



Insurgency and Threat to National Security: Examining the New Media's Propagation of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria

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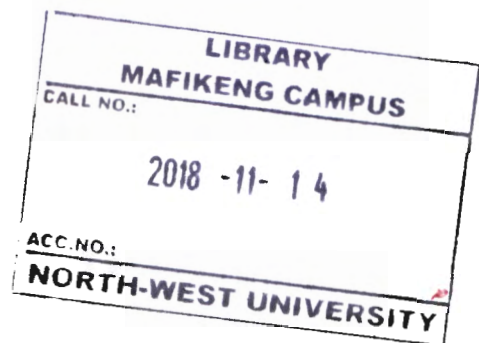
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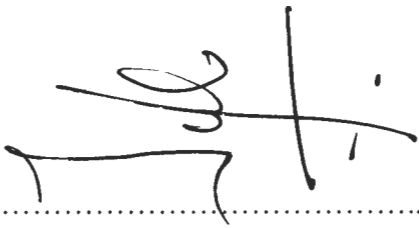
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of research conducted by me. I wish to state that no previous work has been done on this research title. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. This research was carried in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations in the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, North-West University, Mafikeng Campus, South Africa.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty for his all-encompassing support and to my parents - High Chief Augustine Oghenevwogaga Uloho (Osio r' Igho of the Ughelli Kingdom) and Chief Mrs. Ebun Clara Uloho (The Otemu of the Ughelli Kingdom). King of kings, I give you all the glory.

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ABSTRACT

Terrorist sects have recently littered the world with their activities, and affected countries keep tackling them with minimal external intervention, most of the time, due to some implications for national security. Boko Haram, like many of the terrorist sects, has been difficult to eradicate, and has incessantly tested and threatened the territorial integrity of Nigeria where it majorly operates through asymmetrical warfare. Activities of Boko Haram include killing, bombing, arson, and abduction, recently, of more than 200 school girls from Chibok in Borno State. The seriousness of the issue since its emergence in 2002 provoked intervention of the Nigerian military and a cooperative alliance with neighboring Lake Chad Basin Commission countries in the form of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF). The News of, and about Boko Haram therefore become highly sought after by the general public, and the new media is at the front of providing it. As the new media in Nigeria evolves, there is a domestic and global appeal for news on Boko Haram through many of its platforms. New media has incredible influence on the audience because of the advantages and ease with which it is used for shaping, accessing and disseminating contested and controversial information. As a result, this study aims at investigating the threats posed by the operations of Boko Haram to the sovereignty of the Nigerian state in view of the fact that information about the sect is available to the public through media representations of their activities. The study explores how the new media has handled the activities of the Boko Haram through reporting, analysis, feedback and watchdog means, viz a viz the implications that the handling has for Nigeria's National Security. The methodology used is qualitative, and was explored by the means of thematic analysis of data garnered through in-depth interviews and focused group discussions. Upon the major finding he the study draws conclusions and recommendations that are invaluable to the public, Nigerian government, international community and media houses in dealing with Boko Haram and other emerging terrorist sects with a similar ideology and approach.

According to the study, terrorism has taken a new dimension and evolved from old to new. The reasons behind the emergence of Boko Haram are numerous but religion ranks uppermost compared to other causal factors. While religion cannot majorly be distanced from both old and new terrorism, the issue of globalization is seen as a precursor and cogent

partner of new terrorism. Based on this study, new terrorism is very broad and has been explored to encompass aviation terrorism, territorial expansion, nuclear weapons, among others.

On the other hand, the reportage of Boko Haram related operations on new media platforms have been distorted and fabricated due to the lack of filtration on new media platforms. This implies that anybody can post any information based on their personal view about Boko Haram or any of their attacks and this can be circulated as a valid or current trending information via the new media to meet up with the demands of the international community and society. Such information are capable of further inciting hate, division, creating fear in the society and making terrorism attractive to some people who can become misguided and overwhelmed by the activities of Boko Haram.

Furthermore, the study elucidated the effect of deaths and migration as a result of Boko Haram activities on migration and brain drain in Nigeria. More people are being compelled to move to more peaceful and less hostile environments in the quest for absolute security. The abduction of women and children have led to an increase in refugee population in and outside Nigeria. The increase in refugees is a distraction to the government as it does not only drain the country financially but also cripples economic activities within. In addition, potential investors are unknowingly been deterred from visiting or investing in Nigeria.

Nigeria should be able to resolve any internal crisis that is geared towards usurping its oneness and unity. Insurgency related operations should be combated and decimated to avoid a total break of peace and law in Nigeria. An anarchical system would further deepen the divides and challenges that Nigeria is currently faced with. Thus, the Nigerian government has to do more to encourage the use of ICT by its citizenry; proper sensitization and education on how one can filter information circulated on new media and other media platforms should be carried out as it will help in the validity and legitimacy of information found online. Furthermore, in a bid to eradicate Boko Haram and other insurgent groups, the Nigerian government should look at poverty alleviation, tackling corruption and maladministration. The Nigerian government has to come up with more vibrant and thorough laws which will help the country move forward. This simply implies that the constitution has to be reviewed and reworked to address the inequalities in Nigeria.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

APC	All Progressives Congress
AQIM	al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
AU	African Union
BH	Boko Haram
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
DHQ	Defence Headquarters
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSM	Global System for Mobile communication
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IED	Improvised Explosive Devices
IDP	Internally Displaced People
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
IYC	Ijaw Youth Council
JRC	Joint Revolutionary Council
JTF	Joint Task Force

