scholarly perspectives on the said concepts. A global conceptual analysis has been provided by drawing on the works of scholars from the northern and southern hemispheres. Additionally, the chapter discusses Insurgency and Terrorism and provided overview of definition of the two terms by various scholars across the globe. Furthermore, the chapter contrasted the concepts of efficiency and effectiveness, providing different definitions and interpretations. The definitions of effectiveness and efficiency adopted within this research project have been clarified. Clarification was also made on the distinction between the two terms 'Efficiency' and 'Effectiveness' by citing various scholars' assertions. The researcher gave out his viewpoints and justification on how the key terms were used in writing the thesis. In the chapter, the researcher exploited, Theoretical Considerations on the thesis, discussed Grievance Theory, Coercion, Rational Choice theory, Psychological Traits Approach (STA) as well as Coercion Tactics. A conceptual analysis was made about definitions from scholars in the USA, UK, EU and Asia. Furthermore, it discussed Efficiency and Effectiveness of the two Counterradicalisation interventions PAP and OSC in Nigeria. The writer gave out his viewpoints and justification on how the key terms were used in writing the thesis.

Methodology

3.1   Introduction

The title of this thesis is 'Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't'. As such, a lot would be focused on researching issues related to all the contents of the topic. Nigeria faced a lot of uncertainties regarding its oil, which major part of it is derived from the Niger Delta region. Apparently, the region was marred by sequence of crisis from pre-1960, post-independence and present-day Nigeria. Emergence of Niger Delta Militants did not happen suddenly. Even before Nigeria's civil war in late 1960 happened, Adaka Boro initiated the call for breakaway from Nigeria to create Niger Delta Republic in 1966 (Muzan, 2014). Since then, series of groups emerged calling for their fair share of Nigeria's rich economic resources, from Ojukwu's call for Biafra state all through Nnamdi Kanu's call for Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), all the groups emanated from the Niger Delta region, almost all of the groups use several violent tactics to achieve their aims. Some resort to pipeline vandalism, theft and kidnappings while others engage in killings and abduction of expatriates working for Nigeria or other companies domiciled around Niger Delta region, especially the oil companies like Shell etc.

Nigeria has seen a lot of political, religious and military crises from its independence in 1960. A lot had happened since 1999 when democracy took full shape, but it was in 2002 when the 'Boko Haram' insurgency began to surface in Nigeria that the security challenges worsened. There were series of reports and commentaries on the extent of damages caused by insurgents, radicals, terrorists and extremists in Nigeria, be it social, economic or political. It has hugely affected Nigeria's economy. The Nigerian government deployed several tactics through military and security agencies and also introduced a series of policies and programs to deter insurgency and radicalisation. But there is growing skepticism on the impacts such interventions made in minimizing or eliminating radicalisation in Nigeria. To curtail the nascent challenges, the Nigerian government launched PAP in 2009 and OSC in 2016. The two programs were introduced to encourage the two violent groups to lay down their arms and embrace amnesty, which will give them the opportunity to enroll in deradicalisation processes and subsequent integration with the society. For almost a decade now not much has been seen in terms of whether the two deradicalisation interventions work or don't work. This research aims at analysing what works and what doesn't work on the two interventions.

Some of challenges seen in the course of data collection were not expected, as it was not fully covered by the ethics clearance. For example, the researcher's documents were confiscated by military personnel at the Defense Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, for just taking notes from an event poster outside the main entrance. He had to beg to be freed. But generally, the ethics clearance protects the researcher against getting into any serious trouble. It is important to note that responses gotten from current or ex militants and Boko Haram members serves as a more reliable information than the secondary information posted by some of the media online. Because first-hand information from those directly affected by the topic is one of the essential keys to a valid outcome. The researcher's role as Director ICT helps in some ways, because it makes access to some important stakeholders, especially the government agencies and their officials easier. But the researcher's

position did not directly influence the outcome of the research. Because all the protocols of research and the ethics approval guidelines were strictly adhered to. As such, in this chapter, to enable the researcher achieve the aim and objectives, research positionality, sampling strategy, data coding and other key considerations have been adopted as explained in subsequent sections of this chapter.

3.2   Researchers Positionality

As a senior civil servant with decades of managerial, administrative as well as academic related experiences in Nigeria, the researcher's positionality have both positive and negative influences in that regard. Initially the researcher's perception was that everything would be easy. He was expecting to get a straightforward response and reception. But it turns out that the respondents had a different view of the process. Some complied immediately while others were reluctant. That was such a unique experience worth mentioning here. His experience and connections within the security agencies in Nigeria plays a role in having access to credible data. Additionally, some challenges being faced by other researchers are often higher than what the researcher had faced. Nevertheless, he is conscious of research ethics as well as the fact that he is an intentional agent who is duty bound to report the things as they are, equitably and unbiased. The advantage of the researchers position of authority is that it is easy to interpret information related to security, having work closely with the leadership of most of the security agencies in Nigeria.

Furthermore, access to suspected Militants and Boko Haram members via telephone was not very challenging to him, because the ethical clearance was very clear on areas of coverage. Even access to the administrative staff that runs the PAP as well as some military personnel that handles OSC is not very challenging, compared to if the researcher were coming from entirely an outsider, external background that had no form of link or contact with mainstream security circle in Nigeria. One of the disadvantages of the writer's research positionality that affects him was that, few of the respondents, especially the civil servants working at the PAP office in Abuja initially felt reluctant to respond to the questionnaires in his presence. Some thought their response could be used against them when they say something negative against the government. On an objective note, the researcher had no direct relationship with the respondents and research participants other than the relationship that was established for the purpose of this research alone. No member of his family or his siblings participated in the research, either as respondents to the questionnaires not the interviews. The only possible relationship is the service relationship, and that applies only to those that are working for Governments. Nevertheless, that does not in any way influence the outcome of any of the components of the research, including the research findings. Because the tenets of research ethics have been followed in consistence with the ethical clearance given to the researcher by the London metropolitan University in 2017.

3.3.   Sampling Strategy

In every factful research process, selecting a sample of respondents is an essential element. Target respondents needs to be decided and identified to be able to make the outcome consistent with the research intents. It is a common practice for researchers to have a target population in mind before embarking on data collection. The target population are normally people with the features of the sample one intends to study. Positive researchers ensure that their research is representative, it should have characteristics of the target population. The people who are targets of social research are tagged 'respondents. A renown publication by the Revise Sociology,

which was authored by (Thompson, 2017), asserts that there are five sampling methods used in Sociology and related research areas. Which are as follows: Random, Systematic, Multistage, Quota Sampling and Stratified sampling.

The Random Sampling refers to a variety of selection techniques where by members are selected by chance, but each member has equal chance of getting selected. Random Sampling is commonly used to conduct research in agriculture, businesses and social sciences (Battaglia et al, (2008). In another assertion, is a process of selecting a certain segment of the population for data collection. Subjects in the population are sampled using random process, using either a random number table or a random number generator. The process could enable everyone to have equal probability of getting selected for the sample (Frerichs, 2008). Major advantage of this method is that it allows the researcher to cover wider population if conducted with strict compliance with codes and formulas of probability. Major drawback of the method is the potential to miss out a particular group of segments of the population sample if not conducted properly.

Systematic Sampling is a form of data collection strategy that is often used when conducting quantitative or numerical-related research. It is a process whereby the 10th person is selected within the list or on a register of the data collection subjects. It is also a method that computer systems could use to automatically generate samples. One of the major advantages of this system is that it enables the researcher to easily use automated systems to generate samples. Systematic system, if designed using artificial intelligence, which is a form of technology being used in the 21st century, could be an effective mechanism to generate multiple samples in a larger database, or combination of multiple databases that are stored either on a standalone system or in the cloud. The sampling is simple to use and avoid most of the human errors when computers are used to generate the samples. It also has its disadvantages, because the process requires a close approximation of the population. It creates a fractional chance of selection. Although another accretion about this sample says Systematic sampling is a type of probability sampling that takes members for a larger population from a random starting point, there is a so a potential risk of data manipulation. It could also potentially interact with hidden periodic traits, and the systematic sampling is less random than a simple random sampling effort (Gaille, 2020). Additionally, one of the major drawbacks of systematic sampling is the possibility of misrepresentation of some data sets, subsets and other segments of the population or given data sets, depending on how the list is organised (Thompson, 2017). Therefore, this research did not explicitly use the systematic sampling in the course of data collection. But some aspects of quantitative applications were used in generating tables and analysing the raw data collected. Microsoft excel was used to process the pivot table for this research.

Multistage Sampling is another sampling strategy whereby the researcher selects a sample by using combinations of different sampling methods. For example, in Stage 1, a researcher might use systematic sampling, and in Stage 2, he might use random sampling to select a subset for the final sample etc (Thompson, 2017).

Additionally, **"Multi-stage sampling (also known as multi-stage cluster sampling) is a more complex form of cluster sampling which contains two or more stages in sample selection. In simple terms, in multi-stage sampling large clusters of population are divided into smaller**

clusters in several stages in order to make primary data collection more manageable" (BRM, 2020).

One of the main advantages of this sampling method is the potential to give the researcher a wider options and perspectives. Like previous example of using different sampling methods for each stage of research, multi stage sampling uses small segments of sampling on each stage of the sampling and research processes. Other advantages are simplification, flexibility. The drawback about this type of sampling is that is arbitrariness and loss data because it cuts out percentage of the population from the study, the study's findings could hardly be 100 percent representative of the target population (Classroom, 2020). Therefore, relevance of multi stage sampling technique to research is one of the justifications for putting it in this section for knowledge sharing and information to potential readers of this research work.

Quota Sampling is a sampling method that is non-probability form of sampling. Nonprobability sampling is often divided into three categories: purposive sampling, convenience sampling, and quota sampling (Battaglia et al, 2008). It is a sample that allows a researcher to pick someone that represent a particular group or a population. Furthermore, in this method, researchers will be told to ensure the sample fits with certain quotas, for example they might be told to find 90 participants, with 30 of them being unemployed. The researcher might then find these 30 by going to a job center. It is a form of quota system sampling method. (Thompson, 2017). Advantage of this sampling strategy is that it is straightforward, simple and does not require complex processes of designing either a sampling frame or mixture of different sampling methods. The drawback of this sampling is that if there are other factors related to the research like budget, cost considerations of limited access to baseline data there could be some form of sampling prejudice from the researcher. It is the researcher's view that there could be possible issue with generalizability of the samples. Furthermore, a sample should be big enough to answer the research question, but not so big that the process of sampling becomes uneconomical to the research. Since Reducing sampling error is the major goal of any selection technique, in quota sampling degree of generalizability is questionable (Hawaii, 2020). Nevertheless, since the quota sampling is a non-probable sampling, there is minimal chance of making too much errors.

Stratified sampling is a process that allows dividing the entire population into homogeneous groups called strata. The strata are formed based on members' shared attributes or characteristics such as income or educational attainment. This is not specifically a simple random sampling technique as people often confuse it for that. It is a technique that allows researchers to obtain sample population that represent the whole population. Stratified sampling is used when the population is mixed and contains numerous groups, some of which are associated with the research theme (Hayes, 2019). For example, the nature of this research best fits to stratified sampling. Furthermore, this method attempts to make the sample as representative as possible, avoiding the problems that could be caused by using a completely random sample. To achieve that, the sample frame will be divided into sub groups, such as educational background, social class, age, gender or ethnicity etc. Entities are drawn at random from these sets. For example, if you are perceiving teachers and you split the sample frame into ethnic groups you would draw 8% of the participants from the Asian group, as you know that 8% of doctors in Britain are Asian etc (Thompson, 2017). Such a process makes the sampling as accurate as possible with near perfect in terms of representation, devoid of issues often seen when random selection is used.

There are a lot of advantages of using this type of sampling. First it ensures high form of representation of all the strata of the target segment and the population. It also allows possibility of high degree of accuracy than most of the other sampling techniques. If the variables are correlated with survey estimates the estimates will benefit from improved precision (Lynn, 2019). This sampling gives accurate reflection of population studied. This sampling technique is the right one that suits this research. As such, it was used. The justification is that, there is need for a technique that has highest chance of accuracy and lowest possibility for error. Additionally, the nature of the research requires this type of technique. Because there are various sets and subsets in the sample frame, which adequately represent the population. There are two main sets, which are the Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram Insurgents. Out of which there are sample that work for government and the sample that do not work for the government in each subset. There are military and non-military in the target population. Furthermore, there are men and women too. There is gender, age, type of counterradicalisation intervention enrolled, employment status and official schedule. There is also a set for type of factors that stimulates both Militancy and Boko Haram. Such complex mix require stratified sampling to be able to capture equitable representation of the population.

The sampling technique used in this research gave the writer flexibility to play around the row data and accurately explore it into the pivot table. The data was then used to draw some of the reports and tables presented in the findings chapter of this research. Although exploring the results of the samples was tedious due to the volume of the data, but the frame was straightforward when the responses are automated accurately in the pivot table. Major disadvantage of this technique is it is tedious, time consuming and very painstaking. If the researcher is not very careful a lot of data could be misrepresented when the frame is not properly structured or when the population sample is misplaced. The research benefitted a lot by using this sampling technique because there is adequate representation with accurate responses from the sample of the population. The researcher also benefitted from this technique because other techniques were studied before identifying that the stratified sampling could be more relevant and useful to this type of research, thus the justification in choosing it ahead of other sampling techniques.

3.4.   Data Coding

In qualitative research, coding is the process of labelling and organizing qualitative data to identify different themes and relationships between them. Coding qualitative research to find common themes is part of thematic analysis that is part of qualitative data analysis, which are further categorized into five: Content Analysis, Discourse Analysis, Framework Analysis, Narrative Analysis and the Grounded Theory (Medelyn, 2019). As with many other researches of this nature, coding methodology is essential elements of interpreting data for easy analysis. The common way of summarizing the data is to code it. Data coding in this research involves mainly the use of software application. The application used to process this research's data is Microsoft office application, Excel, (spreadsheets). It was the application used to design the data collection table. Raw data was imputed and transferred from the data collection instruments. Initially, the data collected were in two forms, the questionnaires responses and the interview excerpts on paper and on voice multimedia form, mp3 format. Both of which had to be converted into a summarized content and later added into the excel spreadsheets that were categorized into rows and columns with various headings, numerical names and codes. The data coded

on excel sheets contain serial numbers, titles of respondents, age ranges, types of government official, for the Militants and Boko haram members or ex/repentant ones, there was a provision for a column that explained type of counterradicalisation intervention enrolled. There are also codes for columns and rows that explains factors that the respondents think stimulates both Militancy and Boko Haram in Nigeria. It was sequence of codes that enables the researcher to select combination of data sets to extract specific numerical values and results, which are later translated into graphs and charts accordingly.

It is essential to code data so as to enable it have meaning to readers and users of this research work. It makes it easier for them to understand and interpret the outcome of the research. There are two types of coding the qualitative data. But in a way, this research used combination of the two processes. That is manual and automated coding. There are various software applications available to fully automate the coding. In this research, manual coding of the data collected was made. Because data was imputed into the software application, each entry or update automatically add up to existing data earlier imputed. The process of data entry was manual while the processing of the data was automated. The graphs were generated automatically using the imputed data. The charts and all other chart elements were configured manually for the system to generate the color schemes and type of tables to choose from. Overall, no form of data collection and results were generated using the software application. The data was collected manually by the researcher using questionnaire and interviews. Some of the questionnaire responses were sent back electronically, but all the contents were gotten from human, not using any machine or artificial intelligence mechanism. The data was strictly obtained in compliance with the ethics approval given to the researcher in December 2017. Therefore, the data coding was simply to aid the processing of the raw data obtained from respondents into a meaningful information that could easily be readable and understandable to the readers and users of this research.

3.5.   Target Respondents

The targets were to have 200 respondents from key stakeholders including from Ex-Niger Delta Militants and Ex-Boko Haram members. Additionally, other focuses were government officials at the Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs, Office of Special Adviser on Niger Delta Affairs, who is also the Coordinator of PAP and the Nigerian Military handling OSC. Others were victims of radicalisation around Niger Delta and Northeast, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and other stakeholders. With regards to methodologies; this research uses mixed methods in this qualitative research, as it was supported by assertions from various scholars that explains research thus:

Research is a methodical quest for information and new knowledge. There "is 'basic' and 'applied' research" (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006, p.2). Generally, methodology is the "study of methods" (Diderot, 1997), it consists of instruments, interpretations, analysis as well as recommendations in a research (RM1, 2014). Methodology process involves measurement, interpretation, analysis and recommendations (KLU, 2014). There are quantitative, qualitative and mixed research methods.

Quantitative research is a method of investigation means of assessment involving the use of numbers. Methods range from basic descriptive statistics to inferential statistics. There are four types of statistical data, nominal, ordinal, interval scale data and ratio data. There is also Univariate, Bivariate and Multivariate research. It is

more concerned with questions like: how often? How much? How many? To what extent? Etc (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006). Quantitative research deals in numbers, logic, and an objective stance. It focuses on numbered and unchanging data and detailed, convergent reasoning rather than divergent reasoning, such as generation of a variety of ideas about a research problem in an instinctive, free-flowing mode. The cardinal aim of a quantitative enquiry is to categories features, count them, and construct statistical models in an attempt to justify what is observed (USC, 2016).

Qualitative method takes the center stage in social research. Researchers of social science give greater significance and priority to quantitative research than other forms of research. In Qualitative Research, there are various methods for conducting it. Case studies, grounded theory, ethnography, content analysis, and phenomenological (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001) as cited by (Williams, 2007). There are a lot of advantages of using quantitative methods in social science research (Hammersley, 2000; Shaw, 2003a; Green & Thorogood, 2004). It is the argument that qualitative methods reach the parts that other research methods can't reach particularly in research looking at links between processes and outcomes (Moriarty, 2011).

3.6.   Chosen Methods

Considering the nature of this research, methods used are mixed methods; using both qualitative and quantitative methods, this method supported that (Creswell, 2006). This form of research methodology focuses on the philosophical assumptions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The view of others about mixed methods emphasized the techniques or methods of collecting and analyzing data (Creswell, Plano Clark, et al., 2003; Greene, Caraceli, & Graham, 1989; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003).

To call mixed methods research a 'method' is clean and concise and resonates with many researchers (Elliot, 2005). There are a lot of processes and procedures in ensuring that a mixed method is applied to its fullest potential by the researcher. It was asserted that mixed methods consist of stages, it starts with developing and understanding of mixed methods, then examine preliminary considerations; through identifying worldwide view stance, review the basics of quantitative and qualitative research, identify a research problem or series of problems and determine whether it fits with mixed methods approach (Cresswell, 2006). The next step is to locate published mixed methods and review how they are organized. Choose the type of mixed method design to use, design and introduction or statement of the problem, collect data within the mixed method design, analyse and validate the data, write and evaluate the study, anticipate mixed method questions and make input into the mixed method literature.

Primarily, a qualitative method would take a higher proportion of the research than the quantitative, thus mixed methods are adopted. It was illustrated that a table on four alternative combinations of knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry and methods table, the contents under mixed methods shows that research approach is method, knowledge claims uses pragmatic assumptions, methods uses consists of closed-end measures and open-ended observations (Cresswell, 2003).

3.7.   Primary Data

3.7.1.   Interviews

Interview, when chosen as a method of data collection, plays an integral part of conducting qualitative research. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say (Kvale, 1996). Additionally, asking the right questions, the interviewer supported such an assertion, if acted in a smart and persuasive way, could benefit a lot from the respondent (McNamara, 1999) as cited by (Valenzuela & Shrivastava, 2003). Therefore, interviews are an essential part of primary data collection in this research.

The interviews would be face-to-face, via mobile phone and where applicable via electronic means with stakeholders such as through email or other social networking applications. Key stakeholders were the Nigerian Military, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), and the Department for State Securities (DSS). Others are the Office of National Security Adviser (ONSA), the Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs and some government officials from states mostly affected by Niger Delta Militancy or Boko Haram insurgency. Input of security agencies is important to the research. There are also deradicalised militants that were accessed via their social network profiles. Some could be reached through the Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs. Nigerian Military Joint Task Force (MJTF) is also in custody of some suspects. Coordinators of PAP and OSC were top amongst the key information providers regarding both militants and Boko Haram members.

3.7.2   Questionnaire

Questionnaire is an integral part of almost every successful social science research. It serves as a means of getting first-hand, primary information from respondents on a given research topic. A good questionnaire that asks the right people the right question helps in getting a valid response, which would be of significance to the research outcome. Standard questionnaire is developed based on statements, journal reviews, publications, books and information gathered through literature. A questionnaire is standardized when each respondent is exposed to the same questions and the same system of coding responses (Siniscalco & Auriat, 2005). A well-structured questionnaire is designed to allow valid data to be collected from a large number of people in the same manner, to enable the data to be analysed quantitatively and systematically (Leung, 2001). The questionnaire for this research contains open ended and closed ended questions that were drawn to directly address the aim and each objective of the research.

3.8.   Secondary

i.   Review of personal experiences of academics, students and those with interest in radicalisation and deradicalisation in Nigeria. Review of other related materials at the library, online and through formal and informal discussions. Other sources include the online resources like JSTOR, EMERALD, and SAGE Journals etc. Such resources provide helpful contents that add significant value to the research. Experiences obtained by the researcher towards the course of the investigation and compilation of this thesis is also integrated to enable a wider perspective. Additionally, attending local, national and international seminars, events, workshops, conferences and other meetings at different policy related organizations that have interests on radicalisation, deradicalisation, public safety and security added value to the thesis. Furthermore, visit to some stakeholders that have been affected by insurgency also aided secondary data collection.

3.9 Justifications for Choosing the Methods

The researcher chose the mixed methods because of the nature and complexity of the research aims. The thesis is built around key words like radicalisation, deradicalisation, Insurgency, Militancy and Boko Haram etc**.** By implication, assessing key words using combined qualitative and quantitative methods is more realistic than quantitative methods alone. Thus, the justification for using a mixed method. Similarly, to assess what works and what doesn't in deradicalisation activities requires assessment of both the quantity and values of government interventions on deradicalisation in Nigeria, hence the need to use figures and other arithmetic methods in quantifying the numerical value. Additionally, there are a lot of advantages of using mixed methods, which include the ability to revisit qualitative information to get more detailed explanation about the quantitative data in a given research. It has been asserted that a major advantage of a mixed method research design is that during the project, a researcher can return to the qualitative data and reread quotes in context of the larger document (Malina, et al, 2010). Charts and tables are used, excel sheets were formulated and pivot tables developed to enable clear analytical assessment of data. Therefore, it is essential for this research to use mixed methods to enable effective utilization of each of the methods respectively. The whole idea was for the thesis to reach an acceptable standard.

Another justification for choosing the mixed method is because to achieve some of the aims and of the research there is the need to use both qualitative and quantitative methods. To achieve aim number three of this research, which is 'to design an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective 2 to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs', involves a combination of both technical and quantitative skills to achieve. Availability of materials that could aid conduct of mixed research method is one of the reasons for the choice. Furthermore, availability of this research's main supervisor, who has analytical and quantitative skills to guide the researcher, is also one of the reasons why mixed methods are considered. The main supervisor has enormous experience in developing web-integrated toolkits. Similarly, mentors and academics resources were available that provided the required input and guidance making the research meaningful and expressive.

As a result of the damage caused to the Niger Delta region by militants and loss of lives and properties in Northeastern Nigeria by Boko Haram and other radical groups, it has done a lot of damage to government and society. Therefore, the use of the mixed methods would provide a side-by-side perspective of what the results produced. It would be easier to deliver the results of this research when it is conducted using a mixed method. Public and private sector in Nigeria are expected to be interested in the outcome of this research. The latter often appreciates research that has elements of quantitative output; figures, charts; numbers and graphs. The excel sheet used to develop pivot tables could be essential to any stakeholder that may want to use the research findings for further analysis.

3.10. Originality of the Thesis Topic and Subject Element of the Research

Although there is assertion that thesis is not original, since they rely on other research conducted by other people, they are no longer truly original (Sephardic, 2016). But for research to satisfy doctoral standards, institutional regulations require it to be original and significant (Cryer, 2016). A PhD or any doctoral level research or dissertation is supposed to make a significant and original contribution to knowledge (Whisperer, 2010). A doctoral level researcher is expected to always know what one has to do to ensure the concept of

originality and significant contribution is maintained throughout the research. This thesis topic is original because during preliminary investigation and review of existing literature before choosing the topic, the researcher could not find any topic with similar title. There have been related researches on radicalisation and counterradicalisation but there was no evidence that any other research that has exactly the same title and attributes exist.

The researcher made consultations with other academics that did some work related to the area as well as other ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) in Nigeria at state and federal level, which include Dr. Mustapha Bintube, an academic authority in the field of insurgency, his latest write-up 'Classical Social Tripodal Insurgency Model: Boko Haram at Glance (2015) is one of several articles that explored insurgency, also exposed many of their secrets. The researcher also reviewed an interview by Barkindo Atta Athanasius, an academic Doctor at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and the Kukah Centre. His PhD as well as research interests include Nigeria insurgencies, radicalisation and counter-terrorism. His PhD thesis titled 'History, memory and Resistance in Northern Nigeria: The Transformation of Boko Haram since 1995'. It explores interesting insights into how the insurgency transformed from Radicals to Extremists to Terrorists (Barkindo, 2013).

Furthermore, the researcher had series of contacts and informal group discussions in Nigeria with three professors from Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, all were heads of their respective departments: Professor Nasir Musa Yauri (Management Sciences); Professor Muhammad Kuna (Sociology); and Professor Ogundiya (Political Science). Another point that supports the originality of this research is that it is not an appraisal of any previous research; rather, previous research only became tools for literature review. The earlier mentioned researches were only reviewed to serve as an inspiration. Specifically, Dr. Bintube contributes a lot with guidance and ideas during telephone interviews with the researcher, as well as via email before choosing this research topic. The researcher also had several telephone conversations with high-level former/retired security agents on the topic and they provided words of advice and encouragement on the originality of the topic. There was also informal contact with key players in the security circle specifically high-ranking officers of the Nigeria Police Force, and they confirmed that they had not been approached for input with any research that has similar title. The researcher finally perused reports, performance reviews and press releases by top United Nations agencies, Amnesty program in Nigeria, Nigeria military and other Independent security organizations for additional resource finding.

3.11.   Steps in the Research Activities

For a research to be successful it must have a proper and achievable plan, often referred to as an instrumental plan, which serve as a road map. It has been asserted that the instrumentation plan serves as the road map for the study, specifying who will participate in the study; how, when, and where data will be collected; and the content of the program (Blankenship, 2010). In this research, it has already reached some milestones since some of the steps that ought to have been followed had already been passed through. Normally, doctoral level researches need to have a very clear and achievable timeframe, but aligning the timeframe with activity is important. Because a timeframe without the right activity aligned to it could hinder achievement of the thesis within the agreed academic timeframe.

There are no universally acceptable steps in research activities but there are different viewpoints to it. Most of the steps mentioned have similarities. Some writers use different words to explain similar points and activities.

It was argued that the steps are deciding on the title/topic of research, and then consider the thesis outline (Narasimhan, 2016). Outline here means the contents in the thesis, such as how and what should be on each chapter. Another assertion pointed that the first step is to identify your topic, then do preliminary research on information, locate materials, evaluate sources, make notes, write the paper (thesis), sight sources properly and proofread the thesis (NHCC, (2016). Additionally, 14 steps are outlined as follows: choose a problem, review the literature, evaluate the literature, be aware of all ethical issues, be aware of all cultural issues, state the research question or hypothesis and select the research approach. Then, determine how the variables are going to be measured, select a sample then select a data collection method. Afterwards, collect and code the data, analyse and interpret the data, write the report and disseminate the report (UML, 2016).

For this research, the steps are; determine the problem, agree on the research question, decide on the research topic and conduct preliminary research to find the right information useful for successful conduct of the research. Subsequently, decide on the materials to use, review and evaluate the sources; books, journals, articles and other publications both online and offline. Also, by notes taking and documenting research portfolios as the research develops, keep track of current trends about the topic including on television and satellite-based news. Furthermore, peruse newspaper and magazines' publications related to the topic (both local, national and international). Another avenue is by following updates about the happenings in Niger Delta and Northeastern region of Nigeria especially how Nigeria military Joint Task Force (JTF) is fighting Insurgents and militants. Further steps are by monitoring other happenings like regular reports by international organizations that are working side-by-side with the JTF. Agencies such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Projects (UNDP), The Red Cross, Medicine San Frontier and civilian joint task force etc.

The researcher also monitors news and trends of activities and propaganda by Niger Delta insurgents and Boko Haram, which are usually on YouTube and other social media platforms. The researcher gathers and harmonizes the primary data using interviews and questionnaires, reading, evaluating and making notes of lessons learned. Additionally, compiled results; interpret the results both in quantitative and qualitative forms. Finally, summarized findings, identified whether all the research questions are answered and all the objectives are covered. The researcher also identified new discoveries or contributions to the existing knowledge in the field. Before compiling the thesis, it was verified to ensure it satisfied London Metropolitan University's requirements. At the latter stage, it was checked for possible errors of missing references to avoid any form of suspected plagiarism. The researcher ensured all the university's standard guidelines in writing thesis have been followed; liaise constantly with the supervisors, proofread it thoroughly before final submission.

3.12.   Ethical Issues Regarding Sources and/Author's Safety in Research

When the word ethics is mentioned, people normally think of rules that distinguishes right and wrong. Ethics was defined by Dr David as "norms for conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behavior" (Resnic, 2015). Although the definition is debatable, because it is difficult to generalize what is acceptable or not. Different societies, cultures and religious have varying ethics. What is acceptable to a Muslim does not necessarily make it acceptable to a Christian or a Jew. Furthermore, even what others eat or drink could be debatable to others. Some societies eat pork, while others don't. Some eat Horse and Cow meat while others don't. in Northern parts of Nigeria, it is unethical for s Muslim Woman to dress without Hijab, but same Muslim Woman could dress in a different way while residing in the South without breaking ethical

codes etc. In other assertions, ethics is a theoretical discipline, a moral philosophy (Shaw, et al 2014). Ethics and ethical considerations are part of human regulations that drives conduct of individuals or groups, be it in traditional settings or formal institutions including the academia. Ethics could be written or unwritten. Ethical research conduct assures trust and guides in protecting the rights of individuals and communities involved in conduct of investigations. Ethics, in the words of Beauchamp and Childress (1994: 4) is 'a generic term for various ways of understanding and examining the moral life' (Israel & Hay, 2011). In this research, majority of respondents are Nigerians.

Although most of them came from different backgrounds, the ethical consideration regarding this research's requirements applies to all. The tenets of asking questions as per interview protocol is adhered to accordingly. The questionnaire is a straightforward one that does not contain any discriminatory or demeaning contents that could constitute breach of approved ethics guide. The researcher complies with the requirements throughout data collection processes. The fact that detainees were interviewed in the course of this research does not make the researcher breach any interview protocol. The interviewees were properly contacted via the host agencies like the Nigeria Prison Service (now Nigeria Correction Service) as well as those contacted via other security agencies like the Nigeria Police and the Department for State Security. The questionnaires sent out to various security agencies and the former/ex militants were all sent to them in compliance with the agreed protocol approved by the ethics committee, copy of which is attached as an appendix to this research.

It is important to note that London Metropolitan University has ethical guidelines for research students. Before primary data collection students are expected to obtain ethics clearance first. It has been asserted that ethical issues are normally the writer's consideration of what is right and wrong; what is acceptable and not acceptable in conduct of research activities and other academic endeavors. Additionally, a researcher should always employ good behavior throughout the research process and period. To achieve that, this research adopts research ethics and is obliged with Social Research Association SRA's code of practice for the safety of social researchers (SRA, 2003). Therefore, on ethics, consideration was given on discussing intellectual properties frankly, consciousness in multiple roles, followed informed consensus rules, respect confidentiality and privacy and discussed limits of confidentiality. The researcher knows federal and state laws, takes practical security measures, understands the limits of the Internet and taps into ethical resources (Smith, 2003). Furthermore, the ethics could be viewed two ways, academic related ethics and field related ethics. Both must be considered at the field of primary data collection from government agencies, individual and corporate (private enterprises) privacies. The target was to ensure that the writer referenced well, accurately and in full, also complied with all ethical issues and considerations. All sources fully reference and credit given to all materials that are obtained from both primary and secondary sources.

The research ethical approval granted to the researcher clearly indicated that There are six key sentences that contains the scope of the approval regarding compliance with research ethics as follows: "There is considerable detail on the potential of this research. The researcher has also acquitted himself with reference to the potential to risk. A full detailed consideration of the ethical implications of the research is provided. There is reference to the appropriate collection and dissemination of sensitive material. There is also discussion concerning confidentiality and data storage. Questionnaires are provided and provisions of consent are indicated"-Ethics Approval, (2017)

The research also took into consideration the religious and cultural ethics around various states within the Niger Delta region and Northeastern Nigeria, which are affected by Insurgencies. There is a mixture of Islam and Christianity religions around the communities especially Rivers, Delta and Cross Rivers that are predominantly Christians. Borno, Bauchi and Gombe that are predominantly Muslim States. There are some states with a mixture of Christians and Muslims like Adamawa and Taraba States. Consideration was also given to ethical standards applicable within the local communities and villages, which are usually headed by traditional rulers that often practice ancient and colonial methods of leadership and public administration. There are also fatalities of those killed or injured as a result of insurgents' attacks, which suffer emotional and psychological pains and injuries. Ethically, one would not just approach such people without considering the fact that if they are Muslims; one is not allowed to stop mourning the dead until after a certain amount of days. For widows, they spend about 130 days without coming out of their houses when their husbands die, unless there are very important excuses such as health or medical issues.

On safety and security, the researcher always considers protection of lives as a top priority. His personal security is paramount; as such, consideration was given on clarifying responsibilities, budgeting for safety, planning for safety in research design. He considered risk assessment, preparing for fieldwork, setting up fieldwork, interview precautions and maintaining contact. The researcher was also cautious in conduct of interviews, strategies for handling risk situations, safety of respondents, debriefing and support after the events. It is important to stick with the required code of ethics for the safety of social researchers, which is a publication by Social Research Association (SRA). It is a professional body of social researchers founded in 1978, registered in England and Wales, with presence in Scotland and Northern Ireland (RSA, 2003). Adherence to ethical guidelines is what makes a research valid. It adds value to it, which often results into a wider acceptability and recognition. Not only in the academia, but across various stakeholders as well. This research, to the best of the researcher's ability followed due processes including adoption and compliance with the research ethics and its related provisions.

3.13.   Summary

This chapter discussed methods used in data collection Background about the methodology was given; the researcher then discussed rationale for the thesis where justification was made about the main theme of the thesis. Aim and objectives of the research were also highlighted, the relationship of this investigation to previous work in the area has also been discussed, and it demonstrated a justified relationship to previous work in the area. Methodology: methodological approaches used; mixed methods; qualitative and quantitative, it has been elaborated on why mixed methods were chosen as the methodology for the research. Also, reasons for choosing the methods were justified. Additionally, originality of the chosen thesis topic or subject element of the project was explained with examples. Furthermore, proposed sequences or steps in the research of activities as well as the chapters of the thesis were highlighted. The researcher also explained ethical issues regarding sources and/or the author safety in research, he cited examples quoting provisions and ethical guidelines provided by (SRA, 2003). Several other points were made citing academic sources. The next chapter will elaborate on findings of this thesis.

Chapter 4

Findings

4.1   Introduction

The data collected and major findings will be discussed in this chapter. The findings summarize the outcome analysis of the data collected during interviews and via questionnaires. It is important to note that the researcher started early preparations towards data collection, which commenced during the early phase of the project. That helped the researcher to establishment the required network, especially with government agencies regarding data collection. It was not in informal form to know how the agencies operate and the procedures involved before a researcher in permitted to collect relevant data from the institution.

Additionally, the actual data collection commenced after ethics approval, which was granted in December 2017. The substantial data collection took seven months to complete. Summary of figures will be highlighted in the data collection section of this chapter. Furthermore, research findings are presented according to each research objective. In the analysis within the findings, discussions will also be made on how the questions asked in the questionnaire and during interviews directly addressed research aim and objectives.

Moreover, the chapter also contains data, analysis and discussions on findings that addressed second objective of this research. This section will explain results of evaluation of effectiveness of the two counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria, which are PAP offered to Niger Delta militants and OSC offered to Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. The section also analyses results compiled from responses gotten from interviews, questionnaires and other secondary sources. In each segment, analysis will be made that will highlight how the second research objective was achieved. At the end of the section, a summary of what had been discussed will be made.

This research has three objectives. In this chapter, the researcher will first discuss findings related to first objective, which is 'to determine and critically analyse the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria'. That was obtained as a result of methodology deployed, which has been discussed in chapter three. It consists of the interview protocol that was designed, questions were logically arranged to enable capturing valid responses from respondents. Similarly, questionnaire was also designed with both multiple-choice questions and open-ended questions to enable adequate primary data collection.

