Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: The Role of the State Government in the Insulation of Jigawa State against Boko-Haram Insurgency (2009-2015)

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` **February, 2019**

DECLARATION

I declare that this MPhil dissertation entitled: “Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: The Role of the State Government in the Insulation of Jigawa State against Boko-Haram Insurgency (2009-2015)” was conducted by me in the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria under the supervision of Dr. AliyuYahayaand Dr. D. O Moveh.I also declare that all information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in form of references. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for the award of another degree or diploma at any university.

_____ _____

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled: "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: The Role of the State Government in the Insulation of Jigawa State against Boko-Haram Insurgency (2009-2015)" by Mustapha Sule Lamido meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of MPhil Political Science of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	-	African National Congress
CDF	-	Comprehensive Development Framework
CJTF	-	Civilian Joint Task Force
DIA	-	Defence Intelligence Agencies
DSS	-	Department of State Security
IDPs	-	Internally Displaced Persons
MASSOB	-	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	-	Movment for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
NDVF	-	Niger Delta Volunteer Force
NIS	-	Nigerian Immigration Service
NPF	-	Nigeria Police Force
OPC	-	Odua People's Congress
SMJTF	-	Special Military Joint Task Force
UN	-	United Nations

ABSTRACT

Since 2009, the Boko-Haram insurgency became deadly and extremely violent particularly in the three north-eastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe. Other states which were also significantly affected by the Boko-Haram insurgency include: Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna and the Federal Capital Territory. Jigawa state which shares borders with Kano, Bauchi and Yobe states was however relatively insulated from the Boko Haram insurgency. This study therefore examined how and why Jigawa state was insulated from the Boko-Haram insurgency. The major objective of the study was to investigate what socio-economic and political factors accounted for the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. The study was conducted within the framework of the conflict management theory which argues that conflict is not a static situation but a dynamic one in which the level of intensity changes over a conflicts' life cycle. The territorial imperative theory was also adopted in the explanation of the social factors that resulted in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. As a qualitative Study, the data for this study was sourced essentially through primary sources of data. The primary data was derived from interviews with the political elite in Jigawa state. These political elite comprised of the government agents directly involved in protecting Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency as well as members of the opposition political parties from 2007-2015. Other respondents of the study include the religious and traditional leaders as well as representatives of the Nigerian Police Force and Department of State Security. Focus group discussion was also held in four local governments in the state. Secondary data on the other hand was derived from libraries and the internet. Findings indicate that unlike in the communities in the neighboring states which were devastated by the Boko-Haram insurgency, there was a high degree of social capital amongst the elites and the people of Jigawa state which significantly contributed in the insulation of the state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Other findings of the study also indicates that three major programs namely: the socio-economic development of the state, the reinvigoration of the state security council and the establishment of temporary IDP camps, also contributed in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Finally the study recommends that efforts should be made towards boosting social capital by fostering peaceful coexistence and cooperation amongst Nigerians through the avoidance of ethno-religious profiling and discrimination. The study also recommends that efforts should be made towards improving the socio-economic development of the country in general through the implementation of programs and policies that impact positively on the lives of the citizens. This is important considering the fact that an improvement in the living standard of the people is established as a disincentive for the recruitment drive of insurgents.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Background to the Study

Insurgencies have generally been an issue of concern to many states across the globe. They exist in various forms; perpetuating terrorist and violent activities that strike at the corporate existence or the ideological basis of states. From the Taliban in Afghanistan to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), as well as the north-east India and communist insurgency in the Philippines, each insurgency is different in its aims, structures and strategy. Yet, all insurgencies are similar in the sense that they represent a usually violent revolt that is not recognized as belligerency.

In Nigeria, a number of insurgencies have arisen in the post-independence period, ranging from those based on socio-economic, ethnic or religious considerations. The first known insurgency in post-colonial Nigeria may be credited to the movement to liberate the Niger Delta people led by Major Isaac Jasper AdakaBoro in 1966. Boro formed the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), an armed military group composed of 150 of his kinsmen in the belief that the people of the Niger Delta deserved a more equitable share of the wealth which accrued from oil. On the 23rd of February 1966, the NDVF declared the Niger Delta Republic. The Republic however, lasted only 12 days before the federal military forces crushed the insurgency and arrested Boro (Kwaja, 2013). Since then other insurgent groups that have emerged in Nigeria include: the Odua People's Congress (OPC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the recent Boko-Haram Insurgency.

Since July 2009, the Boko Haram insurgency increased its violent attacks against the Nigerian state and its citizens, unleashing a systematic campaign of suicide bombings, kidnappings and drive-by shootings on diverse government and civilian targets. In a report by the US Department of Justice,Boko -Haram reportedly engaged “in over six hundred attacks on various targets, including government institutions, government officials, churches, mosques, schools, bars, and other businesses as at 2013” (Goitom, 2014:2). In addition to the deaths of an estimated fivethousand people, the group isalso said to have caused “the displacement of over six hundred and fifty thousand Nigerians as at 2013" (Goitom, 2014:2).

In May 2013, President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in the northeastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe; the states mostly affected by the Boko Haram insurgency; and the Nigerian military was deployed in a counter offensive against the insurgency. However, such emergency measures seemed not to have deterred the group; as it continued its deadly attacks up till the end of the Jonathan administration in 2015. Following an intensified offensive against Boko Haram, thousands of Nigerians including some members of the Boko Haram insurgency began fleeing from the north east into neighboring states and countries; thereby expanding the scope of the insurgency and the associated insecurity. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Up to 10,000 Nigerians fled to Niger’s Diffa region in 2015. Cameroon was also reported to be hosting some 44,000 Nigerian refugees in the same year, while another 2,700 were reported to havefled to Chad (UNHCR, 2015). By 2016, some 2.2 million people were internally displaced in the northeastern and other neighboring states in Nigeria due to the Boko Haram’s insurgency and also as a result of the counter-insurgency measures adopted by the

Nigerian state (Ibrahim and Obels, 2017:1).The impact of the Boko- haram insurgency was not only felt across Nigeria; particularly in states in the north eastern and north western region but also in neighboring countries like Niger, Chad and Cameroon. However, the scale and scope of the insurgency varied significantly across different states, regions and communities.

Jigawa state in north-west Nigeria was one of the states confronted with the influx of internally displaced persons and fleeing members of the Boko-haram insurgency. However, in comparism to other neighboring states like Bauchi, Kaduna, Kano and Yobe states, Jigawa state remained relatively insulated from Boko Haram attacks and the humanitarian crisis associated with the insurgency. In a report by Thisday newspapers it was noted that Boko Haram has since 2009, carried out dozens of attacks in surrounding areas, but Jigawa itself has been spared much of the violence (Thisday, 10th April, 2014).

Since the beginning of the insurgency in 2009, the first and only major attack by the Boko Haram insurgents in Jigawa state was in April 2014 when members of the group attacked a police station, a bank and a Shari'ah Court inGwaram local government area where they killed a number of policemen and civilians. While Jigawa state experienced only isolated attacks by the Boko haram insurgents, Kano, Bauchi and Yobe states which shared border with Jigawa state were repeatedly attacked by the Boko-haram insurgents and these states were also generally seen as recruitment centers for the terrorists.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The major areas affected by the Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria are the three north-eastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states. Other states like Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna and the federal capital territory were also significantly affected by the crisis. Jigawa

state which shares border with Kano, Bauchi and Yobe state was generally, relatively insulated from the Boko-Haram crisis. This study therefore investigates why and how Jigawa state was able to remain relatively insulated from the Boko-Haram crisis. The study particularly examinesthe socio-economic and political factors which may have contributed in the relative insulation of the state from the negative effects of the Boko-Haram insurgency from 2009-2015.

1.3 Research Questions

In view of the above research problem, the specific research questions to be addressed in this study include:

i. Were there any social factors peculiar to Jigawa state as a community that contributed in the insulation of the state from the negative effects of the Boko-Haram Insurgency?

ii. What if any; are the policies and programs introduced by the Jigawa state government against the Boko-Haram insurgency?

iii. How were the policies and program implemented and in what ways (if any) did the program contribute in the insulation of Jigawa state from the negative consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The general aim of this study is to determine the factors that accounted for the relative insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency. The more specific objectives of the study include:

i. To determine if there were any social factors peculiar to Jigawa state which contributed in the relative insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko haram insurgency.

ii. To investigate if there were any policies or programs by the Jigawa state government which contributed in the insulation of the state from the Boko-Haram insurgency.

iii. To determine how any of such policies or programs by the Jigawa state government may have contributed to the relative peace in Jigawa state.

1.5 Research Assumptions

This study was guided by the following assumptions.

i. The insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-haram crisis was as a result of the existence of peculiar social factors within the state which served a counter terrorist purpose.

ii. Jigawa state was relatively insulated from the Boko-Haram insurgency due to the existence of policies and programs which served a counter terrorist purpose.

1.6 Significance and Justification of the Study

The Boko-Haram insurgency in northeast Nigeria has attracted a lot of scholarly attention (Sani S. 2015, Alozieuwa S. H. 2012, Okoli, A. C., &Iortyer, 2014, Aghedo, I, &Osumah, O. 2012 and Osumah, O. 2013). However, most of the works conducted have either focused on the causes of the crisis or attempted to evaluate the government's response to the crisis at the national level. For example, Otegwu (2016) and Jae (2017) are recent works that both examined the management of the Boko-haram insurgency; but their emphasis was on the role of the federal government. Indeed, very few studies have focused

on the response of state governments to the Boko-haram insurgency. This study is therefore significant in the sense that it seeks to evaluate the role of state governments and the community in the management of the Boko-Haram insurgency. The study thus represents a micro analysis of efforts at managing the insurgency, rather than the usual macro analysis that has ensued in the discourse on the subject matter.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The Boko-Haram insurgency in Nigeria gained national and international attention in 2009; even though the group had been in existence since 2003. Since 2009, the federal government of Nigeria and the international community has taken various steps in addressing the crisis. Yet, the insurgency though largely suppressed, continues to engage in sporadic attacks in northern Nigeria. This study focuses on the role of the state government in the management of Boko-haram insurgency. The study particularly focuses on Jigawa State and it covers the period 2009-2015 due to the fact that this was when the Boko Haram insurgency was at its peak.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This work is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is a general background to the study which comprise of the introduction, statement of the research problem, research questions, aims and objectives of the study and the research assumptions of the study. Also contained in chapter one is the justification and scope of the study. The second chapter comprise of the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter three is a detailed presentation of the method of data collection and analysis and a general background of the study area. Chapter four isthe data presentation and analysis while chapter five contains the summary, conclusion and recommendation.

1.9 Conceptual Clarification

1.9.1 The Concept of Insurgency

The concept of insurgency is complex, relative, and difficult to define because it been has been used interchangeably with other concepts like terrorism, revolution, guerrilla warfare etc. While insurgency has existed for centuries, it has been conceptualized and consequently, addressed, in innumerable ways. Prior to the 1900s, insurgency was generally considered to be a nuisance for states, especially empires with powerful, conventional militaries that were primed to fight the armies of fellow states, not a ragtag collection of fighters with light weapons. Due to this asymmetry, such armed groups would not directly confront a state with unmatched military capabilities; instead, they engaged in guerilla (Spanish for "small war") warfare, which included hit-and-run tactics in order to exploit a conventional military's inability to deviate from a highly organized and structured protocol. Thus, insurgencies were conceptualized as tactical struggles to force states into engaging in long, protracted wars of attrition in order to exhaust both their resources and willpower.An insurgency may therefore be defined as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow or destruction of a constituted government through the use of subversion, espionage, terrorism and armed conflicts (Hayden 2007). Indeed, insurgencies are uniquely distinguishable from terrorist groups in that their primary objective is state control and sovereignty, which they achieve by incrementally garnering popular support. Using targeted military force themselves, insurgents seek to emulate Max Weber's definition of a state, that is, an entity that possesses a monopoly of force and legitimacy within a given territory.

According to Drew (2001), an insurgency can also be defined as an armed revolution against the established political order. Drew continues that: "Pure. Insurgencies are internal

affairs of states as they do not require assistance from foreign powers" (2001:4). In this context, insurgency is therefore synonymous with civil wars. Despite Drew's (2001) suggestion that insurgencies are essentially part of the internal affairs of states, he also acknowledge that it is not uncommon for insurgencies to receive international support:

> Although pure insurgencies are civil wars, the situation becomes less clear-cut when outside powers intervene in some manner. Often such intervention is mostly in the form of supplying material aid to one side or the other, or providing professional revolutionaries (e.g. the Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara in Bolivia) who can organize and discipline what might otherwise be a haphazard affair easily crushed by the government in power. Intervention has been common as the major powers fished in "troubled waters" in the hope of gaining advantage in the perceived zero-sum game of international power politics. When intervention draws the attention of an opposing power, an insurgency can quickly be cast as a major power confrontation. The fact remains that insurgencies are, at base, internal affairsunless the role of one or both sides is co-opted by an intervening power (Drew: 2001:4).

Thus, while insurgency may be limited to a single nation, in modern times, it almost always impacts on international relations. Indeed, the insurgents, government or both may be clients of other nations and in most cases there is usually a spillover especially in the form of refugees beyond national borders.

The concept of insurgency has also been defined as a protracted political-military activity directed towards completely or partially controlling the resources of a country through the use of irregular military forces and illegal political organization. Insurgent activities (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism and political mobilization, for example propaganda, recruitment, front and covert party organization and international activity) is designed to weaken government control and legitimacy while increasing insurgent control and legitimacy. The common denominator of most insurgent groups in this context is their

desire to control a particular area. This objective differentiates insurgent groups from purely terrorist organizations, whose objectives do not include the creation of an alternative government capable of controlling a given area or country.

An insurgency therefore generally refers to the activities of a group or groups seeking political power through armed conflict or other illegal means under the rules of the existing government. Seeking political power in this context does not necessarily mean replacing the government. Indeed, an insurgent group may only want to share power or it may prefer to just breakdown a strong government so that local militias may have a strong control.

