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**NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC SECURITY THREAT: THE
QUEST FOR POWER BY NIGER-DELTA AND BOKO-HARAM
INSURGENTS 1999-2015**



**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2018**

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QUEST FOR POWER BY NIGER-DELTA AND BOKO-HARAM
INSURGENTS 1999-2015**



**A Thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
in fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia**

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ABSTRACT

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria's national security has never come under such threats as it is currently facing in the Fourth Republic. Nigeria went into a civil war seven years after her independence which lasted for three years but it was not as unprecedented and complex as her current war on terror. The main objective of this research is to investigate the quest for power by the Niger-Delta militants and Boko-Haram insurgents as national security threats in Nigeria's Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2015. Other objectives of the study include examining those factors that motivate the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgents against Nigeria. It also evaluates the security threats posed by these militant insurgents. This research made use of the qualitative research design, where data were generated via interview as the main primary data collection tool and content analysis. Findings of this study reveal that national security threats by the violent insurgents are complex and multidimensional in nature, ranging from socio-economic motivations such as abysmal unemployment and institutional corruption to ethno-religious and political factors such as ethnicity and political marginalisation perceived or real. It is found that governments in the past were not sincere and committed to addressing the agitations of the citizens. The militants took up arms against the government on the notion of marginalization, neglect, and social injustice. The research further reveal that the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria emerges as a result of political mal-administration and the mismanagement of state resources and not otherwise as claimed by the group. The theoretical contribution of the study shows that Nigeria is currently in a troubled state due to the current waves of insurgency across the country as demonstrated by the *Frustration-Aggression* and the *Failed-State* theories in the study.

Keywords: National Security, Militancy, Boko-Haram, Insurgency, Niger- Delta.

ABSTRAK

Semenjak kemerdekaannya pada tahun 1960, keselamatan Nigeria tidak pernah mengalami ancaman yang seperti mana yang dialaminya sewaktu pemerintahan Republik Keempat. Tujuh tahun selepas kemerdekaannya, Nigeria terjebak di dalam perang saudara selama tiga tahun, walaupun ianya tidak serumit dan kompleks seperti mana usaha-usaha kerajaan pada masa kini dalam memerangi keganasan. Objektif utama kajian ini adalah untuk menyiasat usaha-usaha untuk mendapatkan kuasa oleh militan Niger-Delta dan kumpulan pemberontak Boko-Haram sebagai ancaman ke atas keselamatan Nigeria sewaktu pemerintahan Republik Keempat dari tahun 1999 sehingga tahun 2015. Objektif lain kajian ini termasuklah mengkaji faktor-faktor yang mendorong militan Niger-Delta dan kumpulan pemberontak Boko-Haram menentang kerajaan Nigeria. Ia juga menilai ancaman yang ditimbulkan oleh kumpulan pemberontak dan militan ke atas negara tersebut. Kajian ini menggunakan rekabentuk penyelidikan kualitatif di mana kaedah temubual telah digunakan sebagai kaedah utama pengumpulan data. Pendekatan kandungan analisis telah digunakan dalam menganalisis kedua-dua data primer dan sekunder. Dapatan kajian ini mendedahkan pelbagai isu sosio-ekonomi, dari rasuah, tadbir urus yang buruk, pengangguran hingga ke dimensi etno-agama, seperti etnik, ideologi radikal dan peminggiran politik. Kajian ini mendapati ketidakwujudan keikhlasan dan komitmen kerajaan dalam menangani agitasi rakyat. Golongan militan telah melancarkan pemberontakan bersenjata menentang kerajaan atas dasar peminggiran dan ketidakadilan sosial. Walaubagaimanapun, tidak seperti mana yang didakwa oleh kumpulan tersebut, dapatan kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa pemberontakan Boko Haram di Nigeria telah berlaku disebabkan oleh salah tadbir urus sumber negara. Kumpulan militan Boko Haram telah mengambil peluang daripada kelemahan institusi pentadbiran di Nigeria dengan menculik ribuan rakyat negaranya dan ini termasuk 276 pelajar perempuan di Chibok yang telah mencetuskan bantahan global. Kajian ini akan memberi manfaat kepada agensi kerajaan, ahli akademik dan pegawai atasan keselamatan dalam memahami faktor-faktor penyebab kepada peningkatan pemberontakan tersebut. Sumbangan teori kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa Nigeria pada masa kini menjadi negara yang bermasalah akibat gelombang pemberontakan dan oleh itu, menguatkan lagi kesesuaian penggunaan teori *Frustration-Aggression* dan *Failed State* di dalam kajian ini.