In summary, eight questions were asked in the interview protocol, which directly and indirectly provide relevant information to address the first objective. On the questionnaire, two questions that contain eight multiple choice options and one open ended question were asked with the aim of collecting relevant information from respondents.

4.2   Data Collection

After getting ethics approval in December 2017, the researcher mobilized towards data collection. Since the data was collected via several methods, after conventional methods, electronic, email, telephone and WhatsApp (audio and call). There were also conference calls and other virtual and electronic means used. The researcher immediately reviewed the data collection instruments and made electronic copies of it in both Microsoft word (MS Word) and portable document formats (pdf) respectively. Approximately 500 copies were printed out of which the total of 300 were distributed to relevant stakeholders and responses obtained in various forms as mentioned above.

Initially, while the writer was waiting for ethics approval from the University, he already identified and listed organizations, groups and individuals that could provide useful response to data collection instruments. Their responses were aimed at obtaining appropriate data and information that would address the aim and objectives of the research. Key amongst the organizations are the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), the Department of State Security (DSS), Office of the Chief of Defence Staff, that oversees the Nigeria Defence forces, which includes the Nigerian Army, the Nigerian Navy and the Nigerian Air Force. Others are the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs, Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Niger Delta Affairs, who oversees the PAP, Office of the National Security Adviser, and office of the Comptroller General of the Nigeria Prison Services. Other important stakeholders like members of private security organizations were also identified and contacted.

Some of the useful dignitaries that have vast experience also held top-level security positions in Nigeria include a retired Inspector General of Police, Retired Deputy Inspector General of Police and some retired military officers under the umbrella of the Nigerian Legion were also approached. Others were key serving government officials under the PAP and the Niger Delta Ministry that do not want their names and portfolios to be mentioned. The researcher also identified some former militants that agreed to participate in the research. Though, he did not send formal letters to majority of government officials because they preferred to respond to the questionnaires anonymously. Same strategy was applied to other public office holders that granted interviews but declined to have their voices to be recorded on any multimedia. The researcher resorted to taking down notes, summarising the key excerpts of the interviews. From January 24 2018 to March 19 2018 the researcher distributed 200 questionnaires. He also distributed additional 100 afterwards. As at March 31 2018, he received 209 responses. He additionally conducted 25 individual interviews and 3 focus group interviews. That makes the total of 28 interviews. Overall, 237 total responses were obtained from questionnaires and interviews.

The researcher provided an email address for respondents to keep in touch should they need to participate further on the research. As a result of that, 66 people responded with additional comments and 23 people sent him direct messages with their emails requesting for additional documents such as interview protocol and questionnaire to them to make further input. Note that the questionnaire used for this research has 57 multiple-choice options, which if multiplied by number of respondents could give about 11,913 outputs. When response from interviews was added, which has questions in the interview protocol that both directly and indirectly address what was contained on questionnaire, plus the number of responses gathered. The results analysed generated data about adequate sample of the population, which was based on stratified sampling strategy.

After submitting research instruments and contacting the interested respondents, from 24 January to 31 March 2018, the researcher had visited key stakeholders and relevant MDAs several times as a follow-up to initial letters that had been sent to them. The only exception was ONSA, which received the letter at a later date due to procedures involved before they accept documents from researchers. Sample of letter is on the appendix section of this thesis. Due to nature of how Nigerian security agencies and several other MDAs schedule follow-ups, which are normally called 'visiting days'; research follow-ups are only allowed on Tuesdays and Thursdays. It was not surprising because most Nigerian government agencies and their chief executives allocate Tuesdays and Thursdays for the public to follow-up any forgoing and outstanding issues with their MDAs. Nevertheless, primary data was obtained albeit after intensive follow-ups. Subsequent sections explain how the research findings and results addressed the three objectives of this research accordingly. To further elaborate more on the chapter, there are additional tables from table 4.1 to table 4.23, which show age-gender key responses on effectiveness of PAP and OSC respectively and, tables that show causes of militancy and Boko haram insurgency in the Niger Delta region and Northeastern Nigeria respectively. The tables explored and presented responses based on age and gender on various components of responses gotten from the stratified sampled population.

4.3   Stimulants for Radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria.

4.3.1 Multi-Stakeholder Evidence of what stimulates Radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria

The first evidence is derived from the outcome of responses gotten via questionnaires interviews. Graphic illustrations are shown on 4.1 below and an explanation on the graphs was subsequently followed.

Figure 4.1: Multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of Amnesty Program
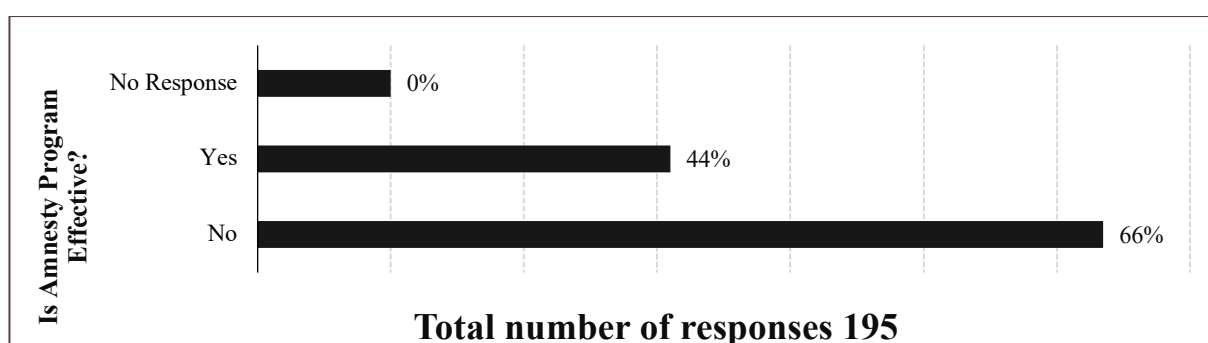
The figure 4.1 above shows number of responses that indicated out of 195 total responses 135 respondents representing almost 70% believes PAP is ineffective compared to 60 respondents representing about 44% only. By that finding, it is fair to say PAP is ineffective. One of the beneficiaries of the PAP interviewed shows mixed feelings about the program because it started well but ended in disarray, at least to his personal experience, he says "I was on full sponsorship to study abroad (in the UK), I was receiving regular support up until my final year when the Government stops sending me money. I am now struggling to survive, *Mba*", (*'Mba' is an Igbo Language slangs, commonly used by Nigerians, which translates to "No Way"*. He further added, **"**I can't see why other people that did not embrace amnesty would trust the system again" (Male, Ex-

Niger Delta Militant sponsored to study abroad by the PAP, (age withheld). Table 4.1 below provides more details about age-gender response on the effectiveness of PAP.

Table 4.1: Age-Gender Multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of Amnesty Program

Age (Years)	Female		Male	
	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)
19 -25	11.63	37.50	1.09	0.00
26 - 30	32.56	43.75	1.09	9.52
31 - 35	25.58	12.50	13.04	7.14
36 - 40	13.95	0.00	16.30	9.52
41 - 45	6.98	0.00	20.65	26.19
46 - 50	2.33	0.00	19.57	35.71
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	18.48	4.76
56 - 60	2.33	0.00	5.43	2.38
60+	4.65	6.25	4.35	4.76
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.1 above shows that there is a clear gendered difference in the perception of effectiveness of the PAP. Much younger females have indicated that the found the intervention effective while middle-age males seem to have found the intervention effective

Figure 4.2: Multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of Operation Safe Corridor
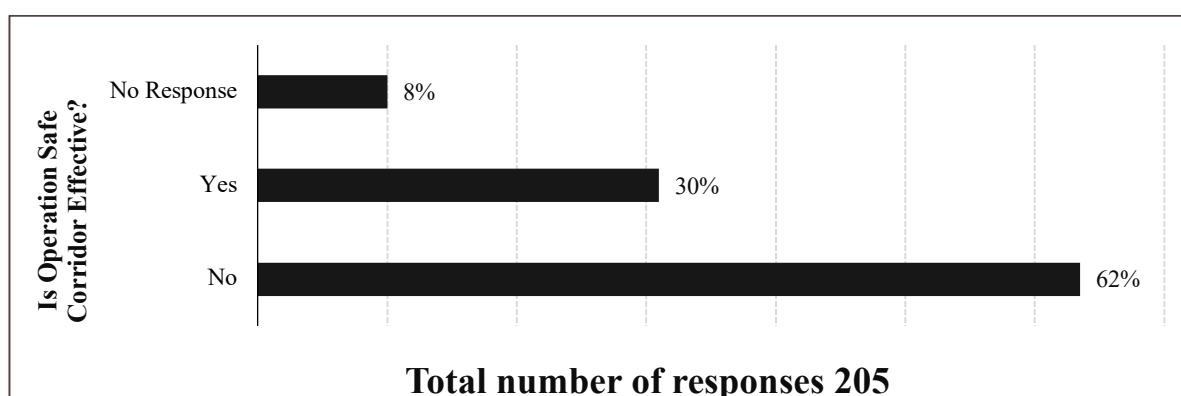
Response chart on figure 4.2 above represents an important component of this research. It was a closed question asked by the researcher to respondents with a view to get their specific answer on effectiveness of OSC. The question forms an integral part of this research. It directly provides a clue for both the researcher and reader to know what the main stakeholders think on effectiveness of OSC intervention introduced for Boko Haram members by the Nigerian Government. Out of about 300 research instruments' documents, which consist of questionnaire and interview, 205 responses were obtained on the question, out of which 127 people responded

'no', not effective to the question, which represents 62% of the respondents, while 62 said yes it was effective, which represents 30% of the respondents. The outcome means over 2/3 of respondents feel that the intervention was not effective. 16 (8%) respondents declined to respond to the question. Therefore, it is fair to say that, based on the multi-stakeholder judgements, that the Nigerian government's intervention is ineffective. As such, ineffectiveness may lead to failure. On that note, it corroborates the assertions that "Nigerian Government failed to address the root cause of the problem" (Abiede, 2017, p.4). Additional comments gotten from respondents also indicates that several other factors emanated them to consider the intervention as a failure. When asked whether OSC is effective or not and why, one of the interviewees asserts that "this government is not serious about why we are fighting this war. We waited for reinforcement of military in Gwoza town but there was nothing. We can't leave our homes and relocate to the bushes because of Boko Haram. We would stay here and die here". (Male respondent, via telephone, a soldier, age 47). Table 4.2 below provides data about age-gender response on effectiveness on OSC.

Table 4.2: Age-Gender Multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of Operation Safe Corridor

Age (Years)	Female		Male	
	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)
19 -25	13.89	36.84	1.10	0.00
26 - 30	30.56	47.37	2.20	4.65
31 - 35	27.78	5.26	10.99	9.30
36 - 40	13.89	0.00	17.58	4.65
41 - 45	5.56	5.26	19.78	27.91
46 - 50	2.78	0.00	18.68	41.86
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	17.58	6.98
56 - 60	0.00	5.26	5.49	0.00
60+	5.56	0.00	6.59	4.65
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.2 above shows that there is a clear gendered difference in the perception of effectiveness of the OSC. Majority of young females 19-25, 26-30 have indicated that the found the intervention effective while middle-age between 41-45 and 46-50 males are the highest proportion that have found the intervention is effective

Figure 4.3: Multi-Stakeholder Responses on effectiveness of both PAP and OSC

Total number of responses 283
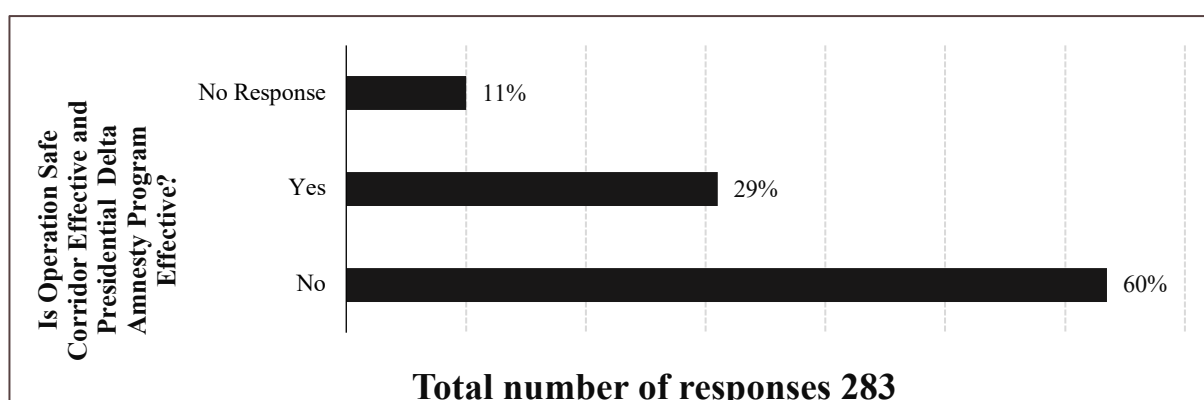
Additionally, to address first objective, the researcher asked series of questions that gathered related information about the two interventions. As a general assessment, the researcher asked respondents to respond to whether both PAP and OSC programs were effective or not. Out of 209 respondents, 135 said Niger Delta Amnesty program is not effective while 58 said it is effective, 16 declined to respond on that question. Similarly, out of 209 respondents, 127 said operation safe corridor is not effective while 62 said it is effective, 20 declined to respond on that question. Overall, about 60% felt the two interventions are not effective while 29% felt it was effective and 11% declined to respond.

Furthermore, out of the questions asked in the questionnaire, there were 57 multiple-choice questions. Majority of which asked about factors that made or didn't make the two interventions work. Breakdown of the responses shows that widespread corruption, poverty, unemployment and ignorance of religion were some of the top reasons why respondents believe it led to stimulation of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. 'Strongly agree' and 'very strongly agree' options dominated their choices. During one of the focus group interviews, three of the participants unanimously agreed that, "none of the interventions was working" (3 Male respondents, Abuja residents), while one of the respondent counters that "both have been effective, because there was a decline in the attacks by both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram Insurgents in 2016 and 2017". He even went on to call the rest of the respondents as being "unfair to the Government" (Male respondent, police officer, age 33).

Figure 4.4 Multi-stakeholder responses on unemployment as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.

Total number of responses 209
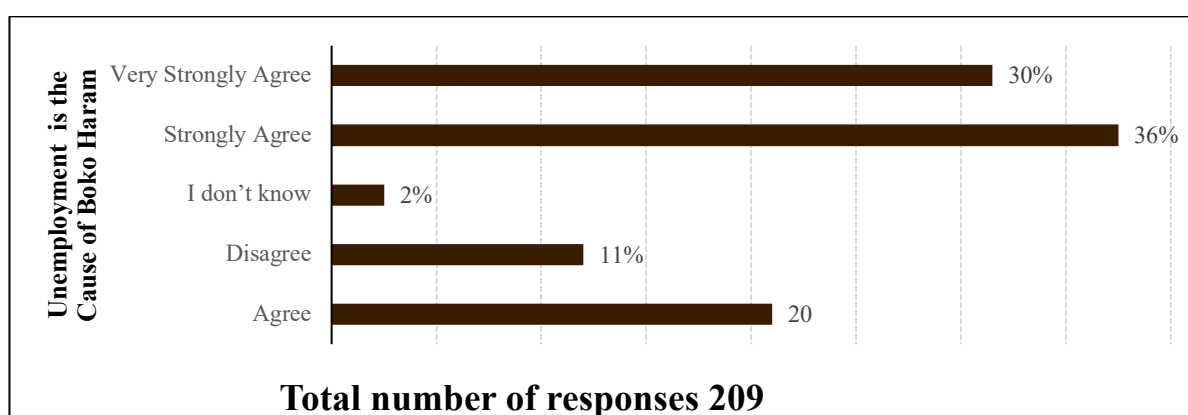
Figure 4.4 is a chart related to Boko Haram insurgency, it shows that out of 209 respondents, over 60% chose both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' that unemployment was a factor that stimulates Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Such findings corroborate contention by a vocal Nigerian scholar, Dr Usman Solomon Ayegba's assertion that unemployment remains more endemic with the worst case in Nigeria (Ayegba, 2015). Additionally, Muhammadu Buhari, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria said, unemployment is Nigeria's biggest threat after Boko Haram (Buhari, 2015). Consequently, the research findings corroborate popular narratives that unemployment is a major cause of not only insurgency but also several other problems distressing in Nigeria as a nation.

Likewise, the data on Niger Delta Militants, also asked similar questions. The results show similar but slightly divergent response on Boko Haram. But numbers of respondents that strongly agree are shorter than those on Boko Haram. Out of 209 respondents 41, 82 and 58 agree, strongly agree and very strongly agree respectively

that unemployment stimulates Militancy in the Niger Delta region. The combined total represents over 70% of respondents; they all agreed that unemployment is one of the major factors that stimulate Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. The findings were a vindication of literature assertion that unemployment has contributed significantly in militancy in Niger Delta region (Famuyibo, 2012). Another question was on insecurity as a factor that stimulates both militancy and insurgency in Nigeria. It has been asserted that Insecurity is indeed another factor because joblessness is very high among the youth of the Niger Delta (Nwogwugwu et al, 2012). Interestingly too, the number of respondents that disagree is almost 10% of total respondents, which means there are still people that remain positive that unemployment is not a factor that stimulates Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. That response was something quite unusual because the researcher could not access relevant literature that supports the claim that unemployment is not a factor that stimulates militancy in Niger Delta region in Nigeria. Moreover, the table 4.3 below, shows gender responses on unemployment as one of the causes of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.3: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on unemployment as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	41.67	37.50	0.00	4.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	41.67	25.00	0.00	47.62	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.26	1.96
31 - 35	8.33	37.50	100.00	19.05	16.67	6.67	100.00	25.00	1.85	5.88
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.52	33.33	0.00	0.00	25.00	9.26	29.41
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76	16.67	13.33	0.00	25.00	22.22	27.45
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76	0.00	56.67	0.00	0.00	22.22	21.57
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	1.96
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76	0.00	3.33	0.00	0.00	5.56	3.92
60+	8.33	0.00	0.00	4.76	8.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.41	7.84
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.3 above shows that there is a gendered difference in the perception of unemployment is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. More young females age ranging 19-25 and 26-30 have indicated that unemployment is one of the causes of Boko Haram than young their male counterparts of the same age ranges. 8.33% of female age ranged 60+ have agreed compared to male of the same age range, where 0.00% agree. Strangely, 8.33% and 7.84% of Female and male of the same age range (60+) agree and strongly agree respectively that unemployment is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.4: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on unemployment as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

| Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	8.33	30.00	0.00	18.18	23.53	3.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	41.67	20.00	0.00	50.00	23.53	3.45	0.00	16.67	3.33	4.88
31 - 35	33.33	30.00	0.00	13.64	23.53	24.14	40.00	16.67	1.67	4.88
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.09	23.53	0.00	0.00	33.33	16.67	21.95
41 - 45	0.00	20.00	0.00	4.55	0.00	10.34	10.00	16.67	26.67	24.39
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.55	0.00	34.48	20.00	0.00	26.67	26.83
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.69	10.00	16.67	13.33	7.32
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	10.00	0.00	5.00	2.44
60+	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.00	10.00	0.00	6.67	7.32
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.4 above shows that there is a gendered difference in the perception of unemployment is one of the causes of Niger Delta in Nigeria. More young females have indicated that unemployment is one of the causes of Boko Haram than young males. 41.67% and 33.33% of females against 3.45% and 24.14 age ranges of 26-30 and 31-35 respectively agreed that Unemployment is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy.

Figure 4.5 Multi-stakeholder Response on poverty as one of the causes of Boko Haram

Total number of responses 209
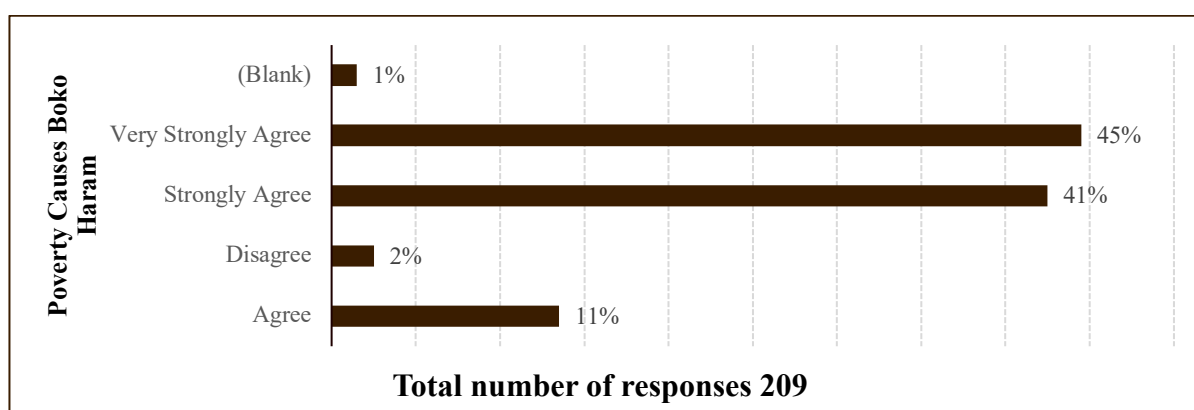
Another interesting finding as shown on chart on figure 4.5 (above) is that over 60% respondents believed that poverty is one of the stimulants of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, out of which about 41% 'very strongly agree' and 45% 'strongly agree' that poverty is a factor that stimulates Boko Haram. The statistics supports the assertion that Boko Haram insurgency is somewhat a symptom of poverty (Adenrele, 2012). In one of the responses gotten from one of the focus group interviews in Abuja, one of the respondents asserts that, "**in my neighbourhood, people keep dying mysteriously. A doctor confirmed to me that hunger and malnutrition were amongst the causes of death in Borno state, especially around the affected areas like Baga and**

Monguno towns" (Male, Borno Resident, aged 37 years). Therefore, the findings corroborate both the literature assertion and response from the interviews.

Additionally, ineffectiveness of poverty alleviation programs is one of the factors that caused and increased poverty in northern Nigeria, which serve as the foundation of the turbulence in all sectors of society including Boko Haram insurgency (Khan & Cheri, 2016). Despite series of intervention programs initiated by both state and Federal governments in Nigeria, the rate at which poverty spreads in Nigeria is worrying. An example is National Bureau of Statistics report (NBS, 2013), Oxford Poverty and Human Development Report (OPHDR, 2017) and (UNICEF, 2018) reports related to poverty of 36 states of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in 2013, 2017 and 2018, shows that most of the North-western states of "Sokoto State" (NBS, 2013, p.5) Kebbi State (UNICEF, 2017) and Zamfara State (Oxford/ OPHI, 2018) respectively have been one of the worse affected by poverty despite series of poverty alleviation interventions by the three states. Additionally, Nigeria has been ranked as one of the top countries that had people with extreme poverty in the World with over 85 million living in extreme poverty (WPC, 2017). In one of the responses gotten from the questionnaire, a furious respondent that wrote in Hausa language says "*a irin yanayin wannan talauchi komi zan iya yi don kada in mutu*", which translates into "with this kind of poverty I can do anything to survive" (Male respondent, repentant Boko Haram member, age declined).

Report by Brookings Institute on Nigeria's projection trajectory shows that Nigeria has overtaken India, thus became a country with the largest number of poor societies, with about 87 million as extremely poor people, and, Nigerians with extreme poverty increase by six people every minute (Brookings, 2018). This research finding corroborates that report because of increase in poverty in Nigeria, and the high percentage response that very strongly agree that poverty is one of the factors that stimulates Boko Haram in Nigeria, thus making OSC's impact relatively ineffective. A table of gender response is presented below, which shows multiple gender-based response to poverty as one of the causes of Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.5: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder response on poverty as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	50.00	25.00	50.00	4.17	0.00	2.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	35.71	12.50	0.00	58.33	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.70	4.65
31 - 35	7.14	62.50	50.00	8.33	33.33	7.14	63.64	20.00	6.52	2.33
36 - 40	7.14	0.00	0.00	12.50	16.67	2.38	9.09	0.00	13.04	30.23
41 – 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.17	16.67	9.52	0.00	40.00	21.74	34.88
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.17	0.00	33.33	9.09	20.00	41.30	11.63
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.10	9.09	0.00	4.35	0.00
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33	2.38	0.00	0.00	2.17	9.30
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33	8.33	4.76	9.09	20.00	2.17	6.98
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on table 4.5 above shows that females aged 19-25 and 26-30 are the majority age ranges that asserted that poverty is one of the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Their view corroborated by the male on the age ranges of and 46-50 and 51-55 respectively. Interestingly, the data shows 63.64% of the males age ranged 31-35 disagree. They responded that poverty is not one of the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Figure 4.6 Multi-stakeholder Response on poverty as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy
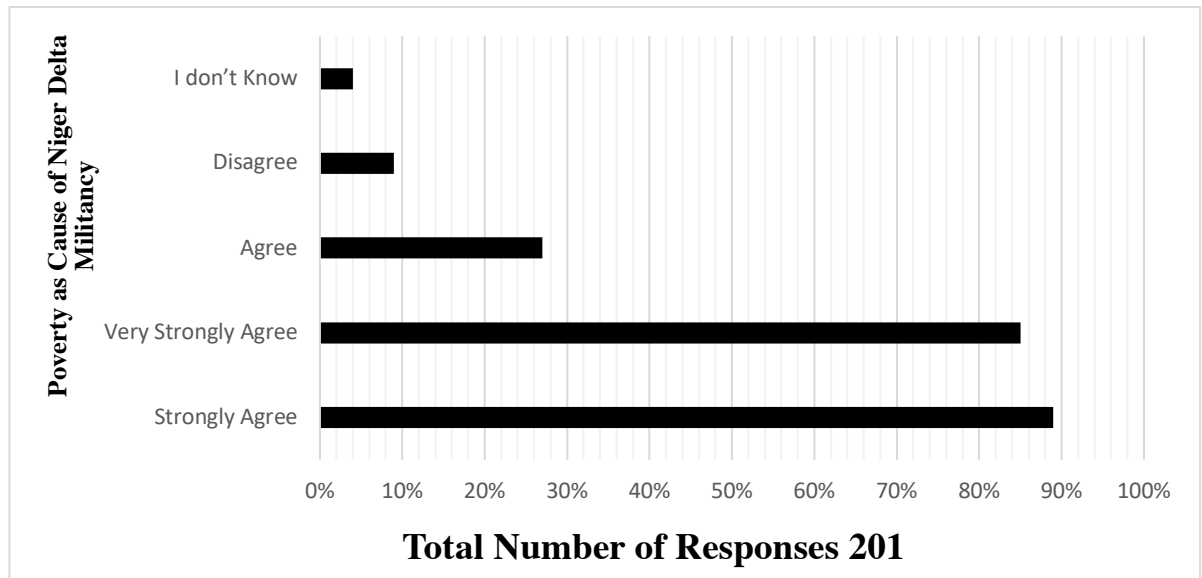
Looking at figure 4.6, which provided results on poverty related to Niger Delta Militancy; 27, 85 and 89 respondents agreed, strongly agreed and very strongly agreed respectively that poverty is a factor that stimulates Niger Delta militancy. The numbers grossed to 201 out of 209 that responded, which represent over 95%, as such, it is fair to say that about 95% believed that poverty stimulates Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. When such percentage is compared to response gotten when similar questions were asked on Boko Haram, only about 60% believed that poverty is a factor that stimulates boko Haram as well. Additionally, the table 4.6 below, shows gender response on poverty as one of the causes of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.6: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on poverty as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female				Male			
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	14.29	66.67	14.29	20.83	0.00	0.00	1.75	0.00
26 - 30	28.57	0.00	42.86	33.33	5.00	0.00	0.00	7.69
31 - 35	28.57	33.33	25.00	16.67	10.00	50.00	14.04	6.15
36 - 40	14.29	0.00	3.57	16.67	10.00	0.00	15.79	13.85
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	3.57	8.33	10.00	0.00	19.30	27.69
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	3.57	0.00	15.00	0.00	33.33	24.62

51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	3.51	10.77
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.17	0.00	50.00	3.51	4.62
60+	14.29	0.00	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.77	4.62
Grand Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Data on table 4.6 above shows that females aged 26-30 and 31-35 are the majority age ranges that asserted that poverty was one of the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Their view was strangely contradicted by the male on of the same age ranges of 31-35, where 50% disagree with such an assertion that that poverty is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria.

Figure 4.7 Multi-stakeholder Response on Illiteracy as one of the causes of Boko Haram

Total number of responses 126
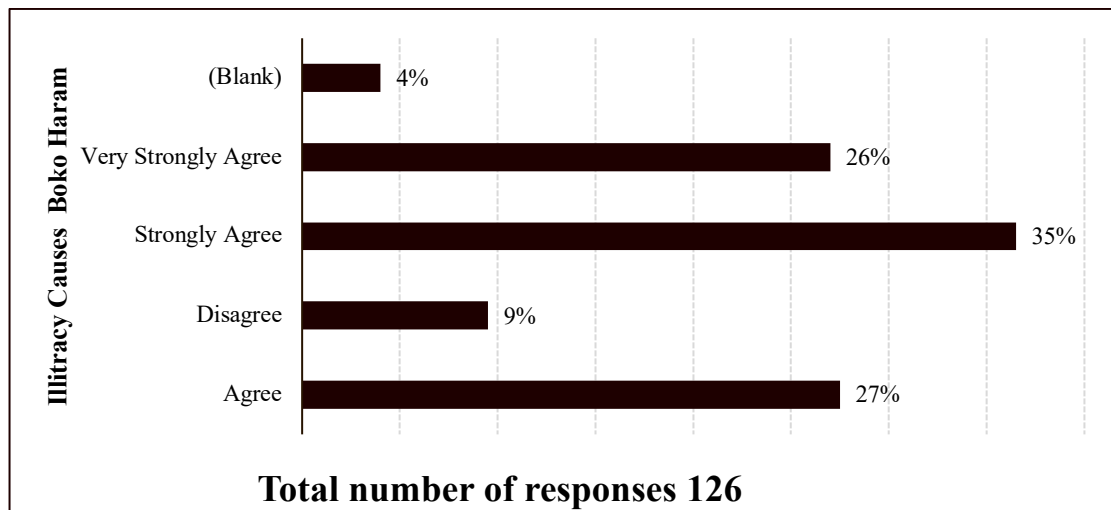
Another major factor that was researched during the data collection was illiteracy and how it affects counter insurgency interventions in Nigeria. The results on figure 4.7 above shows that out of 209 respondents, 35% (73) strongly agree while 26% (53) very strongly agree that illiteracy is one of the root causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The combined figures total 126. Over 61% of the response, (55) respondents agree that illiteracy is a factor that stimulates Boko Haram. When the three responses are combined it cumulates to 181, which represents about 80%. Based on the results it is therefore fair to conclude that about 80% of respondents believe that illiteracy is one of the factors that stimulate Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. 9% agreed while 4% declined to respond.

Such validation was buttressed by eminent personalities in Nigerian politics, which includes former three-time Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, some former State Governor Rotimi Amaechi as well as Nigeria's former Minister of Defence Musiliu Obanikoro respectively. They all agreed that Illiteracy was one of the main causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria (Obasanjo, 2015); (Amaechi, 2017); (Duke, 2013); (Obanikoro, 2014). Findings of this thesis corroborates their assertions. In one of the questionnaire responses, it was asserted that **"I have been part of a teams that arrested suspected members of Boko Haram during night surveillance, including their family members. One of the 3 Wives of one of captives says her Husband is a Muslim, but he does not pray, because he could not even recite the Holy Qur'an"** *(due to his illiteracy level)* (Female, profession withheld, age 37). That vindicates some of the literary assertions in this section.

Similarly, there is related literature, which asserts that illiteracy is one of the factors responsible for National insecurity; violence, kidnapping and assassinations characterize it. It also added armed robbery, food insecurity, environmental insecurity and other vices in the nation (Dominic, 2015). Boko Haram posed most of the threats mentioned above in Nigeria and already started affecting neighbouring countries including Niger, Cameroun, Benin Republic and Chad. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that, findings of this research, which states that illiteracy is one of the factors that stimulates Boko Haram is consistent with literature. It connotes with reality on ground as previously explained. Additionally, the table 4.7 below, shows gender response on illiteracy as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Table 4.7: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder response on illiteracy as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female				Male			
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	40.00	50.00	8.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00
26 - 30	33.33	0.00	58.33	16.67	2.50	0.00	8.16	2.38
31 - 35	26.67	33.33	0.00	41.67	2.50	61.54	4.08	4.76
36 - 40	0.00	16.67	8.33	25.00	2.50	7.69	10.20	33.33
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	8.33	8.33	5.00	0.00	28.57	33.33
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	4.17	0.00	47.50	15.38	28.57	11.90
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	15.38	2.04	0.00
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	4.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.16	4.76
60+	0.00	0.00	8.33	8.33	0.00	0.00	8.16	9.52
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on table 4.7: above shows that younger females aged 19-25 has highest proportion of people that disagree, of which the same male age range has opposed. Similarly, male age ranged 31-35 has the highest number of age segment that disagree (61.54%) that illiteracy is one of the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. 40.00% and 33.33% of female respondents aged 19-25 and 26-30 respectively agreed that illiteracy is one of the causes of Boko Haram. While on the male side, 19-25 did not select the option, and only 2.50%, age raged 26-30 agreed that illiteracy is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Figure 4.8 Multi-stakeholder Response on Illiteracy as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy
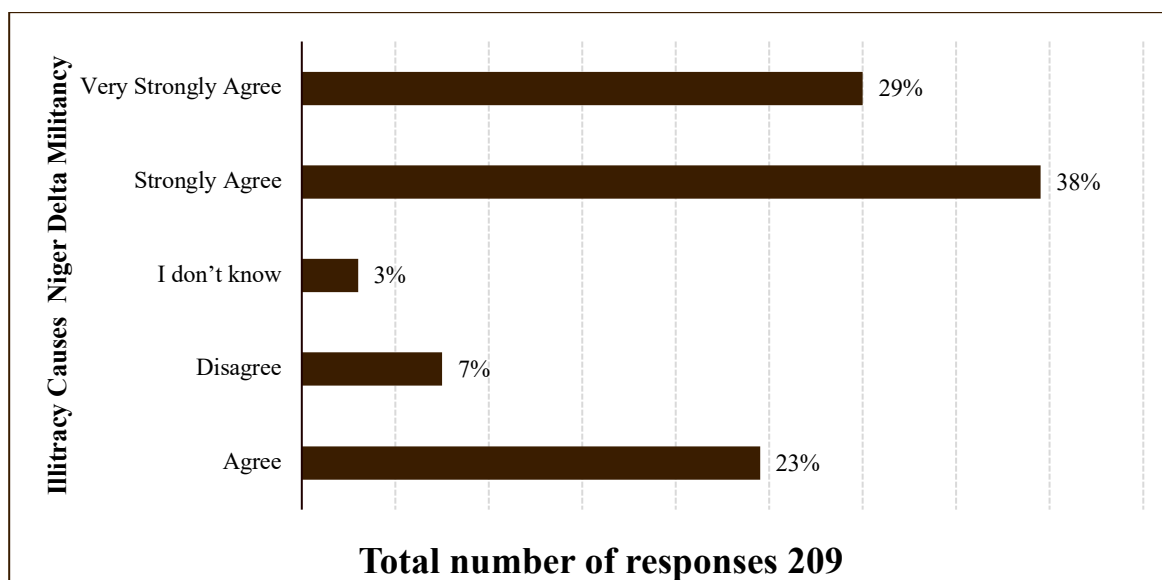
Total number of responses 209

Figure 4.8 shows results on findings related to Niger Delta Militancy after similar issue of literacy was asked. The data shows that 209 people responded but a total of 188 made choices in the following sequence; 23% (49), 38% (79) and 29% (60) respondents chose agree, strongly agree and disagree respectively. The number represents over 80% of total respondents. 7% disagreed while 3% declined to respond. It is therefore fair to conclude that over 80% respondents believed that illiteracy is one of the major stimulants of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. The findings confirmed the assertion by one of the respected voices in the region that asserted his views that inadequate literacy is one of the problems affecting Niger Delta region in Nigeria (Emaduku, 2016). He is indeed right as this research findings validates such assertion. Additionally, the table 4.8 below, shows gender response on illiteracy as one of the causes of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.8: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on illiteracy as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	40.00	40.00	0.00	10.34	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00
26 - 30	33.33	0.00	33.33	51.72	10.00	2.94	0.00	0.00	6.00	4.00
31 – 35	26.67	40.00	66.67	6.90	40.00	2.94	60.00	66.67	8.00	4.00
36 – 40	0.00	20.00	0.00	10.34	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	12.00	26.00
41 – 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.34	0.00	5.88	0.00	33.33	28.00	28.00
46 – 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	44.12	10.00	0.00	32.00	16.00
51 – 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.12	10.00	0.00	2.00	4.00
56 – 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	10.00
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.90	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.00	8.00
Grand Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Table 4.8 above shows that 40% of the young female age ranged 19-25 agreed that illiteracy is one of the causes of Nigeria Delta Militancy in Nigeria. In a sharp contract, the same percentage of the same age range

(40%) disagree with the said statement. While male of the same age range decline to agree or disagree. But 44.12% of the male, age ranged 46-50 agreed that illiteracy is one of the causes of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. It is fascinating to note that 60.00% and 66.67% of males age ranged 31-35 selected 'disagree' and 'I don't know' respectively when asked if illiteracy is the cause of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria.