LGAs	Local Government Areas
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	Nigerian Communication Commission
NDLEA	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NDV	Niger Delta Vigilante
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NIA	National Intelligence Agency
NIS	Nigeria Immigration Service
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NSA	National Security Agency
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
PDP	People's Democratic Party
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
SSS	State Security Service
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations

USA	United States of America
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study

Terrorism seems to be evolving in certain parts of the world such as the Middle East and Africa irrespective of the global fight against it. In Africa, certain regions have been affected by terrorism; West African countries such as Nigeria, Niger, and Mali are currently battling Islamic terrorism in the form of Boko Haram and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Ridley, 2014:147). Due to the permeability of national borders, Cameroon and Chad in central Africa have also been affected by the menace of Boko Haram (United Nations, 2015a). In East Africa, Kenya, Somalia and very recently Tanzania, have been exposed to the threat of al-Shabaab which is also a religious terrorist sect (LeSage, 2014: 7). Daily News (2015) reported that the end of the al-Qaddafi regime led to a significant rise in terrorist operations in Libya. Currently, Southern Africa is the only region on the African which is directly unaffected by terrorism though former soldiers of the South African Defence Force have been alleged to work as mercenaries for the Nigerian government in the fight against Boko Haram (The Times, 2015).

Islamic terrorists have been ruthless in their attacks against societies in which they operate. According to Queen Noor (2005: 120), “the greatest injustices in human history occur when people believe so strongly in their own ideology that they are willing to hurt others in its name.” In reality, some people still find it difficult to contend with terrorism as a potential global threat because certain countries are unaffected by these waves of terrorism. Meanwhile, Crenshaw (2007: 2) argues that Islamic terrorism has solidified its position as the most deadly and prevalent form of violence that the world has witnessed until now, while civilians remain the greatest casualties of such terrorism.

Over the years, violent and terrorist sects have been formed under the guise of religions such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam (Perlmutter, 2003:5). These sects encourage

terrorism under the guise of safeguarding the doctrines of their religion (Berman, 2011: 7). While Islamic terrorism has been mainly focused on the Jihadi insurgency against the government and society, most attacks carried out by Christian sects have been milder and in direct retaliation to attacks by Muslims on Christians (Olukya, 2014). For instance, on 17 June 2014, almost 50 people were killed when Christian youths responded to the bombing of churches and the killings of fellow Christians by Boko Haram in Zaria, Nigeria (CNN, 2012). In this instance, some Christian youths were referred to as advocates of Christian extremism because of the retaliatory attack carried out in response to attacks perpetrated by Boko Haram. But Christian extremism rarely occurs and attacks carried out in the name of Christianity are not as rampant as those of Islamic terrorism. Baqai, (2011: 242) explains that certain sects are violent and radical in terms of their approach but do not venture into deliberate killings and bombings which indiscriminately target civil society.

According to Matusitz (2014:150), in the past, other forms of uncommon religious terrorism such as Sikh Terrorism and Saffron terrorism also known as Hindu Terrorism have occurred in India. Nevertheless, Islamic terrorism remains the most widely talked about religious terrorism in the world because it targets the society: government and public (Smith, 2007:39). Groups such as al Qaeda, the Taliban, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram are some of the notorious Islamic terrorist groups in the world at the moment (US Department of State, 2014). The emergence of new sects seems to be inexorable as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is one of the most recent Islamic terrorist groups to have emerged. ISIS has been heavily involved in the Syrian crisis and it gets recruits from countries such as Chechnya and China (Aljazeera, 2014a). Iolnews (2014) report that three South Africans were killed while fighting for ISIS in Syria. Thus, it is very likely that more recruits are joining from South Africa and other countries.

In Africa, groups such as Boko Haram and al-Shabaab are predominantly active and lethal. Islamic terrorists remain determined to expand their network through splinter groups and the emergence of new religious terrorist groups in Africa (The Times, 2012). Specifically, Boko Haram has gained notoriety as the most widely talked about Islamic terrorist group in Africa because of the spate of killings which has also affected countries such as Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. Boko Haram's operations are signs that Islamic terrorism is

developing and new trends of terrorism will emerge, especially in African countries that have not yet experienced terrorism. Nigeria has been struggling to tackle Boko Haram despite its military prowess in West Africa. Onapajo, Uzodike and Whetho, (2012: 337) argue that Boko Haram has international links with a broader agenda and plan which includes total political and economic control of Nigeria. Some scholars contend that the few successes in tackling Boko Haram in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria have been as a result of the regional alliance by countries such as Chad, Niger and Cameroun (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015a).

As a result of Islamic terrorism, Islam is now perceived as a very radical religion which encourages extreme violence and terrorism. Cordoba Foundation (2010: 8) contends that the context of the Islamic faith has been misconstrued and this has led to criticism and Islamophobia. While Islamic terrorism is no longer a new occurrence in North-Eastern Nigeria, it is yet to be experienced in other geo-political areas in Nigeria apart from the bombings which occurred in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria (Voice of America, 2014). It has been the basic practice of terrorists to kidnap, destroy and kill for purposes of attracting attention and terrorizing Nigerian society. Lately, the scheme of operation by Boko Haram has become more forceful and shifted away from the basic patterns of operation. "Groups that cannot win in conventional war use un-conventional means to strike terror behind the battle lines" (Singer, 2005). For instance, children who were not previously involved in Boko Haram's activities are now used to perpetrate attacks in Nigerian society (Human Rights Watch, 2013). This is a significant shift from the old system of using men and women as suicide bombers instead of children. The use of children by terrorist groups raises concern because it is almost impossible to extrapolate terrorists from the midst of millions of children. Another area where children have been involved in terrorism in Nigeria is through abduction and kidnapping of children for purposes of sexual gratification and coerced marriage. Singer (2005) asserts that young girls are forced into marriages with terrorists. This has a long term impact on young girls in the affected areas because they cannot extricate themselves from such a web for fear of being kidnapped or killed by terrorists.