According to O'Neill, (2005: 1) Insurgencies have been essential in nation building activities since the earliest histories. O'Neill explains, that "insurgency has probably been the most prevalent type of armed conflict since the creation of organized political communities" (O'Neill, 2005: 1). O'Neill thus defines insurgency as: "a general overarching concept that refers to a conflict between a government and an out group or opponent in which the latter uses both political resources and violence to change, reformulate, or uphold the legitimacy of one or more of four key aspects of politics" (O'Neill, 2002, as cited in Taber, 2002). These aspects of politics are, "(1) the integrity of the borders and composition of the nation state, (2) the political system, (3), the authorities in power, and (4) the policies that determine who gets what in societies" (O'Neill, 2002, as cited in Taber, 2002). O'Neill notes that insurgent activity is a form of "political movement" with a specific aim and the political aim of insurgencies thrives in situations wheresocietal divisions are cumulative and where they combine with economic and political disparities" (O'Neill, 2005: 4). It should be noted also that referring to a group as insurgent also depends on perspective. The patriots

of the American Revolution were for example called an insurgency and considered treasonous by the British, while the colonist saw them as fighting for the preservation of their freedoms and independence.

Insurgencies have existed in many countries and regions including the Philippines, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, Yemen, Djibouti, Colombia, Srilanka, democratic republic of Congo, the colonies of Great Britain and Nigeria. Each insurgency also has different specifics. However, they all share a common feature of an attempt to disrupt the central government by means considered illegal by that government. Most insurgent groups therefore have the same intermediate objectives designed to help them achieve eventual domination of a country. Although both military and political means are used to achieve these intermediate objectives, insurgencies are essentially political (Moveh, 2017). Some of the objectives of insurgencies include:

1. To limit the ability of the government and enhance the capability of the insurgents to provide public services.
2. To obtain support or neutrality of critical segments of the population.
3. To isolate the government from international diplomatic and material support and increase international support for the insurgents
4. To increase the domestic and international legitimacy of the insurgent organization at the expense of the government.
5. To destroy the self-confidence of government leaders and cadres, causing their abdication or withdrawal.
6. To reduce and if possible, neutralize government coercive power while strengthening insurgent coercive capabilities.

It is also important to note that many insurgent movements may be highly organized. Yet, this may not always be the case. North (2008) for example notes that:

> While some insurgencies are networked with only loose objectives and mission type orders to enhance their survival, others are divided and factionalized by area, composition or goals.

Table 1.1: Selected Cases of Insurgencies across the Globe

Six (6) Diverse Ideological Basis and Motivations of Insurgencies					
1. Anti-Colonialist	**2. Resistance to occupation**	**3. Nationalist or separatist**	**4. Civil war**	**5. Marxist**	**6. Religious and Racist**
American colonists	American colonists	Confederate States of America	Confederate States of America	Weather Underground	Ku Klux Klan
-	ArmiaKrajowa Polish Home Army	Irish nationalists prior to 1922	Spanish Loyalists	26th of July Movement (Cuba)	al-Qaeda
Viet Minh	French Resistance	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	Viet Minh	Viet Minh	Hezbollah
-	-	Free Thai Movement	Anbar Salvation Council	National Liberation Army (Bolivia)	Lord's Resistance Army
National Liberation Front/Viet Cong	Yugoslav Partisans	Sudan People's Liberation Movement	Viet Cong	Viet Cong	Jaish-e-Mohammed
Mau Mau Rebellion (Kenya)	Ba'athists (Iraq)	Ba'athists (Iraq)	National Liberation Front	Pro-Patrice Lumumba Simba (DRC)	al-Qaeda in Iraq, Islamic State of Iraq
Boxer Rebellion	Badr Corps	Badr Corps	Badr Corps	Khmer Rouge	Gush Emunim Underground
Boers	Hukbalahap (WWII)	Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, Caucasian Emirate	African National Congress	Hukbalahap (post-WWII)	Armed Islamic Group (Algeria)
Abu Sayyaf (Philippines)	Norwegian Resistance (WWII)	Front de Liberation Quebecois	Irish Republican Army 1922-1927	Red Brigades	Abu Sayyaf (Philippines)
Shining Path (Peru)	July 20 plot (Germany)	Mahdi Army	Spanish Nationalists	Indian Communist Party	Mahdi rebellion (Sudan)
FRELIMO (Angolan)	Chinese Communist Party	Caprivi Liberation Army	Chinese Communist Party	Chinese Communist Party	Lashkar-e-Toiba (Pak/Kash)
National Liberation Front (Algeria)	Holger Danske (Denmark)	Bolsheviks (Russia)	Bolsheviks (Russia)	Bolsheviks (Russia)	Army of God (US)
EOKA (Greek Cypriot)	Soviet Partisans	TúpacAmaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA)	Chetniks	TúpacAmaru Revolutionary Movement	HizbulMujahideen

		(Peru)		(MRTA) (Peru)	
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)	Czech Resistance movement	Republic of Biafra	Republic of Biafra	Malayan National Liberation Army	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen
Hungarian Revolution of 1956	Hamas (Palestine)	Hungarian Revolution of 1956	Albigensians	Red Army Faction	OrthodoxSerbs
Party for a Free Life in Kurdistan	Mahdi Army(Iraq)	Moro Islamic Liberation Front	Mahdi Army(Iraq)	Japanese Red Army	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA)	Czech Resistance movement	Malayan National Liberation Army	Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS)	Malayan National Liberation Army	BabbarKhalsa
-	-	Provisional IRA, Real IRA, Continuity IRA, Official IRA	-	Official IRA	Provisional IRA, Real IRA, Continuity IRA
-	-	Ulster Volunteer Force (1966), Ulster Defence Association	-	-	Ulster Volunteer Force (1966), Ulster Defence Association
-	-	-	-	-	Jama'atuAhlil Sunna Lidawatiwal Jihad (Boko Haram)

In addition to the absence of a definite structure of insurgencies, scholars (North 2008) have also correctly noted that no two insurgencies are the same. Indeed, as indicated in table 1, the ideological basis and motivations of insurgency can range from political, economic, ethnic, religion or race, to a combination of factors. For example, the Ba'athists in Iraq was motivated by resistance to occupation and nationalist and separatist agendas. Similarly the TúpacAmaru Revolutionary Movement in Peru was motivated by nationalist and Marxist ideology.

1.9.2 Concept and Methods of Counter Insurgencies

History is replete with examples of non-state actors engaging in unconventional tactics and methods when targeting state actors with unmatched military, economic and political

Capabilities, and the policies adopted to counter them have differed over the centuries. Indeed, while non-state actors have been more consistent in utilizing unconventional methods to target the highly organized, hierarchal militaries of powerful states, state responses have varied tremendously.It is therefore important to examine the concept of counter-insurgency in this study and also the various methods of counter insurgencies that have been adopted by states.

Counterinsurgency generally refers to all attempts adopted by a state in the fight against insurgency. It includes all the pro-active and reactionary measures adopted by a government in tackling insurgencies. There has been a very vibrant debate on how best insurgencies can generally be managed. While some scholars have advocated for the use of force, others have emphasized the use of an integrated approach which incorporates a comprehensive socio-economic development program as part of the counter insurgency strategy. In this regard, counterinsurgency focuses on the local civilian population, seeking to secure the population from the enemy and to obtain popular support through effective governance, including the provision of public services; with a view to eventually defeating insurgents or making them irrelevant (Baucum, Fulk 2011:1). Thus, a strategic understanding of counterinsurgency must therefore bring intoconsideration both military and non-military actions of an insurgent group, which a state can choose to address in its counterinsurgency policy. However, countering the military, or kinetic, movements of insurgent organizations is often the most urgent and important security threat that states seek to address. Any state response to insurgency is associated with an implicit judgement that the state itself perceives a significant threat from the insurgent group, independent of the reality of the threat such a group could pose (Baucum, Fulk 2011:1).

According to US guide for the analysis of insurgency (2012)" counter-insurgency involves any "military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency"."Effective counter-insurgency therefore integrates and synchronizes political, security, legal, economic, development, and psychological activities to create a holistic approach aimed at weakening the insurgents while bolstering the government's legitimacy" (US government, 2012). To put it differently, the approaches to counter-insurgency may generally be classified into two: the enemy-centered approached and the population centered approach. While the enemy centered approach focuses on the defeat of the insurgent in an essentially militaristic operation, the population centered approach emphasizes the protection of the populace not necessarily through direct military confrontation with the insurgents but through other socio-economic and political programs aimed at winning the support of the populace. These two approaches offer significant insights into the nature of counter-insurgency. Yet, it has been noted that counter-insurgent campaigns will rarely be purely enemy-centric or population-centric, but will generally include elements of both, with the relative balance changing over time (US government, 2012).

According to Mockiatis (2011), the study of counterinsurgency (COIN) has focused disproportionately on its operational and tactical aspects at the expense of larger strategic considerations. Mockiatis (2011) continues that in spite of the strategy adopted in the fight against insurgency, insurgencies generally come to an end in one of the following four ways: conflicts in which the insurgents won; conflicts in which the government won; situations in which insurgencies degenerate into mere terrorism or criminality; and lastly Mockiatis (2011), notes that insurgencies may be resolved by co-opting the insurgents into legitimate

politics through a negotiated settlement and reintegrating them into normal social life. Mockiatis (2011) goes on to argue that the fourth situation provides the best examples in counter insurgency particularly when the insurgency has been motivated essentially by political considerations. The ANC insurgency against the apartheid government in South Africa which is examined in the next section is a typical example of how the cooption of insurgents into mainstream politicscan bring the insurgency to an end.

1.9.3 The Concept Insulation: The concept of insulation in science is generally used in referring to a material or an object that does not easily allow heat, electricity, light or sound to pass through it. For example, Air, cloth and rubber are good electrical insulators, while feathers and wool make good thermal insulators. To insulate something can thus, be seen as to place in a detached situation. That is to separate something from an "unwanted effect". For the purposes of this study therefore, the concept of insulation is seen as the situation in which Jigawa state was protected from the negative consequences of the Boko-Haram insurgency.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 A Review of Selected Cases of Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies

As earlier noted, inspite of the importance of "militaristic and non-militaristic" approach in countering insurgency, most counterinsurgencies have relied essentially on the use of force as opposed to any broad and inclusive socio-economic development program aimed at increasing the legitimacy of the state and weakening the insurgency. Two notable examples in Africa: the Mau Mau insurgency in colonial Kenya and ANC insurgency against the apartheid government of South Africa are used to illustrate the adoption of overwhelming force in counterinsurgency.

2.1.1 The Mau Mau Insurgency and the Counterinsurgency of the Colonial Government in Kenya (1952–1956)

The Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya is a typical insurgency that arose in colonial Kenya. The rebellion was essentially an anticolonial struggle aimed at expelling the British colonial government from Kenya due to grievances over land rights, pay for African workers, and the underrepresentation of the Kikuyu people in politics. According to Eatman (2007), as early as 1948, the British colonial administration was awash in reports from both settlers and natives regarding a new anti-government movement called the Mau Mau. The Director of Intelligence and Security confirmed the reports and submitted his own report claiming the Mau Mau was related to a previously outlawed group called the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). By 1951 it was clear to the British government in England that all was not well in Kenya. Colonial Secretary Griffiths visited Kenya to review the constitution for suggested changes that might assuage the discontented Kikuyu. Upon his arrival, Jomo Kenyatta, a formermember of the KCA, gave to the secretary a list of grievances and demands. The four demands addressed issues related to racial, economic, labor, and political

improvements. All were rejected and Sir Evelyn Baring was sworn in as the new Governor of Kenya in 1952. Subsequent to his inauguration as the new governor of Kenya and having heard and seen evidence of the native rebellion, Sir Evelyn submitted a report to the British government requesting that a state of emergency be declared and military forces be sent to help deal with the Mau Mau (Eatman 2007). In its attempt at managing the Mau Mau insurgency, the Kenyan Legislative Council immediately followed up by enacting laws that restricted free movement, controlled the press, and required registration of "societies" with ten or more members. Within three weeks of his arrival Sir Evelyn signed the state of emergency decree.On the same date the state of emergency was declared, the Royal Air Force brought in British soldiers from the Suez Canal. By the next day, the soldiers were visibly patrolling thecapital, Nairobi, in a show of force. This initial display of forces combine with police-led and military-supported round up and arrest of suspected Mau Mau was termed Operation Jock Scott. According to Hughes (2001) Operation Jock Scott did two things in addition to making the European population feel a bit more secure. It drove Mau Mau adherents out of Nairobi and into the Kenyan forests and it surprised the Mau Mau before they were able to actually organizefor any sort of truly large scale rebellion.Though the short operation resulted in the arrest of nearly 200 people, it was not enough to quell the growing Mau Mau movement.The insurgency continued with ebbs and flows until late 1956. During those years the Mau Mau terrorized the European and native populations, though the bulk of their attacks, and subsequent fatalities, were borne by the Kikuyu peoplethemselves (Eatman 2007).

As with many other insurgencies across the globe, the Mau Mau insurgency and counterinsurgency resulted in gross humanitarian abuses on both sides throughout the

periodof the conflict. The main counterinsurgency strategies employed involved large-scale arrests, detentions, and resettlement programs that were described as indiscriminate in nature (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013).While the counter insurgency force enjoyed the support of a majority of the Kikuyu people at the outset of hostilities, the repressive counter insurgent tactics were believed to have pushed the Kikuyu over to the insurgents' side in the course of the conflict.The defeat of the Mau-Mau insurgency as is typical with most successful counterinsurgencies, did not end with a formal surrender; as there was no formalMau Mau organizational structure to conduct a surrender(Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013). The end of the conflict was therefore not precise. However, some scholars have noted that the capture of Kimathi, the last Mau Mau major unit leader, on 21 October 1956 symbolized the defeat of the Mau Mau. From 1948 to 1956 the rebellion according to government statistics, accounted for the deaths of 167 colonial/British security forces, of which 63 were European; 1,879 loyal civilians, of which only 32 were European; and 11,503 Mau Mau killed.In December 1963, Britain granted Kenya her independence and Jomo Kenyatta became the first Kenyan president, a position he held until his death in 1978 (Robert Eatman 2007).