Figure 4.9 Multi-stakeholder Response on Widespread Corruption as one of the causes of Boko Haram
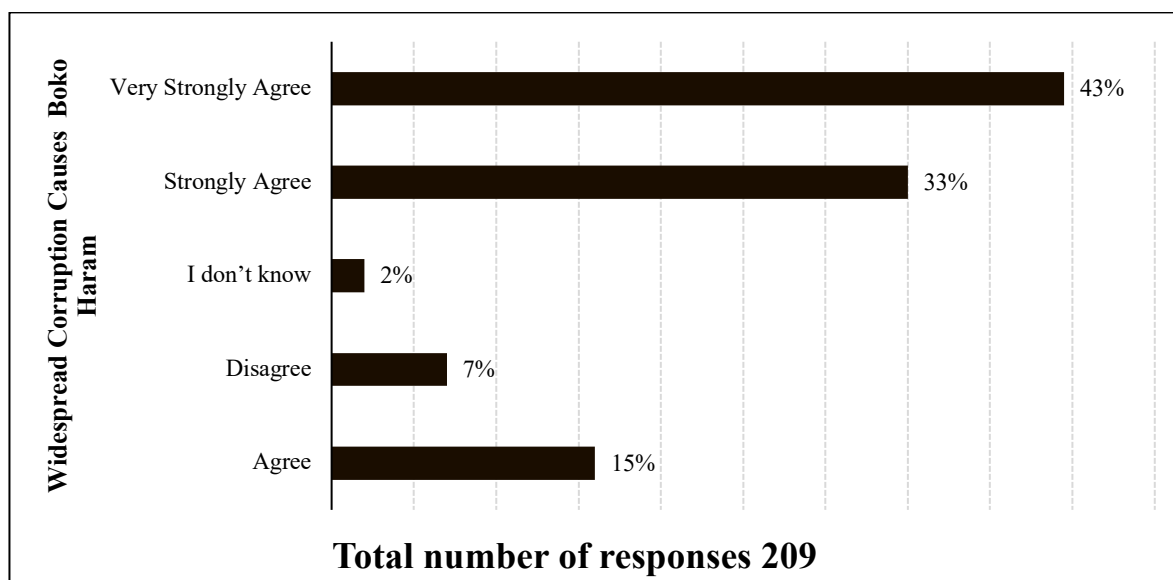
Another data that drew heavy attention was widespread corruption as a factor that stimulates Boko Haram. The result on figure 4.9 above shows that 43% (89), 33% (70) and 15% (32) respondents chose very strongly agree, strongly agree and agree respectively. That cumulates to a total of 111 out of the total 209 responses. The figure represents about 52% of total responses. With such a result, it is fair to conclude that more than half of respondents believe that corruption is one of the major factors that stimulate Boko Haram in Nigeria. 7% disagreed while only 2% declined to respond to the question. Such findings validate assertion that corruption particularly in northern part of Nigeria is responsible for persistent rise in activities of Boko Haram (Suleiman & Karim, 2015).

Nigerian Vice President, Professor Yemi Osinbajo also corroborates the assertion by confirming that Corruption was responsible for Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast. (Northeast is part of Nigeria, which constitutes states that has been largely affected by Boko Haram insurgency such as Borno, Bauchi, Adamawa and Yobe (Osinbajo, 2017). Only 7% (14) respondents out of 209 disagree with the assertion that corruption is one of the stimulants of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Additionally, the table 4.9 below, shows gender response on widespread corruption as one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.9: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder Response on widespread corruption as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	40.00	0.00	27.27	5.56	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.41
26 - 30	40.00	0.00	54.55	11.11	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.81	2.82
31 - 35	20.00	100.00	12.12	16.67	20.00	18.52	50.00	25.00	2.70	5.63
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	3.03	27.78	0.00	3.70	12.50	0.00	8.11	22.54
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	3.03	11.11	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	35.14	21.13
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.56	0.00	11.11	0.00	75.00	24.32	35.21
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.15	37.50	0.00	5.41	1.41
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.56	0.00	3.70	0.00	0.00	2.70	5.63
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67	0.00	3.70	0.00	0.00	10.81	4.23
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on Table 4.9 above shows a strange gender and age range response. Because both male and female respondents age ranged of 19-25 and 26-30, 40% and 0.00% agreed and disagreed respectively. Meaning that an equal percentage of the two age ranges shared similar views on this question. On response of female age range 36-40 and 41-45, they neither agree nor disagree. While the male of 36-40 age ranges, 3.70% and 12.50% respectively agreed and agreed respectively. Male age ranged 41-45, 11.00% agreed while none disagreed that widespread of corruption is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. The strange response on this table is the fact that 75% of the male respondents age ranged 46-50 said they don't know if corruption is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Figure 4.10 Multi-stakeholder Response on Widespread Corruption as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy
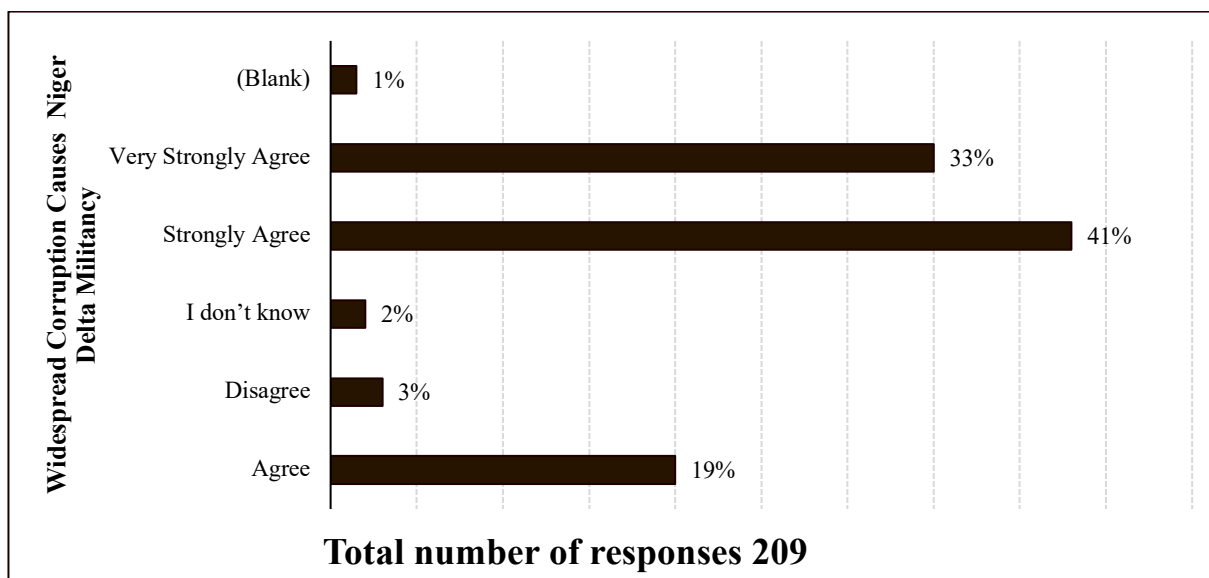
Figure 4.10 above provided responses gotten from question that asked if widespread corruption in Niger Delta region stimulates militancy in Nigeria. Results shows that; 19% (40), 41% (86) and 33% (70) respondents chose agreed, strongly agreed and very strongly agreed respectively that widespread corruption is a factor that stimulates Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. That means out of 209 respondents a total of 196 affirmed the claim. The figure represents about 90% of respondents. As such, it is fair to conclude that over 90% of respondents affirmed that there is widespread corruption in Niger Delta region and it is one of the major factors that stimulate militancy in the region. Such findings validate the assertions that there is enough evidence to conclude that inconsistency in program implementation and corruption are some of the factors that causes instability in Niger Delta region (Umar et al, 2017). There is institutional corruption in the way the amnesty program is run as well as the way other government agencies implement intervention programs, which were aimed at supporting Niger Delta region in Nigeria to be peaceful and violence-free society. Additionally, the table 4.10 below, shows gender response on widespread corruption as one of the causes of Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.10: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on widespread corruption as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female				Male				
	Agree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	0.00	0.00	28.57	21.05	3.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	30.77	50.00	28.57	47.37	11.11	0.00	0.00	3.45	1.96
31 - 35	30.77	0.00	25.00	15.79	7.41	33.33	50.00	6.90	11.76
36 - 40	15.38	50.00	3.57	10.53	22.22	0.00	0.00	13.79	11.76
41 - 45	7.69	0.00	7.14	0.00	14.81	0.00	50.00	24.14	23.53
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	3.57	0.00	25.93	16.67	0.00	22.41	33.33
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.11	50.00	0.00	17.24	5.88
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	7.84
60+	15.38	0.00	3.57	0.00	3.70	0.00	0.00	8.62	3.92
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on table 4.10 above shows that 30.77% and 30.77% of Female respondents age ranged 26-30 and 31-35 agreed, while only 11.11% and 7.41% of males in the same age range agreed. 15.38 percent of the female age ranged 60+ agreed while only 3.7% of male of the same age range agreed that widespread corruption is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. 50% of male age ranged 31-35 and 51-55 selected 'I don't know' and 'disagree' respectively against 0.00% of Females on age range 31-35 that selected 'I don't know'. That was an interesting divergent view from the respondents on corruption as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria.

Figure 4.11 Multi-stakeholder Response on Ignorance of Religious Teaching as one of the causes of Boko Haram
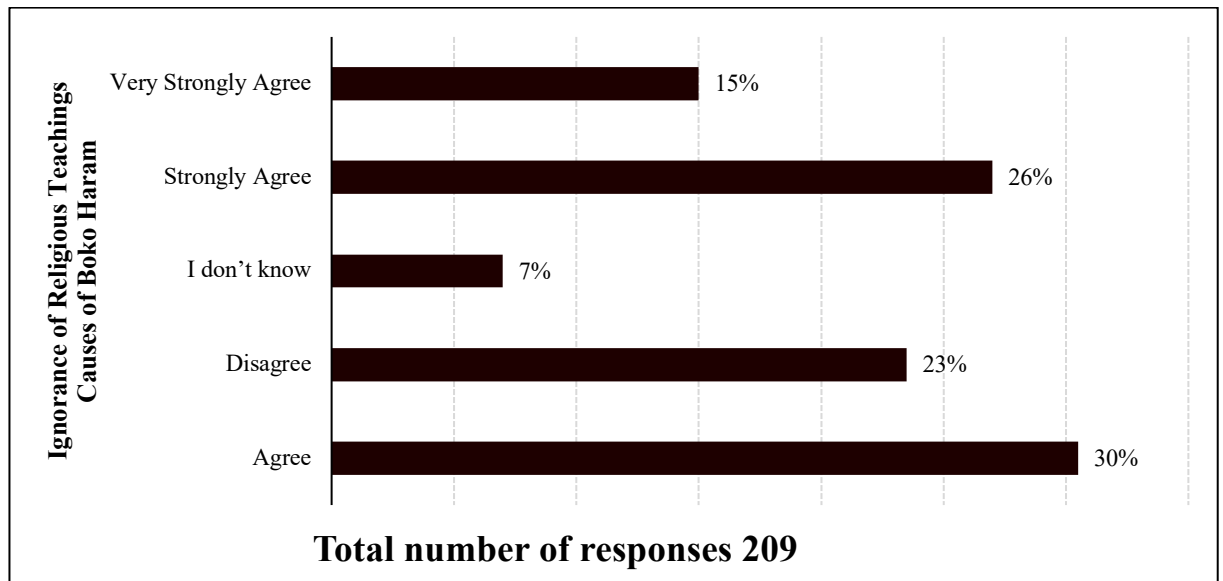
With regard to data of figure 4.11 above, one needs to note that even though Boko Haram agitate that they act in the interest of Islam and sometimes showing the world that they practice true Islamic religion, a lot of their actions and activities contradicts tenets of Islam, especially on killings, kidnappings, stealing and other forms of criminal activities. Carla Power, a renowned author in the United States of America corroborated such view by asserting that Boko Haram actions make them conspirators to their faith (Power, 2014). This research contacted 209 respondents to find out if the assertion that ignorance of religious teaching is a factor for Boko Haram or not.

The results from 209 respondents show that 23% (30), 26% (54) and 30% (61) respondents very strongly agree, strongly agree and agree respectively that ignorance of religious teaching stimulates Boko Haram in Nigeria. The combined figures represent almost 60% of total respondents because only 47 respondents, which represent a little over 20%, disagree with the assertion. One of the community leaders in one of the areas mostly affected by Boko Haram in Borno state, warned that more people are being recruited into Boko Haram because of ignorance and lack of education; he asserted that if nothing is done, specifically on children, Nigeria is sitting on a time bomb (Dongel, 2015). The finding also corroborates former Nigeria President's assertion that ignorance is the root cause of insurgency, militancy and terrorism in Nigeria (Jonathan, 2014). On that note, it is fair to conclude that this segment of the findings corroborates assertion of several authors that ignorance of religious teaching is one of the stimulants of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Additionally, the table 4.11 below, shows gender response on the ignorance of religious teaching as one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.11: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on ignorance of religious teachings as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	6.25	0.00	0.00	13.79	70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
26 - 30	6.25	0.00	0.00	65.52	20.00	4.44	2.38	0.00	8.00	5.00
31 - 35	37.50	100.00	0.00	6.90	10.00	11.11	21.43	0.00	4.00	0.00
36 - 40	31.25	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	31.11	4.76	0.00	16.00	5.00
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	50.00	6.90	0.00	8.89	23.81	8.33	28.00	45.00
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	35.56	21.43	8.33	24.00	35.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.22	14.29	83.33	0.00	0.00
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	4.44	4.76	0.00	4.00	5.00
60+	18.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.22	7.14	0.00	12.00	5.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.11 above shows how the female respondents from 31-35 and 36-40 age ranges have high proportion of those that agree, even though 50% of the females aged 41-45 said they 'don't know'. While none (0.00%) of females age ranged 51-50 selected 'agree', 2.22% of the males agreed while 83.8%said they 'don't know' if ignorance of religious teachings is one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Similarly, the table on 4.12 below shows Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on ignorance of religious teaching as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	0.00	0.00	28.13	18.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.78
26 - 30	10.00	0.00	50.00	31.25	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.71	11.11
31 - 35	40.00	100.00	6.25	25.00	40.00	11.90	20.83	0.00	2.86	11.11
36 - 40	30.00	0.00	3.13	12.50	30.00	23.81	0.00	0.00	22.86	8.33
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	9.38	0.00	0.00	11.90	29.17	14.29	22.86	27.78
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	3.13	0.00	0.00	33.33	29.17	0.00	22.86	27.78
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.90	12.50	71.43	5.71	5.56
56 - 60	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	4.76	4.17	0.00	5.71	2.78
60+	10.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	10.00	2.38	4.17	14.29	11.43	2.78
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.12 above shows that Females of the age ranges of 31-35 and 46-40 have the highest number of respondents, where 40% and 30% respectively 'agree' that ignorance of religious teaching is one of the causes

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of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. While only 11.90% and 23.81% of Male respondents of the same age range 'agree'. Interestingly, none of the females of the age range 51-55 said they 'I don't know', 71.43% of Males of the same age range said the opposite, 'I don't know'. If ignorance of religious teaching is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy of not.

Figure 4.12 Multi-stakeholder Response on Unfair Resource Allocation by Government as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Total number of responses 209
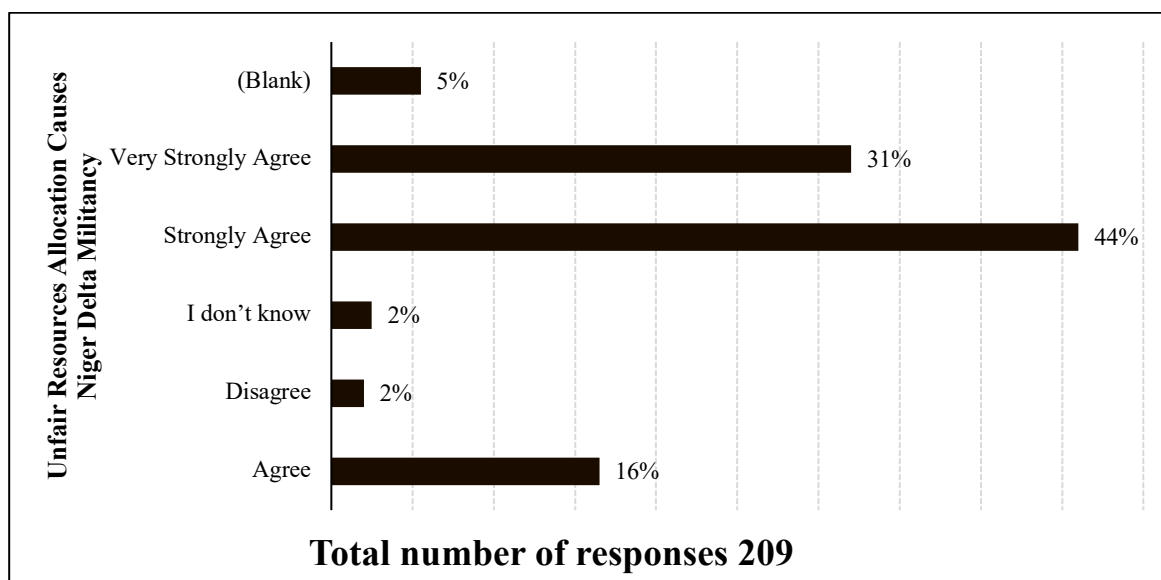
Graphical illustration on figure 4.12 above is findings on the question that asked whether unfair resource allocation by government is a factor that stimulates Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. 189 out of 209 respondents were in favour of statement that unfair resource allocation is a factor that stimulates Niger Delta militancy, with 16% (33), 44% (92) and 31% (64) respondents agreed, strongly agreed and very strongly agreed respectively that unfair resource allocation is one of the major factors that stimulates Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. The response is not surprising as a lot of reports and literature supports the claim. Interestingly, none of the previous government interventions including agencies established to address and improve the region have directly addressed issues of resource allocation in the Niger Delta region. Rather, the agencies mostly address economic and social issues only. Such agencies include the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA) and office of Special Adviser on Niger Delta/Coordinator Presidential Amnesty Program (OSAND).

Majority of respondents from the Niger Delta region told the researcher that resource control has been a long-term issue that have been discussed by several stakeholders and indeed debated heavily by previous governments in Nigeria. Yet, nothing tangible came out of it. Resource control has two main dimensions in the Niger Delta region; government's dimension and public dimension. The former is referring to persistent calls by state governments that produce oil in the region on the federal government to increase their revenue share during the monthly statutory Federation account allocation committee meeting. It is a meeting that is coordinated by the federal government through Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC), where revenue generated by all government agencies is shared across federal, state and local governments in Nigeria. This call is because Nigerian constitution (as amended in 1999) provides that 13% of

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the total oil revenue should be given to the oil revenue generating states. But as at 2019, the revenue sharing formula has not been reviewed for almost two decades. The latter issue is that the people living in and around Niger Delta region wants to have more say into the way they were governed. They want to have a direct share in the resources produced from within Niger Delta region. As discussed in chapter two of this research, there have been several groups that emanated from the region fighting for either full resource control or increase in revenue share. Additionally, the table 4.13 below, shows gender response on unfair resource allocation by government as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.13: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on unfair resource allocation by government as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	12.50	0.00	0.00	24.14	21.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.59	0.00
26 - 30	62.50	0.00	0.00	31.03	21.05	4.00	0.00	0.00	7.94	0.00
31 - 35	25.00	0.00	0.00	13.79	36.84	20.00	25.00	20.00	4.76	11.11
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.79	10.53	20.00	25.00	20.00	9.52	17.78
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	5.26	16.00	25.00	20.00	23.81	22.22
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	24.00	0.00	0.00	30.16	31.11
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.00	25.00	20.00	11.11	11.11
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.45	0.00	4.00	0.00	20.00	4.76	0.00
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.90	5.26	4.00	0.00	0.00	6.35	6.67
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on table 4.13 above shows that females respondents aged 26-30 have the highest proportion of respondents that 'agree' compared to only 4.00% of male respondents of the same age range. Male respondents age ranging 41-45 and 46-50 were the highest segment that 'strongly agree' that unfair resource allocation is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. They selected 23.81% and 30.16% percent respectively, compared to Female respondents of the same age ranges, where only 4.45% and 3.45% 'strongly agree'. Such a trajectory was not predicted before the data collection for this research.

The resource allocation matter has been dragging for a very long time as all parties claim rights, control and ownership of what is being generated for government from the abundant natural resources in the region. There is an established agency by law, which is saddled with responsibility of sharing government income amongst three tiers of government in Nigeria. The beneficiaries are the federal government of Nigeria that is RMAFC. The beneficiaries are 36 state governments plus the federal capital territory (FCT) and the 774 Local Governments in Nigeria. The major point of contention is that Constitution of Nigeria provides room for review of revenue sharing formula, even though it was not explicitly elaborative but is clearly provides basis for states that produces oil to make a valid case for consideration. Part II, 6 (b) of the Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) says that the Revenue Mobilization Allocation our Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) shall; "Review from time to time, the revenue allocation formula and principles in operation to ensure conformity with changing realities" (Law Nigeria, 2016, p.4). But in reality, such provision of the law has not been practically

adhered to. Hence the persistent call by people from Niger Delta region for equity and fairness. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that the findings related to unfair resource allocation validates previous assertions that unfair resource allocation is one of the major factors that stimulate militancy in Niger Delta region in Nigeria.

Figure 4.13 Multi stakeholder Response on Non-clean up on Oil Spillage as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy
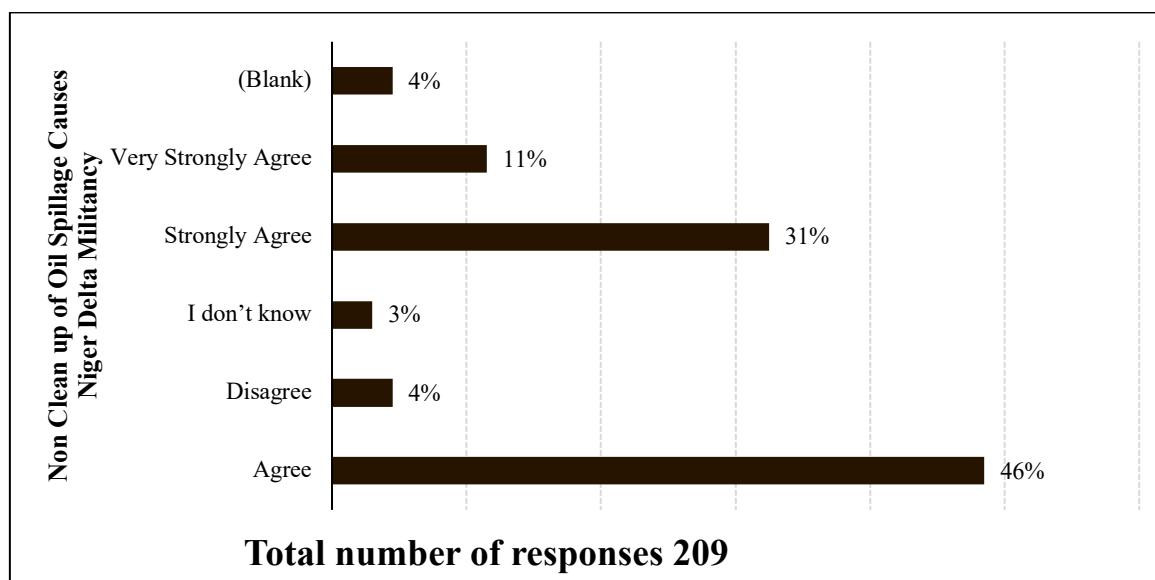

Figure 4.13 above is chart that represents data collected regarding the assertion that non-clean-up of oil spillage stimulates Niger delta militancy in Nigeria. The question is significant because it has direct effect to lives and properties of people living around Niger Delta region. Oil spillage has been a debating issue in Niger Delta for decades due to its precarious nature and impact upon not only them but also Nigeria in general. Although some of its causes are natural but there are human negligence and sometimes sabotage, which cause pipeline vandalism, explosions and oil spillage. Oil spillage has severe effects on the environment. It also affects human health, soil infection, water adulteration and oil contamination (Noko, 2017). The result from the findings shows that out of 209 respondents, 46% (97), 31% (65) and 11% (23) all agree, strongly agree and very strongly agree respectively that non-clean-up of oil spillage in the region is one of the factors that stimulate Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. With that result, it is fair to conclude that there is strong evidence of existence of a problem, because over 90% of respondents believe there is a problem in handling oil spillage in the Niger delta region. 4% disagreed and 3% declined to respond to the question.

The findings are not surprising because people in the region have waited for long for government and oil companies to take drastic measures in cleaning the spillage but nothing much has been done. Nigerian Government through Minister of Environment promised Niger Delta people that work would commence in three weeks' time to clean the region from oil spillage (Mohammed, 2016). But report by Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria (ERA/FoEN) shows that over one year after the promise by Nigerian Government there's nothing to show.

Additionally, it is almost 6 years after United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) report on negative effects of oil spillage affecting the region, but not a drop of oil was cleaned in the Ogoni land, a land that is

severely affected by environmental contamination in the Niger Delta region (Ojo, 2016). It is curious how despite huge money the Nigerian government and oil companies make; they could not effectively handle this very important aspect of managing environmental damage. It has been asserted that about 700 spill incidents are reported every year in the Niger Delta region (Ejiba et al, 2016). It is important to note that oil spillage is not only caused naturally. A lot of militant groups vandalize oil pipelines and illegally tap oil for sale in the black markets. Militants make huge sums of money out of such illegality. Such illegitimate moneymaking avenue brings about another dimension that warrants another question in this research; lucrativeness of militancy in Niger Delta region, which will be discussed subsequently. Furthermore, the table 4.14 below, shows gender response on non-clean-up of oil spillage as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Table 4.14: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on non-clean-up of oil spillage as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	16.13	0.00	100.00	18.18	20.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 – 30	32.26	0.00	0.00	45.45	20.00	6.06	0.00	0.00	2.33	0.00
31 – 35	25.81	100.00	0.00	18.18	20.00	10.61	0.00	0.00	9.30	22.22
36 – 40	9.68	0.00	0.00	9.09	20.00	16.67	0.00	20.00	9.30	22.22
41 – 45	3.23	0.00	0.00	4.55	20.00	16.67	25.00	40.00	25.58	16.67
46 – 50	3.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.27	25.00	40.00	27.91	22.22
51 – 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.15	12.50	0.00	13.95	11.11
56 – 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.55	0.00	1.52	12.50	0.00	4.65	5.56
60+	9.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.06	12.50	0.00	6.98	0.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data on the above table 4.14 have some strange details. 100% females are ranged 19-25 selected they 'don't know', while 100% of females are ganged 31-35 'disagree' with the statement that non-clean-up of oil spillage as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. 0.00% of males age ranged 19-25 said 'I don't know', similarly, 0.00% of the male age ranged 31-35 selected 'I don't know'. Such reactions show how divergent and complex responses are on this research question.

Figure 4.14 Multi Stakeholder Response on Militancy being Lucrative as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria
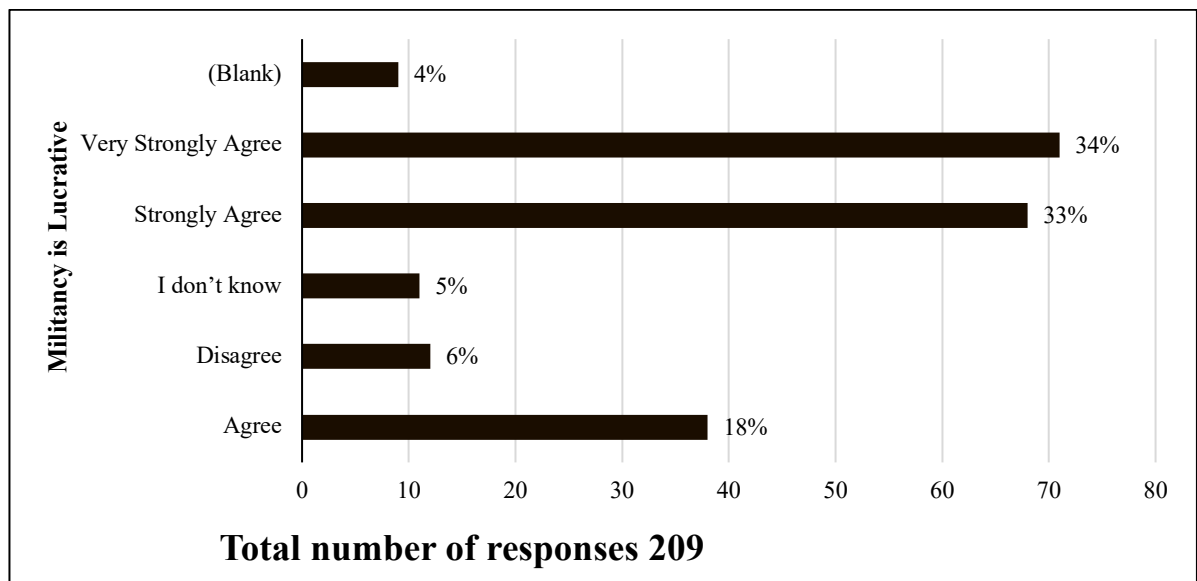

Total number of responses 209

Figure 4.14 above shows that out of 209 responses, 18% (38), 33% (68) and 34% (71) respondents chose agree, strongly agree and very strongly agree respectively that one of the most influencing factors that stimulates Niger Delta militancy is because it is lucrative. There are a lot of permutations that shows militancy brings financial and economic incentives to militants. Although the researcher could not trace any recent doctoral-level thesis that specifically investigated whether lucrativeness is a factor that stimulates militancy in Niger delta region, but some popular insurgents that heads various militant groups seems to enjoy a lavish kind of lifestyle. Some even use to get very high-profile contracts from the Nigerian governments as discussed in chapter two.

The likes of Dokubo Asari and Government Ekpemupolo, popularly known as 'Tompolo' are synonymous to Nigeria political scene. Asari has been so influential to the extent that he was alleged to have played a vital role in the impeachment and embarrassment of former Bayelsa state Governor Diepreye Alamieyeseigha (Saheed, 2016). Similarly, Tompolo on the other hand was tagged a fugitive over a decade ago, few years later he was also declared as the most wanted Man in Nigeria by Nigeria Joint Military Task Force (JTF) as they could not arrest him after series of attempts (Sahara, 2012). Nigerian Government was said to have awarded a contract to his company for maritime security in 2011. Director General Nigeria Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA) said that his company still has a contract with the Nigerian Government (Akasike, 2017). In the immediate past administration in Nigeria, a lot of militants enjoy special privileges in the Niger Delta region and even in Abuja the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria, where Nigerian president official office is located. Some of the former militants the researcher interacted with via telephone and at the presidential amnesty program office in Abuja both confirmed that militancy pays them more; it makes them generate more money than what they earn from government after voluntary disarmament from militancy. Therefore, this research finding validates the assertion that Niger Delta militancy is being fuelled up because

it is lucrative. Furthermore, the table 4.15 below, shows gender response on lucrative business as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Table 4.15: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on lucrative business as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	100.00	0.00	9.52	33.33	100.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	0.00	66.67	42.86	38.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	6.38	2.00
31 - 35	0.00	33.33	19.05	23.81	0.00	15.38	0.00	12.50	12.77	8.00
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	9.52	4.76	0.00	15.38	20.00	12.50	12.77	16.00
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	9.52	0.00	0.00	23.08	40.00	37.50	19.15	16.00
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	4.76	0.00	0.00	15.38	20.00	12.50	29.79	32.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23.08	10.00	0.00	12.77	10.00
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	12.50	2.13	6.00
60+	0.00	0.00	4.76	0.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	0.00	4.26	10.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.15 above 100% of the 19-25 females 'agree' while no one, 0.00% of the of the male of the same age range 'agree' that militancy being lucrative business is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. In another twist, none, 0.00% of the Female Age range 60+ 'agree'. 23.8% of the of the Males age range 41-45 agree, while none out of the Females of the same age range 'agree'. Female aged 26-30 and 31-35 have the highest proportion of females that 'disagree', with 66.67% and33.33% respectively. While the age range of Males with highest proportion of 'disagree' are age ranges 41-45, 40% 'disagree'. On similar responses on the same question on Boko Haram. Table 4.15 below shows data of both females and males gender responses by age ranges and percentage.

Table: 4.16   Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder Response on lucrative business as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	39.13	5.88	50.00	7.69	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	34.78	11.76	50.00	84.62	0.00	4.00	6.67	0.00	5.71	0.00
31 - 35	13.04	52.94	0.00	0.00	33.33	4.00	22.22	11.11	2.86	6.06
36 - 40	8.70	5.88	0.00	7.69	33.33	8.00	17.78	22.22	5.71	21.21
41 - 45	0.00	11.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	13.33	33.33	34.29	15.15
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67	20.00	17.78	0.00	37.14	42.42
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	6.67	33.33	8.57	0.00
56 - 60	0.00	5.88	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.89	0.00	0.00	6.06

60+	4.35	5.88	0.00	0.00	16.67	0.00	6.67	0.00	5.71	9.09
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.16 above indicated that 84.62% of the age range 26-30 have the highest proportion of 'strongly agree' in the table. Where 19-25 and 36-40 both have 7.69% respectively, the rest had 0.00% on 'strongly agree' option. On the male side, 46-50 age range have the highest proportion of 'strongly agree' on 37.14% and 19-25 and 56-60 age ranges had no selection, 0.00% respectively. It is important to note here that Female age range 31-35 have the highest 'not agree' in females 52.94% while male of the same age range have the highest 'disagree' on Males. Although females disagree more, but it shows consistency of selection in terms of disagreeing with the statement by the same age group, even though they were from different gender.

4.3.2 Discussions on Findings Related to what stimulates Radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria

The data on 4.15 and 4.15 shows responses gotten from respondents that identify one or more reasons that influences factors, which led to ineffectiveness of both PAP and OSC. 24 responses show that people see different factors as reasons for ineffectiveness. On OSC, bad leadership, bad people, bad infrastructure and politicising everything in Nigeria are amongst the key factors that affects implementation of OSC. On the other hand, respondents say the reasons for the factors are bad decisions, bad policies and bad leadership. Other reasons include government and the people, absence of basic infrastructure and ruling political party the All Progressives Congress as the reasons for the factors that hinder effectiveness of PAP in Nigeria. Moreover, there are different reasons and issues which form part of the research questionnaire that negated wider and divergent responses. For example, the tables 4.17 below, shows gender response on upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Table 4.17: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	10.71	28.57	0.00	21.43	0.00	1.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	39.29	35.71	0.00	35.71	0.00	3.17	2.22	0.00	9.68	0.00
31 - 35	28.57	0.00	100.00	28.57	0.00	4.76	20.00	0.00	9.68	0.00
36 - 40	7.14	14.29	0.00	14.29	0.00	12.70	13.33	66.67	9.68	0.00
41 - 45	3.57	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	23.81	22.22	0.00	19.35	0.00
46 - 50	0.00	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	15.56	33.33	29.03	100.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.52	17.78	0.00	12.90	0.00
56 - 60	3.57	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.76	4.44	0.00	3.23	0.00
60+	7.14	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.35	4.44	0.00	6.45	0.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.17 above shows data represents Female and Male gender responses on different age ranges. Where 26-30 and 31-35 were the highest proportion of female respondents that 'agree', with 39.29% and 28.57% respectively. Whereas on the male side, 46-50 and 41-45 have the highest proportion of age ranges that 'agree', with 33.33% and 23.81% respectively. 66.67% of male age range 36-40 said 'I don't know', while 0.00% of female of the same rage said 'I don't know'. Meaning that male gender of such age range is more knowledgeable about the upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. The next table 4.18 shows data about Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on political instability as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy.