Kata Kunci: Keselamatan Negara, Niger-Delta, Militansi, Boko-Haram, Pemberontakan

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ABSTRAK	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Research Gap.....	11
1.3 Statement of the Problem	12
1.4 Research Questions.....	14
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	14
1.6 Significance of the Study	14
1.7 Justification for the Study	16
1.8 Operational Definition of Concepts	17
1.8.1 National Security.....	17
1.8.2 Fourth Republic.....	17
1.8.3 Terrorism.....	18
1.8.4 Niger Delta Militants	19
1.8.5 Boko Haram	21
1.8.6 Insurgency.....	22
1.9 Scope of the Study	23
1.10 Research Method	24
1.10.1 Research Philosophy.....	25
1.10.2 Research Design	26
1.10.3 Sources of Data	27
1.10.4 Sampling Design	28
1.10.5 Respondent Sampling and Fieldwork Process	29
1.10.6 Data Analysis	30
1.11 Organization of the Study	32

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	35
2.1 Introduction	35
2.2 Literature Review	35
2.3 Theoretical Framework	67
2.2.1 The Frustration-Aggression and Relative Deprivation Theory.....	68
2.2.2 Failed State Theory.....	70
2.3 Research Framework.....	74
2.4 Conclusion.....	76
CHAPTER THREE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA	77
3.1 Introduction	77
3.2 Niger Delta Militant Trends	85
3.3 The Struggle for Resource Control and Secession	87
3.4 The International Dimension of the Niger Delta Militancy	89
3.5 Historical background of Boko Haram terror in Nigeria	91
3.6 Meaning of Boko Haram.....	95
3.7 Ideology of Boko Haram.....	95
3.8 The Genesis of Boko Haram Insurgents	96
3.9 Boko Haram symbols.....	99
3.10 Funding of Boko Haram.....	99
3.11 Carnages of Boko Haram	100
3.12 Conclusion.....	102
CHAPTER FOUR THE MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS OF NIGER-DELTA AND BOKO-HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA	104
4.1 Introduction	104
4.2 The Motivational Factors of the Niger Delta Militancy.....	105
4.2.1 Negligence of Governance.....	105
4.2.2 The Economic Deprivation	119
4.2.3 Ethno-Political Motivation.....	126
4.2.4 Environmental deprivation.....	134

4.2.5	Constitutional Bias	145
4.3	The Motivational Factors of the Boko Haram Insurgents.....	147
4.3.1	Ideological Motivation.....	149
4.3.2	Political Motivation	152
4.3.3	Economic motivation.....	155
4.4	Conclusion.....	157

CHAPTER FIVE EVALUATION OF SECURITY THREATS POSED BY NIGER DELTA-MILITANTS AND BOKO-HARAM INSURGENTS TO NIGERIA159

5.1	Introduction	159
5.2	The Security Threats in Nigeria.....	159
5.2.1	Tactics Deployed by the Niger Delta Militants	160
5.3	Effects on national security: Loss of servicemen, threat of national disintegration	180
5.4	Government Counter-Measures and Their Effectiveness	183
5.5	State Failure, Security Compromise and Arms Proliferations	191
5.6	Unsafe Business Environment to Both Local/International Investors	195
5.7	The IDP's and Refugees Situation Induced by the Insurgency	198
5.8	Nigerian International Image In Relation To Security Threats	199
5.9	Evaluation of Strategies used by Insurgents in Nigeria	201

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION.....209

6.1	Introduction	209
6.2	Summary of Research Findings.....	209
6.3	Recommendations to the Government.....	216
6.3.1	Provision of Basic Infrastructure:.....	218
6.3.2	Provision of Job Opportunities.....	218
6.3.3	Protection of Citizenry.....	219
6.3.4	National Re-orientation.....	219
6.3.5	Containment	220
6.3.6	Provision of Enabling Business Environment:	220
6.3.7	Training and collaboration of Security Agencies:.....	221

6.3.8	Political Inclusion and Good governance	222
6.3.9	Use of Divide and Conquer Principle.....	223
6.4	Research Implications	224
6.5	Limitation of the Study	226
6.6	Suggestions for Future Studies	226
6.7	Conclusion.....	227
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		229



LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Selected Cases of Abductions for Ransom (2002–2013)	81
Table 4.1	The principles of good governance	113
Table 4.2	Nigeria’s Presidency 1960-2015	130
Table 4.3	Multinational Oil Company	136
Table 4.4	Percentage of Poverty level according to Regions in Nigeria	156



LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.1</i> The needs assessment of Niger Delta Militants and Boko Haram	8
<i>Figure 2.1</i> Diagram represents the Frustration-Aggression Model of the militant-insurgents in Nigeria	70
<i>Figure 2.2</i> Illustrates the fusion or the link between the theories of Frustration-Aggression and the Failed-State	74
<i>Figure 3.1</i> The areas where Boko Haram was active until 2016	98
<i>Figure 3.2</i> Graphical representation of civilian death in Boko Haram attacks between 2010 and 2014	102
<i>Figure 4.1</i> Monthly Oil Spill Incidents - 2017 (No).	144
<i>Figure 4.2</i> Volume of oil spills / month - 2017 (Shell Nigeria, 2017).	144
<i>Figure 4.3</i> Most active areas of Boko Haram operations.	148



LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A List of reviewed Literatures	257
Appendix B Comparison of poverty between the North & South	271
Appendix C Map of Nigeria showing States affected by Niger Delta Militancy	272
Appendix D Map of Nigeria showing the states affected by Boko Haram attacks	273
Appendix E Gas flaring in the Niger Delta	274
Appendix F Niger Delta Militants ready for attacks	275
Appendix G Gas flaring	276
Appendix H Environmental pollution from a burst pipeline	277
Appendix I List of Interviewees	278



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The world today is totally different from the world two decades ago. It is fast changing and is characterised by violence and insecurity with constantly evolving relationship patterns between and within states. Security challenges such as terrorism, insurrections and rebellions within states are instigated by socio-economic, political, ethno-religious and other social factors that are complex and multi-dimensional in nature. Wars, international terrorism, threats, civil disturbances, drug cartel networks, and all forms of unrests are the features that shape our world today. One core function of the state anywhere in the world today is primarily to ensure that the basic sovereign goods (welfare, peace and security) are provided for its citizens. This goes to say that, security is a pre-condition for any government to deliver on its promises to its people (Sarkesian, Williams and Cimbala, 2008; Nigerian Constitution, 1999).

Since the amalgamation of the Southern and the Northern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 by the British Colonial power, Nigeria has not gone to war with any of her neighbours based on available records. However, Nigeria has had constant internal threats and civil disturbances (Nigerian National Security Strategy, 2011; Akinboye & Anifowose, 2008). Nigeria indeed has grappled with so many internal squabbles and civil unrest across all regions of the country. Nigeria is currently confronting about fourteen security threats nationwide the most recent is the Indigenous People of Biafra

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 2.1

Summary of reviewed literature on National Security, Niger Delta and Boko Haram Insurgents

	Author/Year	Title	Major Objective	Area/ Aspect of Study	Methodology	Major Finding	Focus of Study
1.	Oluwaniyi, O. O. (2010)	Oil and Youth Militancy in Nigeria's Niger Delta Region	The study focused on the various reasons that were responsible for the youth involvement in the Niger Delta militancy	Oil Politics and National Security	The study made use of qualitative design using interviews and review of previous literature	Youth engagement in Niger Delta militancy as a result of negligence in socio-economic development of the region and political marginalization of the people from the region	Niger Delta
2.	Akpabio, E. M. and Akpan, N. S. (2010)	Governance and oil Politics in Nigeria's Delta: The Question of Distributive Equity	The study examined the concept of governance in relation to the distribution of oil benefits and impacts on the region.	Oil Politics	Secondary data	The findings show that poor policies, lack of accountability and transparency on the part of leadership, ethnic dominance and poor infrastructural distribution to the region as reasons for the underdevelopment of the area.	Niger Delta
3.	Babatunde, A. (2010)	Environmental Conflict and the Politics of Oil in the Oil-Bearing Areas of Nigeria's Niger Delta.	The study looked at the oil-related environmental factors and oil politics in relation to the study region.	Oil Politics	The study made use of both qualitative and quantitative design through the use of interviews and questionnaires.	The study found that government approach to the development of the region was not people-centred and participatory.	Niger Delta
4.	Umukoro, N. (2014)	Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria	The study seeks to examine the extent to	Nigeria's Fourth Republic	Made use of previous literature as source of	It was found that lack of good leadership, corruption and	Nigeria

			which the Federal Government has contributed in reducing inequality in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.		data collection	mediocrity, non-participation of the people in the design of social programs to benefits them and lack of political will as reasons for the federal government to alleviate poverty and inequality within the Nigerian system.	
5.	Aaron, K. K. and Patrick M. J. (2013)	Corporate Social Responsibility Patterns and Conflicts in Nigeria's Oil-Rich Region	The study seeks to reveal the extent to the variation in CSR policy of the Oil TNC's in the Niger Delta Region in relations to the scale of Conflicts and the intensity in the region	Oil Politics	Made use of Interview and review of previous literature	The study reveals that some of the projected were poorly completed, some were thus completed but they are not functioning, and Shell as an oil company recorded more conflicts than the other oil companies under study.	Niger Delta
6.	Aghalino, S. O. (2004)	Combating the Niger-Delta Crisis: An Appraisal of Federal Government Response to Anti-oil Protests in the Niger-Delta, 1958-2002		Oil Politics			Niger Delta
7.	Odion-Akhaine, S. (2009)	Liberal Democracy, the Democratic method and the Nigerian 2007 Elections	The paper examined the needed elements of liberalism and connotes its linkage with liberal democracy considering the failures in the 2007 general elections in Nigeria	Fourth Republic	Review of content analysis	It was found among others that, there was rigging during the 2007 general elections. As such, rigged elections do not connote the true value of liberal democracy and it's rather devalue the essentials of legitimate government.	Nigeria