In Nigeria, terrorism was not anticipated to evolve so rapidly and grow to become a threat to both national and human security. Most of the prominent attacks which occurred in the past could not be totally understood, predicted or contained (Crenshaw, 2007:1). It is in the light of this unpredictability that researchers observed that “Nigeria has had a long and unfortunate history of communal conflicts and ethno-religious violence” (Walker, 2012: 2). Ethnic and communal clashes still occur but apparently militancy and terrorism occur more regularly. Nigeria is one of many multi-religious states in Africa with high number of Christian and Muslim devotees. For instance, the Islamic religion has been practiced for a long time in certain parts of Nigeria and it said to have existed as far back as the powerful empires of West Africa so many years ago (Korieh and Nwokeji, 2005: 30). Like Christianity, Islam is an imported religion introduced to Nigeria by traders and scholars who travelled far and wide (Falola and Heaton, 2008: 30). Despite the popularity of Islam in Nigeria, it is not practised all over the country because certain parts of Nigeria still worship their traditional deities and practice other religions such as Christianity. Falola and Genova (2009: 174) state that about 50% of Nigerians are Muslims and they are mainly residents of the Northern and South-Western parts of the country. According to Chidabell (2013:175), Nigeria was declared an Islamic state by the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida in 1985. Since this declaration, Nigeria has been portrayed as an Islamic state, irrespective of the existence of other religions.

Christian affiliations can be traced to the era of colonialism when European missionaries introduced Christianity to the indigenous people of Nigeria (Falola and Heaton, 2008: 87). Christianity has also become extensively spread over the decades, particularly in the Southern region of Nigeria. Shortly after Nigeria gained independence, there was a tussle for leadership and supremacy which resulted in various coups orchestrated by military personnel. According to Falola and Heaton (2008: 172), the first military coup which occurred on January 15, 1966, was carried out to put an end to misuse of power and corruption.

For a long time, the military was in control of political and economic power in Nigeria and the military dictators who ruled Nigeria were mainly Muslims from the Northern part. For the first time in many years, Nigeria has enjoyed a stable and uninterrupted democratic

government since 1999 (CLEEN Foundation, 2014:13). As a matter of fact, the Southern part of Nigeria has produced two presidents since 1999, including President Olusegun Obasanjo. However, power briefly went back to the North in 2007 when the late President Umaru Musa Yar-Adua became the head of state. President Goodluck Jonathan who also hails from Southern Nigeria, was vice-president under the Yar-Adua regime and later became president from 2010 to 2015, after the demise of his predecessor.

1.1.1. Terrorism

For the purposes of this research, terrorism is defined as a severe form of crime whereby entities and individuals are targeted with the intent to kidnap, destroy, and kill for the purpose of infusing fear and achieving set aims by another entity. In terrorist cases, gratification is achieved through continuous and extreme violence.

Setty (2011:1) affirms that there is an ongoing challenge in the study of terrorism because there is no universally accepted definition for it. In the past, some forms of terrorism have been accepted as struggles for rights, liberation, equity and democracy. “The backbone of the international anti-terrorism framework comprises the sectoral treaties, which address most forms of terrorism. Generally, these get round the absence of an agreed definition by criminalizing particular acts without any reference to terrorism” (Samuel, 2013:23). In 2005, Kofi Annan, the UN secretary-general at that time, stressed the need for a global definition of terrorism and advised political leaders of various countries to work towards a universal definition (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2005a). However, irrespective of how terrorism has been defined, there are still those basic elements of violence and killing which are fundamental attributes of terrorism. Saul (2005:141) states that the UN’s “non-binding Council definition of late 2004 fails to remedy the serious difficulties caused by the lack of an operational definition in Council practice.” This means that even the UN as an intergovernmental organization lacks a working definition for terrorism. Saul (2005:141) further explains that events post 9/11 resulted in the use of several approaches by the UN in tackling terrorism and states were advised to define terrorism to suit national laws. This has subsequently led to elastic definitions of terrorism by different states and agencies. For instance, the US State Department defines terrorism as a “premeditated,

politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience” (National Institute of Justice, 2011). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 1986 definition of terrorism is still the most commonly adopted to date in the US (Forst, Greene and Lynch, 2011:43). FBI defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1996: 3).

In line with the UN’s directives, the complexity of terrorism in Nigeria warranted the need for an understanding of terrorism within the Nigerian context (Saul, 2005:141). There was need for the government to come up with a suitable definition for terrorism, which would enable the state to distinguish between mere acts of violence and terrorism because Nigeria has been experiencing terrorism in different forms since the 9/11 attacks. Some sects claim to be involved in the struggle for the development of the oil rich Niger-Delta region of Nigeria and do not consider themselves terrorists. Consequently, they have been branded freedom fighters and militants. Research has however shown that most of their attacks were against the Nigerian state and the international community because these militants kidnapped and killed both local and foreign workers. The militants also breached international laws through the hijacking of vessels which belonged to international shipping companies. Oil pipelines were not spared as the vandalism of oil pipelines skyrocketed and this invariably affected the daily oil production in Nigeria. Furthermore, proceeds from oil theft were used by the militants to buy weapons and fund their operations against the Nigerian government.