Table 4.18: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on political instability as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female				Male				
	Agree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	50.00	0.00	19.23	8.33	0.00	0.00	1.89	0.00	0.00
26 – 30	40.00	0.00	50.00	20.83	0.00	25.00	5.66	2.56	0.00
31 – 35	0.00	100.00	19.23	29.17	44.44	0.00	11.32	5.13	44.44
36 – 40	0.00	0.00	3.85	20.83	22.22	25.00	9.43	15.38	22.22
41 – 45	0.00	0.00	7.69	4.17	11.11	0.00	30.19	17.95	11.11
46 – 50	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	0.00	24.53	30.77	22.22
51 – 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	5.66	17.95	0.00
56 – 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.17	0.00	0.00	5.66	3.85	0.00
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	5.66	6.41	0.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Some of the literature explored in chapter two shows that political instability is a one of the drivers of instability in the Niger Delta region. Data on table 4.18 above shows that female respondents within the age ranges of 19-25 and 26-30 have the highest proportion of those that 'agree', with 50% and 40% respectively. Where the males age ranges of 31-35, 36-40 and 46-50 have the highest proportion of 'agree', with 44.44%, 22.22% and 22.22% respectively. 29.17% of the female age range 31-35 'very strongly agree', to validate such assertion with verifiable data, the same age male range of 31-35, 44.44% 'very strongly agree' that political instability is one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. Another dimension is the table 4.19 below, which highlighted response data about excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.19: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	18.18	11.11	33.33	26.67	0.00	1.28	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	30.30	55.56	66.67	26.67	0.00	5.13	0.00	0.00	3.57	50.00
31 - 35	30.30	11.11	0.00	13.33	100.00	14.10	7.69	0.00	7.14	0.00
36 - 40	9.09	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	14.10	11.54	0.00	21.43	0.00
41 - 45	6.06	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.38	38.46	50.00	25.00	0.00
46 - 50	3.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	32.05	15.38	50.00	21.43	0.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.82	7.69	0.00	10.71	50.00
56 - 60	3.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.85	3.85	0.00	3.57	0.00
60+	0.00	11.11	0.00	13.33	0.00	1.28	15.38	0.00	7.14	0.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The Joint Task Force (JTF) is a combination of various security personnel that are set up to patrol various security prone areas on Nigeria, specially the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Sometimes they use unauthorize mechanisms when patrolling the region, including use of torture. One of the respondents during individual interview asserts that "The JTF nearly killed me, if not for the fact that some militants attacked one of their vehicles, they could have tortured me to death for a crime I did not commit" (Male respondent, ex-Niger Delta Militant, 23 years). Above data shows that 30% of female respondents on the age ranges of 26-30 and 31-35 'agree', while 32.05% of the male age range 46-50 'agree' that excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. 55.56% of the 26-30 female age range and 38.46% of 41.45 are range 'disagree' with the statement. That shows the literature assertions were not highly supported by the research findings, but only if we related it to the responses gotten from the age ranges of 26-30 and 41-45 respectively. Similarly, the table 4.20 below, which highlighted response data about excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.20: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder Response on excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	0.00	39.13	100.00	4.76	8.33	0.00	5.56	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	40.00	21.74	0.00	61.90	16.67	1.96	0.00	16.67	7.14	3.33
31 - 35	40.00	39.13	0.00	9.52	8.33	0.00	55.56	16.67	0.00	13.33
36 - 40	20.00	0.00	0.00	9.52	25.00	5.88	11.11	16.67	14.29	30.00
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.29	0.00	9.80	5.56	16.67	30.95	36.67
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33	47.06	11.11	33.33	23.81	6.67
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	29.41	11.11	0.00	2.38	3.33
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.33	1.96	0.00	0.00	9.52	3.33
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	3.92	0.00	0.00	11.90	3.33
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data presented on table 4.20 above shows that females aged 26-30 and 31-35 have the highest percentage that selected 'agree', 40% respectively, while only 20% of the female age range of 36-40 selected 'agree'. The rest of the female did not select the option, 0.00%. On the male side, 46-50 age range selected 'agree' higher than the other age ranges, 47.06%. additionally, 39.13% of the female respondents on the age range of 19-25 and 31-35 selected 'disagree' respectively. The male age range of 31-35 have the highest percentage of 'disagree' at 55.56%, while age ranges of 26-30, 56-60 and 60+ all had no selection on that, 0.00%. By the above table we can conclude that combined total of 60% of all females agreed while more than 90% combined percentage total of male respondents 'agree' that excessive use of force by JTF as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. The next table, 4.21 presented data on lack of equity and justice as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria.

Table 4.21: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on lack of equity and justice as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male			
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	22.22	0.00	0.00	17.24	18.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.86
26 - 30	38.89	50.00	0.00	41.38	18.18	2.44	0.00	1.67	8.57
31 - 35	22.22	50.00	0.00	17.24	36.36	9.76	33.33	10.00	5.71
36 - 40	5.56	0.00	0.00	17.24	0.00	19.51	16.67	8.33	14.29
41 - 45	5.56	0.00	0.00	3.45	9.09	19.51	16.67	25.00	20.00
46 - 50	5.56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	26.83	0.00	33.33	25.71
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.76	33.33	13.33	11.43
56 - 60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.09	4.88	0.00	1.67	8.57
60+	0.00	0.00	100.00	3.45	9.09	7.32	0.00	6.67	2.86
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.21 above shows that female respondents age ranged 19-25, 26-30 and 31-35 are the highest that 'agree', selecting it 22.22%, 38.89% and 22.22% respectively. Whereby the male age ranges of 46-50 are the highest where 26.83% 'agree' that on lack of equity and justice as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. The table also shows that 50% each from Female age range 25-30 and 31-35 respectively 'disagree' with the statement. Interestingly, 100% of the female age range 60+ selected 'I don't know', while neither Female nor male respondents of the same age range 'disagree' with the statement that lack of equity and justice as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. It shows that the middle age response shows that female middle age has less knowledge when it comes to equity and justice issues related to Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria than the younger age ranges. Another important topic is presented on table 4.22 below, which presents data on on government failure to address root cause as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in the Niger Delta region in Nigeria.

Table 4.22: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder responses on government failure to address root cause as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy

Age (Years)	Female					Male			
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	28.57	0.00	0.00	11.54	26.32	0.00	0.00	1.92	0.00
26 - 30	42.86	100.00	100.00	30.77	26.32	5.88	0.00	1.92	6.00
31 - 35	7.14	0.00	0.00	34.62	21.05	8.82	11.11	15.38	4.00
36 - 40	7.14	0.00	0.00	7.69	15.79	5.88	0.00	17.31	20.00
41 - 45	7.14	0.00	0.00	7.69	0.00	26.47	11.11	21.15	20.00
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.85	0.00	32.35	44.44	21.15	28.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.82	11.11	17.31	10.00
56 - 60	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.00	0.00	8.00
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.85	10.53	5.88	22.22	3.85	4.00
Grand Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Data from table 4.22 above shows that female respondents age ranges of 19-25 and 26-30 have the highest response percentage with 28.57% and 42.86% 'agree' respectively, while 100% of the 26-30 age ranges selected 'disagree' and 'I don't know' respectively. Male respondents in the age ranges of 41-45 and 46-50 have highest proportion of responses that 'agree', with 26.47% and 32.35% respectively. Male age ranges of 36-40, 41-45 and 46-50 have the highest response on 'very strongly agree', while 0.00% of the females from the same age ranges of 36-40, 41-45 and 46-50 selected 'very strongly agree'. Interestingly, 0.00% of the female age range 60+ 'disagree', while 22.22% of male of the same age ranges 'disagree' with the statement that government failure to address root cause as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria. Another

key data is presented on table 4.23 below, which explored age-gender multi-stakeholder Response on upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 4.23: Age-Gender Multi-stakeholder Response on upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency

Age (Years)	Female					Male				
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	I don't know (%)	Strongly Agree (%)	Very Strongly Agree (%)
19 -25	64.29	9.09	0.00	9.09	0.00	2.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
26 - 30	14.29	36.36	50.00	68.18	0.00	2.13	0.00	0.00	8.77	0.00
31 - 35	14.29	54.55	50.00	9.09	23.08	4.26	64.29	0.00	3.51	4.00
36 - 40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.15	8.51	7.14	0.00	5.26	52.00
41 - 45	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.55	15.38	10.64	0.00	0.00	38.60	16.00
46 - 50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.69	36.17	28.57	0.00	24.56	12.00
51 - 55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.91	0.00	100.00	5.26	0.00
56 - 60	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.13	0.00	0.00	5.26	8.00
60+	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.09	7.69	2.13	0.00	0.00	8.77	8.00
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data presented on table 4.23 above shows that female respondents in the age range of 19-25 have the highest percentage of 'agree' response, 64.29%, while followed by 26-30 and 31-35 age ranges, which both have14.29% respectively. 56-60 makes complete the list of the only age ranges that 'agreed' of the female respondents. On the male segments, 46-50 age ranges, 36.17% selected 'agree', the highest. The age range that selected 'agree' the lowest are 19-25, 26-30, 56-60 and 60+, they all selected 'agree' 21.13%. on the females, 26-30 and 31-35 age ranges selected 'I don't know' 50% each, the highest for females. While on the male side it was only 51-55 age range, they 100% selected 'I don't know'. Therefore, it is fair to say that male, 51-55 have the lowest information or knowledge about upbringing difficulty in the sample population. They 'don't know' if upbringing difficulty as one of the causes of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria of not.

Discussions that follow each data previously shown on graphs proves that first objective of this research is achieved. Based on the data provided, the findings made is clear that the research identified several factors that stimulate Both Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. In addition to factors discovered several important points were revealed as reasons behind the factors that stimulate both Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy. Corruption and literacy were some of the major reasons behind the factors that stimulates Boko Haram while unemployment and underdevelopment are some of the major reasons behind factors that stimulates Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria respectively. Another key finding that proves first objective of this research is that higher percentage of respondents believes that poverty affects Niger Delta Militants more than Boko Haram, which in turn stimulates militancy and insurgency respectively.

Based on data presented, the outcome seems odd as several literature shows Northwestern Nigeria that is prone to Boko Haram insurgency suffers a lot of damages, and a lot of people are in the Internally Displaced People (IDP's) camps. Another aspect of the result was other reasons identified from respondents, which includes bad leaders, bad leadership, bad people and bad system of governance as reasons behind factors that stimulate Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. On the other part, bad decisions, illegal activities, illiteracy and underdevelopment of the region were amongst key reasons behind factors that stimulate Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. Tables 4.1 to 4.23 provided key data that was explained at the bottom of each table by the researcher to support the above assertions.

4.3.4 Summary of Stimulants for Radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria

In this section of the chapter a lot of key issues were discussed. Data was presented using figures in previous sections. On each figure discussions were made, explaining major areas that drew much attention from respondents. Discussions were also made on factors that stimulate Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. References were made accordingly. Issues was linked with relevant literature and research findings to ensure consistency. Some of the responses gotten via interview were included in relevant sections to support literature assertions and findings. Some statements by the respondents gotten via interviews were quoted accordingly. Major issues like illiteracy, poverty, and unemployment, non-clean-up of oil in the region are amongst the top factors identified as stimulants for both Boko Haram insurgency and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. At the end of the analysis reasons behind the identified factors were also discussed.

The latter figures on 4.14 and 4.15 show some of the key figures and data from table 4.1 to 4.23 added value to the chapter by giving insight into age-gender responses towards key research questions. Bad decisions, bad governance, bad leadership and bad society have been part of the reasons behind factors. Additionally, absence of basic infrastructure, ineffectiveness of amnesty program and, America and its allies sponsored the crisis in Nigeria were other reasons behind the factors found by this research. The subsequent section will discuss findings related to second research objectives. It will highlight major findings about the objective, which was designed to 'evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation programs; the PAP in Niger Delta region of Nigeria and OSC in Northeastern Nigeria'. Findings related to the objectives will be presented and analysis will also be made on each segment of findings and data presented respectively.

4.4   Evaluation of effectiveness of two deradicalisation programs: The Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta and Operation Safe Corridor in Northern Nigeria. Evidence that shows Evaluation of effectiveness of Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta and Operation Safe Corridor in Northern Nigeria

The evidence here is as a result of series of activities that were done in addressing second objective of this research, which include interviews with individuals and focus groups, sending out questionnaires physically and electronically and receiving additional feedbacks and comments from respondents.

To evaluate effectiveness of two counterradicalisation interventions, a closed question was asked thus; is operation safe corridor effective? Overall, 127 out of 209 respondents said it was not effective compared to 62 that said it was effective. It represents more than 60% of respondents who believed that operation safe corridor

offered to Boko Haram members was ineffective. Interestingly, over 50% of those that believe it is ineffective were non-uniform officials, who consist people that work in the offices as well as manage the implementation of the program. Additionally, about 50% of respondents that believed operation safe corridor was ineffective came from the uniformed personnel. They include military officials, police and other law enforcement agencies. Furthermore, amongst them, about 30% of those that says it was ineffective were uniformed women.

Another interesting data was that there were 10 female respondents, 5 each were members of Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram respectively that said the two counterradicalisation interventions were not effective. In contrast, there were 40 male respondents, 5 former Boko Haram members and 35 former Niger Delta militants that also said the two interventions were not effective. About 43% (88) out of 209 respondents that said the interventions were not effective all enrolled into disarmament program. Although disarmament is a process under both interventions but is a core segment that exist under the PAP.

There were divergent views derived from some of the responses through interviews. During the interviews, the researcher asked respondents to rate the interventions on the scale of 0-10%, where 0% is the lowest effectiveness while 10% is highest on both PAP and OSC. Out of the total responses gotten, the overall rating of 5.5% out of 10% pass mark was given to PAP and 5% out of 10% was given to OSC. That shows participants under the two interventions felt that PAP is more effective than OSC. In another instance, two of the respondents the researcher met during interview in FCT, one each from Northeast and Niger Delta area rated both programs' effectiveness as low as 2% each. Overall, the result shows that more than 60% were of the view that the counterradicalisation interventions were not effective. It corroborates results gotten via questionnaires as well as via opinions gotten during individual and focus group interviews.

During the data collection, it was so difficult to access primary data from some key Nigerian government officials. It is important to mention here that during the time of Brigadier General Paul Boroh (rtd), former coordinator of PAP, it was very difficult to obtain data from the office, even though the public seem to have more access into the premises than during the present leadership (when the researcher was in the process of data collection). That was not unconnected with the fact that many things were disorganized. One of the respondents narrated that 'several things were going wrong at the office; contracts awarded rampantly and it was very difficult for even auditors to detect what actually happened during and after former President Jonathan's led administration (immediate past government of Nigeria, that was before the change of government on May 29 2015). Things were just bad' (male respondent, government official, male, 23 years). What surprised the researcher most was the information gotten during focus group interview inside the PAP office in Maitama, Abuja after the new head was appointed by Nigerian president. A team of senior officials attended the interview, during one of the interviews with senior officers' group; it was conducted inside the backside block of their office. The impression given to the researcher was that the information shared with him was shared with the expectation that the outcome of the research would be beneficial to the PAP office in improving its operational capabilities.

One of the unit heads narrated that "from inception of the amnesty program up to the time of conducting the interviews a lot of positives had been achieved. But my honest assessment is that the PAP is ineffective" (Male respondent, Government Official, 39 years). Some of his reasons were absence of enough professionals to

handle the program, delay in release of funding by the Nigerian government and limited funding. He additionally asserted that acts of corruption limits PAP's impact upon ex-militants. He sighted an example that when the former coordinator was leaving office, he did not hand over any sensitive document that the new management could use to enhance activities of the PAP. That seems like an act of sabotage to the efforts of the government on PAP.

Another unit head in the organization that was a former militant, but later surrendered, embraced the program and subsequently went outside the country and studied a postgraduate degree provided further insight into PAP operations. After graduation from the University he later returned back to the same amnesty office to head one of the units. He said "when I took over office there was no written documents, working procedures/guidelines to aid my actions. The office had to rely on inputs by some civil servants posted to the office to guide our operations. The main objectives of the program were not met, as such I would neither tag it as a success not a failure, but I believe it was not as effective as it should have been" (male, government official, 31 years).

Figure 4.15: Multi-stakeholder responses on how effective are the two interventions, PAP and OSC
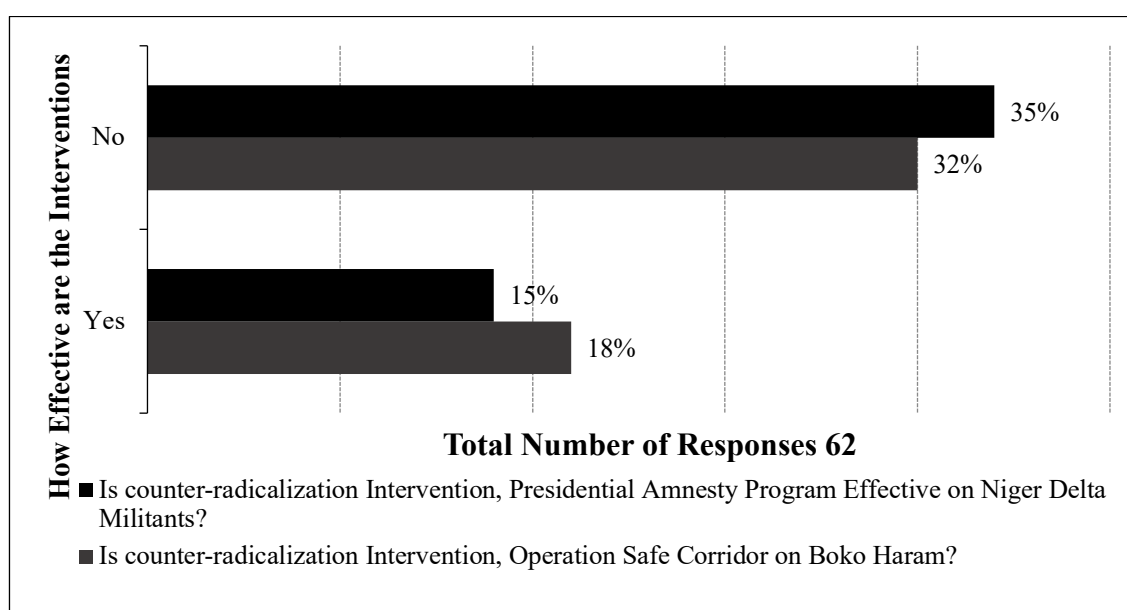
The figure 4.15 above is on an indication that both PAP and OSC are ineffective. Out of 62 respondents 35% and 32% says PAP and OSC have been ineffective respectively. The combined total is 67% of the total response. 18% and 15% believed that PAP and OSC are effective respectively. Making the combined total to be 33% of the total response. Therefore, the response shows that 67% of respondents believe the two counterradicalisation interventions are ineffective.

Another key finding was response gotten from focus group interviews of some of the middle-class youth from northeast that relocated to FCT. During the focus group interview, they mentioned concerns over the number of people that re-radicalize back to Boko Haram after enrolling on OSC. Similar issue was corroborated when one of the security agents mentioned that they had several instances where repentant militants picked up arms again. Boko Haram members are now reradicalising to their old ideologies. As a result of focus group interview that the researcher had with some gentlemen from northeast, it was discovered that the concept of

reradicalisation is a very serious phenomenon in northeast, which according to their unanimous assertion, "if the Nigerian government did not take measures to stop Boko Haram members from reradicalising, the country may see the emergence of more a radicalised sect in the region sooner than later. We pray that doesn't happen" (3 male respondents, 27, 33 and 45 years respectively). They acknowledged that there were improvements in the way Nigerian military weaken Boko Haram but that was not enough to say an intervention like OSC is effective, rather, they called it appreciative. Their unanimous consensus was that OSC is ineffective.

Furthermore, they sighted lack of monitoring development and progress of Boko Haram members that laid their arms as well as inadequate personnel to prepare them for integration into the society as other key problems that affects OSC. Additionally, although several Boko Haram members laid their arms, but lack of awareness on where they came from, and how to accept and integrate them into the society is also a big issue that has not been strategically addressed by the Nigerian government. Some repentant Boko Haram members felt rejected and ignored by the society. One of the respondents narrated that several repented Boko Haram members committed suicide due to depression. Depression symptoms is common in Borno state, as such, the finding was not surprising because it corroborates the assertion that a lot of young people in the northeast suffer from different forms of depression due to insurgency problems across the region. Recent survey conducted by Borno state government found out that, a lot of children both Boys and Girls in Borno state suffers from depression, but Boys suffers more than the Girls. Further analysis showed that "more Boko Haram insurgency experience was related to more depressive symptoms for Boys than the Girls" (Eze & Gbenkemdi, 2017 p.85).

The results also show that one of the main aims of operation safe corridor that is 'rehabilitation' of Boko Haram has not been achieved. The process of OSC takes "16 weeks" (Olonisakin, 2017 p.1), the respondents believed that such period is grossly inadequate for an insurgent to undergo complete rehabilitation. The aim of OSC has not been achieved because only a very small number of Boko Haram members embraced the program. Even those that embraced it, most of them did that obliquely. They either joined it after their capture or when they run short of food or short of other required insurgency-related logistics. In May 2018, Major General Roger Nicholas, the theatre commander of 'Operation Lafiya Dole', which is a code name to one of the widest operations by Nigeria military against Boko Haram, which also directly monitors OSC, said, that, 147 members surrendered so far (Nicholas, 2018). Looking at size of Boko Haram, such number is meagre. There is no specific number of Boko Haram members, but the projection is around tenths of thousands. President of Chad estimated Boko Harm had about 20,000 young fighters (Deby, 2015). Going by Deby's assertion, which was about five (5) years ago as at the time of compiling this thesis, also he was only referring to young fighters, considering the fact that Deby only knows about what happens around Chad. If the research were to consider other countries' perspectives and the rate at which Boko Haram keeps expanding, it will not be surprising if their number reaches 50,000. Similar problems faced by OSC have also largely affected PAP as well, because the reradicalisation of militants could be considered as one of the signs of ineffectiveness of the PAP, it is also fair to assume the same reradicalisation trajectory to OSC.

4.5 Discussions on whether the Amnesty Program and Operation Safe Corridor are effective or not.

Figure 4.16 Chart Summary of Primary Sources of Data Collection
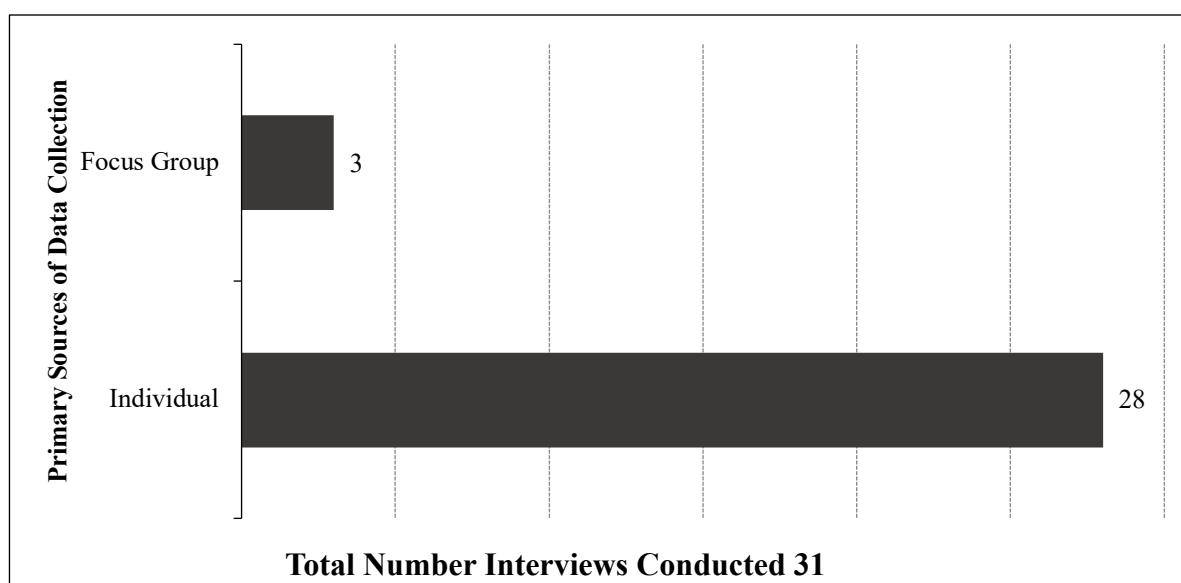
Data presented on figure 4.16 shows that out of 31 interviews conducted 28 were individual interviews and 3 were focus group interviews conducted. Nearly 60% of respondents said OSC is ineffective while about 40% said it is effective. Similarly, over 60% said PAP was not effective while nearly 40% said it was effective. Overall, if higher percentage is the yardstick of measuring effectiveness, it should in this regard; it is fair to conclude that over 60% of respondents agreed that none of the two counterradicalisation interventions is effective.

First set of respondents on focus group interview were residents of Abuja that consists people from different backgrounds, four of them from Northeast and three from Northcentral Nigeria. Amongst them were journalists, government employees and social media commentators. Majority of them lived their lives around the affected areas of militancy and insurgency in Nigeria, but later moved to Abuja after the insurgency persisted. In some of their narrations, one of them explained experience shared by one of the military officers fighting Boko Haram at the frontline in Northeastern Nigeria. The soldier's experience was bitter as he explained "they faced severe hardship inflicted on them while fighting Boko Haram insurgents. Their financial entitlements have not been paid to them rightly by Military authorities as specified by the Nigerian laws. He explained that out of the allowances due to them monthly, they only receive about 35% of the total money due. He mentioned that their approved allowances are about ninety thousand naira (N90, 000.00), which is equivalent to approximately two hundred and fifty ($250.00) United States Dollars, but they received less than ninety five dollars ($95.00) only, monthly" (military officer, quoted by interview respondent, male, 33). Furthermore, the way the insurgents lay ambush on them on several occasions is unimaginable. By his assertion, they actually did not have enough military hardware, equipment and weapons with high technological capacity to match the ones owned by some of the of Boko Haram insurgents across the country.

On the side of PAP on Niger Delta militants, some of the findings shows several factors that made respondents thinks the intervention is not effective. In one of the interviews, a respondent identified language barrier within the military, the way they communicate with the people they protect as one of the factors that stimulate militancy in the Niger Delta region and Boko Haram insurgency in Northeastern Nigeria. An example is Northeast, where the communities speak only their traditional dialects. "Some of the residents in the Northeast could not even speak Hausa language, which is a language that is so commonly spoken around Northern part of Nigeria. Most of them did not go to school to have formal education. Additionally, they have only been to Islamic schools to learn basics of how to pray, not necessarily learning complete Islamic etiquettes" (Female respondent, government official, 29 years). Such people could not relate well with military that tries to protect them. The military's official language of communication is English.

Most of the military personnel working closely with the affected community speak English and very few speak local language of the community. It was not surprising because Nigerian military does not necessarily use language, religion or sectorial lineage as the primary basis of sending troops for assignments. As a result of that, there are gaps in communicating with community leadership, which in turn affects effective intelligence gathering. Interestingly, in order to address such challenges, the Nigeria military introduced new army policy by launching mandatory training to its directors and top military officials on three major languages spoken in Nigeria that is Hausa Igbo and Yoruba Languages. They were expected to learn the three languages to at least level of listening and speaking, so that communication gaps could be bridged, which could in turn improve fight against both militancy and insurgency in Nigeria.

According to them, the overall aim of the language policy is to ensure that all military personnel could be able to speak Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba languages. The training of personnel runs up to December 2018. Major stakeholders include the Chief of Army Staff himself. According to Nigerian Army spokesman, invariably, by December 2018, all Nigerian Army personnel are expected to learn the three major Nigerian languages. He further stated, the standard of proficiency to be attained is the basic level. Certificated proficiency level will attract language allowance (Usman, 2018). The policy also affects upcoming military officers and those prospective citizens wishing to join the Nigerian Army. They are expected to speak languages other than their mother tongues to enable them qualify to be army officers in Nigeria. Strangely, as at the time of compiling this thesis, some of the military officers contacted said they were not even aware of the new policy. "My Brother, I have served the Nigerian military for a long time, and I am close to some top officers across the country, but I am only hearing this for the first time from you" (male, military officer, 45 years). One of them is currently serving in one of the African countries on a peace mission. That shows there is a gap of communication. According to him, it would be very difficult if not impossible to teach an army officer three languages within a very short period of time (name withheld, 2018).

On the part of OSC, another finding was the "Economic hardship experienced by some of the us made things more difficult some members. That is a justification that the necessitated many to re-joins militancy. No option" (male, 'repentant' militant, 39 years) One of their leaders said they had not been paid their stipends for almost one year; the last time they were paid was in late 2017. They threaten to return back to militancy if government did not pay them all their outstanding entitlements as agreed under the PAP. He further explained that a lot of them embraced amnesty with good intents and positive convictions, but the way the PAP office is treating them

led to most of them could not even feed their families. Their leaders already relocated to Abuja ready to protest publicly against the Nigerian government. Such economic hardship caused to them is one of the factors that derailed the program, resulting to ineffectiveness of the intervention. Therefore, they believe PAP is ineffective, as it did not solve repentant militant's immediate problems that initially led them to engage in militancy activities in the Niger Delta region.

In one curious response by one of the former militants, Joshua E., the gentleman was very vocal and always not shy to speak publicly. He permitted his name to be made public but he directed the interview protocol to an interview he granted on the matter that was aired via online platforms. On the interview, he addressed that the coordinator of amnesty program as a 'Dog'. Similarly, one of the elders in the Niger Delta sighted poor enrolment of militants into the program as one of the reasons why the program was ineffective. He narrated that it is only small percentage of militants that enrolled into the program.

 He attributed communication gap and lack of effective liaison offices in Niger Delta region that interlink Abuja office with militants from the region resulted in deformity. He further stated that the intervention could not be effective when only selected few were given the opportunity to enrol. It was found that there were militants willing to surrender but they did not know the first step to take in surrendering, even the two 'hotlines' contact telephone numbers provided by PAP office was not responsive, almost always switched off. The researcher verified the following numbers and called each one was switched off (+2347035611612 and +2348090088337). As at the time of compiling this thesis the two numbers still exist on PAP official portal. There is also absence of mechanism to surrender arms voluntarily without joining the program. Thirdly, it was also found out that a lot of militants surrender only few of their arms, they keep the remaining arms in the event of uncertainties and for self-defence against other militant groups.

Another discovery on effectiveness of OSC was that one of the respondents' viewpoints was that "lack of involvement of Islamic scholars; especially the ones in Northeast resulted to increase in Boko Haram activities. Bacause Islamic scholars around Northeast came from different sects and only a handful of them were extremists. But the problem they were having was lack of inter-sect dialogue. Since most of the local Islamiyya scholars have between 50-100 students that came from various parts of the country, some even came from neighbouring countries like chad, Niger and Benin Republic, they do not have 100% control over what the students does when they leave in the afternoon to look for lunch meals (male respondent, civilian, 63 years). It has been a tradition for Islamiyya schools to allow students to go out and find lunch on their own, since their parents live away from them and the scholars do not have the means to feed them. That kind of approach leaves most of the students vulnerable to external influences. A lot of them end up joining extremist groups. Some of the Kids fall of in the hands of insurgents. The insurgents manipulate them either by luring them or kidnapping them to their den. Furthermore, another issue was that, since the Islamic scholars do not have the capacity to feed their students, they do not necessarily have control on how or where sources of their daily meals were. The schools do not have a written guidance from local authorities on how ensure compliance, because guidelines on that do not exist, the scholars do not conduct proper investigations about missing children. Poorly managed Islamiyya schools' aid escalation of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

That action makes Islamiyya students more vulnerable to join various sects as Boko Haram have a lot of recruiters around the region. They resort to all available means to convince the young students, if they resist,

they use force to abduct them and integrate them into Boko Haram. Therefore, that aspect of not including Islamic scholars as part of stakeholders working for the success of OSC makes the intervention strategically ineffective. Another point discovered was that there was no legal framework that clearly regulates functions of PAP and OSC. Framework here means statutory established law enacted via the Nigeria National Assembly of (NNA) that legalises and institutionalises PAP and OSC interventions in Nigeria. Niger Delta region, where Militancy persists generates money for the Nigerian government due to abundance of oil reserves in the region, but the Northeast region does not provide any tangible economic contribution to Nigeria for quite a while.

It is not surprising when one of the most respected Nigerians; a former presidential candidate in 2011, Nuhu Ribadu, whom hailed from one of the Northeasters states; Adamawa, tagged Northern Nigeria as the most backward territory in the World (Ribadu, 2018). Without adequate laws that fast-track development in Northern Nigeria, especially the troubled Northeast, it would be difficult for counterradicalisation interventions to make long lasting impacts to the society. Without acts of NNA it would be difficult to maintain such interventions. With the way Nigeria political scene works, new government may simply emerge and quash away the programs completely. It is therefore fair to say that the interventions were not effective because they were not designed to be sustainable due to lack of democratically processed legal backing to the two interventions.

In one of the interviews in Sokoto, a respondent who did not want his identity disclosed asserted that 'one of the factors that contributed to ineffectiveness of operation safe corridor is its longevity of the insurgency. In his view, previous governments did not handle the insurgency seriously. He further elaborated that Boko Haram has existed for over a decade and half, and Niger Delta militancy has been around for about same time. Nigeria has not fought any internal problem consistently for over a decade apart from the two-mentioned problem'. He further added that "Had the country fought and won any internal security challenge recently, it would have been easier to eliminate both militancy and insurgency in Nigeria. Therefore, absence of recent experience in successfully curtailing militancy and insurgency is one of the factors that contributed to ineffectiveness of both fight against militancy and insurgency in Nigeria" (Male respondent, civilian, 51 years).

Similarly, Nigerian military had not fought any internal battle that last longer than Militancy and insurgency, therefore their inexperience in fighting the menace is a factor that slows successful fight against both militancy and insurgency in Nigeria. Furthermore, another factor was that, the two major challenges surfaced around same period, meaning that both must be handled simultaneously. As at April 2015 before All Progressives Congress (APC) political party took over power as the incumbent president's political party, there were a lot of complaints that Nigerian military was not well equipped to fight Boko Haram due to shortage of armoury and intelligence sharing gadgets. Counterinsurgency took longer period than necessary. In turn, even though some level of progress was made on both PAP and OSC, as at end of 2018 it did not make significant impacts.

The responses tally with both results obtained from primary data and major literature. By linking all primary sources of data together, majority of respondents asserted that government is responsible for addressing most of the factors that affected both PAP and OSC to succeed. Issues like unemployment, poverty and insecurity. There is also general mismanagement; corruption, poor working conditions and poor environmental conditions, which are all within the ambit of government to control but it did not do the needful in most of the sectors

mentioned. Government should be primarily responsible to provide favourable atmosphere and stable system that could address all the earlier mentioned problems.

In an article published by Harvard International review (HIR), which was written by Abdulrahman Bello Dambazau, a former Chief of Army Staff (COS) in Nigeria in 2014, whom apparently a year after became, and as at the time of compiling this thesis was the minister of interior, Nigeria. His ministry oversees the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), the Nigeria Prisons Service (NPS), which was later renamed by the Nigerian government as the Nigeria Correctional Service, the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC). He asserted that while several factors could have contributed to Nigeria's security condition today, there is no doubt that poor governance and lack of effective leadership at all levels of governance are central in attempting to explain the problem (Dambazau, 2014). Dambazau's statement is a testament on the level of leadership challenges faced by Nigeria from Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy as it evolves around security. It is therefore fair to say that ineffective leadership is one of the factors that led to ineffectiveness of counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. Thus, both PAP and OSC are ineffective.

Several other interview respondents corroborate what was reported on questionnaire; corruption. In the questionnaire, data that has been analysed, corruption was mentioned more than sixty (60) times by respondents. They mentioned it as a factor that contributed to ineffectiveness of counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. Due to massive corruption involved in Nigeria's public administrative systems, a lot of problems were linked to it. Several government initiatives could not materialize due to corruption. Despite reports or fight against corruption in Nigeria, United States Human Rights Report (UNHRR) asserted that:

> "Although the law provides criminal penalties for conviction of official corruption, the government did not implement the law effectively, and officials frequently engaged in corrupt practices with impunity. Massive, widespread, and pervasive corruption affected all levels of government and the security services," in Nigeria (USHR, 2017, p.29-30).

The Report also linked immunity clause in the Nigerian constitution as a factor that aid corruption in Nigeria. The constitution of Nigeria provides that President, Vice President, Governors and Deputy Governors were all immune to prosecution while in office. Such provision is widely seen as a gap that exists in successful fight against corruption in Nigeria. Most of the politicians use to engage in high corrupt activities. There are several reports of past governors convicted for corruption, albeit after over a decade of litigation trials in the Nigerian courts.

In consideration to factors leading to ineffectiveness of the two counterradicalisation interventions, one needs to reflect on previous points which identified fighting both Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgents. The two interventions simultaneously derived much resource from Nigerian military than expected. From 2010 to 2016, there is an average of $1 billion expenditure in fight against insurgency in Nigeria. Although in December 2016, the President of Nigeria said Boko Haram was technically defeated (Buhari, 2016). In 2017, the President questionably requested for additional $1 billion to fight same Boko Haram he claimed to have defeated in 2016 (Obaseki, 2017). Therefore, with emergence of Fulani Herdsmen crisis in Nigeria while fighting militants and Boko Haram added more weight into already stretched Military might of Nigeria. As

such, it is fair to say that other security challenges including the emergence of Fulani Herdsmen security challenge in Nigeria, which drew so much attention from both Government and military is one of the factors that led to ineffectiveness of counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.