8.	Yagboyaju, D. A. (2011)	Nigeria's Fourth Republic and the Challenge of a Faltering Democratization	The paper examines the issues and challenges that affect the democratic desires since the return of democracy in 1999 to the period under study 2011.	Fourth Republic	Made use of descriptive and analytical for the purpose of the study	The study found out that weak institutions are manipulated by the few individuals in power, the abuse of the rule of law, manipulations of political party's constitutions in favour of the few thereby weakening the political and democratic system in Nigeria under the fourth republic	Nigeria
9.	Awopeju, A., Adelusi, O. and Oluwashakin, A. (2012)	Zoning Formula and the Party Politics in Nigeria Democracy: A Crossroad for PDP in 2015 Presidential Election	The paper examined the posed issue of power rotation known as zoning formula and the rationality of its usage during the 2011 presidential elections and the PDP's quest for the said issue.	Fourth Republic	The study made use of content analysis	It was found that, zoning was a tool for uniting the diverse nature of the political and democratic system in Nigeria since the country's historical background; thus enriched with her diverse culture, ethnicity, religious and sectional base which relates to North and South geopolitical background.	Nigeria
10	Fatai, A. (2012)	Democracy and National Identities: The travails of National Security in Nigeria	The study examines the complex challenges bedeviling the Nigeria's democracy in relations to unfolding democratic process as they affect the national security.	National Security and Fourth Republic	Review of content analysis	The findings thus reveal that, ethnicity is the major rationale in power struggle to have a representation of one's ethnic group in the control of political affairs. Thus becoming an issue when the nation is affected by the actions of the ethnic group in	Nigeria

						question resulting to threat to national security.	
11	Agbiboa, D. E. and Maiangwa, B. (2013)	Boko Haram, Religious Violence, and the Crisis of National Identity in Nigeria: Towards a Non-killing Approach.	The study focused on seeking an approach that would address a killing to non-killing as it relates the Boko Haram attacks on the Nigerian state so as to resolve the trend of violence.	National Security	Made use of review of previous literature	The attacks from the Boko Haram group goes beyond the bombing of Churches, Mosques and the killing of people to attacks on international Institutions such as the United Nations building in Abuja on the 23 August, 2011.	Nigeria
12	Agbiboa, D. E. (2013)	Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria.	The work examined the ethno-religious conflicts with a view of obtaining a true national identity in Nigeria where peace and political stability would be obtainable.	National Security	Review of previous literature and analysis	Religion over the years in Nigeria has been the major source of divisional tool used in conflict. As such it reflects through ethnicity and posed division among the majority as well as minority ethnic groups.	Nigeria
13	Aghedo, I. and Osumah, O. (2014)	Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings.	The paper focused on the two major militancy in Nigeria in relations to solutions.	National Security and Fourth Republic	Made use of empirical data from the British Council and review of content analysis	Niger Delta militants sought their attacks on oil companies, oil facilities and military force in order to ensure their demands are been met by the government while the Boko Haram lunched attacks on the people and institutions like United Nations Building in Abuja Nigeria.	Nigeria
14	Isumonah, V. A. (2012)	Armed Society in the Niger Delta	The study seeks to examine the	Oil politics and	Extensive review of	The findings thus revealed that, lack of	Nigeria

		issues relating to control of proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Nigeria's Niger Delta.	National Security	previous studies	development of the Niger Delta Enclave led to the carrying of arms against the Nigerian government. The leaders of the states in Niger Delta rather preferred to pay strongmen to protect their personal interest rather than engage in using the public resources to develop the region. A wasteful of resources in the name of securing the region from armed gangs became the order of the day. Resolving social and political issues that led to demand for arms should be tackled by the government.		
15	Onuoha, F. C. (2016)	The Resurgence of Militancy in Nigeria's Oil-Rich Niger Delta and the Dangers of Militarization	The work examined the resurgence of militancy in the Niger Delta region and its dangers on the Nigerian national security.	National Security	Review of content analysis.	It was found that President Buhari's led government registered very little success through military enforcement in the Niger Delta. As a result, the government changed her tactics in handling the Niger Delta resurgence of militancy in the region.	Nigeria
16	Dialoke, I. & Edeja, M. S. (2016)	Effects of Niger Delta Militancy on the Economic Development	The work examined a period of ten years 2006-2016 on the effects of the	National Security	Content analysis	The findings reveal that Nigerian economy depends on the oil from the	Nigeria

		of Nigeria (2006-2016)	Niger Delta crisis in relation to the country's economic development within the period studied.			Niger Delta region. The country's security within the region is threatened due to the renewed attacks in the region.	
17	Chukwueloka, C. C. (2017).	Exploitation, hardship and corruption as impediments to Development in the Niger Delta: A Study of Kaine Agary's Yellow-yellow	The study examined corruption as the cause of hardship and backwardness in the Niger Delta.	Niger Delta	Content analysis	The study revealed that the exploitation in the Niger Delta region has led to the underdevelopment of the region. This is due to corruption in many forms.	Niger Delta
18	Ray, N. (2016).	Growing Threat of Terrorism in Africa: The Case of Boko Haram	The work focused on the Boko Haram as a case study on the growing threat of terrorism in Africa.	Boko Haram Terrorism	Content analysis	The work revealed that, terror attacks in African countries not only Nigeria, are targeted on the vulnerable public. In some cases, such attacks do affect foreigners as well and not minding the class of people affected by the attacks.	Africa