In 2011, an anti-terrorism bill was passed by the Nigerian National assembly. According to Awotoye (2013:32):

Nigeria defines a terrorist as anyone who is involved or who causes an attack upon a person’s life which may cause serious bodily harm or death; kidnapping of a person; destruction to a government or public facility, transport system, an infrastructural facility including an information system, a fixed platform located on the intercontinental shelf, public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss.

This bill was amended in 2013 because of the semantic shortfalls which were not included in the first bill that was passed by the National Assembly.

1.1.2. New Terrorism

In this study, the term 'new terrorism' will be constantly mentioned to complement terrorism. Njoku (2011) explains that terrorism is closely interwoven and highly influenced by globalization. The use of the media and various technologies in terrorism can be attributed to globalization which has made the world become smaller for the phenomenon of terrorism. In turn, terrorism has become more dreadful and generated more impact after an attack has been carried out. Hence, the major targets in the 9/11 attacks were the World Trade centre and the Pentagon which both have a strong global significance because of the USA position as a hegemonic super power (Njoku, 2011). However, in differentiating between new and old terrorism, new terrorism is more closely linked to globalization because it has been fueled by factors such as the media and technology which are key attributes of globalization (Neumann, 2009:4). On the other hand, old terrorism did not have the hold over space and technological innovations.

According to Spencer (2006:2), the concept of new terrorism started in the mid 1990's and was portrayed through the objectives, characteristics and use of weaponry involved in terrorism. New terrorism is believed to have different characteristics such as weapons in nuclear, biological and chemical forms (Neumann, 2009:1). "Terrorists commit lethal acts of violence in order to realize their goals and advance their causes. They have a mixed record of success" (Nacos, 2003:1). Uninterrupted, terrorism has evolved over the years and this morphing has culminated in a shift in the dynamics of terrorism. Morgan (2004:29) is incisive and explains that the 9/11 attack is very significant in the history of terrorism because it announced the arrival of new visage of terrorism: a phenomenon and emergence which had a global impact. In affirmation of Morgan's argument, terrorism was given more prominent focus after 9/11 because new counter-terrorism policies and definitions of terrorism came into existence after 9/11.

Neumann (2009:1) states that shortly before 9/11, terrorism appeared to have taken a different dimension from the usual planned brutal attacks to a more advanced form which

had no restrictions regarding the weaponry that was used. Tucker (2001:1) contends that new terrorism is “reputedly distinguished from the old by a new structure, a new kind of personnel, and a new attitude toward violence. The new structure is a network, facilitated by information technology.” Thus, development in technology has been concurrent with the revolution of terrorism. Cyber technology presently has a huge role in new terrorism as the internet is used in the dissemination of messages and materials for public perusal.

Uloho (2013:4) suggests that new terrorism is not just about the application of new methods, cell networks and the use of new forms of technology because the operational location of terrorist activities also distinguishes between new and old terrorism. Years ago, it was not common for terrorists to operate outside certain geographical locations because of limitations in technology and the media. But the dynamics have changed and terrorism has now become transnational because terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda currently operate internationally. On the other hand, a new form of religious terrorism has emerged which is more audacious, vicious and does not wholly require the support of any state for it to be operational (Benjamin, Hoffman, Paz, Roy, and Simon, 2000:156). Consequently, the existence and operations of Boko Haram in Nigeria could be considered as new terrorism as its *modus operandi* meets the aforementioned criteria.

1.1.3. Boko Haram Activities

Boko Haram began in Maiduguri (North-Eastern Nigeria) as a branch of a radical Islamist youth group who were opposed to Islamic institutions and the city of Maiduguri because of corrupt practices which were considered incorrigible (Walker, 2012:3). Chotia (2012) explains that the name Boko Haram was used by residents of Maiduguri: the original name of the group is *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad*, which means people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and jihad. Harmon (2014, 122) argues that “the Nigerian press gave the group a series of nicknames, including *Yusufiyya*, after its leader Mohammed Yusuf, a Nigerian Taliban, and finally Boko Haram, which translates as “Western culture is forbidden,” or “Western education is a sin.” Founded in 2002, Boko Haram was formed and led by Mohammed Yusuf who was a high school dropout. Yusuf became radicalized in Chad and Niger where he studied the Qur'an (Harmon, 2014, 122). Chotia (2012) concludes that the aim of BH is to form an Islamic state with the

ultimate agenda of taking over the control of government in Nigeria. “Boko Haram regards the Nigerian state as being run by non-believers, even when the country had a Muslim president” (Chotia, 2012). Corruption and poor governance are some notable reasons behind BH insurgency and were also key factors in the emergence of Boko Haram. Boko Haram was connected with violent outbursts as early as in 2003; the first suspected killing by Boko Haram was the 2007 attack on a Muslim cleric, Sheikh Ja’afar Mahmoud Adam; who was assassinated because of his open criticism of the group’s philosophy (Walker, 2012:4). Thereafter, several clashes with law enforcement agencies ensued.

According to Harmon (2014: 123), Mohammed Yusuf was against Western education and Western perspectives, but he did not relent in using Western technology such as automatic weapons, motorcycles, mobile phones, medicine and the media in the spread of his dogma. Hollingsworth & Kemedi (2015:205) assert that Boko Haram’s battle has become more refined because of the use of social media in disseminating information and garnering support in the society. Does this not defeat the purpose of “Western education is a sin”? Actually, such deployment of gadgetry and sophistication remains a conundrum because of the consistent use of technology by Boko Haram. For instance, most social media platforms are linked to the West and made through Western education and technology.