The issues of Fulani Herdsmen and Armed Bandits are some of the most pressing issues in Nigeria. Although several analysts did not normally associate the two, but they share few attributes in common. They both differ in so many ways. While Fulani herdsmen were primarily Fulani people from Northern Nigeria. Agriculture grazing and related businesses are their most common venture. Their trade/business is associated with cattle breeding and rearing. They move around Nigeria and most parts of West Africa. Their major rivals were normally farmers. Their conflict usually starts when herdsmen move their cattle around farms, leading to destruction of farm produce and products. Absence of grazing laws across Nigeria led to escalation of farmers-herdsmen crisis across the country.

On the other hand, Armed Bandits originates from various tribes, ethnicity, and location in Nigeria. They engage in killing of innocent people including policemen and military officers, kidnapping, armed robbery, car snatching and several other criminal activities. It was reported that in less than three month alone, about 1,310 people were killed in Nigeria in combined incidences that include Fulani herdsmen-farmer conflicts, arm bandits and other insurgents-related groups (Ndujihe & Odochukwu, 2018). The security situation had caused a lot of unrest, especially in Northern Nigeria that is predominated by Muslims. The challenges added extra workload to Nigerian Military that is already engaged in other counterinsurgency operations across the country as well as on peace keeping missions in various countries within the African continent.

4.6   Summary on Evaluation of Effectiveness of PAP and OSC

In this chapter, the researcher highlighted findings related to second research objective. The objective was 'to evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation programs, which are the PAP and the OSC. After the introduction the writer discussed evidences that addressed second research objectives. Relevant data as extracted from questionnaire and interviews, which provide proofs of addressing second research objectives. Relevant issues were discussed which gives credible assessment on evaluation of effectiveness of PAP and OSC. Graphical illustrations were presented in the chapter from figure 4.1 to figure 4.17, which presented chairs that contained vital information about the research. Additionally, tables were also presented form table 4.1 to table 4.23, which presented figures and percentages that shows age-gender responses of key research questions. In the next chapter, chapter five, the researcher presents Evidence-Based Framework for Implementing Future Deradicalisation Programs.

Chapter 5

Evidence-Based Framework for Implementing Future Deradicalisation Programs

5.1   Abstract

This chapter addresses the third objective of this research, which is 'design an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective 2 to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs. The chapter explores what works and what doesn't and details the reasons why the interventions did not work. It provides countermeasures. It additionally explores examples of key frameworks and the applicable ones related to this research. The results of this research, as explained in this chapter identified what works and what doesn't. At the end of the chapter, two tables were developed: table of what works and table of what doesn't work. In the two tables, each has rows and columns that explain why it works or didn't work, also recommended countermeasures to mitigate the related effects on each component. The chapter concluded with a summary, which recapitulates what had been discussed in the chapter.

5.2   Introduction

The idea behind this chapter is to give an insight into various frameworks, then explain strategic framework for countering insurgency, and later show what works and what doesn't work in findings of this thesis. A guide in developing the framework is necessary to practically apply mechanisms that could enhance effectiveness of future counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. Out of the data collected, responses from the sampled population, the researcher developed list of 'what works' and 'what doesn't work', key frameworks were accessed before arriving at the decision on how to structure the table. To explore frameworks, it is essential to provide a wider overview of how it has been defined by various scholars "Generally, a framework is an essential supporting structure of a building, vehicle, or object. It is a basic structure underlying a system, concept, or text" (Oxford Languages, 2020). Generally, frameworks could be found in the fields of science and technology, humanities and other related fields in social sciences. Both academia and some professions have developed some of these frameworks. A review of some selected framework concepts is presented in in subsequent sections.

Additionally, there are different types of frameworks. There is technical framework, innovative framework, and theoretical framework etc. In the social sciences, there is broadly a conceptual framework. It is the 'researcher's map of the territory being investigated' Miles and Huberman (1984), quoted by (Rogers, 2012). Frameworks are often regarded as standards, in other words, procedures that guide the user. Frameworks are designed to aid decision makers in implementing improved ways of providing solutions to a problem. Governments design frameworks to enhance service delivery to the people it serves while private sector use frameworks to improve deliverables; services, solutions and products they provide to customers and stakeholders or organizations they serve. One of the main reasons why framework is designed is to insure there is strategy in place to achieve set out objectives. In this research, one of the objectives is to provide guide on

designing innovative framework that aid authorities concerned, especially the government, when designing and implementing future deradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.

Furthermore, frameworks are set of rules, procedures and steps necessary to guide implementation of a project or program. Literally, framework is defined as an essential supporting structure of a building, vehicle, or object. A basic construction underlying a system, concept, or text (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018). As such, this framework is designed to help the Nigerian government in designing future deradicalisation interventions. The framework subsumes many of the research findings. Results from the implementation of objectives 1 and 2 of this research were used as a yardstick in developing these recommendations on how best Nigeria could utilize it in designing future counterradicalisation interventions. The framework is innovative, as it is scalable and measurable. There are several examples of successful frameworks in existence. The researcher present some of the key frameworks in the next paraph, also discuss key elements related to frameworks in subsequent ones.

5.3 Essential Frameworks

One of the most essential frameworks is *Cybersecurity Framework (CF):* This is a framework developed by the United States National Institute for Standards and Technology (NIST). Its emergence was as a result of presidential executive order 13636 of 2013, which was aimed at improving Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity. It was tagged as Voluntary Common Framework' (VCF). The CF was aimed at providing a holistic framework that protects federal information systems and organizations' infrastructure (TraceSecurity, 2015). CF has been widely used across the world by government agencies and private sector organizations. As such, it is seen as a successful framework. Furthermore, in order to enhance its admissibility in the United States, especially due to growing incidents of Cybercrimes, in 2017, the United States President Donald Trump signed extended executive order 13800 mandating all federal agencies to use Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity known as (CSF).

Although CSF was not designed to work as a standalone framework, rather, a tool to be integrated into other frameworks and standards for effective solutions. According to security publication, which quoted NIST, CSF could be integrated with ISO/IEC 27000, COBIT 5, ANSI/ISA 62443, and NIST SP 800-53. It is also meant to be customized rather than being used as a process or activity checklist (Barrett, 2018). Therefore, both the CF and CSF have been successful examples of framework. Nevertheless, each of the two has their respective drawbacks. It was argued that CF doesn't do enough to address the highly targeted attacks facing industrial control systems. Similarly, the fact that CFI was designed not to work as an independent standalone framework makes it incomprehensive framework. Nevertheless, introduction both CF and CFI by United States government is seen as a step forwards in safeguarding physical and technological infrastructure. Therefore, protecting physical infrastructure itself is an aspect of public security because it consists of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) infrastructure, which is used by security agencies in sharing intelligence (Asante, 2018). A lot of governments rely heavily on power of its ICT to strive.

5.4 Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency

Bruce Hoffman and Jennifer Morrison Taw presented Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency (SFCTI), which is code named N-3506-DOS, published by RAND. It was after extensive research sponsored by the United States Government. Major highlights of the framework were that when designing any framework that intends to address terrorism and insurgency, government must tailor its approach by emphasizing on the following elements; command and coordination; coordination between and within intelligence services; foreign collaboration amongst security forces and government; and, effective anti-terrorism legislation combined with measures to build public trust (Hoffman & Taw, 1992).

Furthermore, the framework did not ignore emerging trends and technology used by terrorists in modern day, it foresaw the future dynamism of insurgency and recommended that government must always put into consideration the time, period and circumstance of terrorists and insurgents when developing counter radicalisation and counter insurgency frameworks. Therefore, a lot of countries, academia as well as other United Nation's special groups consult the framework when developing counterterrorism and counterinsurgency strategies; as such it is a successful framework. Having said that, SFCTI has not addressed pressing issues being faced by the Nigerian government in implementing PAP and OSC. Because it SFCTI were to be implemented by Nigeria's security agencies it would be difficult to address issues of corruption in Nigeria, which is one of the factors that makes the two counterradicalisation interventions ineffective in Nigeria.

There are other successful frameworks applied by other countries. For example, although the United Kingdom is one of the pacesetters in the fight against terrorism, community-based initiatives were missing in their previous counter insurgency and counter terrorism frameworks. Another problem with UK counterinsurgency was mechanism for sharing intelligence, which was why they recently announced that;

> "MI5, Counter-Terrorism policing and the Home Office are establishing a series of Multi-agency pilots that will test multi agency working at the national and local level, focussing on different ways of sharing information" (Home Office, 2018, p.1).

Furthermore, Canada has a more robust community-based approach in their counter terrorism framework as against previous government that uses punitive approach to counterradicalisation (Ahmad, 2017). Barely a year after Ahmad's contention, the United Kingdom's Strategy for Counterterrorism framework was revised to address all the major deficiencies initially identified. The document popularly known as CONTEST Framework, was built around four 'Ps', *prevent*: to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism. *Pursue:* to stop terrorist attacks. *Protect:* to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack. *Prepare:* to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack. The CONTEST strategy, according to the establishment document "is the framework that enables us to organise this work to counter all forms of terrorism" (CONTEST, 2018, p.7). The clarity and broadness of CONTEST makes it a popular and widely acceptable framework than previous one developed by the United Kingdom. The current one captures almost all grey areas and is in line with global best practices. The researcher introduced framework based on CONTEST.

5.5   Assumptions Underlying the Framework

The What Works Centre, UK, adopted Effective, Mechanism/Mediators, Moderators/Contexts, Implementing and Economics (EMMIE) framework. (Johnson et al, 2015). It is a framework that was used to design crime reduction toolkit. It uses evidence gathered after systematic review of data "including meta-analyses which use arithmetical tests to estimate the overall effect of an intervention by conjoining data from several studies" (College of Policing, 2018).

EMMIE is a rating and ranking system-based framework that was developed by the Jill Dondo Institute, University College London with the aim of helping academic and practitioner communities to access evidence-base easily and quickly. The framework works around five dimensions, which include effects, mechanism, moderators, Implementation and economic cost (College of Policing, 2018). There is a renowned centre known as the 'what works centre'[6] in the United Kingdom. EMMIE framework used by the centre in developing crime reduction toolkit is found to be effective.

Evidence-based frameworks are used to support strategic decision-making. To develop a framework, one is expected to first decide on a given theory then choose applicable framework or combination of attributes of different frameworks to design it. Allison Miller's article published by Cicero Group outlined the following five steps: clarify your target outcomes; leverage the existing knowledge base; connect your program inputs to specific outcomes; focus on implementation and measurement; then, continually refine (Miller, 2017). Another recommendation of best way to design counter insurgency strategy was offered by William Bailey. In his article, he quoted famous strategist Galula's work in 1964 where he asserted that the strategic approach centres upon his theory that counterinsurgency is not solely military, rather, it is a combination of military, political and social actions under strong control of a single authority. The four basic rules of the operations applied across the globe in one form or another are: the support of the population is as necessary for the counterinsurgent as for the insurgent; support is gained through an active minority; support from the population is conditional, and; intensity of Efforts and vastness of means are essential (Bailey, 2012). The preceding two examples encapsulate what most, almost all major areas, developers of counter insurgency or counterradicalisation framework consider in designing comprehensive strategies. It is therefore important to consider the roles and impacts the society could make in designing any counter insurgency framework. Results of this research shows that the Nigerian government's strategy in fighting insurgency has not put into consideration the role that the Nigerian people could play is very important towards success of PAP and OSC. Thus, majority of respondents asserts that the two counterinsurgency interventions are ineffective.

5.6   Methodology for Determining What Works and What Doesn't Work

In determining what works and what doesn't, several methods were considered. First, responses derived from data collection were the primary basis for determining what works and what doesn't. Two, responses were considered; the first was response to closed question that requires 'yes' or 'no' on whether the two counterradicalisation interventions work or not. Another was the narrative responses derived from stakeholders

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[6] The what works centre for crime reduction was established in 2013 in United Kingdom, it was established to review research on practices and interventions aimed at reducing crime.

that include former militants, former Boko Haram members, former and serving military personnel and other key stakeholders.

Another method used was assessment of what was practically on ground in the Niger Delta region and Northeastern Nigeria. Analysing government reports and comparing it with independent reports by nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), other multinational agencies and insider information like whistle-blowers and administrative officers directly handling the two counterradicalisation interventions. Such were the primary responses used in determining what works and what doesn't work.

A third approach was to determine the factors that led to what works and what doesn't in the two counterradicalisation interventions. That was done by analysing the impacts of the interventions on the Militants and Boko Haram members, to the immediate environment where they reside and to the victims of both militancy and insurgency across the two effected regions in Nigeria. Such components were part of method the works centre used in designing its framework, which was based on EMMIE framework recommendations, and subsequently, developed its crime reduction toolkit.

Some components of primary data collection results were consulted in designing this process. The researcher also put into consideration the gap between launching the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) and Operation Safe Corridor (OSC). He also analyses the outcome of impacts each intervention made on addressing unemployment, poverty, social welfare, clean-up of environment and attack on oil facilities/infrastructure. Each component was weighted individually in order to determine the changes in the number of people that benefited. Additionally, review was made to know whether government and oil companies have or have not made any significant effort in addressing the problems. Furthermore, a tabular presentation was prepared, which classified 'what works' and 'what doesn't' into groups and explained factors against each component. Each one was presented with rows and columns that shows item number, what works, why it works and how to sustain what works, then what doesn't work, why it doesn't work and proactive countermeasures to make what doesn't work.

Another method used to identify what works and what doesn't was by comparing frameworks used in designing the two counterradicalisation interventions. The PAP embraces a DDR framework, which subsumes three components namely Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (Ogundiya, 2011), while, although Operation Safe Corridor (OCS) does not have a clear framework like PAP, however, it can be argued that it also subsumes elements of the DDR viewpoint, which characterises the PAP because all repentant Boko Haram members were enrolled under OCS that has the DRR elements (Olonisakin, 2018). The methodology used was by comparing the number of both Niger Delta militants and Boko haram members that were successfully enrolled and deradicalized under both PAP and OSC, with the total number of Militants and Boko Haram members. For example, when PAP was introduced in 2009, the Nigerian government said it enrolled 30,000 militants but these research findings proved otherwise.

The research compared the total number of militants that enrolled and whether the enrolment was subsequently followed by DDR, because the framework was used to guide implementation of PAP. Similar method was used to know what works and what doesn't work on Operation safe corridor (OSC), for example, there were around

20,000 Boko Haram members as asserted by Chadian President Idris (Deby, 2015), the method was used to know what works and what doesn't by comparing the number of Boko Haram members that embraces Operation Safe Corridor with the number of members Mr Deby asserted. The number of Boko Haram members is compared with number of it that embraced OSC. Additionally, recent trend of events such as report by the Federal Government of Nigeria in 2018 shows that less than 500 Boko Haram members were successfully enrolled and actively participated in all the components of DDR framework. It was only recently that Nigerian Military reintegrated 254 repentant Boko Haram members, includes a minor and subsequently another batch of 155 Ex-Boko Haram fighters to be integrated into the community (Shafa, 2018), which makes the total to 409 only. As at the time of compiling this thesis, that figure was the only officially reported number of former Boko Haram members that surrendered and fully enrolled into OSC. That figure of 409 was less than 2.5% of the total projected number of 20,000 Boko Haram members earlier asserted by Deby. So far, as at the time of compiling this thesis it was the only official figure released through the Nigerian military. Such are the methods used to identify what works and what didn't work on PAP and OSC respectively. A summary was extracted out of the findings and presented in tabular form, which is presented in the next section of this chapter. It shows both what works and what doesn't work, why it works or it didn't work, and the recommended sustainable and countermeasures respectively.

5.7 What Works on the Two Counterradicalisation Interventions: PAP and OSC

After analysing the results and subsequently analysing various frameworks, recommendations were made as presented on Figure 5.1 below; which is a table presentation of what works, why and where it worked and recommended sustainable measures.

Table 5.1 Table of Analysis and Recommendations on Counterradicalisation Interventions that works

Item	What works	Why and where it worked	Sustainable Measures
1.	Deradicalisation	As at the time of compiling this thesis, almost 500 former Boko Haram members surrendered, fully enrolled into operation safe corridor (OSC) program and successfully graduated and 'waiting to be integrated into the society'-Shafa, 2018).	Expand the program by reaching out to more Boko Haram members. Have dialogue with them and provide them with the required support and logistics so that more of them could embrace OSC.
		From 2015 to 2017, a significant progress has been made in fight against Boko Haram. That was not unconnected with change of government as well as change of leadership in the military. Progress has also been made in reducing Boko Haram attacks due to better equipping of military.	Regular provision of latest equipment to Military is highly encouraged. Militants should not have better equipment than the Military of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
2.	Rehabilitation	About 500 former Boko Haram members were rehabilitated after going for 12 weeks rehabilitation program (Olonisakin, 2016).	Ensure that those that are already deradicalized get integrated into the society. Follow it up by monitoring their integration progress for future improvement.

		Although some respondents of this research questioned how someone that spent years killing people could be rehabilitated within only three months. From 2015 and late 2017 there has been decrease in severity of attacks by Boko Haram. That signifies something is working under operation safe corridor (OSC).	Provide more rehabilitation camps across all states in the Northeast. Ensure rehabilitation follows global best practices and to be handled by professionals including psychologists, psychiatrists and those with required certification to handle suck kinds of programs.
		Although there are still worrying signs due to National Assembly of Nigeria's revelation that Boko Haram are still present in 17 local governments areas in Borno State' (Zorro, 2018), Nigerian Army keeps gaining ground against Boko haram. In October 2018 alone. 76 Boko Haram members have been neutralized (killed) by Nigerian Army' (NA, 2018). Such a feat is a success and it proves that proactive attacks are working.	Rehabilitation should include victims of insurgency, not only former Boko haram members. In rehabilitation process, it is important to consider a lot of factors that differentiate individuals. Issues like gender, age religion, level of Islamic or western education, physical challenges/disabilities etc. There should be different segments for each category of people in rehabilitation process. The military should sustain proactive attacks on Boko haram also ensure they minimize military and civilian casualties during aerial and ground raids on Boko Haram insurgents.
3.	Reintegration	As at the time of compiling this thesis there is no exact updated number of former Boko Haram members that have been successfully reintegrated back into the society. But Nigerian Military said for some of the rehabilitated ones would be handed over to their respective states for rehabilitation.	Nigerian government should ensure existence and implementation of a strategy that would allow immediate integration of all beneficiaries of deradicalisation programs, Including victims of insurgency.
		During a press briefing the coordinator of OSC program said they 'would soon integrate 155 back to their society (Shafa, 2018).	The Nigerian Military handling OSC should not allow former Boko haram members to feel neglected after successfully completing the 12 weeks rehabilitation process.
		Based on this research's findings, about 500 former Boko Haram members enrolled in rehabilitation but there is no evidence to show they have been reintegrated back into the society.	Government should not give them impression that those that have not yet resorted to peace should not embrace OSC program. If the ones that enrolled are treated badly the ones that have not yet surrendered may likely ignore OSC and could possibly not enrol.
		Nevertheless, successfully graduating 155 ex Boko Haram Members is commendable. It is indeed a sign of	The welfare packages and fair treatment given to those that already laid their arms and embraced OSC could be a yardstick that entices

		progress that signifies something is working, albeit slow.	other Boko Haram members to embrace the same OSC amnesty. Therefore, it is very important for the Nigerian government to ensure availability of adequate manpower to take charge of reintegration process.
4	Disarmament	Federal Government of Nigeria targeted 30,000 Niger Delta Militants to motivate them to voluntary surrender and disarms within 60 days window in 2009. On its website, OSC confirmed that 30,000 militants surrendered during phases 1,2 and 3. In 2016, it was reported that 7,000 militants disarmed (Nigerian Government, 2016), that was 7 years after launch of the program. In same year, 18 new armed groups sprung up in Nigeria (CMG, 2016). In another report, 20,192 agitators laid down their weapons (PAP, 2018). (Recently, Urobhor Liberation Force gave Nigerian government 14 days ultimatum to provide adequate budget for them in 2019 or put the country into another financial slump. All the above examples show militancy is still evolving in Nigeria. Nevertheless, despite all the said challenges, a lot of militants disarmed under the PAP. But nothing much has been done to stop them from re-joining the same militancy group or establishing fresh ones. The positives are that the government has acknowledged that there are problems; also, it has started taking measures of addressing such problems. President of Nigeria has changed PAP leadership with what many see as better leadership. A PAP liaison office is opened in Bayelsa to ensure militants do not need to travel to FCT to lay complaints about their demands. A lot of graduate and non-graduate youth from Niger Delta region benefited from both local and foreign scholarships. It enables them to further their education and intellectual capacity. Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) scholarship has helped a lot of Militants. Furthermore, PAP scholarship to militants that embraced amnesty has also helped significantly in educating Niger Delta youth. About 200 people benefit from NDDC scholarship annually since 2010.	Government should change its strategy to encourage more militants to disarm. More engaging in enhanced awareness campaign via direct contact as well as using conventional and electronic media could do that. Government should provide immediate assistance to those that already disarmed through enrolling them into next stages of demobilization and subsequently reintegration into the society. Just like Government did by opening a liaison office in Bayelsa state, more liaison offices should be opened across all the Niger Delta states affected by militancy. Government should continue to sponsor more people from those that disarmed to further their education. The researcher met one of the beneficiaries of PAP that was studying in one of the Universities in UK. He narrated that PAP fully sponsored his postgraduate studies and he intends to return to Nigeria to set up a consultancy firm. It would be located in Niger Delta to be nurturing youth on shunning violence and becoming self-reliant. A good number of those that graduated in 2017 have started working for various companies in Nigeria and abroad. Some even proceeded to study higher degrees. As such, Government should ensure sustenance of both local and foreign scholarship to ex militants by providing improved funding and timely release of funds to PAP office.

| | | By end of 2018, beneficiaries of such program reach about 1,600. The number is encouraging because it compliments number of ex militants sponsored for foreign studies under the PAP. PAP sponsored nearly 10,000 students' home and abroad. But there has been huge outcry from the sponsored youth due to non-payment of foreign students' tuition and maintenance fees sponsored across the globe.

In 2015, Ijaw Youth Council Worldwide asserted that about 6,000 Niger Delta Students studying abroad have been delisted and evicted from their respective Universities' (Eradiri, 2015). Nevertheless, a lot of positives have been recorded, in 2017, out of 144 sponsored by PAP to study in United Kingdom, 6 and 23 students graduates with first-class and second-class upper degrees respectively. That was very encouraging. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | Demobilization | According to PAP portal, the PAP was a replication of United Nations' recommendation. As such, it only has three segments thus; Deradicalisation, Disarmament and Reintegration. Nevertheless, there are other components of the three that relates to demobilization. Example is provision of scholarship to Niger Delta youth and former militants.

It is a good method of demobilizing and demoralizing them to engage in any form of negative behaviours. Similarly, provision of materials and emergency support to flood victims in Nigeria Delta region by PAP office is commendable. Such interventions make Niger Delta people feels sense of belonging. In turn, they might likely support the Nigerian governments' interventions. | The Nigerian government should continue to provide regular financial and material support to Niger Delta residents.

The Nigerian government should also fast-tract clean-up of the Niger Delta region to enhance environmental viability.

The Nigerian government should not only wait until disaster happen before it reaches out to them, it should regularly interact with the community leaders and youth to know their progress, problems and expectations. |
| 6 | Rehabilitation | Successful rehabilitation of 155 ex Boko haram insurgents is a good example of what works in the current counterradicalisation intervention. That is in addition to successful sponsorship of several former Niger Delta militants for studies in universities across Nigeria and abroad. Such initiatives offer both direct and indirect form of rehabilitation to both former Boko Haram members and former Niger Delta Militants.

A lot of respondents, although not in majority, attested to the fact that some | Nigerian Military should do more in ensuring sustenance of the rehabilitation process.

Rehabilitating 155 Boko Haram is not easy but the number should have been way higher considering the fact that there are about 20,000 or more Boko Haram members. Nevertheless, the tempo should be sustained and improved. |

		aspects of both OSC and PAP have helped in bringing a considerable stability in both Northeast and Niger Delta regions. There are hopes for better welfare from government since introduction of PAP in 2009.	The Nigerian government should provide better funding to both PAP and OSC to ensure wider coverage. More rehabilitation camps should be opened across all the states affected by both Boko Haram insurgency and Niger Delta militancy.
7	Sustainable Reintegration	There are several examples of what works in both OSC and PAP interventions in Nigeria. Although it is not clear how many ex Niger Delta Militants and ex Boko Haram members have been integrated back to the society, but the awareness campaign currently going on jointly by the military and traditional rulers in the Northeast is a good initiative that could bring lasting integration of Boko Haram members into the society. Bringing the ex Boko Haram members into the society for dialogue between Military, ex Boko Haram and Community leaders as seen recently in Gombe state is a positive move by the Nigerian Government. On the other hand, they way some of the beneficiaries of foreign scholarship under PAP are creating awareness to Niger delta youth is also a sign of what is working.	Other beneficiaries that graduated from Universities under PAP scholarship should complement the government's effort by spreading their success stories to their communities. Ex Boko Haram members and ex Niger Delta Militants should be integrated immediately into the society. Local communities should be fully involved in the reintegration process even at rehabilitation centres to enable faster reintegration. Reintegration should involve all stakeholders including victims of insurgency, victims of militancy and traditional rulers. Heads of Islamiyya school should be included in all the rehabilitation processes.

The first thing that works was adoption of change in the way Nigeria handles insurgency issues. The resulting impact is that the Nigerian Government now embraces counterradicalisation initiatives to solve insurgency issues. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, there is no record of an amnesty program by any civilian administration in Nigeria that was ratified by the Nigerian Council of States (NCS). Although not backed by act of National Assembly, PAP was the first to have been ratified. NCS is an organ of Nigerian government, which is backed by Nigerian constitution. The composition consists of President, who serves as chairman, vice president, all former presidents and heads of government, the senate president and speaker House of Representatives. Other members are all current state governors; there are 36 in Nigeria, all former chief justices and current attorney general of the federation (Constitution, 1999). Launching of PAP and OSC in 2009 and 2016 respectively by the Nigerian Government serves as a pacesetter for subsequent governments to copy, and take up from the two interventions. Successive governments may use the experiences and findings of existing interventions useful in designing and developing future counterradicalisation interventions. It is therefore valid to say that existence of the two interventions is the first thing that works as validated by findings of this research.

Additionally, it works because for the first time a mechanism is on ground that allows opportunity for trial. Trying to implement the two interventions is good idea. According to Mark Twain, a renowned American author and humourist, the secret to getting ahead is getting started. As such, from 2009 to the time of writing this thesis, a lot of reforms, adjustments and changes were deployed in the way the two interventions are being managed. In early 2018, Nigerian president replaced former coordinator of PAP due to series of complaints from former militants. Such action justifies the researchers earlier views that establishments of the interventions alone are something that works, as improvements are gradually seen, albeit at a very low pace.

Another fragment that works is collaboration in fight against insurgency. The resulting impact on that was the multi-stakeholder collaboration in fight against insurgency in Nigeria. An initiative like Joint Task Force was largely commendable as asserted by respondents. Before the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, government has not formally accepted and integrated civilians in strategic fights against insurgency or militancy. Most of what government does is to gather intelligence from the public. Even that, only Department of Security Services and the Nigeria Police Force utilize such opportunities. The police went to the extent of establishing a form of community policing by allowing credible people from the community to join 'Police Community Relations Committee' (PCRC). The committee, which according to researcher's interviews with some of top-level retired police officers in the country, is one of the largest government-public committees in Africa (Coomassie, 2017). In another assertion by a very senior retired officer, he says; I could proudly say that it is the largest police-public engagement committee that exists in Africa (Isa, 2018). Although the PCRC suffered some setback in 2014 because many people forge its identity card to commit several crimes, which led to the then Inspector General of Police (IGP) to withdraw ID cards of all PCRC members in Nigeria (Abba, 2014). Apart from such government-public collaboration, there was no evidence that shows existence of any civilian-related initiative better than the Military-Civilian Joint Task Force, popularly known as (JTF) in the fight against insurgency and militancy in Nigeria. As such, it is a commendable initiative that works in the counterinsurgency interventions like PAP and OSC.

Furthermore, another part of the interventions that works is the presence of PAP office. Before the establishment of the office, both militants and people affected by militancy and other challenges faced by the region do not have any government agency that they can easily relate their problems with. Although there was Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), but its mandates did not comprehensively address problems of militancy in the region. It is as a result of establishment of PAP that local and international media had a government agency they can contact for first-hand information on anything related to Militancy in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The findings show despite militants' complaints of lack of adequate offices of PAP across Niger Delta region, the people of the Niger Delta region and indeed some of the former militants interviewed felt that having the PAP office alone is a good step by Nigerian government as they know exactly where to go and lay their complaints and problems.

Another aspect that works is the improvement in revenue generation by the Nigerian Government. From early 2017 to late 2018, there is relative calm in the Niger Delta region compared to mid 2015 to late 2016. Report by the Federal Government through the PAP office shows that there is revenue increase of 1.7 trillion naira from the oil export in 2017, which was an increase/difference with 2016 oil export earnings. The increase was

up to about $4.6 Billion United States Dollars (Lakemfa, 2018). The statement was corroborated by this research finding that shows nearly 50% of respondents think that the PAP was effective.

Additionally, PAP office also reported that there is increase in stakeholder communication in the region. Elders, ex-militants and oil companies in the region hold regular meetings in form of forums. Major highlight was the regular stakeholder's forum that brings into the table highly respected Pan Niger Delta Forum PANDEF. Also, parts of the forum were beneficiaries of PAP, representatives of youth and traditional leaders. Lakemfa additionally asserted that regular dialogue with such kind of forums ensured increased stability in the region, which in turn improves oil production that resulted in high oil export revenues accrued to Nigeria. Finding of this research could not directly corroborate what justifies increase in revenue generation because the number of respondents that believes the PAP is ineffective was higher than the ones that think are effective. Overall, PAP's point could be considered valid as almost 50% reported that there are elements of effectiveness in that regard.

Another addition to what works was the findings that local, national and multinational donor agencies now have where to submit financial and material support than previously when there were no PAP offices. Before introduction of PAP, Nigeria was already facing militancy and other pressing security challenges, none of which is of more significant worry to the Nigerian government than the Niger Delta Militancy. It is not surprising since the region holds vast amount of Nigeria's economic resources; oil. Thus, the introduction of PAP to Militants was seen as a step in the right direction. But, due to absence of specific government agency, like a Ministry that looks after the PAP, the agencies could not provide the needed support. In Nigeria's administrative structure, a ministry has more administrative authority to implement immediate programs than a parastatal. PAP office is considered a parastatal. Meaning that it is under the leadership of someone below the position of a Minister. Another problem with that is that issues under ministry have direct access to Federal Executive Council (FEC)[7]. The overseer of PAP is not qualified to be a member of FEC because his position is below that of a Minister. Before the introduction of PAP and OSC, even when the Nigerian government introduce an intervention to the society, it mostly ends in wrong hands, and at the end of the day not being strategically implemented due to lack of clear framework. Furthermore, even the aid that came from foreign agencies gets stolen or mismanaged.

Nigeria has history of mishandling and misusing aid materials. In 2016, food items including 200 tons of dates and other logistics given to Nigeria by Saudi Arabia Government meant for supporting Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the Northwestern region were diverted for personal use by the management staff of IDP camps. Items as low as dates were stolen and sold to marketers in Nasarawa states and the FCT. Saudi Arabian Government tagged it an unfortunate turn of event, a disappointment to Saudi Arabia (Aduku, 2017). As at the time of compiling this thesis, the Federal Government of Nigeria has so far not reported any prosecution or conviction on the issue of stolen items.

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[7] FEC: The Federal Executive Council of Nigeria constitutes the President, the Vice President and all serving Ministers of Nigeria and other representatives chosen by the council under the leadership of the President, he serves as the council chairman. It is the highest decision-making body that approves capital projects and other high-cost programs for the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

Further issues that work is the reduction of violent crimes in the Niger Delta region. That could be justified by the relative peace that is gradually improving between middle of 2015 to late 2018. Violent crimes such as oil bunkering, kidnapping of oil workers, attack on oil facilities and infrastructure have all been considerably reduced. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that even though violence has not been eliminated completely, but the introduction of PAP intervention has significantly reduced the menace of oil theft and other related criminal activities in the Niger Delta region (Omokhoa & Ikelegbe, 2016). Therefore, some aspects of PAP and OSC are working.

Other interesting areas that works is on the integration segment of repentant Boko Haram members. In early 2013, almost 4 years after launching PAP, the Nigerian Government raised a 25-Man committee to work out modalities for granting amnesty to Boko Haram members. In less than 3 months after inauguration of the committee a faction group of Boko Haram under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau signed ceasefire agreement with the Federal Government to surrender their arms. They sought for forgiveness from Nigerians and also said they forgive everyone that offended them (Marwana, 2013). Although no specific number of repentant Boko Haram members was mentioned then, due to split of the group, the number was not expected to be high. Similarly, in late 2018, the Nigerian Government graduated 155 former Boko haram members in Gombe State. They took oath of allegiance to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. During the event, one of the repentant Boko Haram members sought for forgiveness from his immediate community and indeed Nigerians. He urged the community to forget the past and feel free with them in order to be able to let them integrate with the community effectively (Shuwa, 2018). That was a sign of positives from the rehabilitation. Because if all the rehabilitated Boko Haram members could show remorse and willingness to reintegrate with the society then there is hope of success in the OSC program.

5.8   What Didn't Work on the Two Counterradicalisation Interventions; PAP and OSC

After analysing the results and subsequently analysing various frameworks, recommendations were made as presented on Figure 5.2 as a table below; it is a table presentation of what did not work, why it didn't work and countermeasures to be taken to ensure it works in the future.

Table 5.2 Table of Analysis and Recommendations on Counterradicalisation Interventions that doesn't work.

Item	What Didn't Work	Why and where it Didn't work	Countermeasures to ensure the interventions work
1.	Deradicalisation	Few Boko Haram members participated compared to their total number, which is about 20,000 as asserted by President of Chad, Idris (Deby, 2015). Not enough awareness on OSC and there is Increase in Insurgency activities in Nigeria.	The Nigerian Government should reach out to insurgents and encourage them to participate in the OSC. Publicity and awareness campaign on OSC program should be enhanced. Military Reinforcement should be consistent and timely.

2.	Rehabilitation	Inadequate facilities and working tools to the Nigerian Military for rehabilitation makes the OSC difficult to succeed. Not enough awareness on OSC also contributes to why it did not work. Limited rehabilitation centres for the rehabilitation of Insurgents also contribute to the problem of OSC. Limited funding and late release of funds to the Nigerian Military is part of what makes the interventions didn't work	Improve military manpower and enhance their equipment capabilities. Establish more rehabilitation centres across the country. Provide adequate budget/finances. The Nigerian government should use all mechanisms available to communicate to insurgents to lay down their arms and embrace OSC. There is limited awareness on the interventions; hence it didn't work as expected. The Nigerian government should provide more rehabilitation centres across Northeast to ease process of rehabilitation. If the deradicalisation process takes place without rehabilitation process the intervention is bound to fail. Government should regularly release funds to the military, timely.
3.	Reintegration	Absence of Strategic Plan for Integration. Exclusion of Victims of Insurgency into the OSC Program. Lack of stakeholder inclusion. Inadequate centres to cater for to IDPs' welfare and security. There are a lot of IDPs in the country and the number keeps growing. Recent crisis in Zamfara state in 2019, which starts spreading across Rabah, Sabon Birni and Isa local government areas all in Sokoto State have potential to make more people to join IDPS.	Design an all-inclusive framework that Include all victims into the PAP and OSC interventions Include all stakeholders in designing future counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. Use similar methods to improve current interventions. Enhance IDPs welfare and provide additional IDP camps across affected areas especially in the Northeastern part of Nigeria Recent deployment of the Nigerian navy aircrafts to Sokoto is a welcome development but the problem is that the armed bandits and armed robbers keeps relocating to other remote villages across Northwestern Nigeria.
4	Disarmament	Militants still holding arms and ammunitions. Illegal ammunitions trading. Oil infrastructure not secured. The kind of weapons being used by both Militants and Boko Haram members is scary. So long as weapons are at hands of insurgents and militants the interventions might likely not work in Nigeria's favour. Some of the respondents asserted that people that fled from the war in Libya are importing the weapons to Nigeria.	Extend Amnesty Coverage. Secure Borders and enforce regulations. Collaborate with all stakeholders to ensure effective disarmament process. The Nigerian government should never give up on negotiating with insurgents and encouraging them to lay their arms. It applies to militants. PAP should be extended to ensure all militants are given equal opportunities to participate in the PAP. Although several arrests and interception of armed have been done by the Nigerian customs at across the

| | | Thus, the increase in infiltration of arms in the hands of militants and insurgents. Such a trend makes the disarmament segment of the program not working. | Nigerian waterways/ports, but the government should provide more security across the Nigerian land borders.