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19	Aghedo, I. and Osumah, O. (2014)	Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings	The work focused on the two groups of militancy in Nigeria to proffer suggestions for development of the Nigerian polity where it will remain relevant to its responsibilities.	Peace and Security	The use of content analysis and empirical data from the British Council as source for analytical poverty indicative	It was found that the Boko Haram attacked the United Nations building in Abuja, in 2011, August 26 for the purpose of protesting against US in assisting Nigeria against terrorism while for the Niger Delta militants sought their attacks on oil companies, oil facilities and military force. However, both groups are basically formed as a result of poor governance.	N/A
20	Basedau, M., Pfeiffer, B. and Vullers, J. (2014)	Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries.	The paper search to fill the gap to which religion is connected to armed conflict	Peace and security	Quantitative research using empirical data. The work made use of Group theory.	Religious factors could be used in fueling religious and potential armed conflict, however, issues like ethnic discrimination has a religious undertone as a the gap between identities which could serves as a tool in fueling religious conflict.	The findings suggest that many challenges and opportunities for future research on the link between Religion and conflict remain.
21	Dowd, R. A. (2014)	Religious Diversity and Religious Tolerance: Lessons from Nigeria	The paper focused on subnational variation such as religious diversity	Peace and Security	Qualitative research using in-depth interviews	Religious segregation has affected religious tolerance in Nigeria	Future research would also do well to include longitudinal studies. In other words, further studies should assess whether and how changes in the religious diversity of settings affects the tolerance content preached by the

							same religious leader across time.
22	Umukoro, N. (2014)	Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria	The paper sought to examine the Nigeria's Fourth Republic in view of a democratic government and the impact of inequality which create a wide gap between the rich and the poor, thereby increasing the high level of poverty in the Nigerian polity.	Socio-political	Use of content analysis and empirical data from previous studies	It was found that the issues that gives rise to inequality in Nigeria are: the pattern of government spending as well as cost of governance in Nigeria; lack of political commitment to good governance; lack of political participation and involvement of the citizenry in the formulation as well as implementation of the policies that affects their wellbeing; corruption in different dimensions such as converting public funds to personal/private use, diversion of resources; leadership problem; this has thus neglected the bridging of inequality gap in Nigeria	N/A
22	Hill, J. N. C (2013)	Religious Extremism in Northern Nigeria Past and Present: Parallels between the Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram	The paper examines both the past and present Islamic groups as Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram that affect the Northern Nigeria thereby causing non-peaceful existence of the North.	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis	The Boko Haram is also allegedly linked to other groups such as Al Qaeda, and Al Shabaab which operates in Somalia. They had a sanctuary in Nigeria's bordering countries such as Chad and Niger.	N/A
23	Carl LeVan, A. (2013)	Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared	The paper examines the historical background of Boko Haram and	Peace and Security	Use of Content analysis and conduct of interviews	The prosecution of Mohammed Yusuf's (Founder of Boko Haram) Killers would have paved way for resolution with the Boko Haram. Again, that the Nigerian government	N/A

			its activities as well as a comparison of the Niger-Delta militants in Nigeria.			has spent nearly a quarter of the Nation's budget on security without success. However, Amnesty was given to the Niger-Delta rebels as a solution to the crisis in the Niger-Delta Region. Some politicians had also called for the same policy to be applied to the Boko Haram group for a cease-fire.	
24	Yusuf, O. H. (2013)	Harvest of Violence: the neglect of basic rights and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria	The paper examines the gap in governance which in turn promotes an environment for the youths to be recruited as insurgents.	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis. The work made use of frustration-aggression theory as well as critical theory.	It was found that poverty breeds violence, political corruption also creates rooms for violence. The government's inability to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor has promoted an environment for the youths to be recruited into the membership of the Boko Haram group.	N/A
25	Chambers, D. B. (2013)	<i>There was A Country: Achebe's Final work</i>	The work looks at Achebe's final work with respect to Biafra civil war in Nigeria and the marginalization of the Igbo people in Nigeria	Peace and security	Book review	The Achebe's final work reviewed how the Igbo has been marginalized after the 1967-1970 civil war which the former leader sought for integration of the Igbo people into the Nigerian polity via the 'no victor, no vanquished' slogan. However, the leaders have failed because of corruption and incompetent.	N/A
26	Ekwe-Ekwe, H. (2013)	The Achebean Restoration	A comprise of Chinua Achebe's work in his famous book ' <i>Things fall Apart</i> ' to review the Biafra war of 1967-1970 and the current	Peace and Security	Book Review	That Boko Haram is everywhere in Jonathan's government, from the Executive, the Legislative and to the Judiciary, as well as the Security Forces. Also the Igbo are the most affected in the attacks launched by the Boko Haram	N/A