2.1.2 The African National Congress (ANC) Insurgency and the Apartheid Governments Counterinsurgency in South Africa (1960-1990)

The African National Congress (ANC) has been the Republic of South Africa's governing party since the collapse of apartheid in 1994. Prior to its emergence as the governing party in South Africa however, the ANC was involved in one of the most protracted insurgencies against white supremacist rule in South Africa which lasted for a period of over thirty years. Nelson Mandela and the ANC with its armed wing- Umkhunto we Sizwe (MK), or "Spear of the Nation," waged a protracted campaign of sabotage, assassination, and bombing against a militarily superior SADF. In the effort to counter the insurgency the apartheid

regime relied essentially of the use of force and propaganda. Paul, Clarke and Grill (2013) clearly divides the period of the ANC insurgency into four major phases.

i. Phase one of the ANC Insurgency (1960-1969)

The ANC was founded on 8 January 1912 by John Langalibalele Dube in Bloemfontein as the South African Native National Congress, its primary mission was to give voting rights to black and mixed race Africans and, from the 1940s, to end Apartheid. The ANC originally attempted to use nonviolent protests to end apartheid, however, the Sharpeville massacre resulted in the deaths of 69 black Africans and contributed to deteriorating relations with the South African government. On 8 April 1960, the administration of Charles Robberts Swart, banned the ANC and forced the party to leave South Africa. After the ban, the ANC formed the UmkhontoweSizwe (Spear of the Nation) in the same year to fight against apartheid utilizing guerrilla warfare and sabotage.

In 1963, the South African government passed the Sabotage Act. This law gave the authorities the right to detain individuals for up to 90 days without trial. Many prominent ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were arrested under the Sabotage Act and placed in jail for extended periods. In response to a raid on their safe house at Liliesleaf farm in Rivonia and the trial that followed, the insurgents looked to move their operations outside South Africa. Paul, Clarke and Grill (2013) notes that Operation Mayibuye was the ANC's plan to establish an external network and was implemented in 1963. During this phase of the insurgency, there was little evidence of the stalemate that was to ensue years later. The insurgents were unorganized, poorly equipped, and militarily inferior on the whole. The SADF, on the other hand, was without question thepreeminent military force in southern Africa. South Africa's republican Intelligence unit, was initially assigned the mission of

containing and eliminating MK activities within South Africa. Another major effort to counter the insurgency during this phase was the creation of the Bureau of State Security Z-Squad in the mid-1960s. The Z-Squad according to Paul, Clarke and Grill, (2013) was a unit with the responsibility for eliminating ANC activists in the townships because the government felt bringing the supporters and sympathizers of the ANC to trial was both difficult and costly, the Z-Squad circumvented this problem by killing these individuals (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013). By 1969, the MK presented its "strategy and tactics" document which strove to unite all military wings of the ANC and which also signified the official beginning of no holds-barred armed struggle. This document guided ANC operations for two decades and called for a greater emphasis on insurgent operations in the rural areas of the country. The Z-Squad on the other hand stepped up its campaign of assassinations of members and supporters of the insurgency.

ii. Phase two of the ANC Insurgency (1969-1977)

This period of the insurgency was characterized with the operation of the insurgents from outside South Africa. With the collapse of the government of Rhodesia in 1974, the ANC moved into these countries and devised a strategy referred to as "hacking the way home," back to South Africa. The counterinsurgency force responded by going beyond their borders to capture and kill insurgents in what were termed "hot-pursuit" operations. With the counterinsurgency force focusing on events outside its own borders, the Soweto Uprising erupted in 1976 and altered the domestic political landscape (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013). The Soweto Uprising began as a series of high school student–led protests, organized by the South African Students Movement Action Committee, in response to the introduction of the Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974, which declared Afrikaans the official language of

instruction in local schools for science and tradecraft subjects. Approximately 15,000 students assembled and marched to Orlando West Junior Secondary School. The police initially attempted to disperse the crowd with tear gas, but when that failed, they shot into the crowd, killing two children.When news of the killings spread, others joined the protest, including Indian and Colored teens. Violent riots spread throughout Soweto, the Transvaal, and to the Cape. According to Robert Price, the response to the police brutality that ignited the Soweto Uprising was "unprecedented in its scope and endurance" and transformed Soweto into a "war zone." In clashes throughout the township, protesters hurled rocks, bricks, and stones at the police, who responded in kind with gunfire from pistols and automatic rifles (Price,).

Three days into the uprising, the press reported that 97 people (including two whites) had been killed and another 1,118 individuals had been wounded. In total, 430 schools were burned down and 124 administration board buildings and 222 official vehicles were destroyed.In the beginning, the protestors' anger was directed at Bantu education and Afrikaans instruction, but the crises soon evolved into a resistance against the apartheid system as a whole. Price notes that in the wake of the Soweto uprising, the ANC perceived a broad enough base of support withinSouth Africa, and with Pretoria distracted, the insurgents launched a campaign of armed propaganda and a "people's war (Price, 2013)."

iii. Phase three of the ANC Insurgency (1977-1984)

During this phase of the insurgency the ANC leadership visited Vietnam in 1978 to meet with former insurgents and learn from their experiences in the Vietnam War that could benefit the ANC. The report from this trip became the basis for the ANC's "green book," also known as the *Theses on Our Strategic Line*. The strategy came out of a meeting of the

ANC's Politico-Military Strategy Commission. Paul, Clarke and Grill, (2013) notes that one of the takeaways from the Vietnam trip was the need to increase the group's operational tempo. The Rearrangement of subunits in the security forces did help the counterinsurgent forces forces become better organized, but it did not put an end to increasingly bold insurgent attacks. In 1980, the ANC conducted a spectacular attack on a Sasol oil refinery and in January 1982, the ANC attacked the Koeberg nuclear power plant (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013).

iv. Phase four of the ANC Insurgency (1985-1994)

The period 1985 -1994 was the final stage of the ANC insurgency against the Apartheidgovernment. Paul, Clarke and Grill (2013) notes that the South African government and military leaders were confounded that a poorly organized, ill equipped insurgent force like the ANC could pose such a serious challenge to the hegemony of the state. To address the problem, they decided to increase "security expenditures". Between 1985 and 1990, the South African Police Service budget more than doubled (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013).This period also witnessed the South African government conscripting large segments of the white population. These conscripts were told that the insurgents were part of a larger communist threat to the state.The South African Police Service and what came to be known as the "Third Force" were foundational elements of the South African government's new strategy, known as "Total Counter-Revolutionary Strategy." The Third Force was the column of security force personnel that operated outside of the law, beholden to no particular agency or organization.As the late 1980s approached, a growing stalemate was however apparent. The apartheid system was buckling from a combination of international pressure, a faltering economy, and relentless attacks by the insurgents, even in the face of

stepped up efforts by the security forces, including such extralegal actions as assassinations (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013).

This period of the insurgency also witnessed informal and secret talks that took place between representatives of the South African apartheid government and members of the ANC's leadership cadre. The informal negotiations went through a number of issues deemed most salient to the commencement of official negotiations. These included the release of Mandela from prison, support among white South Africans for a peace process, ANC violence, and power sharing among other issues (Paul, Clarke and Grill, 2013).This development eventually led to official peace talks; and it paved the way for the Congress for a Democratic South Africa, which set as a goal the establishment of an interim government between 1990 and 1994. Even though political violence spiked as both sides experienced setbacks in negotiations, South Africa eventually held elections on April 24 1994 which brought the ANC to power with 62.5 percent of the vote.

From the above it is clear that the Mau Mau insurgency in Colonial Kenya and the ANC insurgency in South Africa were both essentially against white minority rule. The measures adopted in addressing these insurgencies were also essentially based on the use of force. In the post-independence period, the use of force continues to be a major feature of the measures adopted in dealing insurgencies.

2.2 An Overview of Selected Insurgent Movements in Post-Independence Nigeria

Insurgency is not new in Nigeria. Moveh (2017) notes that during the colonial period a number of rebellions against some of the obnoxious policies of the colonial regime were tagged insurgencies. However, it was not until the attainment of political independence in 1960 that the legitimacy of the Nigeria state started being challenged and confronted by

various insurgent groups. Throughout the country's post-independence history, Nigeria has witnessed a number of insurgencies ranging from those motivated by ethnic, economic, religious and regional considerations. Some of the most notable insurgencies in Nigeria includes:

2.2.1. Declaration of Niger Delta Republic, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta and related insurgencies

The first known insurgency attempted in post-independence Nigeria as earlier noted may be credited to the movement to liberate the Niger Delta people led by Major Isaac Jasper AdakaBoro. Major Boro belonged to the Ijaw ethnic extraction in the Niger Delta region and, at the time of his rebellion, was a student at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Boro's complaint was against the exploitation of the oil and gas resources of the Niger Delta by both the federal and regional governments in total disregard of the citizens of the area. Thus, the insurgency was motivated essentially by ethnic and economic considerations. In 1966 Boro formed the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), an armed military group composed of 150 of his kinsmen in the protest that the people of the Niger Delta deserved a more equitable share of the wealth which accrued from oil. On 23 February 1966, the NDVF declared the Niger Delta Republic. However, the Republic lasted only 12 days before the federal military forces crushed the insurgency and arrested Boro. He and his followers were charged, tried and imprisoned for treason. On the eve of the Nigeria-Biafra war in July 1967, the then military Head of state General Yakubu Gowon granted amnesty to the leaders of the NDVP. Boro enlisted in the federal forces in the war against the Biafran forces and was killed at Ogu, near Okrika in

Rivers State, having participated in the successful liberation of the Niger Delta from the Biafran forces (Awojobi 2014).

Since the demise of Boro and the NDVP more than 30 years ago there has been a resurgence of armed protest against the federal government and the multi-national companies engaged in the oil industries in the Niger Delta. These groups have continued to challenge the Nigerian state in the belief that they have been marginalized in the distribution of petro-dollars.

2.2.2 Nigerian Civil War (Biafra War)

The Nigerian civil war (sometimes called the Nigeria-Biafra War) was fought from 6 July 1967 to 15 January 1970. The war followed a *coupd'état*of 15 January 1966, led by military men mostly of the Ibo-speaking ethnic group, and a counter-*coup d'état* of 29 July 1966, led by military men mostly of the Hausa-Fulani-speaking Northern region. A great social upheaval followed these *coups*, including the destructionof lives and property of persons from the southern part of the country, particularly those from Eastern Nigeria. Officers, largely of the Igbo ethnic background had been identified as leaders of the first *coup*, which eliminated prominent leaders of the north, including Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, then Prime Minister of Nigeria, and Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, then Premier of Northern Nigeria. Colonel OdumegwuOjukwu declared independence from the Nigerian Federation on 27 May 1967, naming the new state the Republic of Biafra. The war finally came to an end on the 15th of January 1970.

2.2.3 Odua People's Congress

The Oodua People's Congress (OPC) is a Yoruba nationalist organization in Nigeria which was created in protest to the annulment of the June 12th Presidential

elections in Nigeria. The group was formed in August 1994 by Dr. Frederick Fasehun to protect and promote the interests of the Yoruba people. According to Fasehun the major objective of the OPC included among others: To gather all the descendants of Oduduwa all over the world especially in Africa, the Caribbean, South America and North America for a most profound and all-embracing unity and to ensure maximum self-determination of the people of Odua.

2.3 A Review of the Theories of Insurgent Activities in Nigeria.

As earlier noted the basis of insurgent activities may generally range from political, economic, to ethnic and religious or regional considerations. In the case of Nigeria, each of these factors have at various times been crucial in the explanation of the insurgencies that have emerged in the country. A review of some of these theories of insurgency is therefore in order.

2.3.1 Politics, Economics and Insurgency in Nigeria:

Most of the insurgent activities in post-independence Nigeria have been motivated essentially by political and socio-economic, considerations. As a federal republic with a highly diverse and divided population, power sharing and access to resources are two major issues at the center of the country's political economy. Insurgent groups like the Niger Delta volunteer force (NDVF) and other groups in the Niger- delta have essentially been motivated by the need to access petro-dollars even at the expense of the Nigerian state. These have resulted in various agitations including the agitations for resource control. In his analysis of the insurgency and agitations for resource control in the Niger Delta Omoweh for example notes that:

> The rise of two major protesting groups, namely, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and, the MEND, introduced full scale armed struggles into the resource agitations in the Niger Delta. They declared to fight against all injustices meted against the Ijaws and the people of the Niger Delta. Led by AsariDokubo, who is inspired by the Isaac AdakaBoro movement, the NDPVF condemned the Nigerian state and the foreign oil companies for the pillage of the people and the region and; he vowed to reverse the injustice by actualizing the resource rights of the people. In spite of having led the NDPVF to a Peace Accord in 2004, after which the Obasanjo-led government accorded the members of the group amnesty, Dokubo continued to publicly condemn the insensitivity of the state to the sad plight of the oil-producing areas. He regularly called for a sovereign national conference to discuss the unresolved issues, notably resource rights and the need to revisit the basis of the current Nigerian federation (Omoweh, 2011:18).

Similarly, Badmus (2002) notes:

> Since 2003, NDPVF and MEND have proved deadly with increased pipeline vandalism, kidnappings and taking over oil facilities in the volatile Niger Delta. Both movements are motivated essentially by the agitations for redistribution of oil wealth and increased local control of oil resources.

Apart from the desire to control oil resources other economic motivations of insurgency in Nigeria include: widespread poverty, unemployment and decaying infrastructure (Enobi and Rokosu, 2016). For example, Akinola notes: the fact that absolute poverty as at 1980 was 29% and by 2010 it reached 62% puts the socio-economic factors driving the Boko haram insurgency into perspective (Akinola, 2015).

In the case of Boko Haram, it is generally agreed that the emergence of the group was as a result of state-neglect and the relative deprivation of a large percentage of the citizens by government. Central to this argument is that increasing poverty in Nigeria is

accentuated by increasing unemployment. The resultant cost is that it creates the necessary condition for the insurgents to thrive (Idahosa. 2015). Isa also notes that:

> The rising popularity of militant Islamist movements in Northern Nigeria can be attributed to a combination of factors including: increased inequality, injustices, poverty, failed social services as well as failed Structural Adjustment Programme (2010: 329).

In his submission, Blanchard(2014: 10) notes that:

> Understanding Boko Haram's appeal among some citizen inNigeria's far north requires an examination of underlying development challenges facing northern Nigeria, where high rates of poverty and unemployment are exacerbated byextreme population growth and low level of literacy. These factors combined with weakgovernance, rampant corruption and inadequate public service delivery,has contributed to the widespread disaffection that some suggest facilitates Boko Haram recruitment.

Thus, while the Boko haram insurgency claims to pursue religious agendas, their emergence has no doubt been motivated by the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in Nigeria.