The Nigerian Immigration Service and the Nigerian Customs Service should jointly work; be proactive in stopping illegal importation of armed across the land borders. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | Demobilization | Lack of basic infrastructure. Lack of comprehensive social welfare package to Nigerians including the insurgents, militants and victims of criminal activities in Nigeria.

Lack of awareness about PAP and OSC interventions.

Poverty and Unemployment are rising and Insecurity in the country contributes to that. It is difficult for the government to demobilize people from insurgency and militancy while they are hungry, poor and unemployed. | Provide Infrastructure. Provide Social Security to the insurgents and militants to encourage participation into current PAP and future interventions.

Conduct intensive public enlightenment campaign to the citizenry in playing a role in supporting current counterinsurgency interventions to work

Provide conducive environment that create opportunities. Provide decent jobs to the insurgents and militants that embrace OSC and PAP respectively. Improve presence of security in the Niger Delta and the Northeasters regions of Nigeria. |
| 6 | Rehabilitation | No rehabilitation blueprints. No standard rehabilitation centres. Inadequate expertise to rehabilitate both ex insurgents and victims of insurgency. Lack of collaboration with stakeholders.

Unfair selection of beneficiaries of PAP and Inadequate financing by the government. All the above played a role in making the interventions not to work as expected. | Design a comprehensive blueprint; a well-articulated strategy based on recommendations on the two tables provided in this chapter.

The blueprint should serve as a strategy that considers what works and what doesn't work in current interventions to enable remodelling of both PAP and OSC for a better performance.

Establish rehabilitation centres across all Niger Delta States. Provide enough rehabilitation experts. Allow multi-stakeholder inclusion in all decision-making processes. The communities should be engaged in the process of reintegration since they would be the ones to live with the rehabilitated militants and insurgents. Enhance selection process and allow open enrolment to all militants. |
| 7 | Sustainable Reintegration | Lack of clarity in process of reintegration due to absence of a holistic strategy in the two interventions. | Provide comprehensive blueprint on sustainable integration. Provide step-by-step guide to enable all stakeholders provide inputs and feedback. |

		Lack of multi-stakeholder inclusion. Limited funding. As a result, the interventions did not work as expected.	Ensure all stakeholders are included especially victims of militancy and insurgency. Provide adequate and timely funding to beneficiaries and stakeholders.
8	Emerging Issues as a result of what didn't work; emergence of fresh militant groups and a peer group within the Nigerian Army	Youth in the Niger Delta region now join Militancy due to Unemployment. Fresh Militancy Group Emerges like the Niger Delta Greenland Justice Movement (NDGJM). There is also a serious problem where young Military personnel threatening to voluntarily retire from the Nigerian Army due to lack of equipment and untimely payment of their statutory allowances and entitlements.	Provide job opportunities specifically tailored to Niger Delta youth. Engage in dialogue with the new militant groups, find out and address their grievances. Improve military welfare and provide adequate, modern armoury and intelligence gathering and sharing equipment to enable them be proactive an intelligence gathering and sharing with other security agencies. The modern armoury when provided could motivate the army and possibly overpower insurgents, militants and other criminals threatening Nigeria's sovereignty.
9	The aspect of reduction of poverty through providing employment opportunities did not work.	Increasing operational challenges makes Oil companies shut down for 180 days annually in Nigeria (Olorunsola, 2018). Therefore, it is difficult to provide additional job opportunities by oil companies in such situation.	Improve security for oil infrastructure for both NNPC and private companies in the region, because without safe and security oil facilities both NNPC and oil companies could not operate well, let alone provide job opportunities to people around Niger Delta region.
10	Reduction of Crimes and other vices has not been significantly achieved.	New militant groups are emerging, mostly dominated by youth. Reasons are not unconnected with the fact that militants get better monthly pay from government than other graduate jobs in the regions. The narrative must change to ensure that criminals get lower pay than legitimate workers.	Government should create more job opportunities for the youth. Wages and working conditions should be fairly allocated to discourage youth from joining militancy. New programs and skills acquisition initiatives are introduced to discourage youths from sitting idle in Niger Delta regions.
11	Corruption persisted.	Corrupt elements operate within the Nigerian Military and Office of PAP. As long as corruption remains within the military it is highly unlikely for any intervention to succeed, let alone OSC. Welfare of both the military and civil servants operating OSC and PAP is low. Nigeria is a country where the government and the labour union are at loggerhead for over a year before approving N30, 000.00 Naira monthly minimum wages to civil servants, which is approximately $85.00 US dollar. Such indices are one of the banes of success of PAP and OSC interventions in Nigeria. As at 2019 it still hasn't been implemented.	Government should sanitize the system by deploying technology, also by putting more credible leadership to handle the two counter insurgency interventions. Salaries, wages, emoluments and other entitlements of both public servants and civil servants should be improved from time to time. That may likely minimize acts of corruption across both the military and PAP office that handles OSC and PAP interventions respectively. The Nigerian government should improve welfare of its employees in redesigning current interventions as well future counterradicalisation interventions

		Another problem is what most Nigerians call selective prosecution of corrupt government officials. Successive Nigerian governments have been accused of prosecuting only members of the opposition party when it comes to corruption. For Nigeria to develop, all corruption fighting agencies like Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offenses Commission (ICPC) should be fair in arrest and prosecution of offenders. They should serve diligently without bias, in the interest of Nigerian people.	Nigeria's development is hindered due to corrupt related activities. According to the Transparency International's report, corruption in getting worse in Nigeria because it was ranged number 136 in 2016, while it was ranked 148 out of 180 countries (CPI, 2018). Proactive countermeasures must be taken by the Nigerian government to ensure that corruption is eliminated. Blocking all leakages that warrants corruption could aid that. Additionally, use technology, establish special courts to fast-track prosecution and conviction of offenders. Furthermore, create awareness to inform Nigerians on dangers of corruption is also proactive avenue in fighting corruption in Nigeria. Nobody should be above the law in Nigeria. Leaders of Nigeria should lead by example and stop engaging themselves in direct or indirect activities that aid corruption.
12	No Lasting Peace	Although attack on oil facilities has reduced in the Niger Delta region, problem still exist, as major issues that led to emergence of the problems have not been tackled. Recent report by the Humanitarian Affairs office of the United Nations on Nigeria asserted that, from November 2018 to January 2019 about 80,000 people have been displaced in the Northeastern Nigeria due to violence (OCHA, 2019). Such a report is worrying because IDPs might become more pressing issue to manage by the Nigerian government than insurgency.	Nigerian government needs to design and implement a holistic approach that encompasses all the needed elements, and all stakeholders to ensure success. A comprehensive long-term strategy to ensure lasting peace in the two regions. Government should be proactive in improving lives of the people in the regions, including reaching out to both insurgents and victims of insurgency. The rate at which IDPs are growing as a result of crisis in Zamfara and Sokoto states is alarming! Government should be proactive in eradicating the armed bandits terrorising the area also provide immediate humanitarian support to IDPs around the area.
13	Absence of Adequate Infrastructure	Niger Delta region is still not developed to its full potential. It applies to Northeastern Nigeria as well. There are no good roads, no social amenities and no good schools. There is also ineffective healthcare and unstable security in the two regions. As such, they are vulnerable to uncertainties. Apart from NDDC, all other initiatives have not been active. Temporary interventions like Victims Support Fund (VSF), Presidential Committee on the North East Initiative (PCNI) and Presidential Initiative on	Government should increase funding to NDDC and the recently established Northeast Development Commission (NEDC). The two agencies are the primary Government establishments that have very clear mandates of developing the two vulnerable regions of Nigeria. Therefore, they require immediate funding to start implementing their mandated across the two affected regions.

		North East (PINE) have not made significant impacts in the region because IDPs and other victims of insurgency including children and old persons are not properly taken care of.	Other agencies like VSF, PCNI and PINE should broaden their operations and increase their respective manpower to be able to provide immediate support and assistance to victims of insurgency and militancy as well as to all the IDPs across the affected regions.
		Absence of integration of technology into PAP and OSC administration, and monitoring and evaluation caused a lot of problems.	The Nigerian government should integrate technology in the agencies handling various segments of counterinsurgency interventions to ensure consistency and elimination of corrupt practices. Technology could save time and resources of government in the implementation of PAP and OSC.

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PAP and OSC are both designed with some objectives. PAP was more strategically structured than OSC, because it has a specific leader, office location, infrastructure and considerable budget than the OSC. But they both have some targets and goals to achieve. The aim of OSC was to rehabilitate and reintegrate (Abubakar, 2016) surrendered and repentant terrorist Boko Haram members (Defence 2016) that surrendered to Nigeria military. It is interesting to note that in order to have a high-profile body that monitors progress made on OSC, Nigerian President established Presidential Committee on the Northeast Initiative (PCNEI) during a meeting that was organised by PCNEI in collaboration with OSC officials and Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD). The Nigeria military confirmed that from inception of OSC to the time of compiling this research (a little over three years period), only 254 repentant Boko Haram members have been rehabilitated. Out of which 95 have already been handed over to their respective states. Majority of the surrendered Boko Haram members came from Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States, while only 3 were from Chad (Shafa, 2018). Going by the number of Boko Haram members rehabilitated and reintegrated, which is 254, the number is way too low when compared with number of Niger Delta Militants that laid down their arms under PAP.

According to the Nigerian Government report, which was released less than one year after the PAP was established, the amnesty program is looking at registering about 14,000 to 15,000 by the time, those that surrendered their arms were fully documented. Most of the groups that we know about accepted the amnesty program (Ararile, 2009). The figure is almost half of the Government target of 30,000 militants. Although recently, Nigeria Military said during graduation ceremony of repentant Boko Haram members that after 11 months intensive routine, government has additionally deradicalized, rehabilitated and reintegrated 155 former members of Boko haram that voluntarily surrendered under the OSC (Martins, 2018). When compared with 254 rehabilitated under OSC it is fair to say that OSC has not worked in terms of rehabilitation and reintegration.

The above reports were corroborated by findings of this research that the data analysed shows results, which indicates that less than 50% of respondents believed that OSC was effective. Interestingly, considering the fact that less than 500 former Boko Haram members were successfully reintegrated, OSC is ineffective, because

the number represents less than 3% of the total number of Boko Haram members which was estimated to be around 20,000 (Chad, 2015). Nevertheless, these research findings contradicted such figures since almost 50% of respondents reported that OSC was effective. That represents a sharp contrast as Government reported number was only 3% of the total. Although Chad's report did not specify whether the total number of Boko Haram members mentioned were all domiciled in Nigeria or scattered across Lake Chad axis. Overall, neither the findings nor Nigerian Government's report's percentage was enough to prove otherwise. As such, it is fair to conclude that OSC did not work in terms of addressing deradicalisation and rehabilitation objectives.

With regard to the findings on reintegration, it is fair to conclude that the Nigerian Government has not made concrete plans towards reintegration of former Boko Haram members back into the society. The implication is that they may end of reradicalising back to Boko Haram insurgency. Another implication of not reintegrating the deradicalized Boko Haram members is that other Boko Haram members that have not surrendered may feel reluctant to surrender. They might decline OSC program because there is no guarantee that they will get a better lifestyle than what they have as insurgents. A point to support the argument is that there is uncertainty into how they would be treated by their immediate community when they get back into the society. Most of the victims of the insurgency were not willing to easily accept the repentant insurgents because of their volatility. In one of the interviewee's response towards the issue of reintegration, she narrated that:

> "You cannot easily trust someone that killed your immediate relative. I feel unsafe to let any Boko Haram member to come close to my house or immediate community" (female victim, widow, age 27 years).

She added that although Borno state Government is trying its best, the Federal Government has not made any serious contribution to alleviate their losses and sufferings.

> "We had to rely on material support from foreign aid and Victims Support Fund (VSF) in Nigeria to survive" (Female respondent living in one of the Internally Displaced Camps (IDPs), age 29 yesrs).

Further investigation into the matter shows that Victims of insurgency were not given significant attention by both government and international community in terms of offering physical, material and psychological support to the community on how to integrate repentant Boko Haram Members. Repentant Boko Haram members also shares similar problem. Therefore, in the aspect of reintegration, it is fair to conclude that it does not work.

5.9   Summary

This chapter discussed what works and what doesn't work in the two counterinsurgency interventions viz-a-viz PAP and OSC. The researcher gave detailed analysis of each segment sighting literature and reports that supports findings of the research Essential framework was also discussed and the next section was Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency. Afterwards, assumptions underlying framework was also presented. The 'what works and what doesn't' was presented in tables. Each one was discussed with clear

details and examples. All the tables discussed current situation, why it works or why it didn't work, and also recommended sustainable measures and proactive countermeasures on both respectively. At the end of the sections additional issues that didn't work were also discussed with factual analysis to justify their inclusion into this chapter. The subsequent chapter will discuss the implications of findings of this thesis.

Chapter 6

Implication of Findings

6.1   Introduction

This chapter present a component that summarised the research and present the possible implications. By definition, 'research implications basically refer to impact that your research might have on future study or policy resolution or the related field of importance of your study' (Sachdev, 2017). That is what has been presented in this chapter. It consists of implication of the findings, key implication of findings, which include the framework. Framework table for counterinsurgency was developed and explained in this chapter. Afterwards, the IPPPPE framework was introduced. The chapter also discusses how the framework was developed. Additionally, the chapter evaluates feasibility of the framework, its innovative and applicable nature and the impact it is expected to make in addressing future reradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. At latter stage of the chapter, details of innovation and applicability of the framework was explained and in the last section, the impact that framework could make in designing future reradicalisation interventions was highlighted.

6.2   Implications of Findings; Possible future effect

Findings of this research shows that there are a lot of implications that could have future effects in designing future reradicalisation interventions or even improving on existing ones in the future.   Such implications include economic implications and financial implications. Other implications are security implications, policy implications and social implications.

Economic implications could be viewed from the angle of economic impacts on security to Nigeria, Nigerians, in Nigeria. Between May 2015 to 2018 Nigeria's economy has been on decline, but gradually picks up between 2017 to 2018. That was not unconnected to the crash on global oil prices, because the country relies heavily on oil to survive. Within the same period, the country faced several security challenges from existing Militancy, Boko Haram as well as upsurge in Kidnappings and armed banditry in the northern part of the country. Several sources elaborated how the country's growth has been performing. Real GDP growth of 3.14% was recorded, falling far short of the 6.38% in the corresponding period of 2014 (ADBG, 2015). In 2016 during its first recession in 25 years, the economy contracted by 1.6% (World Bank, 2019). The nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew in Q3 2017 by 1.40% (NBS, 2017). Economic growth gets a boost from high oil prices. Real GDP growth to reach 2.0% (PWC, 2018). Above assertions proved that the findings of this research could have not only social effects but also have potential economic effects as well

The findings of this research show that almost 70% of respondents asserts that they either strongly agree or very strongly agree that poverty and unemployment are some of the major factors that causes Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. As a result of that, if the Government of Nigeria did not address the two issues of poverty and unemployment, the economic implications could be severe. The Government targets disarmament of 30,000 militants in 2009, but as at the time of compiling this thesis, there has not been practical proof of achieving that target. With Nigeria's population, which stood at about 198

million (NPC, 2018), and annual growing population rate that stood at about 2.6% (World Bank, 2018: Worldometer, 2018), if the level of poverty and unemployment is not holistically addressed and reduced in Nigeria there could possibly be an economic implication in the very near future. Economic implications include limited funds for appropriation by the federal government and inadequate financial resources to execute capital projects, and other social-related projects like the existing counterradicalisation interventions. Such a scenario may in turn affect future reradicalisation interventions, and security challenges may worsen in Nigeria. It could also affect development and expansion of existing interventions such as PAP and OSC.

Furthermore, there is also a financial implication of findings of this research, which is closely connected to economic implications, because so long as the economy is weak it normally affects financial status of a country like Nigeria. Poverty being a major factor that led to spread of Boko Haram insurgency and Niger Delta militancy, the research outcome shows that the Nigerian government has not address its root cause. In one of the individual interviews granted to the researcher by one of the security personnel in Nigeria, asserts that "I am sure majority of insurgents in the Northeast are poor. If we cannot help them, then the Nigerian government should, but they, the government officials have not done so in any serious way" (Male respondent, security personnel, (declined to produce age, but likely to be between 31-35). Therefore, the financial cost of addressing poverty will be higher in the future than now. Nigeria could save a lot of money by implementing alternatives that could improve current counterinsurgency interventions than leaving it at a later time. Cost of items keeps going high, as such the future financial implications may likely slow down the process if not implemented timely.

Another implication of findings of this research is on Nigeria's security. The Nigeria security agencies have been severely tested by several security challenges over the past decade. Out of the 50,000 security personnel and civilians killed by Boko Haram in the Northeast alone (Abu-basha, 2020). Security agencies have lost several security personnel including the military in the fight against militancy, insurgency, armed banditry and other social vices in Nigeria. This research outcome, when used by the Nigerian government could change the way they operate when fighting insurgency and indeed when designing a holistic strategy in addressing any counterinsurgency intervention in the future. Additionally, there is also policy implication. Since the research findings shows that there is no policy document that has been passed through the democratically elected institutions of Nigeria, that is the legislative arm of government, which ought to have established laws backing existence of both PAP and OSC, the Nigerian government needs to rethink its ways of designing policies that address security challenges in Nigeria. Programs like PAP and OSC needs to have adequate legal backing for it to survive and have lasting impacts on Nigeria and indeed Nigerians.

Although in 2016, there were media reports that the Nigeria House of Representatives have passed a "A Bill for an Act to Establish the Presidential Programme on Rehabilitation and Reintegration for the Implementation of the Presidential Amnesty Programme in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria and for other related matters for second reading." (PLAC, 2016). Additionally, the Nigerian Senate also passed into law the "act to establish the Presidential Program on Rehabilitation and Reintegration for the Implementation of the Presidential Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria and for related Matters, 2018 (HB.482) (Vanguard, 2018), as at the time of compiling this research the official portal of the Presidential Amnesty Program https://www.osapnd.gov.ng/presidential-amnesty-programme/ *(PAP, 2020)* did not report or cite existence of

any of the media reported laws. Furthermore, the researcher could not trace any of the said laws in the online database of both the Houses (Senate and House of Representatives) in Nigeria. The two houses are regularly updating and publishing their successes online. It is therefore fair to conclude that there was no formal legislation by the National Assembly establishing its existence.

6.3   Key Implication of Findings

In research, Implications represent one of the most significant parts. It is where one discusses results and where the overall research stands for (Oden, 2020). The Implications should be justified and specific (Cochrane, 2013). One of the key implication of findings of this research is the implications it has on the way the Nigerian Government operate both PAP and OPS. Although the Nigerian government assumes that it is getting it right on both interventions, the findings proved the opposite. Therefore, the implications could be viewed in two ways; positive, and negative. The negative is the fact that a lot of people in both Niger Delta and Northeastern Nigeria continue to suffer because the Nigerian government neither use the right approach in evaluating impacts of the two interventions nor prepare adequately for after effects of implementing the two interventions. For nearly a decade after launching the PAP, "we suffer more than anyone else in Nigeria" (Adogbor, 2018). The environmental and health situations are not getting any better. The Fiends of the Earth (FOE) report asserts that while the oil companies including the Shell spend a fortune greenwashing their image, tens of thousands of people continue to suffer from their pollution and negligence. The region is not in the right shape. Large size of the area is heavily contaminated (Amnesty, 2020). Nigerian government did not take immediate and holistic approach to the two interventions both Militancy and Insurgency could take decades to eliminate in Nigeria. One of the individual interviewees argued that "this militancy is not ending anytime soon in Nigeria" (respondent, Female, volunteer, 31 years).

The positive implication is that this research result could help the Nigerian government to strategically restructure the two interventions for a more productive outcome. Identifying the problems is one of the main advantages of making progress in future. The Nigerian government is still at an advantage position because both militancy and insurgency has not crippled the country like it did to other countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria etc. Because the Nigerian Government is still largely controlling Nigeria's sovereignty. That has been corroborated by the spokesperson of the Nigeria Military, that despite series of attacks across various parts of the country, "we are in full control" of Nigeria (Eneche, 2020). Therefore, this is the right time and opportunity to use all available resources including manpower, security apparatus and international community to reposition the two-counterinsurgency interventions for a better Nigeria.

6.4   The Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate 'IPPPPE' Framework

Having undergone an intensive review of existing literature as well as analysing data collected during this research, the researcher introduced a few frameworks as an avenue for the Nigerian government to improve the existing and possibly future counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. The framework is called IPPPPE Framework. The acronyms represent *Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate*. The six components of this counterinsurgency framework are vital in the development of the Risk Reduction Models (RRM) for the Framework. The main target of the framework is risk reduction, because total elimination of

risk is almost impossible. Especial regarding the fight against insurgency, militancy and the emerging banditry-related problems in Nigeria. The framework is developed by reviewing, exploring and comparing the Nigerian milieu with the UK Counter-Terrorism Strategy 'CONTEST' model framework, in consideration with recommendations extracted from Research Analysis Corporation (RAC)'s Guidelines for Measuring Success in Counterinsurgency. The guidelines asserted that:

> "Good counterinsurgency analysis, then, requires first, a set of realistic guidelines to success; second, a realistic determination of the relative weight to be given each guideline chosen; and, third, a determination of the absolute validity of each guideline in terms of the cultural conditions at hand. This selecting and weighing process will place all guidelines in their proper and realistic frames of reference" (Bjelajac, 1966, p.5).

Counterinsurgency interventions are expected to be flexible and dynamic. Due to the fact that insurgency-related problems are dynamic too. They do come in complex and complicated circumstances. Thus, the need to make counterinsurgency issues subject to reviews and improvements to meet up with the existing trend. There is no specific, permanent pattern that the insurgency uses in Nigeria. Their patterns are random and unpredictable. Boko Haram members are unpredictable, they are like ghosts (Fessy, 2014). The only permanent trend is that their target is always to cause harm, destabilize peace and bring hardship to the society. Therefore, this counterinsurgency framework is dynamically designed to enable a flexible approach to any emerging trend posed by any form of militancy or insurgency in Nigeria.

Table 6.1 provide components of IPPPPE Framework. It was classified into segments that explained the acronym: Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate. Each component has attributes attached to corresponding elements in the model. The attributes were drawn on row, each component has preliminaries, stakeholders, short-term impacts, medium-term impacts and long-term impacts that the framework is expected to achieve. The framework is guided by responses gotten during the data collection, experience gotten in the course of the research, current trend on militancy, insurgency and boko Haram in Nigeria and the existing literature.

Table 6.1 IPPPPE Framework Table for Counterinsurgency in Nigeria

IPPPPE FRAMEWORK FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY IN NIGERIA					
RRM MODEL	Preliminaries	Stakeholders	Short-term Impact	Medium-term Impact	Long Term Impact
IDENTIFY	Previous Challenges compare with the current situation to know threats and vulnerabilities. Prepare for Disarmament and Demobilisation of Militants	The Nigerian Military, Nigeria Security agencies, PAP, OSC, the Community.	Encouraging the community to be part of identifying early threats, make inputs and offer recommendations on the way forward. Inclusiveness is the key	The Nigerian government could make policies that mandates community to report threats and vulnerabilities. The government is expected to promulgate relevant laws that could mandate rural participation in	Develop a policy to enable international community to share intelligence with Nigeria. Continue to evaluate the framework for improvement. Develop capacity of all the security

	and Insurgents.			management of local security.	agencies in Nigeria
PREPARE	Self-evaluation of preparedness, Budget, funding, integration of technology. Identification of victims of insurgency in Nigeria.	The Nigeria judiciary and legislature, the Military, Security agencies and Governments at all levels. Support from the traditional rulers, institutions and the public support is essential too.	Nigerians will feel more secure. Militants and insurgents may feel more encouraged to embrace PAP and OSC. There could be more enrolments into the PAP and OSC by the militants and insurgents in Nigeria	Reduction of Militancy and Insurgency activities in Nigeria, specifically by the Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram insurgents. The Nigeria Military and internal security agencies will be more prepared to handle insurgency and other security challenges in Nigeria.	Nigeria will be more secure and relative peace will prevail. Insurgency and militancy would be drastically reduced. Threats are detected in advance. Mechanisms for development would be on ground.
PREVENT	The sovereignty, infrastructure and people. Provide employment, social services. Provide more rehabilitation and reintegration centres.	Nigeria security agencies, especially Police, Immigration, Military and the other internal security. Leaders of PAP and the OSC	Insurgents and Militants will be weakened. Nigeria will be more secure and more militants and insurgents could possibly lay their arms and embrace the PAP and OSC.	Militants and Insurgents will be demobilized and reintegrated into the society. Peace will be sustained in Northeast and the Niger Delta region. IDP Camps will be more effective. The country could remain safer than it is presently.	The community participation to build confidence on the society. Apart from intensive awareness campaigns via various platforms, the Ex Militants and Ex Boko Haram members could be used to propagate against militancy and insurgency.
PURSUE	Chase away militants and insurgents, prosecute them timely. Protect the borders and secure people and Nigeria as a Nation.	Law enforcement agencies like the Police, DSS, NSCDC and Prison service. Nigeria Customs should play integral part of this segment.	Nigeria will be more secure because borders are closed to avoid infiltration of arms and insurgents into the country.	Internal militancy and the insurgency will be reduced because of preventive measures and implementation of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration	Militants and Insurgents that refused to embrace amnesty will be prosecuted. Welfare of Northeast and Niger Delta people will be improved.
PROTECT	Be proactive in detecting threats, guard Nigeria's critical infrastructure, public places and the society. Rehabilitate and reintegrate	Nigeria military and border control agencies. Internal security and the Community. Operators of PAP and the OSC are the major	Nigeria and its borders will be secure. More people could have hope that Nigeria introduce new initiatives to curb	More jobs are provided for Niger Delta people and those in the Northeast. Ex militants and Boko haram members to be rehabilitated and reintegrated into the society in both the Northeast and the	Employment opportunities for Nigerian youth. Oil spillage to be cleaned in the Niger Delta region. Infrastructure is to be provided in Nigeria. Corruption

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	repentant insurgents.	stakeholders on this.	insecurity issues.	Niger Delta regions in Nigeria.	problems to be drastically reduced
EVALUATE	Regular, periodic review of impacts of the interventions and how high or low vulnerabilities and threats are in Nigeria, especially across the Northeast and the Niger Delta regions	The Nigerian government at Federal, state and local levels, PAP and OSC operators, security agencies and the general public.	Critically examine how each segment of the framework is performing.

Adjustments be made regularly to ensure realistic impacts are felt accordingly. | Implementation of new techniques to address fresh and emerging security challenges in Nigeria. Integration of technology in counterinsurgency initiatives.

Gradually introducing new ways and ideas on how best the counterinsurgency should be managed and enhanced in Nigeria. | Policies and laws are available to tackle the insurgency and other security problems in Nigeria. Multi-stakeholder collaborations are in place to effectively and proactively handle militancy and insurgency in Nigeria. |

The figure 6.1 below is a graphical illustration of the IPPPPE framework, It demonstrates the flow, the movement sequence of each activity segment and how frequent it keeps moving in circled movement.

Figure 6.1[8] The IPPPPE Framework Graph for Counterinsurgency in Nigeria
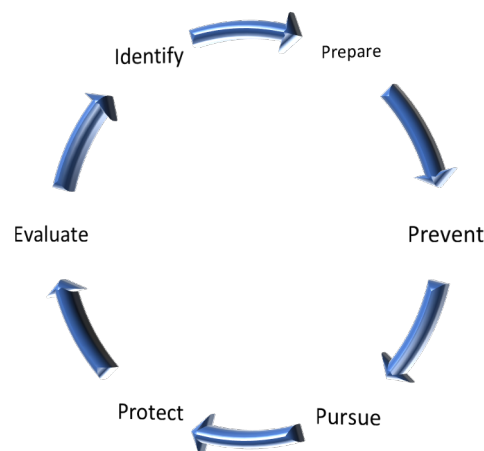
Figure 6 1 above: Graphical illustration of the IPPPPE framework for Counterinsurgency in Nigeria

6.5   How the Framework Was Developed

In developing the framework, the writer used the UK CONTEST framework as a template, because it is a comprehensively articulated framework that encapsulates most of what a 21st century framework should entail. Additionally, CONTEST was designed to directly address insurgency related problems, which is presently

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[8] Figure 6.1 is graphical illustration of IPPPPE Framework introduced by the researcher to aid counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. It was designed using the United Kingdom's CONTEST Framework but customized to suit Nigeria's counterinsurgency interventions.

prevalent in Nigeria. Therefore, using CONTEST as a template is justified. What was done to it was to modify it to suit the Nigerian paradigm. There are similarities between insurgents' activities. A publication by one of the world's leading geopolitical intelligence platform asserts that violence makes them similar (Stratfor, 2014). But one needs to always consider a lot of things that could make the framework either succeed or fail. Issue like the environment, nature of people, technology and pattern of insurgency activities. In Nigeria, the use of force and illegitimate means to achieve their aims by both the Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram insurgents makes them similar. In one of the individual interviews with one of the government officials, she bitterly complained against the criminal ways the Militants operate in various parts of the Niger Delta regions. She says "The militants' source and use various types of heavily sophisticated arms against the Nigerian military. They commit various types of war crimes against Women and Children in the creeks of Niger Delta" (Female, Non-Uniform Government Official, age 46). Such assertion makes the Nigerian milieu so distinct, requiring a modified framework to the UK CONTEST to ensure consistence with the need of the Nigerian security agencies and government in the fight against militancy and the insurgency in Nigeria.

The framework was developed to improve Nigeria's existing COINS operations, in consideration to the culture, terrain and government's fight against all forms of insecurity in Nigeria. CONTEST framework was developed using Risk Reduction Models (RRM), which intend to counter the insurgency using four Ps: Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare. It was indeed a well-articulated framework, although the impacts might be lower than the UK's due to sanity and stability of how the government of the UK operated. Additionally, the advancement of technology and administrative processes (bureaucracy) in the UK gives them more chances of getting quick results in the implementation of COIN than Nigeria. As such the four Ps of the UK CONTEST has been maintained, but one additional segment was added before and after the first and last Ps to make this framework to be named the IPPPPE framework for Nigeria. The researcher is hopeful that the new framework introduced in this research is innovative and consistent with global best practices.

6.6   Feasibility and Innovation and Applicability of the Framework

Although there are theories that Nigeria as a nation is inconsistent in providing workable alternative to ensure counterinsurgency interventions function effectively, because, amongst other reasons is that "the laws are not up to speed with contemporary trends and also not proactive in terms of the socio-economic impetus to insurgency" (Allsigwe & Akanni, 2019); there is not a standard framework for COIN in Nigeria. This framework presented by the researcher is feasible in Nigeria because it is straightforward and has a clear direction. Its practical application possibility is achievable. It could be implemented by either the executive arm of government under a dedicated ministry or via a special body like the Military or professional organisation such as PAP or OSC.

The framework's last component, which is evaluation, makes it flexible for policy makers to improve from time to time. The framework is also innovative because it integrates the components of the UK CONTEST framework and remodelled it to suit Nigeria's situation. Furthermore, the framework provides a mechanism for identification and evaluation at the beginning and end of the framework respectively. The framework, when implemented is expected to make immediate impact to the existing counterinsurgency interventions, such as the PAP and OSC. The Federal Republic of Nigeria could also use it to introduce new interventions now or in

the future with the intention of addressing counterinsurgency or any other security related challenge being faced in Nigeria and across its borders.

6.7 Summary

This chapter examines implications of findings of this research. It explores possible future effects of findings as it affects existing counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria. The chapter also highlighted IPPPPE framework, how the framework was developed and explained the rationale and innovative nature of the framework to the Nigerian government. A tabular presentation of the framework was presented and all internal components that make the framework explained. The purpose is to guide the Nigerian authorities on how best they could integrate the research findings and what works and what doesn't work, which has been explained in chapter four and five respectively. The IPPPPE framework is expected to insure maximum benefit to the government and people of Nigeria in the fight against all forms of insecurity in Nigeria. The next chapter, which is the last chapter highlights the concluding parts of the research.

Conclusions

7.1   Introduction

This thesis was aimed at exploring interventions meant to encourage deradicalisation in Nigeria. It would investigate what works and what doesn't work on the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) offered to Niger-Delta Militants in Southern Nigeria, and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) offered to Boko Haram Northern in Nigeria. This section of the chapter aimed at summarising the thesis. This research has been structured and presented in chapters. This research achieved its aim and objectives. It has been conducted in a systematic manner. Primary and secondary data has been the basis of its judgements. The results show the reader that both the PAP and the OSC have not been effective, thus the increase in the insecurity challenges in Nigeria, especially in the Northeast and Niger Delta regions. Therefore, for counterinsurgency interventions to succeed in Nigeria, poverty, corruption and unemployment must be drastically reduced. Additionally, multiple programs are initiated by the Nigerian governments, as such, several initiatives get lower attention from subsequent governments due to inadequate laws to protect the interventions. The researcher introduced a framework called IPPPPE framework, which was developed having consulted the UK CONTEST and other COIN templates. The framework was aligned to suit the Nigerian's trend and situations. It could aid in repositioning current counterinsurgency interventions and subsequent ones introduced by the Nigerian governments. Furthermore, the researcher encountered challenges, which are explained in subsequent sections of this chapter.

7.2.   Thesis Summary

The thesis has achieved its aim and objective as outlined in the chapters. This summary would highlight major areas that justifies that the researcher has done justice to the topic and all the aim and objectives have been achieved.   On the research aim, which is 'exploring interventions meant to encourage deradicalisation in Nigeria. It would investigate what works and what doesn't work on the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) offered to Niger-Delta Militants in Southern Nigeria, and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) offered to Boko Haram Northern in Nigeria', they key words there is 'investigate', and that has been justifiably done through three components. First component is that review of existing literature and available contents and materials, which has been obtained at the libraries, government agencies and from individuals etc. such avenues serve as first hand access to investigate what has been said or done regarding the topic of the research. In turn it reflects on the aim of the research as well.

The second components of via the data collection instrument, the interview. It enables the researcher to collect primary data from the sources that are relevant. The interviews were conducted and respondents include military officials, Police officers, other law enforcement officers, officials of the PAP and OSC and the ex-Militants and the ex-Boko Haram members. Such data and information gathered were enough to justify that an investigation has been done regarding the aim of the research. The third component was the questionnaire. The

questionnaire was also an avenue used to ensure the aim was addressed, an investigation was done using it and data and information gathered from the military officials, Police officers, other law enforcement officers, officials of the PAP and OSC and the ex-Militants and the ex-Boko Haram members and the public served as a proof that reliable investigation has been done, which proved that the aim of the research has been successively achieved.

This research objectives are three. They have so far been achieved accordingly and they have all been achieved through evidences presented in the previous chapters, which would be highlighted here one by one to prove it. The first aim which was 'to determine and critically analyse the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria' has been achieved. Because the findings on after analysing the data collected via interviews and questionnaires show that there are several factors, but the key factors are poverty, illiteracy, ignorance of religious teaching and widespread of corruption are some of the major factors that stimulates both the PAP and OSC in Nigeria. Other factors are unfair resource allocation and Non-Clean-up of Oil spillage as some of the key factors that stimulates Militancy in the Niger Delta region. On the same region, another distinct factor was that because militancy is being a lucrative venture. The findings have been explained on chapter four using graphs, tables and additional explanations on each, where it shows that higher percentage of all the respondents on both genders agreed that the said factors have been stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria. Where Militancy is prone to the South and Insurgency is prone to the North. All the above factors have been extracted from the data, which could be found on the appendix section of this research, where raw empirical data table has been attached.

The second objective of this research, which was 'to evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation interventions that have been developed and deployed by Nigerian security forces, the PAP offered to Niger Delta Militants and the OSC offered to Boko haram' has been achieved. It has been achieved through responses gotten during the primary data collection. The responses on figure 4.1 in chapter 4 shows that out of 195 respondents, 66% of them said the PAP is not effective while 44% said it was effective. Table 4.1 on chapter 4 shows that there is a clear gendered difference in the perception of effectiveness of the PAP. Much younger females have indicated that the found the intervention effective while middle-age males seem to have found the intervention effective.

On the OSC, figure 4.2 of chapter 4, which is multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of OSC shows that out of 206 respondents, 62% of them said the OSC is ineffective compared to 30% that said it is effective. Table 4.2 in in chapter 4, which is age-gender multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of Operation Safe Corridor, the analysed data shows that there is a clear gendered difference in the perception of effectiveness of the OSC. Because young females 36.84% and 47.37% of age ranges of 19-25, 26-30 respectively have indicated that the found the intervention effective. While 27.91% and 41.86% of the middle-aged males between the ages of 41-45 and 46-50 respectively are the highest proportion that have said the intervention is effective. Such responses show that, despite having the fact that majority said the OSC is not effective, there are still some segments of the sample population that feels the OSC is affective. The above analyses of responses gotten on PAP and OSC proves that the second objective of this research has been achieved.