			attacks on the Igbo's in the Northern part of the country by the Boko Haram				
27	Hansen, W. W. and Musa, U. A. (2013)	Fanon, the Wretched and Boko Haram	Examines the concept of Wretched as a tool in explaining Boko Haram's emergence in Nigeria, while relating the Fanon's perception of the European colonization and the fight for political independence of Algerian war between 1954-1962	Peace and Security	Review of extensive literatures	Nigerian national identity suffers as a result of ethno-religious weakness rather than strong national identity.	N/A
28	Agbiboa, D. E. (2013)	Ethno-religious Conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria	To examine the Nigerian state with the view of having a true national identity within a country with persistent of ethno-religious conflict that often turned into violence	Peace and Security	Extensive review of previous literature. The work made use of social identity theory.	Religion is the major tool used in the division of the people while past leaders like Ibrahim Babangida used it in registering Nigeria under the Organization of Islamic Country (OIC) and thus undermined the fact that Nigeria is a multi-religious country rather than placing her as a single religious country. The issue of ethnicity and marginalization of minority ethnic groups remains a problem to national identity	N/A
29	Agbiboa, D. E. and Maiangwa, B. (2013)	Boko Haram, Religious Violence, and the Crisis of	To seek an approach from a killing to non-	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis. The work made use of non-killing theory.	Boko Haram attacks goes beyond killing and bombing of Churches as in the case of St. Theresa's Catholic	N/A

		National Identity in Nigeria: Towards a Non-killing Approach	killing with the view of resolving the trend of violence in Northern Nigeria			Church in Madala, Suleja Local Government Area of Niger State to attack on International Institutions such as United Nations building in Abuja on the 23 August, 2011. Many diplomats and Nigerian citizens working with the UN in Abuja were killed from that attack.	
30	Bartusevicius, H. (2013)	The Inequality-Conflict nexus Re-examined: Income, Education and Popular Rebellions	It focused on bridging the gap between inequality and popular rebellions	Peace and Security	Use of empirical data and review of previous literature. Theory of relative deprivation was used in the research work.	The study shows that people are motivated to carry arms when they are unequal in terms of lack of access to education, health facilities and as well as social services. It also includes lack of opportunity to participate in politics.	Further studies should consider controlling for the distribution of income Whenever the role of the absolute income in conflict is analyzed.
31	Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012)	Beyond the Equator There are No Sins: Coloniality and Violence in Africa.	The study examines the issues related to violence in Africa through the periods of pre-colonial, colonial, as well as post-colonial while relating to Congo, the German colonial genocide and South African neo-apartheid.	Peace and Security	Content analysis	It was found among others, that violence in African countries emulates from differences in races, ethnicities, tribes and regions while an understanding of violence is brought into knowledge tracing the colonial, post-colonial and the understanding of violence between the capitalist and the socialist ideologies.	N/A
32	Solomon, H. (2012)	Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria	The paper examines the root causes why the present administration finds it difficult	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis	It was found that the deep problems of countering the Boko Haram attacks goes more difficult as the group has her sympathizers are right within the Jonathan's government: some in the executive arm of	N/A

			in obtaining successful counter-terrorism approach to Boko Haram's attacks on the Nigerian polity.			government, some in the legislative arm of government and as well as the Judiciary arm which becomes so difficult. It is also noted that the armed forces and as well as the police are also infiltrated by the Boko Haram and such people could be known as their sympathizers of the group.	
33	Onapajo, H., Uzodike, U. O., and Whetho, A. (2012)	Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria: The International dimension	The work examines the Boko Haram and its nature of terrorism, it also seek to study the international links of Boko Haram.	Peace and Security	Content Analysis	It was found among others that, the Boko Haram has members outside Nigeria from countries such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Sudan. Also that the Boko Haram is worse than the Nigerian civil war 1967-1970.	N/A
34	Salaam, A. O. (2012)	Boko Haram: Beyond Religious Fanaticism	The paper examines some of the factors responsible to the youths vulnerability to insurgency in Nigeria	Peace and Security	Content analysis used	It was found that poverty, mass illiteracy, endemic corruption, unemployment, as well as socio-political marginalization are the factors which necessitated the availability of youths to engage in insurgency activities in Nigeria.	N/A
35	Isumonah V. A. (2013)	Armed Society in the Niger Delta	The paper examines the issues relating to control of proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Nigeria's Niger Delta.	Peace and Security	Extensive review of previous Literature	It was found that lack of development of the Niger Delta region led to the carrying of arms against the government. The leaders of the Niger Delta States rather preferred to pay strongmen to protect their personal interest rather than engage in using the public resources to develop the region. A wasteful of resources in the name of securing the region from armed gangs became the order of the day. Resolving social and political issues	N/A