2.3.2 Ethnicity/Religion and Insurgency in Nigeria

Nigeria is a heterogeneous state with a diverse population spread across at least 250 ethnic groups and three major religions (Christianity, Islam and the Traditionalist). While the country's diversity is a strong incentive for the federal system being operated in the country, it has also been a major factor in the emergence of insurgences and other violent activities in the country. As noted by Linden, (2014) "ethnicity and religion are two recessive genes that are expressed when the body politic is in turmoil and both can be catalysts for violent extremism". Ethnicity is often constructed, imagined, becoming real in a

complex process of identity formation. In much of sub-Saharan Africa for example, ethnicity is an extremely important identity marker, but also a fluid one, changing throughout an individual's or a group's life depending on circumstances, external events and pressures and the costs and benefits of identity with one ethnicity over another (Linden, 2014).

In Nigeria, ethnicity and religion have episodically been catalysts of contention and outright conflict(Linden, 2014). Since independence the experiment of building a nation-state from a population of striking ethnic diversity and equally split between Christianity and Islam, has often been tragic. During the 1967-70 civil war, there were attempts by Biafra to portray its secessionist struggle against Federal Nigeria as a religious conflict between a Muslim north and the Christian Biafra. Ibo ethnic identity and nationalism was also a dominant motivation of the insurgency. In recent years the movement for the actualization of the sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB) and the independent people of Biafra (IPOB) have reemerged as re incarnations of the ethno-nationalist agitations for Biafra. Another notable insurgency in Nigeria which has been motivated by ethnicity is the Odua People's Congress which emerged to champion the course of members of the Yoruba ethnic group.

In addition, religion has continued to be an identity strong enough to motivate conflict. According to Osage (2000), ethnicity interfaces intermittently with religion in the generation of fissiparous tendencies in Nigeria particularly where grievances are presented through a pernicious form of religious and ethnic identity.

While each of the above factors are crucial in the explanation of the rise of insurgent activities in Nigeria, it is important to state that most of these factors actually overlap in the

generation of insurgent activities. In essence, a particular insurgent group which has been motivated essentially by ethnic considerations for instance may also have a strong political religious or regional undertone.

2.4 An Overview of the Boko-Haram Insurgency

The origin of Boko Haram is shrouded in uncertainty as different versions of the emergence of the group have been advanced by scholars. Boko Haram to a large extent is not the first "Islamic fundamentalist" sect in Nigeria to adopt violence as a weapon of operation (Alao, Atere, and Alao, 2015). This stems from the fact that in the 1970s and 1980s, one Mohammed Marwa that was widely acknowledged as dangerous to peace and stability of the nation formed the sect that was known as Maitatsine. Marwa engineered many riots in the country which led to the deaths of many people and as a corollary of this; some scholars view Boko Haram as an extension of the Maitatsine riots (Johnson, 2011). Other scholars trace the origin of the Boko Haram sect to 1995 with Lawan Abubakar as its founder. For them, it was when Abubakar left for further studies in Saudi Arabia that the sect then known as Sahaba that Muhammed Yusuf who is also regarded as the leader, took over the affairs of the sect (Ogege, 2013). A popular opinion about the origin of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is that it was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, North-Eastern Nigeria by UstazMallam Muhammed Yusuf. The group later moved to Kanamma in Yobe State in 2004 where it set up a camp called "Afghanistan." From this camp, it launched attacks on civil society, security agencies and other state institutions in Nigeria (Owalade, 2014, Ekanem, Dada, &Ejue, 2012).

According to Umar Mamodu (2009) a scholar and key Boko Haram historian, Boko Haram emerged as a result of a clash between the moderate Islamic teachings of the prominent Sheikh Jafaar Adam at the MahammaduNdimi Mosque in Maiduguri-Borno State in the Northeastern part of Nigeria, and the more militant interpretation of the Qur'an by his disciple, Mohammed Yusuf in 2002. Mamodu (2009), noted that Yusuf believed in the creation of a new order in which the wretched should inherit the earth, and for his extremist views, was expelled in 2002 from the Ndimi Mosque Committee. Later that year Yusuf built a mosque in the northeast Nigeria to serve as a magnet for primary and secondary school pupils who, in response to his teachings, would abandon Westernized schools in the belief that Western education (*Boko)* is a sin (*Haram*); hence the name Boko Haram.

Boko Haram's official name, according to its manifesto, is *JamaiatuAhlis Sunna Lidda'awataWal-Jihad*, which translates as "Association of Sunnis for the Propagation of Islam and Jihad." AbulQaqa, the official spokesman of the group, noted that Boko Haram's objective is the "application of Sharia law throughout Nigeria. This the group has attempted to achieve through kidnappings, bombings and suicide attacks aimed at the United Nations office in Nigeria, churches and symbols of the federal government such as police stations.

Ideologically, Boko Haram opposes not only Western education but also Western culture and science. In an interview conducted by the BBC, Mohammed Yusuf stated that the belief that the earth is spherical in shape is a sharp contradiction to Islamic thought and therefore should be rejected along with Darwinism and the theory that rain comes from water evaporated by the sun (Boyle, 2009).

Lacey (2012), notes that Boko Haram's ideology and rhetoric indicate that the group aims to effect political change, which it believes is in the interests of the Muslim constituency. This is reflected in the group name Jama'atuAhlisLadda'awatiwal-Jihad, "people committed to the propagation of the Sunnah and Jihad". The reference toSunnahindicates the group's preference for Islam as the model for social and political order. In August 2009, the spokesperson of the group stated "we have started a Jihad in Nigeria which no force on earth can stop. The aim is to Islamize Nigeria and ensure the rule of the majority Muslims in the country" (Cook, 2011, 15). In a subsequent statement, the group noted: "these attacks we are launching are meant to propagate the name of Allah and to liberate ourselves and our religion from the hands of infidels and the Nigerian government" (Onuoha, 2012, p. 147). Indeed, these statements illustrate ideological commitment of the Boko Haram to political change through violent jihad (Aghedo&Osumah, 2012).

2.5 The Geography and Historical Phases of the Boko- Haram Insurgency

In addition to the fact that the terrorist activities of Boko-Haram has varied across states and communities, the tactics of the group has also varied significantly in different phases of the group's existence. As noted by Monguno and Bagu (2017), throughout its one and a half decade of existence as a violent group, what has characterized Boko-haram has been its ability to adapt to changing circumstances, arguably with methods and motives that have remained largely unpredictable and sometimes difficult to decipher. As a result of this Boko haram has become characterized by multiple descriptions in which narratives of terrorism, insurgency and criminality all coalesce to describe the group (Monguno and Bagu, 2017). Thus, the nature of Boko-Haram attacks have varied across space and time.

Even though the Boko-Haram insurgency was largely confined to the northern parts of Nigeria, the ripple effects produced affected the entire nation.

Table 2.1 Geographical Distribution of Boko-Haram Attacks from 2011-2016

State	No. of Boko Haram Attacks	%	No of Boko Haram /State Actor Attacks	%	Total No. of Attacks	%	Total No. of Deaths	%
Adamawa	78	8.76	20	7.63	98	8.50	2,627	9.75
Bauchi	37	4.16	2	0.008	39	3.39	266	0.01
Borno	574	64.49	196	74.81	770	66.84	20,633	76.59
Gombe	24	2.70	5	1.91	29	2.52	378	0.01
Jigawa	2	0.002	1	0.004	3	0.003	14	0.00
Kano	67	7.52	13	5.00	80	6.94	822	0.03
Taraba	2	0.002	0	0.00	2	0.002	14	0.00
Yobe	106	11.91	25	9.54	131	11.40	2,186	0.08
Total	890		262		1152		26,940	

Source: Monguno and Bagu, (2017), Understanding Community Resilience in the Context of Boko-Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, Center for Information Technology and Development

As indicated in table 2.1 above, Monguno and Bagu, (2017) noted that between 2011 and 2016 there were 890 Boko-Haram attacks and 292 attacks attributed to Boko Haram/state actors. The highest number of both categories of attacks and deaths were recorded in the three north –eastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe state, while the lowest attacks occurred in Taraba and Jigawa state. In another study of some of the major incidents related to the Boko haram insurgency, the relative insulation of Jigawa state from the insurgency was made evident as indicated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Timeline and Location of Some Major Boko –Haram Related Incidents in Nigeria (2003-2015)

S/N	Date	Incident	Location
1	December 10, 2015	Boko Haram killed seven civilians in the Kamuya village, which is located along the border between Borno and Yobe State. The terrorists then burned Kamuya village to the ground.	Borno and Yobe State
2	December 9, 2015	A panel set up by Governor KashimShettima of Borno State to investigate claims of new abductions of women in Bam-Buratai confirmed that a family of six was missing. There were reports that the insurgents abducted several girls on November 28 after killing many in the village during the attack.	Borno state
3	December 5, 2015	Security forces arrested nine alleged Boko Haram members plotting attacks on Abuja, over the festive season.	Abuja
4	December 5, 2015	A triple suicide bombing at a market on an island in Lake Chad killed at least 15 people and injured 130. The carnage was blamed on Boko Haram. Females carried out the three explosions on Koulfoua.	Chad
5	December 2, 2015	A multinational force freed 900 hostages held by Boko Haram, killed more than 100 fighters and arrested 100 others. Troops also arrested 100 fighters, including a group leader, from Boko Haram's strongholds in the Sambisa Forest.	Borno state
6	November 30, 2015	Boko Haram destroyed a military base (157 Batallion), while I07 soldiers were believed to be missing in action.	Borno state
7	November 28, 2015	Two female suicide bombers detonated their explosives in a town in north of Cameroun, killing at least five people and injuring 12 others.	Cameroun
8	November 27, 2015	Boko Haram claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing on a procession of hundreds of Shiite Muslims in Kano and threatened more attacks. Shiite leaders said at least 22 people died, including 21 who died at the scene, on the annual Arbaeen pilgrimage. One of 30 wounded people died later, they said	Kano
9	November 17, 2015	There were reports that the Nigerian Army may have lost about 150 of it men to an attack by Boko Haram in Gudunbali, Borno State. The insurgent reportedly attacked at Gudunbali, Borno State, and as a result, the 157 Battalion of the Nigerian Army could not account for at least, 105 soldiers including their commanding officer. Boko Haram also captured a T-72 tank as well as several artillery weapons from the unit.	Borno state
10	September 29, 2015	In an offensive operation to clear Boko Haram terrorists' enclaves around Kwatarha and Torikwaptir	Borno state

		area of Gwoza Local Government Area of Borno State, a notorious Boko Haram terrorist was shot dead by the Nigerian Army.	
11	September 27, 2015	At least nine people have been killed and several others injured during an attack on Mailari village of Konduga Local Government Authority (LGA) in Borno State.	Borno state
12	September 24, 2015	Boko Haram attacked Monguno and Baga, Borno State, killing many.	Borno state
13	September 20, 2015	At least 54 people were killed in three explosions in Maiduguri. Boko Haram was blamed for the attack, which also injured 90 people. One bomb exploded at a mosque, while the other two detonated at an area where people gather to watch football.	Borno state
14	September 11, 2015	At least seven people were killed and 20 others injured in a blast at a camp for people displaced by the Boko Haram conflict in northeast Nigeria, the country's main relief agency.	Borno state
15	**September 3, 2015**	An estimated 30 people are dead and 145 injured after Boko Haram militants attack a crowded market in Kerawa, Cameroon and an infirmary near a Cameroonian military camp, according to Cameroonian military spokesman Col. Didier Badjeck.	Cameroun
16	September 2, 2015	Boko Haram gunmen on horseback killed dozens of people in Fatawe village near Gwoza, where around 100 Boko Haram militants rounding up residents, tying their hands behind their backs then slitting their throats.	Borno state
17	August 30, 2015	Suspected Boko Haram gunmen on horseback shot dead nearly 80 people in attacks on three villages on the outskirts of Maiduguri and Damaturu.	Borno and Yobe States
18	August 24, 2015	A child bomber killed six people and wounded dozens outside a bus station in Damaturu, Yobe State capital.	Yobe State
19	August 17	The number of villagers massacred by Boko Haram members in Awonori reportedly rose to 160. Residents of Kukuwa-Gari in Yobe State described how more than 150 of their relatives and neighbours drowned in a river fleeing militants who opened fire on the village on Thursday last week, while another eight were shot dead.	Yobe State
20	August 16, 2015	Boko Haram members raided Awonori, a village near the border with Niger, killing seven people.	Borno state
21	August 11, 2015	A huge blast was recorded at a market in Sabongair, near Maiduguri. The blast, caused by explosives concealed in a crop-spraying backpack, ripped through the weekly market in the village, which is around 135 kilometres south of Maiduguri.	Borno State
22	August 9, 2015	Boko Haram shot dead four people and abducted five others in an ambush on a highway near Nwajurko	Borno State

		village in Borno State.	
23	August 5, 2015	Boko Haram members shot dead at least nine people and set homes on fire in a raid on two villages, Tadagara and Dunbulwa villages, 170 kilometres from Yobe State capital, Damaturu.	Yobe state
24	August 4, 2015	Boko Haram members shot dead nine fishermen on their way to Baga from Monguno, near Maiduguri. They were ambushed at Maduwari village.	Borno State
25	August 1, 2015	Boko Haram fighters killed 13 people in an attack on Malari village, near Maiduguri.	Borno State
26	July 30, 2015	At least 10 people were killed when Boko Haram gunmen raided the village of Kukuwa-Gari, including two women	Yobe state
27	July 29, 2015	Suspected Boko Haram members slit the throats of 10 fishermen in villages near Baga on the shores of the Lake Chad.	Chad
28	July 26, 2015	A girl, aged about 10, carried out a suicide bombing near a crowded market in Damaturu, Yobe State, killing at least 16 people, police say.	Yobe state
29	July 24, 2015	At least 25 people were killed in a suspected Boko Haram attacks in Maikadiri in southern Borno State.	Borno Sate
30	July 22, 2015	Gunmen killed eight people in a raid on a village, Pompomari, near Maiduguri. The attack was unleashed the same day as twin suicide bombings in Cameroun and a series of blasts at two bus stations in Nigeria that left at least 50 dead. The gunmen were believed to be from Boko Haram.	Borno State/ cameroun
31	July 21, 2015	Suspected Boko Haram attacks left more than 50 people dead. Twin suicide attacks in Maroua, northern Cameroun, killed at least 11, while some 42 lost their lives in a series of blasts at two bus stations in Gombe State.	Gombe State/ Comeroun
32	July 20, 2015	Suspected Boko Haram gunmen raided Buratai, the native village of chief of army staff Major General Tukur Yusuf Buratai.	Borno state
33	**July 1, 2015**	Boko Haram militants raid three villages in the northeastern Nigerian state of Borno, killing at least 145 people, according to witnesses.	Borno
34	**January 10-11, 2015**	At least 20 are killed and 18 injured in Maiduguri after explosives strapped to a girl are detonated at a marketplace screening checkpoint. At least three are dead and 43 injured after two suicide bombs, strapped to girls, detonate in a mobile phone market in Potiskum. Boko Haram is suspected as being behind the attacks.	Borno /Yobe
35	**January 3, 2015**	Boko Haram gunmen seize the town of Baga and neighboring villages in northern Nigeria, as well as a	Borno