The third objective of this research, which was 'to provide guidance on designing an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective two (2) to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs', chapter 5 and chapter 6 proves that this third and final objective of the research has been achieved. In chapter 5, Evidence-Based Framework for Implementing Future Deradicalisation Programs, essential frameworks and Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency has been extensively discussed in relation to designing innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from the second objective of this research. Additionally, Assumptions Underlying the Framework and Methodology for Determining What Works and What Doesn't Work explained as justification for the next chapter, which is chapter 6. It highlighted the innovative framework introduced by the researcher.

Furthermore, chapter 6 is also another justification why the third objective of this research has been achieved. The framework is the IPPPPE Framework, which stands for Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate (IPPPPE). The six components of this counterinsurgency framework are vital in the development of the Risk Reduction Models (RRM) for the Framework. The main target of the framework is risk reduction, because total elimination of risk is almost impossible. Especial regarding the fight against insurgency, militancy and the emerging banditry-related problems in Nigeria. The framework is developed by reviewing, exploring and comparing the Nigerian milieu with the UK Counter-Terrorism Strategy 'CONTEST' model framework, in consideration with recommendations extracted from Research Analysis Corporation (RAC)'s Guidelines for Measuring Success in Counterinsurgency. Table 6.1 in chapter 6 of this research is the IPPPPE Framework Table for Counterinsurgency in Nigeria. The table is designed based on the RRM model. The rows consist of preliminaries, stakeholders, short-term impact, medium-term impact and long-term impact. The corresponding column on each row shows the Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate segments, with explanations of the model clearly explained accordingly. The researcher explained How the Framework Was Developed and the Feasibility and Innovation and Applicability of the Framework. Such explanations are justifiable proofs that the third objective of this research has been achieved.

Therefore, the position of this thesis is that it stands out as both academic and professional contribution that primarily guides the Nigerian government and other stakeholders that engage participate as stakeholders in counterinsurgency interventions. Based on the data collected, the position of the research is that the responses are valid to both the researcher and the academic institution that he represents, the London Metropolitan University, because it was conducted in compliance with the laid down regulations, including the guidelines in the ethics approval granted in 2017. The research fits well with the Nigerian context, because the stakeholders involved in data collection have direct impact on the research, because they have either first-hand experience in government or in the private sector, including the Militants and Insurgents that laid their arms and embraced PAP or OSC. The research also contributes a lot in guiding the Nigerian government, especially in designing and formulating right policies for counterinsurgency interventions. The international community could also benefit from this research as it provides first-hand information regarding what works and what didn't work in PAP and OSC in Nigeria.

It is the researchers view that after critically and thorough analysing the thesis after completion, he was of firm believe that justice is done to the topic, justification is done in addressing the research aim and all the objectives

of the research has been adequately achieved. Consequently, in the course of conducting the research, the researcher faced series of challenges, which are explained in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

7.3. Difficulties associated with Interviews

Using Mobile phone to record conversations was difficult because the phone must be held at hand. Due to that, the researcher could not hold interview protocol on the other hand and be taking some notes at same time. No Stand-alone Microphone, therefore he had no freedom to use his hands and do other things. He had to constantly keep the phone/audio device close to interviewee's mouth. Some respondents are aged, due to that, they had lower voice. Which means he had to be coming very close to them so that their responses could be heard clearly. In some instances, he had to ask one question several times or ask them to repeat their response to enable him get their points correctly. Storage devices has limit. Most of the phones and audio devices used have storage limits. Therefore, there is need for regular transfers of interview records into a computer system to enable him have enough space to record long interviews. Some android phones and android devices had the facility to record voice and immediately convert it into text. Such facility is good but most of it has a limit of recording for maximum five minutes only, making it difficult for the researcher to use the app to record long interview conversations.

People like to speak broader than the research topic. Most of the respondents spoke on issues beyond the scope of the research topic. Making it difficult to shorten the interview. But such broad response brought other key issues into perspective. In turn, the research ends up with a lot of relevant information to deal with. In few instances the researcher had a lot of negative and sometimes abusive responses. A lot of people mocked him due to one-word error. From that moment he realised how importuning it is for a researcher, especially at doctoral level to be very careful and thorough before sending or releasing out any document to respondents, either via hard copies or electronic medium. Due to new information and emerging new security challenges in Nigeria, he had to be asking other relevant questions that were not originally in the interview protocol. That was to ensure that enough data is available for him to analyse when making recommendations and as a reference for future research.

7.4. Difficulties associated with Multimedia Transfer

Challenges moving the multimedia from recording device to computer were difficult due to compatibility issues. Challenges sending interview clip via social media like or WhatsApp due to attachment limit (16mb). Most of the respondents do not have smart devices to respond to questionnaire real-time, thus delay in concluding/compiling data. Most of the respondents with smart phones do not have skills to use live video or audio applications that enable the researcher record the live audio or video conversations, and it is illegal in most countries to use automatic voice recorder, therefore the researcher didn't use it. Lack of intensive training and advanced skills on use of statistical software applications was also a challenge to the researcher.

7.5. Language Barrier

Some respondents from Maiduguri, Borno State only speak local Kanuri language, and only few could speak in Hausa Language, the latter was what the researcher perfectly speaks. As such, it takes them time to make a point during interview. The researcher found it difficult translating some interview responses from other languages to English language. Another major issue was the emergence of major security challenge in Nigeria: the *'Fulani Herdsmen'*. The Fulani Herdsmen issue resurfaced after the ethical approval was granted. Their prevalent attacks persisted; thus, the researcher was faced with a challenge of how to integrate some of its aspects into my thesis. According to report by Amnesty International (2018), the crisis in Nigeria claimed 549 and 168 lives in 2017 and 2018 respectively. Similarly, the conflict was reported to have spread across over 15 states in Nigeria. That is what made the conflict more interesting topic in Nigeria. The researcher thought some aspects of the crisis could be integrated into the research even if it were to come up amongst the recommendations at the concluding part of the research. As at the time of compiling this thesis, parts of Zamfara and Sokoto States, specifically in Isa, Sabon Birni, Rabah, Shinkafi and Zurmi Local Governments have been major spots of bandits, kidnappers and armed robbers, with no concrete intervention by the Federal Government of Nigeria as it is in control of all national security agencies in Nigeria.

7.6. Government and Political Influence and Interference in Research

People would like to politicize issues and began to take political party affiliation as a factor in responding to questions. If researcher has political affiliation there is a possibility of getting negative response from incumbent government especially if he/she belongs to/or supports a rival political party. Civil servants and public servants tend to feel reluctant in answering questions related to their MDAs because of fear of persecution for saying the truth. It is not unconnected with the fact that based on public service rules; they were not expected to be discussing government secrets to the public. Uniform personnel like Police, Army and Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps are amongst groups that are the researcher found difficult to convince before agreeing to take part in this research.

7.7. Challenges Faced due to Change of Slogans by the Nigeria Military

The Nigerian Government launched series of counter insurgency operations through various security agencies. But the Nigerian Army heads the most popular ones. Most of the time the operations were launched without making their strategic plans known to the public. The researcher faced a lot of challenges during this research, because of frequent changes being made by the Nigerian Army regarding such operations. Additionally, emergence of new security challenges emanates the army's decision to launch specific operations to address such challenges across different regions in Nigeria. Their decisions affect the research because he had not captured such operations during data collection. Some of the key operations launched by the Nigerian Military include but not limited to the following:

Operation Mesa 2008, Operation Lafiya Dole 2015, Operation Awase 2015, Operation Niger Delta (Operation Pulo Shield) 2015, Operation Safe Conducts 2016, Operation Crackdown 2016,Operation Sharan Daji (Operation Bush Clearing) 2016, Operation Safe Haven 2016, Operation Tsare Teku (Operation Guarding the Ocean) 2016, Operation Safe Corridor 2016, Operation Iron Fense 2016, Operation Rescue Final 2016, Operation Python Dance 2016, Operation Jagunlabi 2017, Operation Python Dance II 2017, Operation Harbin

Kunama II (Operation Scorpion Bite) 2017, Operation Cat Race 2018, Operation Last Hold (Operation Totally Destroy) 2018.

7.8.   Further Challenges

Because the researcher hailed from one of the most religious states in Nigeria, Sokoto State, he started submitting the research questionnaires from within the state security circle. Nigeria statutorily has 774 local governments. Out of 36 states in Nigeria, all have one or more Police Headquarters as well as DSS Headquarters plus Abuja the Federal Capital Territory FCT. Note that Police, DSS, Defence, Prisons, NSCDS have their national Headquarters in Abuja FCT. After he submitted the documents, the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters Sokoto was the first to reply him saying "Direct your request to force headquarters Abuja and obtain approval to carry out research at Sokoto State Police command" (Male police officer, age 39 years). That has been the case with most of Nigeria security agencies. Although they serve the nation but they hardly respond to enquiries without approval from their National Headquarters. Such a scenario caused delay in conducting research unless if one has insider links that could facilitate getting individually responses without their leadership approval.

He also had problems when he went to Defence Headquarters in Abuja. It was his second trip there after the first one when he submitted questionnaires and interview protocol for Air Force, Army and Naval staffs. It was on 3rd April 2018 which coincides with Nigeria Army 'Research and Development Conference 2018; Research and Development as a Tool for Professionalism and Responsiveness in the Nigerian Army'. After concluding the mission inside the headquarters as he came out writing address of program venue from a flyer posted at entrance gate, a senior army officer met him and started interrogating him on why he was copying something without permission. He explained himself to him also showed him ID card to prove he came for a research follow-up. The officer was so furious and threatened to handcuff and arrest him for suspected espionage. After intervention from other superior colleagues, whom already cleared the researcher before he initially entered, he then agreed not to arrest him; rather, he confiscated the 'jotter' and other important documents used to summarize some findings and interviews. It was one of the researcher's scariest moments while conducting this research. But the experience is worthy.

7.9   Recommendations

In this section of the chapter, recommendations are made to guide relevant stakeholders in scaling their priorities and involvements to ensure both PAP and OSC are significantly improved. The recommendations also serve as additional guidance to the Nigerian government in redesigning the existing counterinsurgency interventions to conform with the recommendations of the sampled population used in this research. Furthermore, the recommendations could aid decision makers, especially the Nigerian Government when designing future counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria.

Data and responses presented on Figure 4.1 on Multi-Stakeholder responses on effectiveness of PAP shows that out of the total number of respondents, 66% said PAP was not effective. There are 209 recommended solutions on the said question. One of the key recommendations was made by a respondent number 3 on the

Pap recommendations table on raw empirical data column, which is attached in the appendix. He recommended that the Nigerian government to "Institutionalize PAP with relevant laws to support its existence" (male, respondent, age 42 years). Such recommendation is consistent with some of the literature reviewed which asserts that the PAP was not presented to the NNA as a bill for consideration before being announced by the Nigerian government. Therefore, one of the most effective ways of ensuring PAP work is to enact laws to back its existence. Without legal backing, successive governments could just wake up one day and quash the program completely. And due to lack of adequate laws to protect its existence there is possibly nothing anyone else could do.

The second recommendation was that all stakeholders should be included in running the PAP. Such recommendation was made by a respondent number 8 on PAP recommended solutions column on the raw empirical data, which is attached in the appendix. The recommendation is in order because findings show that the PAP is being coordinated primarily from Abuja, while the actual people are in the Niger Delta region. The people residing there are mostly uneducated, thus have limited access to the way the PAP is being run. Some of the respondents on the raw empirical data table asserts that they felt not being carried along by the Nigerian government and the oil companies when designing intervention programs in the Niger Delta region (respondents 14,18 and 47 on PAP table of recommendations on the empirical data table). As such, they need to be properly, regularly consulted to ensure their voices are heard.

Third recommendation is for the federal government to improve on their policies, especially the ones related to social welfare. Chapter two literature highlighted that unemployment I high in Nigeria and poverty had bitten hard on the Nigerian people leading to classification of Nigeria as one of the poorest nations in the world. Findings on chapter 4 shows that, cumulatively, 80% of respondents supported literature assertions that unemployment is one of the drivers of militancy and insurgency respectively Nigeria. Data collected regarding the PAP shows that, out of the 209 responses, 27, 85 and 89 respondents agreed, strongly agreed and very strongly agreed respectively that poverty is a factor that stimulates Niger Delta militancy. Hence, unemployment is a factor that leads to poverty in Nigeria. It is therefore, the Nigerian government should enhance existing social services to its people also introduce rigorous and comprehensive social welfare packages, including creating decent jobs for the Nigerian youth. Because majority of the respondents that cries foul more about unemployment are the youth.

Fourth recommendation is on the Niger Delta Clean-up program. Literature review on chapter 2 shows that the region has been heavily contaminated due to neglect by the government and the oil companies operating there. Data analysis on chapter 4 also corroborated most of the literature assertions related to soil degradation and clean-up of oil spillage. 88% of the total respondents selected various segments of the 'agree' options that non-clean up on Oil Spillage as one of the causes of Niger Delta Militancy. Therefore, it is recommended that the Federal government should prioritise cleaning the oil rich region, especially areas that are more affected by the oil spillage. One of the respondents recommended that "government should be fair to Niger Deltans" another said "create environment for Militant to trust you", "Oil companies should help develop the region" by supporting proper hygiene and stabilizing the region (some of the responses extracted from raw empirical data on PAP, row 33, 74 and 77). The scope of this recommendation is that the Oil spillage be cleaned, oil

contamination should be cleared. The Niger Delta environment should be a safer and more hygienic environment.

Fifth recommendation is for the OSC to have a legal framework that is backed up by the NNA. If the program continues to run without legal backing there is possibility that successive governments might decide to cancel the program completely. Therefore, the Nigerian government should ensure appropriate laws are enacted by the National Assembly to back up the existence and operations of the OSC. That could also ensure improvements upon the existing counterinsurgency programs, the OSC.

The sixth recommendation is for the Nigerian government to ensure adequate welfare of all the Military personnel and security agencies working for both the PAP and OSC. Findings show that a lot of the respondents within the military and security agencies complained of lack of adequate working tools. Some of their weapons are outdated and their welfare packages are not paid rightly. One even sighted that their allowances are not given to them in full by their superiors, despite the fact that government releases the money for such purpose. It is therefore essential for the Nigerian government to ensure timely release of all entitlements to the military and other security agencies. It must also ensure transparency within the leadership so that everyone get what he/she deserves. Modern equipment should also be provided to them to ensure they overpower the Niger Militants, Boko Haram insurgents and all other related groups accordingly and timely.

The seventh recommendation is the Nigerian government should create more awareness on PAP and OSC. They should also target more young Women and the middle-aged men. Because findings show that there is still a knowledge gap between them. In almost all the questions asked, one would find that there are some percentages of people that say 'I don't know' to very critical questions that affect their livelihood. The intensive awareness should be used via local medial electronic media and via the community leaders to spread across messages of peace. The awareness should also educate the upcoming youth not to engage in Boko Haram Insurgency, Niger Delta Militancy or any other form of violent group that threatens peace and unity of Nigeria.

The eights recommendation is for the Nigerian government to enhance the education sector, especially around the prone regions of the northeast and the Niger Delta region. Some of the literature reviewed asserts that lack of education is one of the reasons why some youth engage into Boko Haram and Militancy respectively. One of the respondents says "Educate the people and give them employment opportunities" (male, respondent, raw empirical data, row 22 of OSC recommendations). Literature assertions were also corroborated by the research findings on chapter 4, which figure 4.7 shows that 88% of the respondents selected one of the 'agree' options that illiteracy is one of the causes of Boko Haram. 73.3% of the combined females aged 19-25 and 26-30 agree that illiteracy is one of the causes of Boko Haram, while 61.54 percent of male aged 31-35 disagree. That shows there is a knowledge gap that exist, but if government could come up with an improved education package that could empower the people of the Northeast and Niger Delta there is strong possibility that insurgency and militancy could reduce significantly in Nigeria. That could be achieved by constructing schools and providing the required manpower and infrastructure to sustain the education system.

7.10   Summary

Overall, the PAP and OSC are not effective. The research further found out that a new concept of reradicalisation is beginning to emerge in Nigeria due to slow implementation of the two main counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria that is PAP and OSC. As such, it is fair to say that they both have not been effective in Nigeria. The researcher is optimistic that if the Nigerian authorities critically examine the what works and what didn't work tables provided in chapter 4 and apply concepts of IPPPPE framework, which is provided in chapter six, Nigeria and indeed the international community would see significant improvement in the fight against insurgencies and indeed counterinsurgency interventions in Nigeria.

APPENDIXES

A. ETHICS APPROVAL

Ethical approval was granted by the London Metropolitan University to the researcher for this research on the 13 December 2017. The approval was conveyed via email. Table below is the approval with all the contents approved.

	Approved	*Feedback where further work required*
Section A	Yes	
Section B	Yes	1. A full detailed consideration of the ethical implications of the research is provided. 2. There is reference to the appropriate collection and dissemination of sensitive material. 3. There is also discussion concerning confidentiality and data storage. 4. Questionnaires are provided and provisions of consent are indicated.
Section C	Yes	1. There is considerable detail on the potential of the research. 2. The researcher has acquitted himself with reference to the potential to risk.
Date of approval	13/12/17	
NB: The Researcher should be notified of decision within <u>two</u> weeks of the submission of the application. A copy should be sent to the Research and Postgraduate Office.		
Signature of RERP chair	Professor Mark Wheeler	

Institution:	London Metropolitan University**,**
	166-220 Holloway Road, N7 8DB
	London, United Kingdom**.**
Interviewee:	Title……………….. & Name:…………………
Interviewer/Researcher:	Nasir Abubakar Daniya
	Title: Doctoral Student
	Faculty: School of Social Sciences, John Grieve Centre for
	Policing & Community Safety, London Metropolitan University.
	Email: nasirdaniya@yahoo.com
	Contact Number: +2348138051973
Research Supervisor:	Dr Adegbola Ojo
	Title: Senior Lecturer
	University: University of Lincoln, UK
	Email: aojo@lincoln.ac.uk
	Contact Number +441522 83 5894
Key areas of Interview:	1. Radicalisation & Deradicalisation in Nigeria
	2. Impacts of Nigeria Government Interventions
	3. Niger Delta Militants
	4. Boko Haram
	5. Niger Delta Amnesty program
	6. Operation Safe Corridor for Boko Haram

Introduction

Dear Participant,

I am a Doctoral Degree Student Studying Policing, Security and Community Safety. I am conducting a research under the guidance of London Metropolitan University, London United Kingdom. Kindly consider this as an invitation to participate in this research work. You have been chosen because it is assumed that you have great deal of relevant information related to this research topic, which if shared with us could help in great deal towards success of this research.

The project is aimed at examining: **Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't**

Research Aim

This research is aimed at exploring interventions meant to encourage deradicalisation in Nigeria. It would investigate what works and what doesn't work on the Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) offered to Niger-Delta Militants in Southern Nigeria, and the Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) offered to Boko Haram Northern in Nigeria.

Research Objectives

1. To determine and critically analyse the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria.

2. To evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation interventions that have been developed and deployed by Nigerian security forces, the PAP offered to Niger Delta Militants and the OSC offered to Boko haram.

3. To provide guidance on designing an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective two (2) above, to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs.

I would be asking you some questions, which are integral toward compilation of this research. You are expected to be sincere in your response. Please speak clearly and always ask me to clarify questions that are unclear to you. In order to have excerpts of the interview for proper analysis, your response would be recorded. I can assure you that only researchers and stakeholders in this project would have access to the tapes and it will be destroyed after research analysis.

You are advised not to incriminate yourself in responding to this research as I have a duty to report to relevant authorities. Your involvement is totally voluntary; you may withdraw your consent anytime. You need to consent for the above before interview takes place because it is part of academic conditions of this research.

<u>RESPONDENT CONSENT</u>

I have agreed to participate in this research. I have also read, understood and agreed to all the requirements.

<u>Interview Consent:</u>

Consented by me:

Name……………..……………Signature………………Date…………

<u>Recording Consent:</u>

Consented by me: Video recording; Yes/NO Audio recording; Yes/NO

(Please tick your preference)

Name……………..……………Signature………………Date………………..

1. **Tell me about your Background** (the question is necessary to enable interviewer know the interviewee's personal and professional status. It would provide idea to interviewer on which segment of respondents the interviewee is coming from. The interviewee response determines the next question to ask.

2. **What roles have you played/are you currently playing in your previous/current capacity as Militant/Boko Haram member/Government Official/Volunteer.** The question is essential because it would provide details that could aid subsequent question. If he/she is current or ex Militant/Boko Haram Member, the roles he/she played could aid me address fifth objective of this research. If he/she were current Militant/Boko Hamar member it would allow the interviewer to ask next questions, like what motivates him/her to join the group and what discourages him/her in getting involved. Which also address fifth research objective.

3. **Kindly share your experience on what you think stimulates Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.** This question is very significant in addressing objective number three of this research topic.

4. **Take us through types deradicalisation and counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.** This question is significant in answering first research objective. Respondent's response could trigger other questions that could address second and third research objectives as well.

5. **What would you consider as impacts and demerits of such interventions?** This question is an expansion of previous question, which addresses both researches aims number one and three respectively.

6. **Do you think Government is doing enough is Counterradicalistion**? If the answer is 'YES', I will ask the respondent to justify. If the answer is 'NO', I will equally ask the respondent to justify saying 'NO'.

7. **Where is the problem of counterradicalisation coming from? Government, Public, Niger Delta Militants, or Boko Haram? Or what is your take on that?** These questions are very specific to the research aim and objectives as well as literature consulted. But it also gives respondent a chance to give his/her own independent account of experience of where the problem is coming from.

8. **Overall, how would you assess Counterradicalisation interventions such as amnesty program offered to Niger Delta militants and operation safe Corridor offered to Boko Haram?** This question helps in addressing both objective one and two of this research.

9. **Let me know your views on impacts of such interventions or vice versa.** This question is very significant because it captures the project topic as well as key elements of research aim and first objective of this research. It in some ways addresses objective one and two as well.

10. **You have shared wonderful experiences on the subject matter; tell what you would recommend stakeholders to do in enhancing current and designing future counterradicalisation interventions in**

Nigeria. This question could enable me gather information on what respondents think are modern ways that could enhance counterradicalisation interventions in Nigeria. The question and subsequent ones that would be asked depending on respondent's response, clearly addresses objective six of this research. This question would also enable me ask other questions that would enable me get recommendations which I needed to take note of when addressing objective number four, which is designing of a counterradicalisation toolkit in a form of dynamic portal that gives guide on measurable impacts on deradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.

11. **Thank you very much for sharing this wonderful experience on this research and responding effectively to almost all the questions asked. Finally, apart from the questions asked, is there any other information I should know which you think could be of importance to this research?** This concluding question may lead me to get exclusive details, additional information that could be very significant to the research.

C. ETHICS FORM SUBMITTED BEFORE ETHICS APPROVAL

Ethics form is part of the requirement by the London metropolitan University for research students to submit progress report for consideration before being granted progression approval before students start data collection. Below is the form the researcher submitted. Ethics approval normally comes along with the form in a form of a feedback by the Chair of the committee.

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

LONDON MET RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW FORM

For Research Students and Staff

Postgraduate research students (MPhil, PhD and Professional Doctorate): This form should be completed by all research students in full consultation with their supervisor. All research students must complete a research ethics review form before commencing the research or collecting any data and no later than six months after enrolment.

Staff: This form should be completed by the member of staff responsible for the research project (i.e. Principal Investigator and/or grant-holder) in full consultation with any co-investigators, research students and research staff before commencing the research or collecting any data.

Definition of Research

Research is to be understood as original investigation undertaken in order to gain knowledge and understanding. It includes work of direct relevance to the needs of commerce, industry, and to the public and voluntary sectors; scholarship*; the invention and generation of ideas, images, performances, artefacts including design, where these lead to new or substantially improved insights; and the use of existing knowledge in experimental development to produce new or substantially improved materials, devices, products and processes, including design and construction. It excludes routine testing and routine analysis of materials, components and processes such as for the maintenance of national standards, as distinct from the development of new analytical techniques. It also excludes the development of teaching materials that do not embody original research."

Scholarship is defined as the creation, development and maintenance of the intellectual infrastructure of subjects and disciplines, in forms such as dictionaries, scholarly editions, catalogues and contributions to major research databases."

London Met's *Research Ethics Policy and Procedures* and *Code of Good Research Practice*, along with links to research ethics online courses and guidance materials, can be found on the Research & Postgraduate Office Research Ethics webpage:

London Met's Research Framework can be found here:

Researcher development sessions can be found here:

This form requires the completion of the following three sections:

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

SECTION B: THE PROJECT - ETHICAL ISSUES

SECTION C: THE PROJECT - RISKS AND BENEFITS

SECTION A: APPLICANT DETAILS

A1	**Background information**
	Research project title: **RADICALISATION AND DERADICALISATION IN NIGERIA: WHAT WORKS AND WHAT DOESN'T**
	Date of submission for ethics approval: 10/10/2017
	Proposed start date for project: 31 OCTOBER 2017 (PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION)
	Proposed end date for project: 30 APRIL 2018. (END OF PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION)
	Ethics ID # (to be completed by RERP chair):

A2	**Applicant details, if for a research student project**
	Name: NASIR ABUBAKAR DANIYA
	London Met Email address: NAS0391@MY.LONDONMET.AC.UK

A3	**Principal Researcher/Lead Supervisor**
	Member of staff at London Metropolitan University who is responsible for the proposed research project either as Principal Investigator/grant-holder or, in the case of postgraduate research student projects, as Lead Supervisor
	Name: **DR ADEGBOLA OJO**
	Job title: **SENIOR LECTURER IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY, COLLEGE OF SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF LINCOLN, UK**
	London Met Email address: AOjo@lincoln.ac.uk

SECTION B: THE PROJECT - ETHICAL ISSUES

B1	**The Research Proposal**

B2	Please attach a brief summary of the research project including: • **Introduction** The thesis title is '***Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't***'. As such, a lot would be focused on discussing issues related to all the contents of the topic. Nigeria faced a lot of uncertainties regarding its Oil, which major part of it is derived from the Niger Delta region. Nigeria has seen a lot of political, religious and military crisis from its independence in 1960. A lot had happened since 1999 when democracy took full shape as well as 2009 when 'Boko haram' insurgency began to surface in Nigeria. There are series of reports and commentaries on the extent of damages caused by insurgent, radicals, terrorists and extremists in Nigeria, be it social, economic or political. It has hugely affected Nigeria's economy. Nigerian government deployed several tactics through military and security agencies also introduced series of policies and programs to deter insurgency and radicalisation. But there is growing skepticism on the influences such interventions made in minimizing or eliminating radicalisation in Nigeria. This research aims at analysing what works and what doesn't work amongst the interventions. To achieve that, aim and objectives were set to aid the research as outlined in the next section. 3.1.1 Scope of the Research i. The research will focus primarily of two deradicalisation interventions Niger Delta Amnesty Program that is mainly for Niger Delta Militants and Operation Safe Corridor that is mainly for Boko Haram Members. ii. Both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram were considered Radicals for the purpose of this research. Chukwujekwu (2012), Douglas et al (2004), Ruvalcaba (2016), Deckard et al (2015) USHOR (2013), all addressed Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram as radical groups in several ways. iii. Target respondents are officials managing Niger Delta Amnesty Program and those managing Operation safe Corridor for Boko Haram. Others are the deradicalized members of the two groups that are either in captivity or participated in one of the two deradicalisation interventions; that is to say Niger Delta Amnesty Program and Operation Safe Corridor for Boko Haram.
B3	iv. The questions in data collection instruments were draw from the aims and objectives set out by Nigeria Government in setting the two deradicalisation interventions. v. Notwithstanding other deradicalisation initiatives introduced in different forms by different government agencies at local, state and national levels in Nigeria by Nigerian Government and/or other foreign agencies, Deradicalisation Interventions used in this research means the two major interventions by Nigerian Government thus; Niger Delta Amnesty Program and Operation Safe Corridor for Boko Haram members.

B4	• **Background/rationale**
	The study was structures in chronological way. It contains graphs, figures, tables and explanation on historical background and developments related to Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria. Generally, the thesis evolved around what works and what doesn't work in the deradicalisation processes and measures implemented by Nigerian Government in the implementation of the two programs.
	The research aimed at providing results in explanatory and graphical forms. It also aimed at interpreting the data, figures and graphs in details, including explanatory notes and pictorial examples and expressions. The thesis is to make suggestions and recommendations on the way forward. Also, to highlighted areas of future research. The research would be useful to Nigeria as a nation as well as the international community. For Nigeria, the results are useful to Government; especially the Executive and Legislature. They could use it for future planning and budget forecast. It could also be used as a platform for further evaluation of previous or existing interventions on deradicalisation in Nigeria. Nigeria has both local and foreign partners. Therefore, peace and security of Nigeria as a Nation is important to them. The International community's economic, security and business interests in Nigeria needs optimum level of protection. They could benefit enormously with the information
B5	and results produced by the research.
	The terms and references of this thesis cover requirements, anticipations and expectations intended to achieve in the research. It provides statements of objectives of the research. Roles and responsibilities of the evaluators and resources available for the evaluation (World Bank, 2011).
	Some of the requirements include objectives of the research, rationale and background information, scope, definition of terms, methodology, findings, interpretation of findings, review, summary and conclusions. To achieve all the above contents of the terms of references, the research considers compliance with rules of academic writing and other considerations, which include due diligence, timeline, complete referencing, responsibility, fairness and impartiality. In order not to be too ambiguous, care is always taken to ensure consistencies in achieving the aim and objectives of the research, with focus to getting results of the thesis as mentioned in the title of this research.
	• **Research questions/aims/objectives**
	1. To determine and critically analyze the factors that act as stimulants for radicalisation in Northern and Southern Nigeria?
	2. To evaluate the effectiveness of two deradicalisation programs the Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta and Operation Safe Corridor in Northern Nigeria
	3. To design an innovative framework that utilizes the evidence base generated from objective 2 to make better decisions when designing and implementing future deradicalisation programs.

- **Research Methodology**

Target Respondents:

The target is to have 100 respondents: 30 Niger Ex-Delta Militants and 30 Ex-Boko Haram members. Remaining 40% would be government officials at Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs, Nigerian Army, Office of Special Adviser on Niger Delta and other volunteers such as students and academics and other stakeholders in Government and security that are interested in the research topic.

Research is a methodical quest for information and new knowledge. There is 'basic and applied research' (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006). Generally, methodology is the 'study of methods' (Diderot, 1997). Methodology consists of instruments, interpretations, analysis as well as recommendations in a research (RM1, 2014). Research methodology process involves measurement, interpretation, analysis and recommendations (KLU, 2014). There are quantitative qualitative and mixed research methods.

In Quantitative research is a method of investigation means of assessment involving the use of numbers. Methods range from basic descriptive statistics to inferential statistics. There are four types of statistical data, nominal, ordinal, interval scale data and ratio data. There is also Univariate, Bivariate and Multivariate research. 'It is more concerned with questions like: how often? How much? How many? To what extent?' etc (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006). Quantitative research deals in numbers, logic, and an objective stance. It focuses on numberic and unchanging data and detailed, convergent reasoning rather than divergent reasoning such as generation of a variety of ideas about a research problem in an instinctive, free-flowing mode. The cardinal aim of a quantitative enquiry 'is to classify features, count them, and construct statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed' (USC, 2016).

Qualitative method takes center stage in social research. Researchers of social science give greater significance and priority to quantitative research than other forms of research. In Qualitative Research, there are various methods for conducting it. Leedy & Ormrod, (2001) as cited by Williams, (2007) recommend case studies, grounded theory, ethnography, content analysis, and phenomenological. There are a lot of advantages of using quantitative methods in social science research (Hammersley, 2000; Shaw, 2003a; Green & Thorogood, 2004). It is the argument that qualitative methods 'reach the parts that other research methods can't reach' particularly in research looking at links between processes and outcomes (Moriarty, 2011).

3.5.1 Chosen Methods

Considering the nature of this research, methods to be used are mixed methods; using both qualitative and quantitative methods. On this type of method, Creswell, (2006), supported that, writers like

(Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) consider this form of research methodology focuses on the philosophical assumptions. In the view of others about mixed method emphasized that the techniques or methods of collecting and analyzing data (e.g., Creswell, Plano Clark, et al., 2003; Greene, Caraceli, & Graham, 1989; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003).

To call mixed methods research a 'method' is clean and concise and resonates with many researchers Elliot, (2005). There are a lot of processes and procedures in ensuring that mixed method is applied to its fullest potential by the researcher. Cresswell, (2006) illustrated that it consists of stages, it starts with developing and understanding of mixed methods, then examine preliminary considerations; through identifying worldwide view stance, review the basics of quantitative and qualitative research, identify a research problem or series of problems and determine whether it fits with mixed methods approach. The next step is by locate published mixed methods and review how they are organized. Choose type of mixed method design to use, design and introduction or statement of the problem, collect data within the mixed method design, analyse and validate the data, write and valuate the study, anticipate mixed method questions and contribute your input into the mixed method literature.

Primarily, qualitative method would take higher proportion of the research than the quantitative, thus mixed methods is adopted. Cresswell, (2003) illustrated that a table on four alternative combination of knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry and methods table, the contents under mixed methods shows that research approach is method, Knowledge claims uses pragmatic assumptions, methods uses consists of closed-end measures and open-ended observations.

3.5.2   Primary:
i. Interviews

Kvale, (1996) argued that Interview, when chosen as a method of data collection plays an integral part of conducting a quantitative research. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. Additionally, McNamara, (1999) as cited by Valenzuela & Shrivastava, (2003), supported that by asking the right questions, interviewer, if acted in smart and persuasive way could benefit a lot from the respondent as such. Therefore, interviews would be useful means of primary data collection in this research.

The target participants are volunteers, ex militants, ex Boko Haram members and officials that manage Niger Delta Amnesty Program and Operation Safe Corridor. The interviews would be via telephone and other electronic means with stakeholders such as through email or WhatsApp call. The accompanying consent form will be used to secure the consent of interview participants before participation. (See the form attached at the bottom of this application). Dictaphones will be used to record the interviews. All recorded material will lock away securely.

I have already started preliminary (informal) contact with Office of Special Adviser to Nigeria President on Niger Delta, and Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs. They provided contact details of their respective websites for the public. The former has an enquiry form, contact phone number department

of media and communications, which is responsible for responding to my research enquiries. While the latter has dedicated department for Planning Research and Statistics, which I would utilize to get appropriate resources. Presidential Amnesty program (PAP) is under the Office of Special Adviser to Nigeria President on Niger Delta. Generally, the amnesty program included Operation Safe Corridor on Boko Haram as well.

The process of getting resources and response from them is straightforward. All required information is made available online or simply by visiting research office of the agencies. In the absence of required document, one could obtain any information by simply writing an application requesting for such information and it would be made available by the authorities.

Questionnaire:

> A questionnaire is an integral part of successful social research. It serves as means of getting first-hand information from respondent on a given research topic. A good questionnaire that asks the right people right questions helps in getting valid research response that would be of significance to research outcome. Standard questionnaire will be developed based on statements, journal reviews, publications, books and information gathered through other reliable and related sources. A questionnaire is standardized when each respondent is exposed to the same questions and the same system of coding responses. (Siniscalco & Auriat, 2005). A well-structured questionnaire is structured to allow the same types of information to be collected from a large number of people in the same manner for data to be analysed quantitatively and systematically. (Leung, 2001). The questionnaire I would use for this research contains open ended and closed ended questions that were drawn to address the aim and each objective of the research.

3.5.3   Secondary

i. Review of personal experiences of academics, student and those with interest in Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria. I will visit Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, interview stakeholders in the Rivers State University and University of Maiduguri respectively. Maiduguri being one of the high-risk areas have agreed to respond to all my interview requests on phone and via email and other social media or electronic means. Other Universities also agreed to the same request should the data collection fall within festive periods. Students Affairs Departments, Students Union Faculties of Social Sciences, Departments of Sociology and Political Sciences are the main targets. All the schools have made their contact details and addresses available online for easy access. I will also have private security personnel around me throughout the data collection period.

As a norm, I will also review other related materials at the library, online and through formal and informal discussions and online resources like JSTOR, EMERALD, BRILL Online, CIDER, EEBO, SAGE Journals Online etc; they provide helpful and additional resources that could add significant value to the research.

ii.   I will also attend conferences that comes up related to the research topic. I will attend upcoming National security conference coming up in Nigeria in late December 2017 and early February 2018 in Nigeria. Nigerian Army, Office of National Security Adviser and other security agencies in Nigeria organize the events.

There are a lot of ex militants and ex Boko haram members that have been deradicalized. Nigerian government sent a lot of militants across the world to study various degrees and acquire special skills to become self-reliant. Some of them came back to Nigeria after graduation. Normally, Office of Special Adviser to Nigeria President on Niger Delta organize an event for them take their pictures and post their details online. Some sensitive details are not made available online but could be obtained on application by a researcher. I met some the deradicalized that are studying in UK and they gave me their contact details and told me they were willing to link me up with other deradicalized militants in UK and in Nigeria to enable me interview them virtually.