The recruitment of new members was not an issue because of the high level of poverty and lack of jobs which made so many people to join Boko Haram (Belcher, 2014). Basically, unemployment, corruption and poverty made recruitment an easy task for Boko Haram. For instance, thugs who were hired by politicians during elections to coerce the electorate and deliver votes ended up joining the sect once they were abandoned by politicians who had no further use of them after the elections (Smith, 2015: 84). According to Agbiboa (2013:65), Boko Haram’s attacks were not consistent or directly aimed at the society prior to 2009. Nonetheless, the sect became more deadly and destructive from 2009 as it went on a rampage targeting civilians, government agencies, mosques and churches. One of the major attacks that underlined Boko Haram as an international terrorist group was the attack on the UN’s building in Abuja which resulted in the injury of 120 and the death of 23 people respectively (OECD, 2013:101).

1.1.4. National Security

People feel insecure in Nigeria because of various security challenges such as Boko Haram. “National security is a concept that can be used to explore the characteristics of the ideal state from a human perspective and make it happen by pragmatic governance” (Paleri, 2008: 8). Conventionally, the security of the people and the physical protection of the state whereby national honour is also protected can be referred to as national security (Watson, 2008: 32). Watson further explains that apart from human security, other elements such as health security and economic stability amongst others, also encapsulate national security. In the past, the sovereignty of Nigeria has been threatened because of the operations of some insurgent groups. These insurgent groups have carried out attacks directly against the state and against the international community. The Niger-Delta struggle was a direct setback to the Nigerian economy because of the reduction in oil production due to the destruction of oil pipelines by militants (Adelugba and Ujomu, 2008: 38). Similarly, the Boko Haram insurgency has caused a major problem in Nigeria because of the spate of attacks resulted in crippling certain socio-economic activities in parts of Nigeria. For instance, a state of emergency was declared in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states in the Northern region of Nigeria (Aljazeera, 2014b). The affected states have had an influx of undocumented foreigners due to the permeability of their borders which is considered a direct threat to national security because of the inestimable potential danger it portends. “The concept of national security in recent times now includes: social, economic, cultural, technological and political considerations” (Ogah, 2011:74).

1.2. Statement of the problem

Although insurgency had been existing in various forms in Nigeria before 2002; that of Boko Haram is quite serious and has endured over a period longer than any other insurgency's in the country's history, and causing more mayhem than anyone else ever recorded. CLEEN Foundation (2014:13) asserts that the aim of Boko Haram is to fight against Western education and impose Sharia laws all over Nigeria in accordance with certain Jihadi dogmas. The sect has pursued this dogma with increasing violent activities in the last one decade in the face of Nigeria soldiers' inability to counter their fire power. Consequently, media response to, and about Boko Haram and its various activities

become highly sought after by the general public, and the new media is at the front of providing it. Put differently, as the new media in Nigeria evolves, there is a domestic and global appeal for news on Boko Haram through its platforms, and it has duly responded to it. According to Logan (2010:5) new media “as the ability to combine text, audio, digital video, interactive multimedia, virtual reality, the Web, email, chat, a cell phone, a PDA such as the Palm Pilot or BlackBerry, computer applications, and any source of information accessible by a personal computer.” The New Media is unique in the sense that it does not only allow the public to access information on issues, it also allows them to react and give feedbacks. Unlike its conventional counterpart, the New Media is also characterised by shaping, accessing and disseminating contested and controversial information with relative ease and this makes it have incredible influence on the Nigerian public audience.

Old media is deeply rooted and cannot be overhauled or totally replaced over time even if they become weakened because of their relevance to societal changes and development (Faber & Stafford, 2015: 5). Thus, old media is defined as those basic forms of media which existed before the advent of the internet. For instance, the print media, radio and television are standard forms of the old media. Although, Natale (2016:13) argues that the old media are media forms that are gradually been decimated and fading away in the present times that we live in. But, operations of the New Media is almost unregulated, allowing untrained and sometimes unidentified actors to disseminate and analyse information through the use of devices such as the Facebook, the Twitter, Whatsapp and Instagram. This no doubt can raise certain issues regarding the national security of the country. Of note in the recent time is that the New Media is now spiraling out of control in the sense that it is occurring in different forms and diverse patterns which have never been experienced before (Ford, Italiano, and Post Wires, 2014). The new media reports how children are used as suicide bombers by Boko Haram, women and girls are kidnapped and raped, religious houses and western educational institutions and civilizations are attacked and there is a rapidly rising perception regarding Islam as an extremist religion which promotes violence and killings. It is in this line that the current study intends to explore the various means through which the New Media handles the activities of the Boko Haram in Nigeria, in a bid to establish the implications on Nigeria’s national security and, more specifically, in order to further understand the nature and character of the Boko Haram

activities of in Nigeria, intellectualize how the New Media has, through posts on its different platforms, handled the activities of the Boko Haram, as well as the implications of such handling on Nigeria's national security.

1.3 Main Objectives

The main objective of this study is to critically examine how the New Media's handling of Boko Haram activities impacts on the security of the Nigerian state. Specific objectives are:

1.4 Specific Objectives

1. To holistically explore the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria
2. To examine how the New Media has handled Boko Haram activities through posts on its different platforms?
3. To establish the implications of the such handling of Boko Haram activities on the national security of Nigeria

1.5 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer three basic research questions:

1. What is the holistic nature of Boko Haram activities in Nigeria?
2. How has the New Media handled the Boko Haram activities through posts on its different platforms?
3. What are the implications of such handling on the national security of Nigeria?