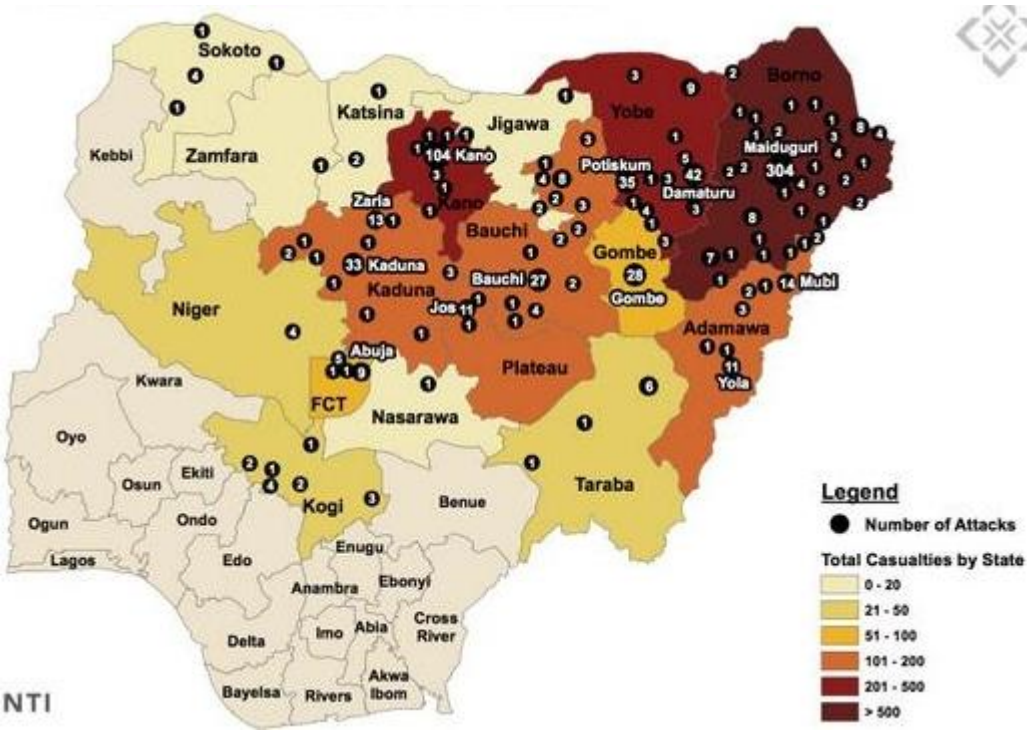
		multinational military base, leaving bodies scattered everywhere and as many as 2,000 people feared dead.	
36	**July 17-20, 2014**	Boko Haram raids the Nigerian town of Damboa. By the time the raid ends, 66 residents have been killed and more than 15,000 have fled.	Borno
37	**June 18-22, 2014**	Boko Haram militants hold the village of Kummabza in Borno state, northeastern Nigeria, hostage for four days. They abduct more than 60 females, including children, and kill 30 men in the raid.	Borno
38	**June 7-8, 2014**	Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap at least 20 young women over a weekend in the northeastern Nigeria village of Garkin Fulani, eight kilometers from a town where more than 200 schoolgirls were taken nearly two months earlier.	Borno
39	**June 3-4, 2014**	Hundreds of people are killed in raids by Boko Haram Islamic militants in the state of Borno, with some sources putting the death toll at 400 to 500.	Borno
40	**May 20, 2014**	Twin blasts in the city of Jos kill 118 people at a market. Nigerian authorities describe the blasts as "terrorist activities" but decline to speculate on who might be responsible.	Plateau
41	**May 13, 2014**	Hundreds of Boko Haram militants storm three villages in the state of Borno. Villagers resist, killing more than 200 Boko Haram fighters.	Borno
42	**9th**April 2014	Members of Boko- Haram attacked a police station, a bank and a Shari'ah Court in Gwaram local government area where they killed a number of policemen and civilians.	Jigawa
43	**April 14, 2014**	Boko Haram militants kidnap approximately 276 teenage girls from a boarding school in Chibok in Borno. Officials there say some of the girls were able to escape. The kidnapping sparks global outrage and a #BringBackOurGirls campaign on social media.	Borno
44	**February 11, 2014**	-At least 23 people are killed when suspected Boko Haram militants torch houses in the village of Konduga, according to the governor of Borno state.	Borno
45	**January 26, 2014**	At least 45 are killed in a market in Kawuri in Borno after Boko Haram militants open fire.	Borno
46	**September 17, 2013**	Boko Haram gunmen dress in military uniforms and stage a fake checkpoint near Benisheik in Borno, executing travelers and burning vehicles, leaving at least 143 people dead.	Borno
47	**April 19, 2013**	Boko Haram battles with multinational security forces from Niger, Nigeria and Chad in the city of Baga in	Niger, Chad and

		Borno State, leaving nearly 200 people dead, including many civilians. Shekau releases a video in May saying Boko Haram is not responsible for the civilian deaths.	Borno
48	**January 20, 2012**	More than 200 people are killed when Boko Haram launches coordinated attacks targeting police, military, a prison and other targets in the city of Kano in Kano State.	Kano State
49	**November 4, 2011**	More than 100 die in multiple attacks in Yobo, Damaturu and Borno states. Boko Haram militants utilize IEDs and vehicle-borne IEDs to target security forces and their offices, markets and 11 churches.	Yobe and Borno States
50	**August 26, 2011**	Boko Haram attacks the United Nations compound in Abuja. A car bomb kills 23 people and injures more than 75 others.	Abuja
51	**August 25, 2011**	Twelve people die after Boko Haram militants attack a police station and two banks in the city of Gombi in Adamawa.	Adamawa
52	**May 29, 2011**	The day of President Goodluck Jonathan's inauguration, Boko Haram detonates three IEDs near a military barracks in the city of Bauchi in Bauchi State. At least 10 people die in the attack.	Bauchi
53	**September 7, 2010**	In the state of Bauchi, 50 Boko Haram militants attack a prison, killing five people and releasing more than 700 inmates.	Bauchi
54	**July 2009**	The Boko Haram uprising begins in Bauchi and spreads to the states of Borno, Kano and Yobe. The militant group kills scores of police officers.	Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe
55	**December 2003**	The first known attack by Boko Haram includes roughly 200 militants, who attack multiple police stations in the state of Yobe, near the Niger border	Yobe

Source: Compiled by researcher from Multiple Sources.

Table 2.2 indicates that Borno state had the highest number of 35 major Boko-haram related attacks from 2009-2015 followed by Yobe state, then Kano and Bauchi state with 11 and 9 and 7major attacks respectively. Jigawa state which shares border with Kano, Bauchi and Yobe states recorded only one major attack. The level of insulation of Jigawa state from the insurgency is also graphically illustrated in figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing the Geographical Distribution of Boko-Haram Attacks



Source: Jaguda (2014), Map Showing Boko-haram attacks and Casualties Since 2009, Accessed from: http://jaguda.com/social-issues/map-showing-boko-haram-attacks-casualties-since-2009/ on the 15 January, 2018

While the nature of the geographical distribution of Boko- Haram attacks has been widely documented, extremely very few studies (Ibrahim, Bagu and Yau, 2017) have actually attempted to explore the factors accounting for the variation of Boko-haram attacks across the states in the northern part of Nigeria. In the attempt to explain the case of Jigawa state for example, Machina (2017) notes that community resilience played a major role in the insulation of the state against Boko-Haram insurgency. He argues that several factors including social capital worked to fortify Jigawa state against the insurgents. He notes:

> In Dutse, social capital helped people maintain social cohesion. Dutse is largely a homogeneous community and thus devoid of ethnic differences. Also Dutse is not over populated. The ways in which the communities were organized were sparse, with everyone knowing each other well and people responding to each other's problems and showing solidarity and sympathy. A stranger could easily be identified because everybody knew each other well…the good relationship between the people in Jigawa that was built over the years was sufficient to make it difficult for Boko-Haram to

> embed themselves with the communities of the state and ensure that sleeper cells of the insurgents were either non-existent or could not operate (Machina, 2017).

In general, Machina's work focuses almost exclusively on how community resilience helped in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Very little emphasis was made in critically explaining the role of the state government in the process.

In their contribution to understanding the historical phases of Boko haram, Monguno and Bagu (2017) identified four major phases in the existence of the group. Phase 1 according to Monguno and Bagu (2017) was the recruitment/ formative stage. This stage Monguno and Bagu (2017) argued was anytime from when Boko-Haram was first noticed, up to the group's first major uprising in 2009. The stage involved the mass radicalization of the youth especially in the three north eastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe. This radicalization later resulted in some educated youths burning their certificates from secular schools and the voluntary withdrawal of students already in schools. Radicalized workers also resigned from the public service as it was considered haram or unlawful to work for government. Still in the first stage Monguno and Bagu (2017) noted that the group made several tactical retreats, the most notable ones being to Kanamman in Yusufari local government of Yobe state and to Gwoza in Borno state. It was these retreats that raised fears about the intension of the group within security agencies, resulting in a number of violent confrontations with security forces. The clashes with security forces led to the arrest and detention of several members of the group including their leader Mohammed Yusuf himself who was in and out of detention on numerous occasions.

Phase 2 according to Monguno and Bagu (2017) was the consolidation stage. It marked the beginning of Boko- haram's major uprising against the Nigerian state which began with the July 2009 attacks launched simultaneously in the two northeastern cities of

Bauchi ad Maiduguri. Increasing high levels of sophisticated and coordinated attacks on security outfits mark this phase. These types of attacks which had not been seen previously focused particularly on police stations and prisons. The reasons for these attacks on police stations and prisons were not farfetched – reprisal attacks on the police for their brutality on their members and search for arms, and the release of detained members from prisons. It was at this stage that the federal government directed the military to attack and crush the movement's headquarters in 2009. Following the crushing of the 2009 rebellion by the military, Boko –haram went into hiding to re-strategize, only to re-emerge and commence selective killing of all uniformed security forces including the military. During this phase Monguno and Bagu (2017) also note that the insurgency was mostly localized in and around Maiduguri. Subsequently, several high profile attacks occurred outside Borno; particularly in the cities of Abuja, Kano and Jos. This period was also characterized by the first ever suicide bombing recorded in the country when the Nigerian police headquarters was bombed in June 2011. Still in the second phase Boko-Harams targets were later extended to include selective killings of Christians in their homes and in work places within Maiduguri. The number of arson and bombing of churches across the northern states also grew significantly it was reported that between 2011 and 2013, nearly 2000 Christians were killed and Boko haram destroyed about 1000 churches (Monguno and Bagu 2017).

The phase 3 of the Boko haram insurgency according to Monguno and Bagu (2017) involved the carving out of an emirate. This phase saw the insurgency increase in confidence and territorial ambition. Its attacks focused on rural areas in the north –east of Nigeria. The pace and intensity of Boko-haram attacks especially against civilian targets dramatically increased after the federal government imposed a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno

and Yobe state in mid-2013. From then on, the number of attacks increased significantly. From January 2014, the group had perpetrated almost daily attacks on villages and towns and laid siege to highways. The emergence in July 2013 of a civilian vigilante group called the civilian joint task force or Yan Gora seem to have contributed to the increase in the attacks against civilians mainly for their perceived support of the vigilante group within this phase. The activities of the civilian JTF which helped the security forces to identify the insurgents is credited for pushing the insurgents out of Maiduguri and other towns and into the Sambisa forest reserve and the Mandara mountain range. Monguno and Bagu (2017) also note that Boko-haram also overran hundreds of villages in rural Adamawa, Borno and Yobe state in this stage. Between July and September 2014, Boko haram seized and took control of more than 10 major towns in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states. On the whole as at January 2015 about 19 local government areas belonged to Boko harams caliphate, the greater part of which was in Borno state with its headquarters in Gwoza near the Cameroonian border.

In the 4th phase the insurgency was characterized essentially by the fractionalization of the movement. As argued by Jacob Zenn Boko haram has always been made up of several factions and recently these divisions have become sharper. The major rift according to Zennis between Abubakar Shekau and Abu Musab al-Barnawi. Shekau became Boko haram s leader back in 2009 and is still its most recognizable figure within and outside Nigeria. However, on 3rd August 2016, Islamic State (IS) to which Boko haram had pledged allegiance in 2015 announced a new leader in al-Barnawi. It is also noted that while Shekau and al- Barnawi maybe the two main rival figure heads, they are not the only ones. MammanNur for example leads another group within the sect but is not part of IS. Nur is

noted as not belonging to a defined group but is said to be able to bring together operatives from diverse factions for big operations as exemplified by the UN attack in 2011, which involved elements of Boko-harm, Ansaru, AQIM and fighters returning from al-Shabaab in Somalia.

Indeed, from the above it is clear that the incidents of Boko-haram insurgency has not only varied across the states but the strategy, targets and concerns of the insurgent group has also changed in the course of time. This notwithstanding, it is clear from studies carried out on the evolution and development of Boko-haram that the group is anti-establishment and has an avowed commitment to the entrenchment of sharia law in Nigeria.

2.6 Review of the Response of the Nigerian Government against the Boko Haram Insurgency

The response of the Nigerian government against the Boko-haram insurgency has attracted a lot of scholarly attention since the beginning of the insurgency. In fact as was earlier noted, most of the studies conducted on the Boko-haram insurgency have focused significantly on either the causes of the insurgency or on the response of the federal government in tackling the insurgency. Having examined some of the theoretical explanations on the emergence of the Boko-Haram insurgency, this section reviews the response of the Nigerian government against the Boko-haram insurgency.