						that led to demand for arms should tackled by the government.	
36	Magbadelo, J. O. (2012)	Defence Transformation in Nigeria: A critical Issue for National Security concerns	The paper focused on the transformation of Nigeria's defence in meeting the security challenges and the essence of securing the Nigerian state.	Peace and Security	Review of previous literature.	The need to reposition the military to meet up the current challenges in securing the country requires re-equipping the military institution and implementing the a transformed military force would help in self-guarding the nation	N/A
37	Aghedo, I. (2012)	Winning the War, Losing the Peace: Amnesty and the Challenges of Post-Conflict Peace-Building in the Niger Delta, Nigeria	The paper examines the no war, no peace as related to the Niger Delta region and the programmes of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).	Peace and security	Use of content analysis	It was found that environmental insecurity, lack of Development of the region as well as human right violations were the reasons behind the Niger Delta crisis which the youths took arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria.	N/A
38	Rakodi, C. (2012)	Inter-Religious Violence and its Aftermath: Insights from Indian and Nigerian Cities	The paper seek to study the aftermath of inter-religious violence in the context of Christianity, Islam and Hinduism using two countries Nigeria and India	Peace and Security	Extensive literature review and use of data collection from previous research projects on the said subject.	It was found that inter-religious conflict occurs as result as different religious beliefs. It is then used as tool in the quest for power and resource control. This has caused destruction of properties and killing of people who are basically motivated by politicians for political gains haven known that region can serve as a tool to separate the masses. Since people with different identities stay together in complex environment.	N/A

39	Waldek, L. and Jayasekara, S. (2011)	Boko Haram: the evolution of Islamist Extremism in Nigeria	The work focuses on an overview of the Boko Haram origin, its structure and as well as their activities in Nigeria	Peace and Security	Use of content analysis	It was found that members of Boko Haram got weapons through Chad, Niger and Cameroon. They do engage in activities such as bombing, usage of suicide bombing which has to do with the use of explosive detonation. There is a need to address the deep rooted problems in ethnic and religious faces.	N/A
40	Jackson, A. (2007)	Nigeria: A Security Overview	It focuses on the role of Nigeria in regional peacekeeping and that of ECOWAS, as well as the security challenges in Nigeria.	Peace and Security	Content analysis	The ECOWAS countries suffer as a result of poor governance and weak institutions Security challenges are factored as a product of government's failure to deliver basic services, as well as corruption, unemployment, poverty, crisis between the Christians and Muslim as threat to Nigeria's security.	N/A
41	Tando, Y. (2004)	Economic Policy and Conflict in Africa	Examines the linkages between economic policy and conflict in African.	Political economy, Peace and Security	Use of Content analysis	When the interest of the African people is protected by the government, then unity can be sustained.	N/A

Appendix B

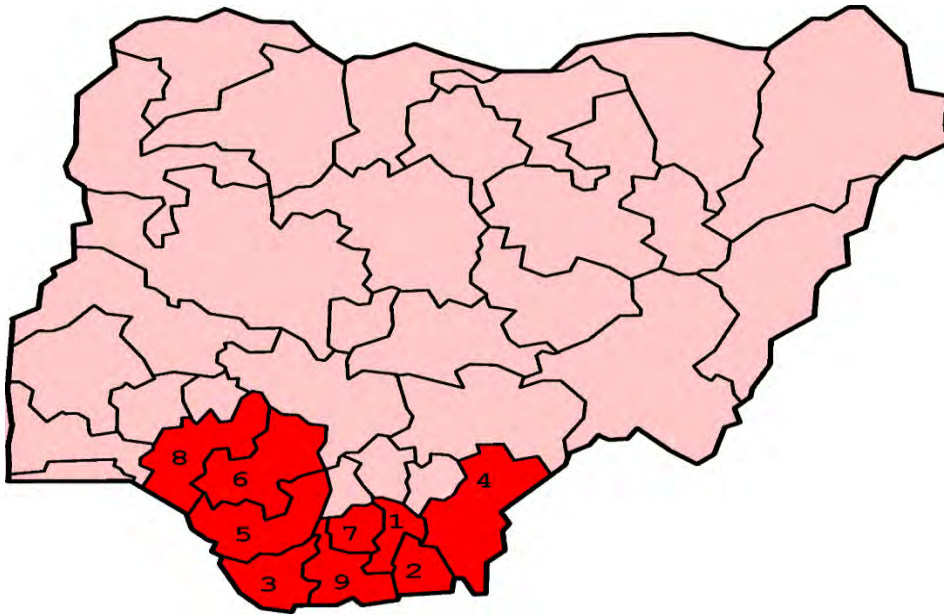
Comparison between North and South Poverty

10 states with population absolute poverty (Northern State)			10 states with population in absolute poverty (Southern states)	
S/N	State	%	State	%
1	Jigawa	74.1	Bayelsa	47.7
2	Kebbi	72.0	Akwa-Ibom	53.7
3	Adamawa	74.2	Cross Rivers	52.9
4	Plateau	74.1	Anambra	56.8
5	Yobe	73.0	Imo	50.5
6	Zamfara	70.8	Ekiti	52.4
7	Gombe	74.2	Oyo	51.8
8	Bauchi	73.0	Osun	37.9
9	Sokoto	81.2	Lagos	48.6
10	Borno	55.1	Ondo	45.7

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2012).