1.6 Rationale of the study

A study of this nature is necessary at this opportune time when, in the face of proliferation of the use of the New Media, Boko Haram insurgency is yet to be repressed and the security of Nigeria is continually threatened. Already, Boko Haram's operations in recent times have annexed cities in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria such as Baga. Boko Haram's prowess has spread to neighboring Chad, Niger, Mali and Cameroun. From all indications,

not only is the crisis lingering, it has the capability to, and has indeed provoked other similar group insurgencies as seen in the cases of Fulani Herdsmen and others.

1.7 Outline of Chapters

The thesis is a seven chapter work that is divided into following parts.

Chapter One provides background and general overview of the thesis, focusing on issues such as introduction, statement of the problem, objectives, questions and operationalization of concepts.

Chapter Two is an interrogation and re-interrogation of extant literature compartmentalized into broad themes of the activities of Boko Hara, Terrorism, National Security and the New Media. The chapter in the end arrives at a lacuna (the textual gap) that the study intends to fill and subsequently generates some theoretical premises for the utilization of the New War Theory as framework.

Chapter Three provides a detailed explanation of the methodology. It states the methodology, presents its characteristics and justifies its choice in the context of the research. Other issues it addresses are the study area, sample population, sample size and selection method, data collection methods, data analysis methods and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four is Data Presentation and Analysis. Here, both primary and secondary data gathered for the study are presented and analysed, using the methods mentioned in the foregoing.

Chapter Five Holistic Examination of Boko Haram Activities

Chapter Six The New Media and Boko Haram activities in Nigeria.

Chapter Seven Implication for Nigeria's National Security

Chapter Eight: Discussions of Findings, Conclusions and Contribution to Knowledge

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter explored the various existing scholarly work which has been written in relation to the area of study. Based on the method of approach using in interpreting and expressing my findings, the chapter also relays feedbacks from respondents in relation to the questions been asked which contributed to enriching and making the area of study more robust. In addition, the new war theory was also employed in this chapters as a theoretical backing for this study.

2.1 Literature Review

Terrorism has an evolving disposition that has been manifested in different forms in several parts of the world. All terrorists have set goals, objectives and reasons for their actions. In other words, terrorists try as much as possible to justify and connect their actions to a problem or gap that is being experienced in the society. For instance, the Niger Delta militants who can be classified as terrorists due to their ways of operation where they claim to be fighting for the development of the Niger Delta area and a better standard of living for its inhabitants . On the other hand, Boko Haram has backed their actions with several claims which also include the ineptness of the Nigerian government. Based on the ideology of Boko Haram, its foundation can be linked to the Koran by the claim that they are fighting a holy war which is meant to instill order in the society in accordance with the Muslim belief. But several factors have been alleged to be responsible for the emergence of the sect. Table 3.3 shows us that 33.3% of the sample population in this study believes that Boko Haram is religiously motivated for the purpose of fulfilling an agenda and ideology that was conceived to maintain and instill the values of true Islam on the Nigerian society. According to RSP2:

I strongly believe that Boko Haram is just what it is. It's a group of people who started from having an extreme religious perspective. And the only political aspect you can look at it is from the aspect that they want Sharia. That might be the only political angle from which I will look at it. And we warned in 2000 when my state governor then implemented Sharia, this was part of what we warned. That you will create a scenario where you will be opening a Pandora's Box because you will implement Sharia but you will not be able go the whole hog. And therefore you will raise the expectation of some people who will in turn now use it to fulfill their own expectations. And so, for me, Boko Haram has just fed into scenarios that had existed. And for them, therefore I do not think the issue is political in the sense that people have tried to interpret it that it's been used as a political tool, either against Jonathan or against the Nigerian state. I think it's just purely a result of all these socio-economic issues that I have mentioned, driven on a religious platform.

The drive behind Boko Haram is evident in its mission and modus operandi but several factors have instigated and stirred the sect to its current height. Boko Haram has shown that its mission is not ephemeral as it seems positioned for a long term war in the process of executing its dogma. Other Islamic terrorist sects such as al Qaeda, ISIS and the Taliban have been embroiled in battles for over a very long period of time which seems like an endless war. However, RSP2's claim was also supported by one of the focus groups discussants under FCS-Muslim, who opines that "in order to do Jihad, they go to the people who are not Muslims and fight them so that they can become Muslims" (FCS-Muslim). Note, he was referring to Boko Haram as 'they'.

Furthermore, some people are compelled to embrace Boko Haram because of the kind of message they send out to both Muslim and non-Muslims. Sects like Boko Haram claim to instill sanity in the society, especially if you are a faltering Muslim. RSP2 explanation of Sharia as the only political force behind Boko Haram is also religious because Sharia is a religious decision that should easily be passed into law by a non-secular government. But the introduction of Sharia into certain parts of the North has stirred a religious menace as

it has upset the political and religious status quo of that region, thereby, creating leeway for Jihadist and Islamic terrorists to penetrate the system. Other respondents mentioned religion as a reason behind the emergence of Boko Haram, but no respondent analysed the effect of a religious ideology which has been adopted from previously existing structures in other climes. The idealistic drive behind Boko Haram has led to its spread to other neighboring countries as its mission is simply devoid of repentance and surrender when compared to other insurgent groups in Nigeria such as the Niger-Delta militants. From the religious angle, people needed an immediate solution to their problems while others were desirous for religious perfection and fulfillment. Thus, RSP5 stated that:

I first heard of Boko Haram in 2008; then I was attending an Islamic school. And one of our Mallams came and then he was talking about the fact that, look, there are certain people who are coming up and that they had been there about 20 years prior. They have started out were they made a lot of people to throw away their certificates, to say that Western education is bad...And they were a lot of people, who as at that time were going on to join them...They were all going to Maiduguri. I was in Kaduna then and I remember there were a lot of people from different areas; women, children, men and they would all pack themselves and say they are migrating to Borno to go and be with Boko Haram. But at that time, nobody took them seriously. People just laughed over their antics and all that.