The Nigerian government's response against the Boko-haram insurgency has essentially been characterized by the use of force. Initially, before the group became deadly and started employing suicide bombings as one of its major tactics, the federal government made use of its police force in an effort to check the activities of the group. Before 2010 Boko Haram's activities consisted mainly of civil, social and religious acts of disobedience to established local norms. However, the inability of the police force to check the activities

of the sect forced the government to form a Joint Task Force (JTF) in 2003. By this period, the group had begun to actively target and burn down police stations in Yobe. In 2007, the JTF launched 'Operation Flush' to arrest and contain the activities of the Boko Haram in the northeast. By 2009, the JTF succeeded in killing the founder of the Group, Yusuf. His death generated serious controversy both in local and international media; Yusuf was captured alive and briefly held in police custody before he 'mysteriously' died. It has been argued that it was this unlawful killing of Yusuf that pushed Boko Haram to embrace a more combative approach (Kyari, 2013).

With the death of Yusuf, Abubakar Shekau took over the leadership of Boko Haram.With the ascension of Shekau as the new leader of Boko-Haram the insurgency entered a more virulent phase. After a year of preparations, Boko Haram began to employ new tactics and methods, including suicide-bombings. This forced the Nigerian government to establish the Special Military Joint Task Force (SMJTF) in 2011 which consisted of personnel from the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the Department of State Security (DSS), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) and the Defence Intelligence Agencies (DIA). The Nigerian government also fully mobilized its armed forces (about 100,000 soldiers) to confront the insurgency. In May 2013, Nigeria declared a state of emergency in the three north-eastern states of Yobe, Adamawa and Borno the major areas affected by the insurgency. During this period, Nigeria also established a Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) to complement the efforts of the military in degrading Boko Haram. The CJTF is composed mainly of vigilante groups, hunters, farmers and youths in the areas most affected by the activities of the Boko Haram. A new military formation- the 7th Division, was also established in Maiduguri with a mission to contain and rout Boko Haram and to give legal

backing and effective coordination to these measures. Nigeria also fast-tracked the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2013. The Acts stipulates, among other provisions, death penalty sentences for terrorists and insurgents and the destruction of suspected terrorist enclaves.

With the advent of the Buhari administration in 2015, the militaristic approach in countering the Boko-haram insurgency continued. As soon as he came into power in 2015 President Buhari ordered the relocation of the military command to the north-east. In December 2016, the defeat of Boko Haram was officially announced, when Nigeria's president, Muhammad Buhari, stated that the last Boko Haram camp had been cleared from the Sambisa Forest. However, this proclamation appeared premature as the group have continued its attacks against the Nigerian state and civilian targets.

In spite of the consistent proclamation by the Nigerian government from 2015 to 2017 that Boko-Haram has been technically defeated, numerous studies have identified a number of challenges and problems associated with the counterinsurgent operations of the Nigerian government which has made a decisive victory against the group evasive. Idahosa, for example notes that:

> The Nigerian government's counter-insurgency measures have so far had limited success. Its military have been relatively ineffective in countering Boko Haram insurgency primarily because their response to the menace has been hampered by an entrenched culture of official corruption in the country (Idahosa, 2015).

Similarly, transparency international in 2015 noted that the growth of Boko-harm was aided by corruption:

> Corrupt military officials have been able to benefit from the conflict through the creation of fake defense contracts, the proceeds of which are often laundered abroad in the United

> Kingdom (UK), United States (U.S.) and elsewhere (Transparency International, 2015)

Transparency international argued that just as the misappropriation of funds, poverty and the inability to provide social amenities led to the radicalization of most of the youth, the misappropriation of money meat for purchasing military hardware also negatively affected the fight against the insurgency as the military was grossly ill equipped to confront the insurgency. Another major factor that is believed to have affected the efforts of the Nigerian government in the fight against the Boko-Haram insurgency is the lack of political will by the former administration of President Goodluck Jonathan to appreciate the seriousness of the problem. Akume and Godswill for example noted that:

> Boko-Haram was seen largely by the Goodluck administration as a political tool used by aggrieved northern elitesto make thecountry ungovernable for President Jonathan who had deprived the north of her opportunity to rule by contesting for thepresidency in 2011 (Akume and Godswill, 2015).

In their efforts in understanding the Boko-Haram counter insurgencyAwofeso and Ihenacho also noted how the disregard for the rules of engagement by the Nigerian military alienated the civilians in the fight against Boko- haram:

> The killing of hundreds of detained civilians by soldiers after the 14 March 2014 Boko Haram attack on a barracks in Maiduguri was a typical example of how the government continued to alienate locals throughout Borno State in particular, allowing for the mistrust of the federal government and general insecurity which Boko-Haram took advantage of throughout the course of that year (Awofeso and Ihenacho 2017).

Similarly, Idahosa notes that:

> The Nigerian government official response to the insurgency in the north-east of the country is mostly through the counter-offensive measures of the Joint Task Force (JTF). After the declaration of the state of emergency in the three northeastern

> states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, the Goodluck Administration got the approval of the National Assembly to deploy more troops to the region following the establishment of a new 7th Division of the Nigerian Army in Maiduguri. Ironically, the importance of the JTF is undermined by the use of excessive force, including use of live ammunition to hunt down suspected Boko Haram members which has resulted in a sizeable number of civilian killings. As such, the JTF human rights records is poor and people do not trust them; to avail them the needed information to defeat Boko Haram. Rather than eliminate the group, this uncooperative attitude from the people has caused it to disperse across north-east Nigeria and even to the neighbouring countries, notably Chad and Cameroun (Idahosa, 2015).

The significant collateral damage by the Nigerian military in the fight against the Boko-haram insurgency also reveals a problem in the nature of the intelligence gathering efforts of the federal forces. Very often the intelligence Nigerian military has been seen to be faulty, resulting in the significant loss of civilian lives in the counter insurgency.

2.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study

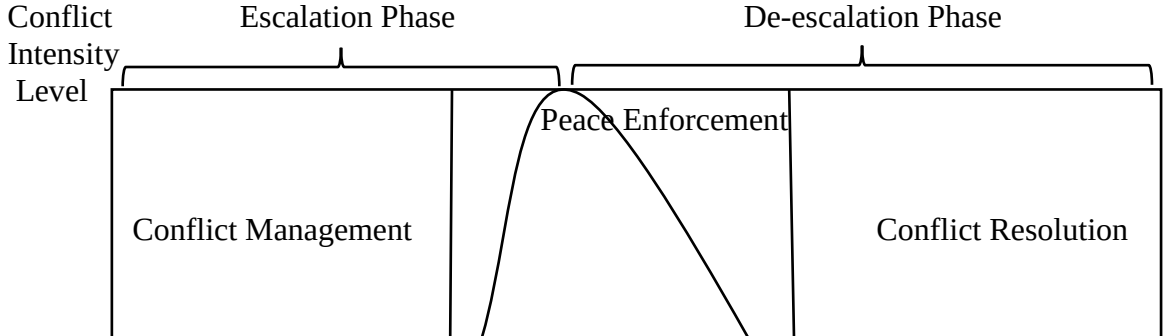
This study is conducted within the framework of conflict management theory and the territorial imperative theory.

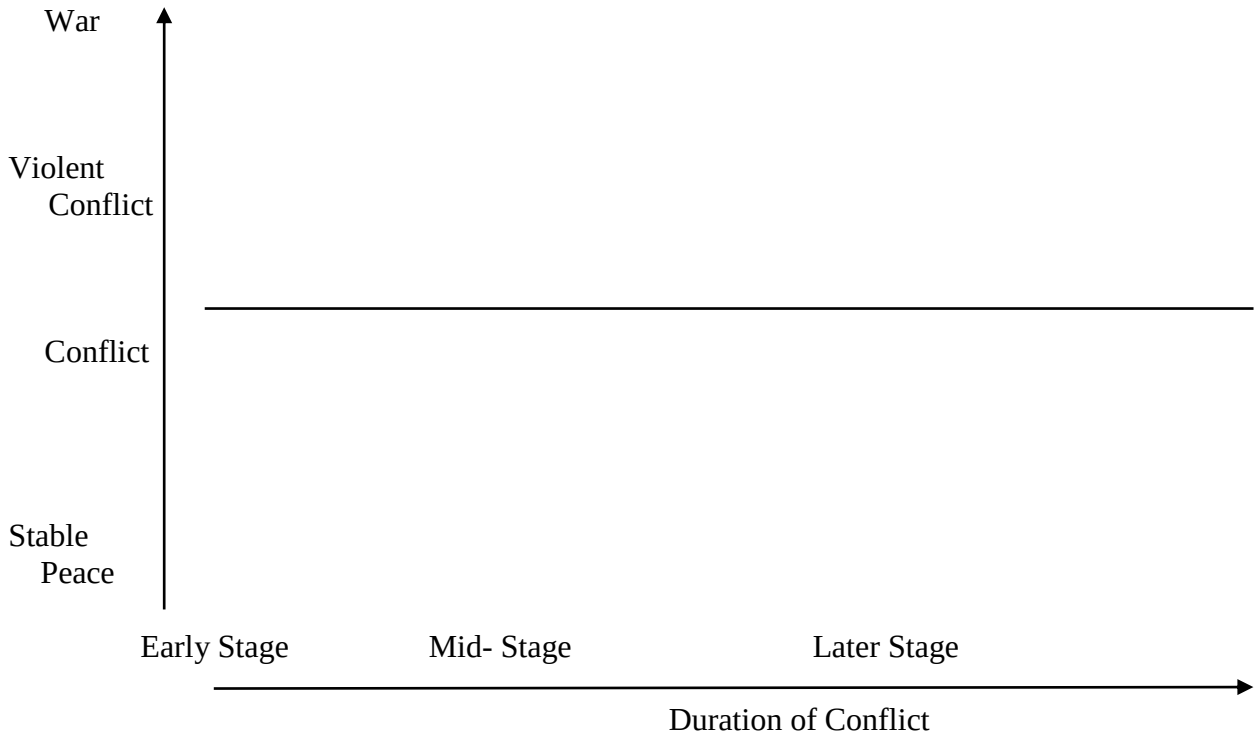
2.7.1 The Conflict Management Theory: The conflict management theory has been developed extensively by scholars like Deutsch (1973),Mitchell (1981) in international relations; with increasing attention being paid to the theory in political science, social psychology, sociology, economics, and law. Conflict management theory begins from the premise of the existence of a conflict between parties in which the negative impact of such conflicts need to be mitigated. The theory focuses not just on interstate conflict but also intrastate conflicts; as well as responses ranging from the overt use of force, to other measures aimed at the transformation of belligerents' relationships.

Proponents of the conflict management theory see conflict as the result of opposing interests involving scarce resources, goal divergence and frustration. They argue that conflicts should not necessarily be defined only in terms of violence (behavior) or hostility (attitudes), but also in terms of incompatibility or differences in opinion. Such a definition is designed to include conflicts outside the traditional military sphere and is based on behavioral dimensions. Thus, Mitchell (1981), argues that conflicts generally consists of three major structural parts: attitudes, behavior and situations which interact to create conflicts between actors.

Central to the conflict management theory is the notion of a life cycle for every conflict. This notion suggest that a conflict is not a static situation but a dynamic one in which the level of intensity changes over a conflicts' life cycle. Thus, the conflict management theory suggests that conflicts tend to be cyclical, i.e. escalating from (relative) stability and peace into crisis and war, thereafter deescalating into relative peace. While it has been noted that the conflict cycle tend to be reoccurring, some scholars have added "durable peace" as an additional phase in which the conflict is considered resolved – i.e. when the reoccurring pattern of the conflict has been stopped. The concept of the conflict cycle is essential for the understanding and explanation of how, where and when to apply different strategies and measures of conflict prevention, management and resolution. Fig. 1 provides a graphic illustration of the process of escalation and de-escalation of the conflict cycle and the major phases of conflict prevention, management and resolution.

Fig 2.2: Theoretical Context of the Study: Conflict Management in the Conflict Cycle Model





Source: Swanstom N.L.P and Wiessmann M.S (2005), Conflict, Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management and Beyond: A Conceptual Exploration. A Publication of the Central Asia Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, Johns Hopkins University, Washington. Pg. 11

As indicated in fig. 1, the division of conflict into phases, and its cyclical perception has become a useful starting point in research on conflict prevention, management and resolution. In principle, conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution are regarded as applicable in different phases of a conflict. While conflict prevention measures are designed for the early phases, before a conflict has become manifest (open), conflict management measures are applied in later phases when a conflict is manifest, and conflict resolution arises in the de-escalation phase after a violent conflict has occurred. Thus, unlike conflict prevention which connotes a set of instruments used to prevent or solve disputes before they develop into active conflicts, conflict management begins when the conflict is already manifest.

Some of the major criticisms levelled against the conflict management theory is that the concept of conflict management tends to overlap with other concepts such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution. In fact, some have argued that conflict management is more or less a derivative of the more encompassing concept of conflict resolution. Advocates of conflict resolution have also criticized conflict management as a top-down interventionist mechanism that seeks to control a conflict more than address its root causes. Yet, it is for this very purpose that this theory is adopted for this study.The conflict management theory is therefore considered appropriate for this study because it effectively captures the efforts of the Jigawa state government in the management of the Boko-Haram insurgency. The measures taken by the Jigawa state government were neither towards preventing the Boko Haram insurgency nor was it aimed at the resolution of the crisis. Indeed, given that the Boko-Haram crisis had already reached a manifest stage (i.e. prevention had failed), and the fact that efforts on resolution were largely incumbent on the federal government the efforts of the state government were essentially in the management of the crisis. Hence, the adoption of the conflict management theory for this study.

2.7.2 Territorial Imperative Theory: While the conflict management theory is considered useful in the explanation of the efforts of the state government in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency, it does not critically explain the social factors that may have contributed in the insulation of the state against Boko-Haram. The territorial imperative theory is therefore adopted to complement the conflict management theory. The territorial imperative theory was popularized by Ardrey (1997). Ardreyargues that humans like animals possess an evolutionarily determined instinct towards territoriality and this territoriality is useful in understanding human phenomena such as property ownership and

nation building. Therefore according to Ardrey (1997), human behavior is not particularly different from animal behavior. He argues that: “The dog barking at you from behind his master’s fence acts for a motive indistinguishable from that of his master when the fence was built”. Despite the criticisms against Ardrey for equating human behavior with animal behavior, the territorial imperative theory has become useful particularly in the attempt at understanding the relationships of individuals within the context of their territories.