Appendix C

Map of Nigeria showing States affected by Niger Delta Militancy



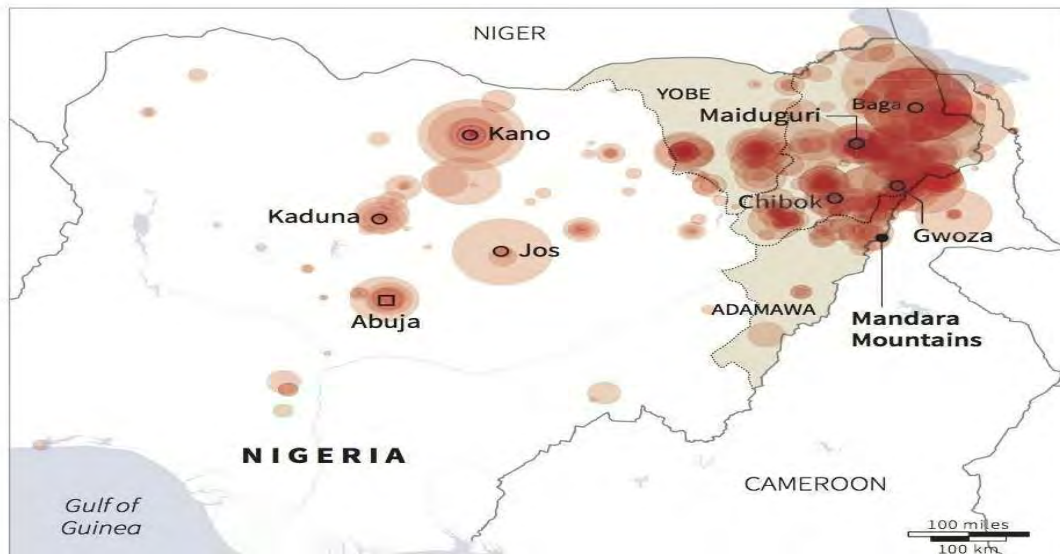
Source: www.en.wikipedia.org



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Appendix D

Map of Nigeria showing the states affected by Boko Haram attacks



Source: Armed conflict Location and Event Data Project Created by Prof. Clionadh Raleigh, University of Sussex.



Appendix E

Gas flaring in the Niger Delta



Source: www.justiceinnigerianow.org/jinn/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/nigeria-flaring.jpg



Appendix F

Niger Delta Militants Ready to launch an attack.



Source: Laccino (2015).



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Appendix G

Gas flaring in the Niger Delta



Source: www.freedomonline.com.ng/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/gas_flaring.jpg



Appendix H

Environmental Pollution by Burst Pipeline



Air Pollution by burst oil pipeline. **Source:** World of Matter (2013).



Appendix I

List of Interviewees

Prof. Yusuf A. Zoaka. Head, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Abuja. 12th of April, 2016.

Mr. Johnson Ikyernum. Community Consultant, Port Harcourt, Rivers State. 20th of April, 2016.

Dr. Frank Terhemba Abagen. Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Benue State University. 3rd of May, 2016.

Dr. Terver Akpa. Department of Political Science, Benue State University. 30th of May, 2016.

Hon. Emma Kwenam. Chairman House Committee (Army), Federal House of Representatives, Abuja. 15th of June, 2016.

Ali, Kazon and Ibrahim, Military Rehabilitation Camp, Minna. June 26th, 2016.

Senator Emmanuel Bwacha. Senator Representing Taraba South constituency of Taraba State, at National Assembly, Abuja. 25th of July, 2016.

Dr. Sam Eyem. Community Leader & Consultant, Delta State. 10th of August, 2016.

Dr. Steve Akpo. Department of Economics, Delta State University. 12th of August, 2016.

Dr. Mohammed Gori. Communication Expert, Arewa Consultative Forum (Northern Nigeria Think Tank). 25th August, 2016.

Prof. Mohammed M. Wader. Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Abuja. 27th August, 2016.

Col. Mohammed Inuwa. Senior Lecturer, Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna, Nigeria. A Bradford Fellow. 30th August, 2016.

Danjuma Kabiru. A Professor of Political Sciences, Nigeria Defence Academy, Kaduna. 2nd September, 2016.

Col. Yomi Gbadebo. Commander, Operation Lafiya Dole, Maiduguri, Borno State. 3rd September, 2016.

Capt. NB Abdusalam. A platoon commander, Operation Lafiya Dole, Yola, Adamawa State. 4th September, 2016.

Preye Keremowei. Leader, Ijaw Youth council, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, Niger Delta 6th of Sept, 2016.

Gambo Mohammed. Commander, Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), Maiduguri, Borno State. 9th Sept, 2016.