RSP5 gave a detailed view on how Boko Haram has influenced people in Nigeria, long before they became a threat to Nigeria and Africa. Boko Haram has grown over the years with so much foundation to the extent that it understands the Nigerian religious and political system, most especially the North-East area of Nigeria more than the Nigeria government. On the other hand, some respondents saw the emergence of Boko Haram to have been incited by impunity rather than religious factors. A respondent and a resident of Chibok in Borno state opined:

It's that killing, particularly of vulnerable people in the North; let me specifically say killing of Christians have been in the North at my own age since 1980. There is no year that will pass by without Christians being killed

and as a result every group sees it as easy going. And no one has been prosecuted and punished since this thing started. So, people freely go about killing people. Any group can come about, whether in the name of Christianity and Islam. That is why they came up and they came up violently. (RSP11)

From RSP11's viewpoint, indirectly the Nigeria government should be blamed for allowing Boko Haram to thrive because of their failure to stop and deter people from senseless killings which have happened unabated in the Northern part of Nigeria. The same factors are seen to still be prevalent and still spur the consistent attacks and spread of the sect. RSP11 response on the emergence of Boko Haram was also supported by another respondent who went a step further in claiming that impunity is a factor of the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria:

For me, I think what prompted the emergence of Boko Haram is the fact that in the Northern part of Nigeria, most especially there has been series or religious riots and nobody has ever been held accountable. And for that, there are people who have been killing since 1990 and nothing has been done about that. That is part of it...So, the only time they do have a sense of authority is when they are holding an arm during riot and attacking somebody. Then they get respect. Every other time they get disdain. For me, I see the fact that this prompted the Boko Haram emergence and these young men, by the time they joined Boko Haram, they have a sense of purpose, a sense of achievement. They can be somebody. They have hierarchy. Like we have heard that sometimes even when you kill your parent, you get to the next level and stuffs like that. So, it's all part of it. (RSP8)

RSP8's stance on the emergence of Boko Haram hinges on impunity which has gone unchecked for over a long period of time by the Nigerian state. Even if the Northern state governments could do nothing to check these influences, the federal government could have responded timeously to address, truncate and nip these challenges. In addition, the issue of impunity as a causal factor of Boko Haram highlights the lapses of the Nigerian government in curbing and managing the Boko Haram crisis. Thus, the factors surrounding

the emergence of Boko Haram have created a clear path for the sect to weaken the Nigeria state and actualize its goals of not supporting Western style education and Islamicising Nigeria.

Dimension of Terrorism

Irrespective of the causal factors, terrorism is growing and expanding in dimension every day. The question asked these days is the pattern of terrorism that is being employed by a particular sect. The facets of terrorism are now used in understanding the patterns of attacks and the philosophy of a sect. But to understand new terrorism, there has to be a comprehension of old terrorism. According to Crenshaw (2007:1), old terrorism is the precursor of new terrorism and its antecedents despite the criticism that old terrorism is old-fashioned and non-operational. "In comparison to the old terrorism, which sought short-term circumscribed political gains, the new terrorism seeks to transform the world. As a result, the goal of new terrorism is less symbolic and more inclined toward physical violence than it may have been in the past. Whereas the old terrorism took place in tightly knit, centralized organizations, the new terrorism is more decentralized with actions occurring in diffuse units known as cells" (Walters, 2006:112). Old terrorism has been in existence and is still prevalent regardless of the new and evolving types of terrorism being experienced globally. "The terms old terrorism and new terrorism refer to the period between 1960 and the present. Yet even in this limited time period, defining the nature of a war on terrorism is a difficult task" (Komater, 2004:8). This distinction is not unconnected to the spate of terrorist attacks that occurred from 1960 and gained more ground between 1970s and 1980 (Stanley, 2016). Some terrorist groups were highly dreaded within the period 1960 and 1980 because they were major threats in that era; some of these groups are the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Basque Fatherland and Freedom, Black September, Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), 2nd of June Movement, Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP), (Start, 2009). These groups carried out terrorist attacks in the form of revolution or liberation struggle which is totally different from the philosophy of Islamic terrorist sects.

According to Hwa Chong Institution (2016), the first case of aviation terrorism was in 1933 when a Boeing 247 was bombed with the use of a nitroglycerin bomb. However, new terrorism is still believed to have started sometime between 1960 and 2001 instead of 1933 when the first aviation terrorism attack occurred. According to Spencer (2006:4), many scholars have identified the mid-1990s as the period that new terrorism emerged in the world based on the change in characteristics of terrorism. Spencer (2006:13) asserts that new terrorism can be defined by terrorist operations that lack the support from state sponsors, set-up of new network structures by communication and technology, unskillful combatants or terrorists, senseless unselective killings and religious fanaticism which make a major reference to Islamic extremism. On the other hand, Clausewitz states that the characteristics of war makes it difficult to refer to the fight against terrorism as a war but it is paradoxical due to the fact that most combatants involved in a battle against terrorists are at the risk of losing their lives (Kometer, 2004:5). Kometer further stresses that the use of the military by some countries in the fight against terrorism justifies that it is a war and that the patterns of terrorism have changed from old to new. For terrorism to become a threat to any area or region, it has a pattern which confirms if it is old or new at the initial stages. In other words, a terrorist group might strictly exhibit traits of either old terrorism or new terrorism. Both old and new terrorism can be used in a conventional and unconventional approach.