CHAPTER 3
METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Geography and Historical Overview of the Study Area

Jigawa state was created on the 27th of August 1991 when the Federal Military Government under General Ibrahim Babangida announced the creation of nine additional states in the country. The announcement was given a legal backing through the State Creation and Transitional Provisions Decree No. 37 of 1991.Excised from Kano State, the state covers a total land area of about 22,410sq Km. It is bordered on the West by Kano State, on the East by Bauchi and Yobe States and on the North by Katsina States and the Republic of Niger.The state lies between latitudes 11On and 13On and longitudes 8Oe and 10o35'E with a tropical climate, with varying temperatures at different times. High temperatures are normally recorded in the state between the months of April and September. The daily minimum and maximum temperatures are 15 degrees and 35 degrees Celsius and the rainy season lasts from May to September with average rainfall of between 600 millimeters to 1000 millimeters.

"Jigawa" is a Hausa word used to describe a vast loamy but non-marshy soil. The topography of the state is generally flat with the northern, central, and eastern parts covered with undulating sand dunes running in the Southwest to Northeast direction. The area around the state capital Dutse is very rocky with some low hills. The southern and western parts of the state around Birnin Kudu and Kazaure have the highest elevations with hills as high as 600 millimeters above sea level. The state is bisected by the Hadejia River which traverses the state from the west to the east through Hadejia-Nguru wetlands and empties into the Lake Chad.

Cross border migration between Jigawa State and neighboring states and between the State and Niger Republic is common. Migration of people into the state is highest during the dry season when cattle herders from neighboring Niger Republic migrate to the south in search of pasture and water for their animals. Outward migration is a feature of the off farming season known as “cirani” during which people leave the state in search of jobs in the neighboring states, particularly Kano and some major cities in the country.

Since its creation Jigawa state had been administered by four military personnel and four civilian elected Governors namely:

1. Colonel Olayinka Sule,Military Administrator – August 91 to December 91
2. Alh. Ali Sa’ad B/Kudu, Civilian – January 92 to November 93
3. Colonel Ibrahim Aliyu, Military Administrator – December 93 to August 96
4. LT.Col. RA Shekoni, Military Administrator – August 96 to August 98
5. LT.Col. ZA Maimalari, Military Administrator – August 98 to May 99
6. Alh. Ibrahim S. Turaki, Civilian – May 99 to May 2007
7. Alh. Sule Lamido, Civilian – May 2007 to May 2015
8. Alh. Mohamed Badaru Abubakar: May 2015- till date

3.2 Population of the Study Area

According to the 2006 census, Jigawa State has a total population of 4,348,649 million inhabitants. The population growth of the state is estimated at 3.5 % with about 48 % of the population falling under the age of fifteen. Eighty per cent (80%) of the population is found in the rural areas and is made up of mostly Hausa, Fulani and Manga (a Kanuri dialect). The pattern of human settlement is nucleated, with defined population centers.

Table 3.1: Population of Jigawa State According to Local Governments

S/No	Local Government Area	Population
1	Auyo	132,001
2	Birniwa	142,329
3	Babura	208,101
4	Buji	97,371
5	Birnin Kudu	313,373
6	Dutse	246,143
7	Gumel	107,161
8	Gwaram	272,582
9	Gwiwa	124,517
10	Gagarawa	80,394
11	Guri	115,081
12	Garki	152,233
13	Hadejia	105,628
14	Jahun	229,094
15	Kiri Kasamma	191,523
16	Kafin Hausa	271,058
17	Kazaure	161,494
18	Kiyawa	172,913
19	Kaugama	127,956
20	Malam Madori	161,413
21	Miga	128,424
22	Maigatari	179,715
23	Roni	77,819
24	Ringim	192,024
25	Sule Tankarkar	130,849
26	Taura	131,757
27	Yankwashi	95,759
State Total		**4,348,649**

Source: National Population Commission, 2006

3.3 Sample of the Study

In other to generate the sample for the study, cluster sampling technique was adopted. Cluster sampling is that type of sampling technique which allows the researcher to divide the population into clusters before the application of simple random sample in the section of respondents. Firstly, therefore, the population of the study was divided into two categories namely the political elite and the citizens of Jigawa state (i.e. people living in

Jigawa including IDPs). The respondents from the political elite comprised of members of the Jigawa state executive council and also members of the opposition political parties in Jigawa state from 2007-2015. The religious leaders within the state particularly the Ulamma were also considered as part of the Political elite due to the significant political influence they have. In all, a total of eighteen respondents from the state government, members of the opposition political party, the religious leaders (Ulaama), security and emergency agencies, in Jigawa state as well as some IDP representatives as indicated in table 3.2 were selected and interviewed. On the other hand, in other to select the respondents from citizens, the state was divided into three (3) clusters, based on the 3 senatorial zones of the state. Simple random sampling was then used in the selection of one local government each from each of the senatorial zones. The selected local governments are: Hadejia, Birin Kudu and Gumel. In addition Kiyawa local government was also selected due to the large number of IDPs in the area. Thus, a total of four local governments were selected from the entire state for the study.

3.4 Sources of Data Collection:

The data for this study was sourced through primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was derived from interviews to the political elite in Jigawa state. These political elite as earlier noted comprised of the government agents, members of the opposition and the religious leaders. Other categories of respondents interviewed are as indicated in table 3.2. Another major source of primary data adopted is focused group discussion. One focused group discussion was organized in each of the three local governments selected from the three senatorial zones of the state and also in Kiyawa local government area. Documentary evidence from government institutions like the National

Bureau of statistics and other civil society organizations also served as major sources of primary data. It is also noteworthy to state that the researcher had direct contact with and was close to the people and situation under investigation. Being a qualitative research, the researcher's personal experience (participant observation) and insights about the people and situation under investigation was therefore also useful in the primary data generation process.The secondary data on the other hand was derived from libraries and the internet.

Table 3.2: List of Interviewees for the Study

S/No	Respondents	Respondents Position
1	Alhaji (Dr) Sule Lamido	Executive Governor of Jigawa State (2007-2015)
2	Alhaji Aminu Ibrahim	Former Chief of Staff, Jigawa State (2007-2015)
3	Alhaji Rabiu Isa	Former Jigawa State Commissioner of Agriculture (2007-2015)
4	Alhaji BasiruSanusi	Galadiman Dutse
5	Alhaji Aminu Wada Abubakar	District Head of Kiyawa
6	Dr. Mahmud Yunus	Imam 744 Dutse Member, Jigawa State council of Ulamma
7	Sheikh Yusuf AbdulrahmanHadejia	Chief Imam Hadejia
8	Alhaji Sabo Ibrahim	Director of Operations State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) Jigawa State
9	Inspector BalaYanchi	Commissioner of Police, Jigawa State Command
10	Mal. JinjiriMajia	Police PRO Jigawa State Police Command
11	Alh. A.J Ibrahim	Director, Department of State Security, Jigawa State command
12.	Alhaji Umar Abdullahi (Soldier)	Member of opposition party APC
13.	Mal. Mannir Umar	Member of opposition party APC
14.	Mal. Kabiru Usman	Member of opposition party APC
15.	Alhaji Usman Lamido	Village Head of Balbedo
16.	Mal. Garba Abubakar	Chairman, Kiyawa temporary IDP camp

17.	Alhaji Babangida	Chairman, Hadejia Temporary IDP camp
18	Alhaji Abdullahi A.G.G	Secretary, Hadejia Temporary IDP camp

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

Due to the nature of the issue under investigation as well as the reliance on interviews and focused group discussions as the major sources of data for this study, the data gathered was largely qualitative in nature. Qualitative research entails an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Thus, qualitative studies such as this which aims to investigate the factors accounting for the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency, stresses the socially constructed nature of reality as opposed to the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables.

As a case study, the method of analysis adopted in this study is based on inductive reasoning. That is, to focus in the details and specifics of the issue under investigation in order to discover important patterns and themes. The information gathered in the course of this study were therefore organized around the central themes of the study in other to reach conclusions about the issue under investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR
SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS INSULATING JIGAWA STATE AGAINST BOKO HARAM

Evidence gathered in the course of this study indicates that there were a number of Socio-economic and political factors which contributed in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram Insurgency. These factors are the social capital and territorial imperative in Jigawa state, the socio-economic development of the state, the reinvigoration of the state security council and the intensification of intelligence gathering as well as the establishment of temporary IDP camps.

4.1 Social Capital,Territorial Imperative and the Insulation of Jigawa State against Boko-Haram.

The concept of social capital is instrumental in the explanation of the social factors that account for the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency.Social capital may generally be seen as "those social networks like goodwill, fellowship, sympathy etc amongst individuals, families and groups which facilitates their cooperation as a social unit. The concept is defined by the OECD as networks and shared norms, values and understanding that facilitate cooperation within or amongst groups. The major forms of social capital include:

i. Bonds: that is; social network which links people based on a sense of common identitySuch as family, close friends and people who share common culture or ethnicity.

ii. Bridges: social links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.

iii. Linkages: social links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

In general social capital is used to describe a network of social linkages and interactions which produce common goods and benefits for the entire society.

Information gathered in the course of this study revealed that unlike in some of the major cities captured by Boko-Haram in Adamawa, Borno and Bauchi states, Jigawa state has a high degree of social capital due to how relatively homogeneous the state is in comparism to the other states affected by the crisis. Dutse for instance is predominantly Muslim and the relationship between the Muslim sects was described as cordial. In addition, the relatively few Christians from the southern part of the country that lived in Dutse also enjoyed cordial relationship with the Muslims. In other cities in neighboring states like Kano, Bauchi, Maiduguri and Mubi, the case was different as it was discovered that these cities have a much lower social capital due to the heterogeneity and dense population in the cities. Thus, the homogeneity of Jigawa state (especially in terms of ethnicity and religion) and the fact that the state is also sparsely populated increased the social capital of the state as it facilitated cooperation and common action against the Boko-Haram insurgency.

Another way in which social capital was manifested in the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency was in the form of the close cooperation between the political elite, the religious leaders (council of Ulamma) and the traditional leaders. It was noted in interviews conducted that prior to 2007, the council of Ulamma and the traditional leaders were scarcely consulted in the management of the affairs of Jigawa state. However, from 2007 these institutions were fully integrated in the administration of the state. For example in an interview with Basirkaa founding member of the council of Ulamma in Jigawa state it was noted that:

> The council of Ulamma which consisted of 13 members was established in 2000 under the administration of Governor SaminuTuraki. The council was however not very active in the management of the social affairs in Jigawa Stateuntil the administration of Sule Lamido in 2007. Under Governor Sule Lamido the council was empowered and was constantly in partnership with the state government to protect Jigawa against any undesirable social crisis (interview with Dr. Basirka, 2018).

Similarly, notes that

> The major Islamic organizations in Jigawa state including Hisbah, Jibwis and JNI all united against the radical teachings of the Boko-Haram insurgents and luckily the state government was very cooperative with us and encouraged us in our resolve to preach peace to our people. We were constantly meeting with members of the state government in the understanding that we all had a role to play in protecting the state from the insurgency (interview with Dr. Basirka, 2018).

Thus, as the Boko-Haram insurgents thrived in the manipulation of religious teachings in other states like Borno, Adamawa, Kano and Yobe, their activities could not take hold in Jigawa state due to the territorial imperative engendered by the social capital amongst the people in Jigawa State.

4.2 Socio-Economic Development and the insulation of Jigawa State against Boko-Haram

Apart from the high degree of social capital in Jigawa state, socio-economic factors also contributed in the insulation of the state against Boko-Haram insurgency. Though richly endowed, Jigawa State was created from the least developed part of Kano State. At the time of its creation, the economic base of the state was weak while infrastructural facilities were grossly inadequate to support any form of sustained development (Jigawa State government, 2016). In 2005 the Jigawa State Development Strategy (JSDS) was published as the first attempt at providing a comprehensive development blueprint for the State. Until then, the

development process of the state relied more or less on short-term traditional practices; particularly the annual budgets and rolling plans which were not informed by any long-term vision. The Government as at 2005, made a policy statement, which was to pursue programmes anchored on a policy of economic empowerment through income and employment generation using the tripod of agriculture, industry and information technology. This policy was also to be pursued alongside other social development and poverty alleviation programmes. However, these policy prescriptions were generally seen to have fallen short of producing the desired effect in developing the state economically and socially (DFID 2016).

By 2009, the Jigawa state Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) was prepared through an all-inclusive process involving all stakeholders in the state. The CDF was adopted by the State Executive Council and subsequently by the State House of Assembly, as the overarching State policy document that should serve as a roadmap for the socio-economic development of the state. The CDF document defines the Socio-economic development and reform agenda of the Jigawa state government with clearly defined sectoral priorities, policy objectives, targets and the strategies for their attainment. More importantly, the document had an inbuilt mechanism for monitoring and evaluation.

While there is no comprehensive data the on socio-economic development indicators of Jigawa state, it is generally agreed that in spite of challenges encountered, the implementation of the CDF has led to numerous success stories in the socio-economic development of Jigawa state. This was generally believed to have been possible due to the existence of the crucial mechanism of monitoring and evaluation.

In their review of the Jigawa state CDF for instance, the DFID noted:

> Budget implementation during the period of 2008 to 2015 have, relatively, been very successful. Many of the outputs, outcomes and impact of Government programmes were very evident in most of the sectors and in all the nooks and crannies of the state with no stone left unturned in the socio-economic transformation process of the State. Service delivery across all sectors witnessed appreciable improvements. Indeed the 2015 Citizens' Perception Survey (CPS) independently conducted on behalf of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) has reported that "the level of satisfaction related to government service delivery in Jigawa by June 2015 was relatively high between 65.7% and 75%" (DFID, 2016).

Thus, in line with the above, respondents and participants from interviews and focus group discussions conducted suggested that the level of satisfaction with the Jigawa state government's efforts in the socio-economic development of the state was also a major factor that contributed in the insulation of the state form the Boko haram insurgency.