If you plan to recruit participants, be sure to include information how potential participants in the study will be identified, approached and recruited; how informed consent will be obtained; and what measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data.

The target participants are volunteers that include ex militants, ex Boko Haram members and administrators that manage Niger Delta Amnesty Program and Operation Safe Corridor. All the interviews with the ex-militants and boko haram members would be via telephone and other electronic means email or WhatsApp call. The accompanying consent form will be used to secure the consent of interview participants before participation. (See the form attached at the bottom of this application). Dictaphones will be used to record the interviews. All recorded material will lock away securely. Other participants would be interviewed accordingly.

I chose Selective Method. I chose it because I am targeting particular groups; Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram. Similarly, I chose Purposive sampling. I chose it because it focuses on samplings that are based on intent. I also target a sub set of people that are stakeholders in the research, such as Niger Delta Militants, Boko Haram, those managing the affairs of deradicalisation initiatives in Nigeria, other related stakeholders including academics and students interested or studying in similar area.

Research Ethics

Please outline any ethical issues that might arise from this study and how they are to be addressed.

NB All research projects have ethical considerations. Please complete this section as fully as possible using the following pointers for guidance. Please include any additional information that you think would be helpful.

- Does the project involve potentially deceiving participants? *Yes*/***No***

- Will you be requiring the disclosure of confidential or private information? ***Yes***/*No*

- Is the project likely to lead to the disclosure of illegal activity or incriminating information about participants? *Yes*/***No***

- Does the project require a <u>Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS)</u> check for the researcher? *Yes*/***No***

- Is the project likely to expose participants to distress of any nature? *Yes*/***No***

- Will participants be rewarded for their involvement? *Yes*/***No***

- Are there any potential conflicts of interest in this project? *Yes*/***No***

- Are there any other potential concerns? *Yes*/*No*

- **If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain.**

There is a possibility of disclosure of confidential information by respondents. Especially from deradicalized militants and repentant Boko Haram members. I will deal with such information with strict confidentiality but would follow reporting mechanisms provided by Nigerian Government and University authorities. Such kind of information and disclosure would not cause any harm to me personally.

The present research is designed to reduce the possibility of any negative experiences as a result of participation. Risks to participants are kept to a minimum. Participants can take comfort breaks during participation. Additionally, participants can decline to answer any or all questions and they can choose to terminate their involvement at any time.

No one was put at risk in the type of method and sampling used. I am neither at risk nor any of the participants. l will only store what I need to keep and I will ensure that the data is stored on the university's networked file-servers and copies kept on remote storage and university approved portable storage mediums only.

I will also advice participants not to volunteer any incriminating information before handing them the questionnaire and before any interview. In the event that participants intentionally or unintentionally disclose incriminating information that does not reflect contents of the questionnaire I will inform them that they should stop. Additionally, when respondents get distressed, I will ask them to stop and concentrate on the actual issues on the questionnaire. Or, I may even suspend the interview to avoid causing further anxiety. I will strictly warn them before the interview that they should not provide any incriminating information and my research is bound to report incriminating issues to government as provided by Nigerian laws.

Does the proposed research project involve:

- The analysis of existing data, artefacts or performances that are not already in the public domain (i.e. that are published, freely available or available by subscription)? ***Yes***/*No:*

- The production and/or analysis of physical data (including computer code, physical entities and/or chemical materials) that might involve potential risks to humans, the researcher(s) or the University? *Yes*/***No***
- The direct or indirect collection of new data from humans or animals? ***Yes***/*No:*
  Sharing of data with other organisations? ***Yes***/*No*
- Export of data outside the EU*? **Yes**/*No:*

If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain.

The data to be used is accessible via public domain. Whatever is not accessible could be released upon request by the researcher, because some of the contents are archived after reaching certain period of publication. This is due to the fact that National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA), Nigeria, mandates that all government agencies should change their domains from .com, .co.uk, .edu etc to .gov.ng. Additionally, all government contents and data stored outside Nigeria should be moved back into the country. All agencies must now use local data centres and local data hosting companies to store public information. As a result, some Ministries, Departments and Agencies' data may be offline, as such; I need to write to them for any additional or missing information required. Nigerian law mandates government agencies to provide the data or information within 14 days.

In addition to voluntary data that would be collected from Ministry for Niger Delta Affairs and Office of Special Adviser to Nigerian President of Niger Delta, most of the data will be collected from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working on the deradicalisation programs. The NGOs will only release anonymous information. Some of the NGOs are The Red Cross, United Nation High Commission for Refugees and Doctors Without Borders. There are additional local NGOs around the affected areas in Niger Delta and North East.

I will only store what I need to keep and I will strive to ensure that the data is stored on the university's networked fileservers and copies kept on remote storage as university approved portable storage mediums.

Nigerian Government protect researchers, especially those that notified them in advance, also those that are researching on topics related to Nigeria's National Security. In addition to that, I will secure the services of private security personnel to accompany me throughout the research period. But majority of date to be collected from militants would be through telephone calls and other electronic means such as emails and social networking applications like WhatsApp and Facebook voice and video calls. Participants will sign a consent form that will place a moral responsibility on me (as the researcher) not to disclose their information except they agree that I can do so.

Will the proposed research be conducted in any country outside the UK? If so, are there independent research ethics regulations and procedures that either:

- Do not recognise research ethics review approval from UK-based research ethics services? *Yes*/***No.***
- Require more detailed applications for research ethics review than would ordinarily be conducted by the University's Research Ethics Review Panels and/or other UK-based research ethics services? *Yes*/***No***

If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain.

In Nigeria, They do recognize research ethics review approval from UK-based research ethics services.

Nigerians and those conducting research in Nigeria are expected to observe the same research ethics observed worldly. Plagiarism must be avoided, all sources of materials must be properly acknowledged. They are global best practices, which are observed by researchers.

Then there is the issue of data. Researchers are expected to avoid cooking up data or manipulating them to suit their circumstances or expectations. This will turn out false research results. These and similar ethical considerations such as approval by Universities when the research is sponsored by two or more Universities, or when the research is being financed by third parties.

Nationally, there is no standard research ethics. Preliminary research which I conducted shows that even Nigeria National Universities Commission did not have any published research ethics guide in their portal. Ministry for National Planning is the one that holds almost all the attributes of a research Ministry but they do not have a published research ethics guide. Even Federal Ministry of Education do not have a written research ethics guide. The only available material I could access in the National Code for Health Research Ethics, which is under Federal Ministry of Health, Nigeria. It provides exemption for any research being authorized by academic setting such as Universities and other educational institutions.

Therefore, under Nigerian laws, there is no constrain or any legal requirement that could hinder conduct of my research in Nigeria. So long as I obtain research ethics approval also follow requirements set out by set out London Metropolitan University.

Does the proposed research involve?
- The collection and/or analysis of body tissues or fluids from humans or animals? *Yes*/***No***
- The administration of any drug, food substance, placebo or invasive procedure to humans or animals? *Yes*/***No***
- Any participants lacking capacity (as defined by the UK Mental Capacity Act 2005)? *Yes*/***No***
- Relationships with any external statutory-, voluntary-, or commercial-sector organisation(s) that require(s) research ethics approval to be obtained from an external research ethics

	committee or the UK National Research Ethics Service (this includes research involving staff, clients, premises, facilities and data from the UK National Health Service (NHS), Social Care organisations and some other statutory public bodies within the UK)? *Yes*/***No*** **If you answered yes to any of the points above, please contact your faculty's RERP chair for further guidance.**
B6	Does the proposed research involve: • Accessing / storing information (including information on the web) which promotes extremism or terrorism? ***Yes***/*No* • Accessing / storing information which is security sensitive (e.g. for which a security clearance is required)? *Yes*/***No*** **If you answered yes to any of the points above, please explain. To comply with the law, researchers seeking to use information in these categories must have appropriate protocols in place for the secure access and storage of material. For further guidance, see the Universities UK publication <u>Oversight of Security Sensitive Research Material in UK Universities</u> (2012).** I will be accessing information related to Boko Haram and Niger Delta Militants. But the information is accessible online. Both Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram post contents on YouTube and other portals. They also submit propaganda via dropping some multimedia on CVS, DVDS and via postal mails to media organizations. Therefore, I do not need any security clearance to access such information. Most of their propaganda that shows violent and sensitive contents is often restricted on YouTube but International Media Organizations like Aljazeera usually make the contents available for limited. But they normally warn viewer discretion. Boko Haram also uses twitter to reach out to wider audience. They use the twitter handle to propagate their ideology. There are some bloggers in Nigeria like Ahmed Salkida that gets first-hand information from Boko Haram members. Such bloggers publish what they obtain from them online for public access.

SECTION C: THE PROJECT - RISKS AND BENEFITS

C1	**Risk Assessment**
	Please outline: **The risks posed by this project to both researcher and research participants.** No risk, the research would be conducted using resources available in the public domain and volunteers that willingly consent to take part in the research activities. Ex militants and ex Boko Haram members would be interviewed virtually through telephone and email, WhatsApp or Facebook calls.

There is a provision under Nigerian law to provide a personal cover to people that apply for such services. It applies to researchers like me. I also have a lot of contacts within Nigeria security agencies. The agencies I will contact are Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps and Department of State Services (DSS). I had preliminary contact with the security agencies and they were willing to provide maximum security to me throughout the research period. For additional security reasons they don't allow researchers alone. Even lawyers of suspects are accompanied during interviews with their clients to safeguard both of them also to conform to security norms.

In an instance where a militant confesses to terrorist activities the Nigerian law provided a mechanism for reporting such activities under Concealing Information About the Acts of Terrorism as provided in the Nigeria Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013.

The appropriate channels to report terrorism in Nigeria are either through Special Unit Against Terrorism, which is under the Nigerian Financial Intelligence Unit of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), or The Department of State Services (DSS) or The Nigeria Police Force. All the agencies treat the information provided to the about terrorist, terrorism and terrorist activity with strict confidentiality. They are also responsible to provide security cover to any person(s) that report any form of terrorism in Nigeria or against any Nigerian or anything of Nigeria's interest.

As a Nigerian, my country always came first than any other thing. I will oblige with my duty to report to comply with National laws. But respondents are always presented with consent form before the interview. They would also be guided on scope of the interview and the does and don'ts of the interview to avoid unnecessary disclosure of incriminating information.

- **The ways in which you intend to mitigate these risks.** No known risk as the data would be collected through email, telephone and other modern communication media like WhatsApp voice or Video Call or Facebook Voice or Video Call.

The Foreign Commonwealth Office (BFC) advised against travelling to North Eastern Nigeria. But I would not be travelling there anyway. I will primarily reside in Sokoto North and Maitama, Abuja. Places that have one of the lowest risks of attack in Nigeria. Those are the two places I would be coordinating the conduct of the research. I was born in Sokoto. I do most of my professional work in Abuja.

In 2014 and early 2015 there were travel restrictions to North Eastern Nigeria due to high rate of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria. But the situation has significantly improved. Nigeria Government already declared that Boko Haram was technically defeated. Nevertheless, I will not travel to any of the affected states, as I will conduct the interviews on telephone or using virtual platforms. Same applies to Nigeria Delta region. I will conduct interviews in the same format, as I would do on Boko Haram.

I will mitigate any risk by having police and staff of Department of Security Services' staff that would accompany me throughout the duration of my research to ensure my personal safety is 100%

guaranteed. Daily, I will not engage into any activity until I get regular update from security agencies on the state of the nation's security status. They normally hold daily briefings in the morning and regularly update all the 774 local governments in Nigeria as events unfold.

I will also fill the required information guaranteeing my safety on risk assessment form, which is normally provided by the University before conducting research.

The benefits of this project to the applicant, participants and any others: Yes.

It would hugely impact upon Nigerian government especially in approaching upcoming/future deradicalisation programs. International community would benefit because many countries have political or economic interest in Nigeria. Peace in Nigeria influences peace in most parts of West Africa.

Multinational corporations are having huge presence in Nigeria. United Nations Agencies and other voluntary organizations are domiciled around areas mostly affected by insurgency.

International Business Conglomerates are also hugely present in Niger Delta. Companies like Shell, Chevron, and Mobil. Telecommunication companies like MTN, 9Mobile (formely Etisalat) and Globacom are all available in North East. Peace in Niger Delta and North east may act as a very useful remedy to all stakeholders. Another benefit of the project is that it adds value to existing deradicalisation interventions in Nigeria.

The outcome could be a tool for measuring what works and what doesn't in deradicalisation in Nigeria. Peace to Nigeria as a whole could stabilize almost all the sectors. This research could push for enhanced process that brings lasting peace to Nigeria and indeed most parts of west Africa.

Please ensure that you have completed Sections A, B, and C and attached a Research Proposal before submitting to your Faculty Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP)

Please sign this form and submit it as an email attachment to the Chair of your faculty's Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP) and cc <u>all</u> of the staff and students who will be involved in the proposed research.

http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research/current-students/research-ethics/

Research ethics approval can be granted for a maximum of 4 years or for the duration of the proposed research, whichever is shorter, on the condition that:

- The researcher must inform their faculty's Research Ethics Review Panel (RERP) of any changes to the proposed research that may alter the answers given to the questions in this form or any related research ethics applications
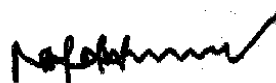
- The researcher must apply for an extension to their ethics approval if the research project continues beyond 4 years.

Declaration

I confirm that I have read London Met's *Research Ethics Policy and Procedures* and *Code of Good Research Practice* and have consulted relevant guidance on ethics in research.

Researcher signature: NASIR ABUBAKAR DANIYA   **Date10/10/2017**

Feedback from Ethics Review Panel/The Ethics approval

	Approved	*Feedback where further work required*
Section A	Yes	
Section B	Yes	5. A full detailed consideration of the ethical implications of the research is provided. 6. There is reference to the appropriate collection and dissemination of sensitive material. 7. There is also discussion concerning confidentiality and data storage. 8. Questionnaires are provided and provisions of consent are indicated.
Section C	Yes	3. There is considerable detail on the potential of the research. 4. The researcher has acquitted himself with reference to the potential to risk.
Date of approval		13/12/17
NB: The Researcher should be notified of decision within <u>two</u> weeks of the submission of the application. A copy should be sent to the Research and Postgraduate Office.		
Signature of RERP chair		Professor Mark Wheeler

D   QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

Dear Participant,

I am a Doctoral Degree Student Studying Policing, Security and Community Safety. I am conducting a research under the guidance of London Metropolitan University, London United Kingdom. Kindly consider this as an invitation to participate in this research work.

You are advised not to incriminate yourself in responding to this research as I have a duty to report to Nigerian Government.

Your involvement is totally voluntary; you may withdraw your consent anytime.

The project examines *Radicalisation and Deradicalisation in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't*.

Details of Researcher:
Name: Nasir Abubakar Daniya
Title: Doctoral Student
University: London Metrololitan University, UK
Email: nasirdaniya@yahoo.com
Contact Number: +2348138051973

Details of Supervisor: Dr Adegbola Ojo
Title: Senior Lecturer
University: University of Lincoln, UK
Email: aojo@lincoln.ac.uk
Contact Number +44 01522 83 5894

RESPONDENT

I have agreed to participate in this research. I have also read, understood and agreed to all the requirements.

Consented by me: Name……………..…………….Signature………………Date…………………

Gender   Male ☐   Female ☐

Age Range   0-18 ☐ 19-25 ☐ 26-30☐   31-35☐ 36-40☐ 41-45☐ 46-50☐ 51-55☐ 56-60☐ 60+

Type of Insurgent: Ex Militant ☐   Ex Boko Haram ☐

Type of Amnesty Enrolled: Niger Delta Amnesty Program   ☐Operation Safe Corridor Program

Segment: ☐Niger Delta Official   ☐Operation Safe Corridor Official

Officer or Civilian: ☐Uniform Official   ☐Non-Uniform Official

Nature of Work: ☐Field Schedule   ☐Office Schedule

Program Enrolled: ☐Disarmament   ☐Demobilization/Rehabilitation   ☐Reintegration

QUESTIONS

Boko Haram

Question 1 (a)

Which of the following factors stimulates Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria? (You may select and rate more than one factor).

Rating

Lowest

Highest

Factor				
Ignorance of Religious Teaching	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Unemployment	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Poverty	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Illiteracy	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Upbringing Difficulty	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Excessive use of force by JTF	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Widespread Corruption	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
It is lucrative	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐

Question 1 (b)

Why did you choose the above factor(s)?

Niger Delta Militants

Question 2 (a)

Which of the following factors stimulates Niger Delta Militancy in Nigeria? (You may select and rate more than one factor).

Rating

Lowest

Highest

Ignorance of Religious Teaching	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Unemployment	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Poverty	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Illiteracy	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Upbringing Difficulty	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Excessive use of force by JTF	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Widespread Corruption	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Political Instability	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Unfair Resource Allocation by Government	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Lack of Equity and Justice	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Government Failure to Address Root Cause	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Non-Cleanup of Oil Spillage	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
It is lucrative	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐

Question 2 (b)

Why did you choose the above factor(s)?

Question 3

(a) Is Niger Delta Amnesty Program Effective?   Yes   No

(b) If yes in which of the following ways?

Deradicalisation of Militants	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Transformation of Militants	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Reintegration of Militants	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Employment	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Skills Acquisition	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Improved Life	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Bringing Peace to Niger Delta	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Increase Wealth	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Improved Education	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Oil Production	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Reduced Corruption	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Political Stability	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Fair Resource Allocation by Government	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Equity and Justice	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Addresses Root Cause of Insurgency	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Cleanup of Oil Spillage	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Kills Radicalisation Ideology	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Stops Killings & Kidnappings	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐

Question 4

(a) Is Operation Safe Corridor Program Effective?　　　　Yes　　　　No

(b) If yes in which of the following ways?

Deradicalisation of Boko Haram Members	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Transformation of Boko Haram Members	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Reintegration of Boko Haram Members	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Provide Employment	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Skills Acquisition	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Improved Life	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Bringing Peace to Niger East	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Increase Wealth	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Improved Education	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Oil Production	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Reduced Corruption	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Political Stability	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Fair Resource Allocation by Government	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Equity and Justice	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Addresses Root Cause of Insurgency	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Cleanup of Oil Spillage	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Kills Radicalisation Ideology	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐
Stops Killings & Kidnappings	I don't Know☐ Not Agree☐	Agree☐	Strongly Agree☐	Very Strongly Agree☐

(c) If no why?

Question 5

(a) What do you think is the problem with current Niger Delta Amnesty Program?

(b) What Solution would you recommend in Designing Future Deradicalisation Programs for Niger Delta Militants?

(c) What do you think is the problem with current Operation Safe Corridor Program for Boko Haram?

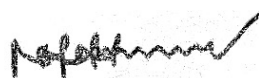(d) What Solution would you recommend in Designing Future Deradicalisation Programs for Boko Haram?

CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 10/10/2017.		
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.		
I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and recorded (audio or video) [a]		
I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part.		
Use of the information I provide for this project only		
I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed to people outside the project.		
I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.		
Please choose one *of the following two options:*		
I would like my real name used in the above		
I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above.		
Use of the information I provide beyond this project		
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at … [b]		
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.		
So we can use the information you provide legally		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to [name of researcher].		

Name of participant……………. Signature ……………………………….Date ………………………

Researcher **NASIR ABUBAKAR DANIYA** Signature   **Date 10/10/2017**

Project contact details for further information**:** John Grieve Policing and Community Safety, London Metropolitan University, 166-220, N7 8DB, Holloway Road, London, United Kingdom.

APPENDIX F   TABLE OF RESPONDENTS

Respondents Categories

Uniform Official	Non-Uniform Official	Field Schedule	Office Schedule	Disarmament
95	114	94	115	114

Total Combinations of Categories 342

Questionnaire Responses 209

Interviews: Individuals (25) +Focus group (3); Total 28

APPENDIX G　　　　　**LIST OF KEY ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED FOR THE RESEARCH**

i.　　　　Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA)

ii.　　　Office of the Attorney General of The Federation/Minister of Justice (AGF)

iii.　　Office of The Inspector General of Police (IGP)

iv.　　Office of the Special Adviser to President on Niger Delta (OSAPND)

v.　　　Office of the Minister Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA)

vi.　　Office of the Comptroller General Immigration (CGI)

vii.　　Office of the Director General Department of State Security (DSS)

viii.　Office of the the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS)

ix.　　Office of the Chief of Army Staff (CAS)

x.　　　Office of the Attorney General/Commissioner of Justice, Sokoto (AG)

xi.　　Office of the Commissioner of Police, Sokoto State Police (CP)

xii.　　Office of the Director State Security, Sokoto (DSS)

xiii.　Office of Comptroller of Prisons, Sokoto (CPS)

xiv.　Office of the Commandant, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (CNSCDC)

xv.　　Retired Inspector General of Police (IGP Rt) IAC, RIP (now deceased)

APPENDIX H   SAMPLE ACKNOWLEDGED LETTER

LMU/NAD/DOC/2018/VOL.1   24th January 2018

The Inspector General of Police,
Nigeria Police Force,
Force Hqtrs, Louis Edeth House,
Abuja, FCT.

IGP Sir,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE
0 9 FEB 2018
RECEIVED
ABUJA

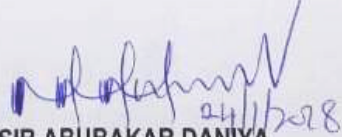### FORWARDING OF DOCTORAL/DProf. RESEARCH DOCUMENTS AND REQUEST FOR AUDIENCE WITH STAKEHOLDERS TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS

I hereby respectfully forward my doctoral research documents, which includes research brief, consent form, additional consent form, interview protocol and research questionnaire to your organization seeking for response to the questionnaires, also seeking for permission to conduct interviews with interested stakeholders within your organization.

I am a Nigerian, a Doctoral level final year student at John Grieve Centre for Policing and Community Safety, London Metropolitan University, London United Kingdom. My Doctoral major is on Policing, Security, and Community Safety. The research topic is **'Radicalization and De-radicalization in Nigeria: An Analysis of What Works and What Doesn't.'** Nigeria is my primary data collection target.

The research area is largely related to Insurgency, extremism, terrorism and militancy; radicalization, de-radicalization, counter-radicalization and re-radicalization in Nigeria. My interest is public security, cyber security and ICT infrastructure security. My specialization is on Information Security, Computer Forensics, IT integration and Management and Design, Development and Deployment of Cybernetic Security Technologies.

I would appreciate if you or any related stakeholder having interest on the research scope could grant me an interview or at least respond to the attached questionnaire or both. If there is/are militancy/terrorism suspect(s) in your custody I will highly appreciate if you could allow me interview or interact with him/her/them on phone (video or audio), or via any multimedia or social media platform such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Skype etc regarding the research. Should there be need to contact me for any enquiry/clarification I could be reached on my research email voluntaryresearchers@gmail.com or my mobile number+2348138051973.

Accept my best regards, please.

NASIR ABUBAKAR DANIYA
Twitter: @nasirdaniya

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APPENDIX I   **RAW EMPIRICAL FIELD DATA** (Soft copy of Excel attached with the thesis).

	What do you think is the	What Solution would you	What do you think is the	What Solution would you recommend in Designing Future	S.NO	PAP RECOMMENDATIONS	S.NO	OSC RECOMMENDATIONS
5	Inconsistency	Consistency	Ineffective	They should improve it or make it more effective	1	Consistency	1	They should improve it or make it more effective
6	Key issues not addressed	Study the basic reason behind insurgency	Not Strategic	Government should engage insiders	2	Study the basic reason behind insurgency	2	Government should engage insiders
7	Lack of Professional Staff	Institutionalize Amnesty Program with Laws	Does it even exist?	Redesign Something Acheivable	3	Institutionalize Amnesty Program with Laws	3	Redesign Something Acheivable
8	Inconsistency in Policies	Government should plan very well	It is not planned well	Wholistic plan	4	Government should plan very well	4	Wholistic plan
9	No Legal Backing	Identify people behind the problems	The sponsors are inside Government	Involve Immediate community	5	Identify people behind the problems	5	Involve Immediate community
10	Inadequate legal framework	National Assembly should enact law on it	Inactive Intervention	Involve Victims of insurgency	6	National Assembly should enact law on it	6	Involve Victims of insurgency
11	Lack of Funds	Adequate Budget	Not Known to North East people	The program should be comprehensive and all inclusive	7	Adequate Budget	7	The program should be comprehensive and all inclusive
12	Program not holistic	Include All Stakeholders	Plan it very well avoid fire brigade approach	Plan it very well avoid fire brigade approach	8	Include All Stakeholders	8	Plan it very well avoid fire brigade approach
13	Limited Resources	Have awork plan	Government not 100% committed	Both Government and the affected communities must come together to work for success	9	Have awork plan	9	Both Government and the affected communities must come together to work for success
14	Unseriousness by Government	Government Should be Serious	No Baseline Data to work with	Conduct appropriate survey before planning any future intervention	10	Government Should be Serious	10	Conduct appropriate survey before planning any future intervention
15	Government was slow	Government should be active	Boko Haram are anonymous group	Get the victims and insurgents views and design a better strategy	11	Government should be active	11	Get the victims and insurgents views and design a better strategy
16	Too much politics	Avoid political interference	There is politics in the matter	Professionals should be allowed to handle the problem alongside international communities' watchful	12	Avoid political interference	12	Professionals should be allowed to handle the problem alongside international communities' watch
17	Derivation formula is wrong	Adequate financing to Niger Delta Region	Planning	Do it rightly	13	Adequate financing to Niger Delta Region	13	Do it rightly
18	Government Decisions Are Bad	Allow Niger Delta people to participate	The corridor is leaking	Be serious in making it an honest intervention	14	Allow Niger Delta people to participate	14	Be serious in making it an honest intervention
19	Ineffective Strategy	Effective Strategy	No much publicity	Inform the stakeholders well	15	Effective Strategy	15	Inform the stakeholders well
20	Policy problems	Unify the policies	I thing policy issues affects it too	Harmonize the policies	16	Unify the policies	16	Harmonize the policies
21	Leadership Issues	Appoint Right Leaders	Too Complex	Study the problem well	17	Appoint Right Leaders	17	Study the problem well
22	Issues not addressed properly	Do things rightly	Similar problem with Niger Delta Militants	So many things are mixed up	18	Do things rightly	18	So many things are mixed up
23	Poverty in the region	Empower them economically	Unemployment	Get Jobs for the youth	19	Empower them economically	19	Get Jobs for the youth
24	Infrastructure Deficit	Provide Basic Infrastructure	Poverty	Educate the people and give them employment opportunities	20	Provide Basic Infrastructure	20	Educate the people and give them employment opportunities
25	Oil Prospect	Equitable Resource Allocation	Crisis Ridden Region	Government should ensure stability	21	Equitable Resource Allocation	21	Government should ensure stability
26	Bad policies	Update the policies	Unstructured system	Restructure the system	22	Update the policies	22	Restructure the system
27	Underdevelopment	Improve the living standards	Insecurity	Something more should be done to improve security in the ninth east	23	Improve the living standards	23	Something more should be done to improve security in the ninth east
28	No human capital development	people should be adequately trained	Unemployment	Let the youth have something doing	24	people should be adequately trained	24	Let the youth have something doing
29	Lack of Social Security	Government should support the society	Difficult to Ascertain	Rigorous data collection should be conducted to have accurate information	25	Government should support the society	25	Rigorous data collection should be conducted to have accurate information
30	Inadequate Government Support	Government should do more	Lack of enough military firepower	Deploy more troops in the region to fight Boko Haram	26	Government should do more	26	Deploy more troops in the region to fight Boko Haram
31	Illiteracy	Educate the youth	Illiteracy and poverty	Provide employment to people	27	Educate the youth	27	Provide employment to people
32	Systematic Corruption	System should be transparent	Corrupt Intervention	Sincerity Should Prevail in the process	28	System should be transparent	28	Sincerity Should Prevail in the process
33	Unsafe Environment	More Security required	Violence is too much	Stability is needed first	29	More Security required	29	Stability is needed first
34	The region has many problems	Stability should be ensured first	The area inhabitable	Let people return back to their villages first	30	Stability should be ensured first	30	Let people return back to their villages first
35	Past Government's mistakes	Pragmatic Approach	No political will	Unbiased decisions needs to be made to save the north east region from Boko Haram	31	Pragmatic Approach	31	Unbiased decisions needs to be made to save the north east region from Boko Haram
36	Nigeria's Structure	Restructuring Nigeria	Very complicating issue	Negotiate with all insurgents to surrender	32	Restructuring Nigeria	32	Negotiate with all insurgents to surrender
37	Unfair Treatment of Niger Delta	Government Should be Fair to Niger Deltans	Trust Issues	Make the atmosphere condusive gor them to lay down arms	33	Government Should be Fair to Niger Deltans	33	Make the atmosphere condusive gor them to lay down arms
38	Nigerians are the problem	Nobody trust one another	Lack of trust	Create situated system for people to believe what government is saying	34	Nobody trust one another	34	Create situated system for people to believe what government is saying
39	Several factors behind it	Reassessment of Existing Intervention	Safe corridor is not safe for them	Know what they want and then implement it alongside safe corridor	35	Reassessment of Existing Intervention	35	Know what they want and then implement it alongside safe corridor
40	Unemployment and Poverty	help them economically and keep them busy	Illiteracy	Educate them to understand what Islam Stands for	36	help them economically and keep them busy	36	Educate them to understand what Islam Stands for
41	Lack of peaceful environment	Stabilize the region first	Help them overcome poverty	Build their skills to become self-reliant	37	Stabilize the region first	37	Build their skills to become self-reliant
42	Oil Companies	Implement Corporate Social responsibility	Businesses are dead	Recreate the society first	38	Implement Corporate Social responsibility	38	Recreate the society first
43	NNPC and Nigerian Government	Government Should Treat them Like Nigerians	Communication Gap	Speak to real Boko Haram leaders	39	Government Should Treat them Like Nigerians	39	Speak to real Boko Haram leaders
44	Shell and NNPC	Oil Companies should help Niger Delta	Not Known to North East people	The program should be comprehensive and all inclusive	40	Oil Companies should help Niger Delta	40	The program should be comprehensive and all inclusive

Below are the key areas of the research that have been reviewed intensively. All the reviewed pages are highlighted in yellow for examiners' guidance.

Abstract

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Full review

- Chapters Synopsis
- Radicalisation, Counterradicalisation, Deradicalisation and Reradicalisation in Nigeria
- Summary

Partial Review

- Introduction
- The Relationship of this Investigation to Previous Intellectual Work
- Terrorism and Insurgencies

Chapter 2

Partial Review

- Radicalism and Radicalisation: A Review of Concepts and the Nigerian Milieu
- Abstract
- Introduction

Full Review

- Counterradicalisation
- Deradicalisation
- Reradicalisation
- Insurgency and Terrorism
- Efficiency and Effectiveness of Counterradicalisation Interventions
- Origins, Politics and Implications of the Niger Delta Crisis
- Underlying Causes of the Niger Delta Crisis
- The Influence of Politics of the Niger Delta Crisis
- The Impact of the Crisis on the Social, Economic and Environmental Stability of Nigeria
- Origins, Origins, Politics and Implications of the Boko Haram Insurgency

- Who are the main political actors?

- Underlying Causes of the Boko Haram Insurgency

- The Role of Politics in the Boko Haram Insurgency

- Impact of this crisis on the social, political, economic and environmental stability of Nigeria

- An Overview of the Amnesty Program

- How the OSC and PAP are Funded

- Theoretical Considerations

- Grievance Theory

- Coercion

- Coercion Tactics

- Rational Choice

- Psychological Traits Approach (STA)

- Conclusions

Chapter 3

Partial review

- Resear Ethical Issues Regarding Sources and/Author's Safety in Research

Full review

- Research Positionality
- Sampling Strategy
- Data Coding

Chapter 4

Full reviews

- Tables 1-23

Partial Review

- Findings

Chapter 6

Partial review

- Introduction
- The Identify, Prepare, Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Evaluate 'IPPPPE' Framework
- Table 6.1 IPPPPE Framework Table for Counterinsurgency in Nigeria

-   Feasibility and Innovation and Applicability of the Framework

Chapter 7

<u>Full Review</u>
-   Thesis Summary
-   Recommendations

Appendix

<u>Full Review</u>
-   Ethics Approval
-   Interview Protocol
-   Raw empirical data and pivot tables

<u>Partial Review</u>
-   Ethics form submitted before ethics approval

<u>**GUIDE DOCUMENTS USED TO REVIEW AND AMENDED THE THESIS**</u>

<u>Examiners general suggestions after the thesis submission and subsequent Viva</u>

1. In terms of structure, the introduction chapter should contain a chapter by chapter synopsis of the thesis.

2. Chapter 2 should be restructured to provide less of a historical description of insurgencies in Nigeria and to focus more on:

    a. Giving a detailed, social, political and geographical background of the two flagship de-radicalisation programmes discussed. This should contain a critical analysis of their stated aims and objectives.

    b. An extensive critical review of the existing literature on de-radicalisation.

    c. A critical engagement with key concepts used throughout your thesis including the terms insurgency, terrorism, effective, radicalisation, leading to well thought through definitions that you then utilise throughout your thesis.

3. The methodology needs a more robust discussion of ethics, particularly due to the subject matter and the fact that detainees were interviewed.

4. The ethics approval form should be included as an appendix.

5. Any data collected that sits outside the parameters approved of by the ethics committee should be removed from your thesis.

6. The methodology needs a critical reflection of the researchers own positionality, the power dynamics related to his position as a researcher and also a senior government employee.

7. There needs to be a detailed discussion of the researchers sampling strategy and the research sample's representativeness in relation to the wider research population.

8. The researcher should show the data analysis process, including coding structure for the qualitative data.

9. Reference to the use of Twitter as a data collection tool should be removed.

10. The qualitative data should be re analysed thematically.

11. The quantitative data should be reanalysed to include cross sectional and multivariate analysis.

12. The raw empirical data should be included as an appendix.

13. All data should be critically analysed with reference to the literature discussed in chapter 2.

14. The recommendations need to be grounded in the empirical data analysed within your thesis.

15. The thesis conclusion needs to summarise the thesis and the key recommendations

Additionally, below are some of the key guidance by Main Supervisor Dr Adegbola Ojo, which the researcher adhered to. Each chapter has its amendments based on feedback

    a. Keep the current structure

    b. Add some more text to the ethics section giving consideration to the delicate nature of the research topic and the fact that detainees were interviewed. Use this document to beef up your ethics section:https://www.academia.edu/9122055/Research_Ethics_in_Criminology

    c. Don't forget to include the ethics approval form as an appendix

d. Remove any data that you collected that was not included in the ethics approval. For instance all data related to twitter should be removed.

e. Add a section titled **Researchers Positionality**. In this section, you should discuss how your perceptions and your influence as a government official influenced the research and your relationship with research participants.

f. Add a section titled **Sampling Strategy**. Have a look at different sampling strategies available here:https://revisesociology.com/2017/03/25/sampling-research-methods/. Choose the one that is most applicable to your research and discuss it within this section indicating that this is the sampling strategy that you used. Use some supporting references.

g. Add a section titled **Data Coding**. Use information from here:https://getthematic.com/insights/coding-qualitative-data/ to explain how you did the data coding

Furthermore, below are summary of Dr Akin Iwilade's feedback on 08/10/2019 during the VIVA, which have all been address in the amended thesis.

Chapter One
1. **Chapter 1:** Make the introduction to be Chapter by Chapter
2. **Data:** Do Critical Analysis of Existing Data
3. **COIN**: PAP and OSC: Provide Details of the two programs
4. **Concepts**: Critically engage with key concepts of *Radicalization*

Chapter Two
5. Chapter 2: Reorganize the chapter
6. Background: Analytical Background of Boko Haram and Niger Delta Militants
7. **Structure:** On NDM & BH, discuss background, Funding, Structure and Operations

Chapter Three
8. **Chapter 3:** Explain the Ethical Instructions/approval, how data was collected
9. **Explain about Detainees**, Operators and other stakeholders involved in research
10. **Reality:** Explain Ethical Clearance and compare with reality on ground
11. **Why** should we take someone's response more serious than the other? Militants etc
12. **Has your role as Director ICT** affects the response/outcome of the research?
13. **Pivot Table:** Include Imperial Data and the Pivot table from the appendix. How pls?
14. **Who said what** and why they said it in the interview (verbatim quotes of responses)

Chapter 4-6

Recommendations

15. Recommendations should come from the data collected, responses from the people

Conclusion

16. Conclusion should be driven by the data collected

17. Position of the thesis to wider perspective

18. Position is Driven by empirical data

19. Position is on your literature

20. Where it fits with wider practice in Nigeria/Abroad

21. Contribution of Thesis to Policy in Nigeria/abroad

22. Contribution of thesis to academia

Self-critically analyse the whole thesis after you are done

APPENDIX K   REFERENCES

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