In addition to the introduction of the CDF there are two other notable socio-economic development initiatives introduced by the Jigawa state government within the period under study which are believed to have impacted positively in the insulation of the state from the Boko-haram insurgency. These programs are the convening of the *Talakawa* summit and the creation of a commission for youth empowerment.

i. **The Convening of the *Talakawa* Summit**

A few months after the Sule Lamido administration came to power in Jigawa state, the administration convened a *Talakawa* summit in 2008 as a major forum for interfacing with the masses as a precondition for shaping the policy thrust of the government. Groups that participated in the *Talakawa* summit included: shoe cobblers, traders, farmers, herdsmen and other artisans drawn from the 27 local government areas of the state. Evidence gathered from focused group discussions

and interviews indicate that the *Talakawa* summit which was the first of its kind to have been convened in Jigawa state ensured that the masses of the state had the opportunity to direct the policy thrust of the government. For example in an interview with the former chief of staff of the Jigawa state government it was noted that:

> The Talakawa summit was an opportunity for the masses to take the driver's seat in the affairs of the state government. We the members of the state executive council as at that time learnt firsthand about the needs and major challenges of the masses. But more importantly, we were humbled by insights displayed by the people towards improving their socio-economic status.

Similarly, the former Governor of Jigawa state noted that:

> When we held the Talakawa summit one shoe cobbler called me by name and said he comes from a generation of hide and skin tanners whose primary occupation was making shoes and other leather goods. He noted that because most of the elites now patronize foreign made goods he and his other colleagues have been out of business. We the members of the state executive council felt challenged and it became imperative on us to encourage their enterprise.

Following the convening of the Talakawa summit an average of about 1000 people from each of the 27 local government areas of Jigawa state were given soft loans as capital ranging from 10 to 50 thousand naira in 2008 to invest in their businesses and trade. This intervention by the Jigawa state government even before the degeneration of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009 is believed to have significantly improved the living standards of the masses in the state and thereby serving as a disincentive against Boko harams recruitment drive. It also significantly contributed in boosting the social capital of the

state.A member of opposition party in Jigawa state from 2007-2015 for instance noted in an interview that:

> Apart from the prayers of the citizens of the state, the government of Sule Lamido actually tried by engaging the youths in productive activities; and you know where the youths are gainfully employed it will be difficult for them to become easy recruits for the Boko-Haram insurgents (interview with Alhaji Umar Abdullahi, 2017).

Indeed, the members of the state executive council from 2009 to 2015 and the participants in the focused group discussion confirmed that throughout the period from 2009 to 2015 only one person voluntarily joined the Boko-haram insurgency in Gwaram local government area when the group came on a number of occasions to preach to the people.

ii. **The Creation of a Commission for Youth Empowerment**

Apart from the introduction of the CDF and the convening of the Talakawa summit, another major initiative with regards to the socio-economic development of the people of Jigawa state was the creation of a commission for youth empowerment in 2008. The commission according to evidence gathered from interviews and focused group discussions created six skill acquisition centers in Birnin Kudu, Gumel, Hadejia, Dutse, Ringim and Kazaure local government's areas. These skill acquisition centers involved the creation of irrigation schemes with modern farming techniques and the creation of ranches for cattle rearing. These initiatives were considered important due to the fact that agriculture continues to be the major contributor to the total economic output of Jigawa State. Furthermore, agricultural development was considered important due to the issue of farmers and herdsmen clashed which had prior to 2007 been a major problem in Jigawa state. As a confirmation of the activities of the youth empowerment commission, it was generally

acknowledged in the focused group discussions conducted in Birnin Kudu and in Hadejia local government areas that most of youths were in one way or the other engaged within the period under study. Respondents noted that since most of the youth were actively and gainfully engaged by the government, it would be difficult for them to have been part of the Boko-haram insurgency.

4.3 The Reinvigoration of the State Security Council and the Intensification of Intelligence Gathering

Another major factor that contributed in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency was the reinvigoration of the state security council and the intensification of intelligence gathering. Information gathered from interviews with the Commissioner of police, the Director of state security services and members of the state executive council during the period under study suggest that the entire security posture of the state was transformed from being passive and reactionary to being proactive. The former governor Alhaji Sule Lamido for example noted in an interview that:

> About ten security agencies including the military, police, the DSS, civil defense and even the road safety commission and other para military agencies were all brought into the security council of the state. Every time the council met each of these agencies took turns in briefing the council about their activities in securing the state (interview with Sule Lamido, 2018).

Some of the proactive security initiatives adopted by security agencies in Jigawa state include the creation of a security outfit known as Operation Salama. Operation Salama according to the Jigawa state commissioner of police and the police public relations officer in Jigawa state was a Joint task force which was charged with the responsibility of securing the state.

A second major initiative involved the incorporation of traditional institutions and religious leaders (particularly the council of Ulamma) in the intelligence gathering network

within the state. Respondents from interviews conducted acknowledged that the traditional institutions and religious leaders actually played significant roles in the overall governance of the State. These institutions which as earlier noted were not just vanguards of social capital in Jigawa state, they also played critical roles by providing intelligence to the security agencies of the state.

Since 2007 Traditional Institutions in Jigawa state were empowered to function as partners with government in three major areas namely:

i. Fostering peace, social harmony and security within and between their domains;

ii. Grassroots mobilization, advocacy and enlightenment of the people on government programmes and policies.

iii. Conflict resolution especially between farmers and herdsmen and settlement of other domestic disputes regarding land, marriage, trade, etc.

As a confirmation of the use of traditional institutions and religious leaders in insulating Jigawa state against Boko-Haram insurgency, the DSS and police in particular acknowledged that these institutions and Fulani herdsmen were very forthcoming and useful in the provision of useful intelligence to the security agencies in the state. For example, it was noted by the Director of Jigawa state DSS that some of the intelligence gathered which eventually helped in securing Jigawa state actually came from traditional leaders who often got information from Maiduguri through the fishing market of the Hadejia axis. The DSS also noted that it was in constant touch with its network outside the state and with the cooperation of the state government it was able to intercept some of the terrorist plans of the Boko-haram group at the planning stage.

Another major information gathered from the intelligence reports as gathered from interview was that many at times Boko-haram militants often tried to hide out in Jigawa state; and on many occasions the insurgents often came out from the Balmo forest into neighboring communities in Jigawa state to buy supplies (The Balmo Forest lies along the border between Bauchi and Jigawa state). In one incident the former chief of staff to the former governor of Jigawa state noted that a suspected Boko-haram member was once captured by the security agencies while trying to make cash withdrawal from a bank in the state. When the news of the arrest of the suspect reached Boko-haram the state government claimed that it came under serious pressure to release the suspect or prepare for an unprecedented attack against Jigawa state. The former chief of staff also noted that the arrest of the Boko-haram member by security agencies led to series of telephone calls; often lasting for hours between the state government and Boko-haram towards averting any attack against the state. These negotiations with Boko-haram according to the former chief of staff was successful as the group did not attack the state as it threatened to, because it realized that their member was actually arrested by federal agents and had been taken out of Jigawa to Kano state.

By way of summary, the proactive stance of the state government and security agencies within Jigawa state; including the will and readiness of the state government to negotiate with the Boko haram insurgents, the incorporation of traditional institutions and religious leaders in the security network of the state and the emphasis and attention to intelligence gathering is also believed to have significantly resulted in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko haram insurgency.

4.4 The Establishment of Temporary IDP Camps

Another major factor that contributed in the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-haram insurgency was the establishment of temporary IDP camps across the state. It was noted earlier that the increased violence associated with the Boko-harm insurgency and counter insurgency had forced people out of Borno and Yobe state in particular into seeking refuge in neighboring Jigawa state. From 2009 to 2015 a total of over thirty two thousand IDPs had been documented and hosted within communities in Jigawa state. Due to the non-existence of a permanent IDP camp prior to 2015, most of the IDPs were actually accommodated by volunteer households after they had been screened and cleared by the state emergency management agency with the approval of the state government. In areas with a large concentration of IDPs such as Kiyawa and Hadejia a temporary camp was established by the state government to accommodate the IDPs.

TABLE 4.1: SUMMARY LIST OF IDPs IN THE 27 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN JIGAWA STATE

S/N	Local Government Area	No. of IDPs
1	Auyo	3006
2	Babura	315
3	Birinin Kudu	350
4	Buji	202
5	Birniwa	1,200
6	Dutse	2,601
7	Garki	500
8	Gagarawa	116
9	Gwaram	540
10	Gumel	207
11	Gwiwa	82
12	Guri	2,110
13	Hadejia	5,250
14	Jahun	962
15	Kiyawa	2,105
16	Kafin Hausa	4061
17	Kaugama	2000
18	Kazaure	101
19	Kiri Kasamma	2032
20	Magatari	490

21	Malam Madori	3009
22	Miga	725
23	Ringim	696
24	Roni	60
25	Sule Tankarkar	66
26	Taura	96
27	Yankwashi	60
	Total	**32, 942**

Source: Jigawa State Emergency Management Authority (SEMA)

One of the key initiatives in the establishment of temporary IDP camps in Jigawa state was the extensive process of documentation and accreditation adopted in the registration of IDPs. It was gathered from interviews and focused group discussions that in order to forestall the possibilities of having members the Boko-haram insurgents coming into Jigawa state as IDPs, the identities and point of departure of all IDPs coming into the state had to be confirmed by security and traditional agencies within the state. As a result of this initiative a number of supposed IDPs who turned out to be Boko haram members were detained and handed over to security agencies. Others who could not be identified were turned back. It was acknowledged by the traditional rulers, the IDPs and other respondents that not a single IDP whose identity could not be confirmed was accommodated within Jigawa state. The IDPs who came from areas like Baga, Gubio, Chibok, Banki and Kukawa from Borno State all acknowledged that their decision to relocate to Jigawa state was as a result of the peaceful nature of the state.

4.5 Validity of Research Assumptions

In the light of the above mentioned findings, the first assumption of this study which states that: “the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-haram crisis was as a result of the existence of peculiar social factors within the state which served a counter terrorist purpose” hold true; as all categories of respondents acknowledged a relationship between some policies and programs of the state government and the insulation of Jigawa state against the

Boko-Haram insurgency. Similarly, the second assumption that:Jigawa state was relatively insulated from the Boko-Haram insurgency due to the existence of policies and programs which served a counter terrorist purpose is valid.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary

Since the beginning of the Boko-Haram insurgency in 2009, the northeastern states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe were devastated by the insurgency. Other states like Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna and the federal capital territory were also significantly affected by the crisis. Jigawa state which shares border with Kano, Bauchi and Yobe state was however, generally, relatively insulated from the Boko-Haram crisis. This study therefore investigated the socio-economic and factors that account for the relative insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency.

The study was conducted within the theoretical context of the conflict management theory which argues that conflict can best be understood within the cycle of prevention, management and resolution stages. The territorial imperative theory was also adopted as a useful theoretical framework in explaining how Jigawa state was able to remain insulated from the Boko-Haram insurgency. Using interviews and focus group discussion as method of qualitative data generation, the study was able to identify a high level of social capital as a factor peculiar to Jigawa state which contributed in the insulation of the state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Furthermore, the study also confirmed a linkage between the following factors and the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency.

1. The socio-economic development of Jigawa state: This initiative as noted in the study consisted of the introduction of the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) as a pragmatic and all-embracing socio-economic development blueprint which was adjudged to have performed relatively well for Jigawa state. Other major

socio-economic development initiatives of the state government which contributed to the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency identified in the study includes: the integration of the masses in the decision making process of government though the convening of a *Talakawa* summit, and the creation of a ministry of youth empowerment. While these socio-economic development initiatives were not introduced mainly to tackle the Boko-Haram insurgency, the study revealed that the effects of these socio-economic programs served as a disincentive for the Boko-Haram insurgency to thrive in Jigawa state.

2. The re-invigoration of the state security council and the intensification of intelligence gathering: This as noted in the study generally involved the transformation of the security posture of the state agencies from being passive and reactionary into being proactive. It also involved the emphasis on intelligence gathering through the incorporation of traditional institutions and religious leaders in the intelligence network.

3. The establishment of temporary IDP camps: this involved the documentation and monitoring of people entering Jigawa state as a result of the effect of the Boko-Haram crisis in the neighboring states. IDPs coming into Jigawa state as noted in the study were closely monitored in order to forestall any negative consequences arising from the influx of persons into Jigawa state.

5.2 Conclusion

This study investigated the factors that accounted for the relative insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko- Haram insurgency. Evidence gathered in the course of the study confirmed that the high degree of social capital in Jigawa state compared to other neighboring states significantly contributed in the insulation of the state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Other findings of the study also indicates that three major programs namely: the socio-economic development of the state, the reinvigoration of the state security council and the establishment of temporary IDP camps, also contributed in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency. Thus, in the light of the evidence gathered and findings made in this study the following conclusions can be made:

1. Social cohesion and cooperation resulted in high degree of social capital and a territorial imperative which insulated Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency.
2. Economic development and social intervention programs played a major role in the insulation of Jigawa state from the Boko-Haram insurgency, by serving as a disincentive in the recruitment drive of insurgent groups.
3. A proactive security posture and an extensive intelligence gathering network involving grassroots networks like traditional institutions, religious leaders and herdsmen was crucial in the insulation of Jigawa state against the Boko-Haram insurgency.
4. Extensive documentation and monitoring of IDPs and other persons entering into Jigawa state played a major role in the insulation of the state against the Boko-

Haram insurgency by ensuring that insurgent did not enter the state under the guise of displacement.

5.3 Recommendations

In the light of the findings made and conclusions reached in the course of this study. The following recommendations are made:

1. Efforts should be made towards fostering peaceful coexistence and cooperation amongst Nigeria's through the avoidance of ethno-religious profiling and discrimination.
2. Efforts should be made towards improving the socio-economic development of the country in general through the implementation of programs and policies that impact positively on the lives of the citizens. This is important considering the fact that an improvement in the living standard of the people is established as a disincentive for the recruitment drive of insurgents.
3. The security posture of states and country in general should be reorganized from being passive to being more pro-active particularly in the generation of intelligence and in the use of such intelligence to forestall any insurgent activities.
4. Government officials should develop effective strategies for monitoring those coming into the country and also into the various states in the country to settle as a way of checking the entry of unwanted elements into the country.

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