According to Allesandri (2016) “the current scenario is further complicated by the fact that the new terrorism has not supplanted the old.” Also, in the past, attacks have happened during conflicts which can be likened to terrorism but such attacks were actually carried out under the guise of war and as such cannot be termed as terrorism. The same applies to the issue of the Niger Delta struggle, some of the new militia groups such as the NDA and NDGJM cannot be regarded as terrorists when compared to groups such as MEND, NDV, etc. Crenshaw (2007:3) asserts the use of unconventional weapons in war and terrorism has led to the belief that a new form of terrorism is truly prevalent. Crenshaw explains that the possibility of terrorist having access to chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons is very high and confirms the change in the nature of terrorism. Arguably, the notion of new terrorism in the US is believed to have started with the assassination of Meir Kahane at New York in 1990 (Crenshaw, 2007:3). But terrorism was given more attention

and seriousness after the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City by Timothy McVeigh and the Aum Shinrikyo sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995 (Crenshaw, 2007:4).

Aviation Terrorism

The possibility of placing bombs in planes without detection and the high number of casualties from possible plane bombings proved that terrorism had taken a different dimension (Crenshaw, 2007:4). Thus, the PanAm flight 103 disaster also known as the Lockerbie bombing which occurred in 1988 can be regarded as one of the earliest new terrorism attacks and the beginning of new terrorism as everybody aboard perished with a total death toll of 270 people. In n 1970, Swissair 330 which was headed for Tel Aviv crashed within 30 minutes after takeoff due to a bomb detonation (Swissinfo, 2016) but this attack has not been classified as an incident arising from the new terrorism. It is believed that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was responsible but this claim has never been substantiated by the PLO (Swissinfo, 2016). Therefore, a lacuna still remains in regards to pinpointing the culprits responsible for the Swissair 330 attacks as the PLO denied involvement which makes it difficult to conclude if the attack was terrorism related as widely speculated (Swissinfo, 2016). On the other hand, Cryer (2010:347) refers to the Lockerbie 1988 bombing as a form of aviation terrorism but not connected to the new terrorism that is the principal subject of this study. In this respect, the Lockerbie bombing with a high number of casualties is one of the earliest forms of new terrorism recorded.

According to Arasly (2004), aviation terrorism broadly includes but is not limited to kidnapping, hijacking, shooting down and bombing of planes and airports for either political or religious motives. Breen-Smyth, Jackson, Jarvis and Gunning (2011:178) argue that the Lockerbie bombing is not an act of terrorism due to the supposition that state personnel were involved in carrying out the attack instead of a terrorist group. This means that the Lockerbie bombing was not ascribed to a particular terrorist group. On the other hand, Breen-Smyth, Jackson, Jarvis and Gunning (2011:178) posit that the bombing of Air

India flight 182 in 1985 was the handiwork of Sikh militants and can be regarded as terrorism as opposed to the Lockerbie bombing. According to British Broadcasting Corporation (2005e), 329 people mainly of Indian descent lost their lives in the 1985 Air India plane bombing which is believed to have been carried out by Sikh militants. Based on this claim, the Air India incident can be regarded as an aviation disaster caused by militancy while details surrounding the Lockerbie bombing still remain sketchy but can be linked to Islamic terrorism. Especially, when considering that the actual culprits of the Lockerbie bombing were not apprehended and Abdelbeset Ali Mohmed al Megrahi who was convicted for the Lockerbie disaster had a compassionate release due to a terminal medical condition (CNN, 2015a). Till this day, the actual perpetrators of and the motives behind the Lockerbie bombing remain unknown. But considering the fact that both attacks (1985 Air India and 1988 Lockerbie) were masterminded as a form of retaliation to get the attention of governments and the attention of the international community, they can be regarded as terrorist attacks.

Digital History (2015) points out that the 9/11 attacks was not the first terrorism attack in the US; bombings at the Haymarket square in Chicago in 1886; at the Los Angeles Times building in 1910 and at Birmingham's Alabama in 1963 all happened long before the 9/11 attacks occurred. However, Hwa Chong Institution (2016) regards the October 1838 Haun's Mill massacre of 18 Mormons as one of the earliest terrorism attack in the US. Based on Hwa Chong Institution's postulation, several terrorist attacks could have occurred before 1838 in the US but they were not recorded. But what was the basis for such attacks and were the perpetrators indigenous, politically motivated or driven by religion? Unlike the earliest recorded terrorist attacks in the US, the 9/11 attacks were directly from an external terrorist sect, carried out in the name of Islam. Prior to the 9/11 attacks, the World Trade Center was bombed in 1993; an attack which led to the destruction of cars, the death of six people and caused damage to parts of the building to the extent that it affected the structure (Stratfor, 2015). The World Trade Center was a major success for al Qaeda because of its significance to international trade and the world at large. Akin to the way planes were targeted during the Lockerbie and Air India plane attacks, planes were very instrumental in the 9/11 attacks. Undeniably, the bombing and use of planes seems to have a tie with new terrorism because of the scheming involved wherein more people of diverse

ethnicities and nationalities are targeted instead of carefully chosen targets. This means that the 1933 bombing of Boeing 247 could be adjudged an act of terrorism and the first aviation terrorism in the world as it was the first time a passenger plane that was bombed (Rogers, 2013).

According to Rogers (2013), the difficulty involved in solving the 1933 Boeing 247 disaster, more than 80 years after the crash makes it hard to conclude if the attack was carried out by Islamic terrorist and if it can be regarded as new terrorism. Thus, Spencer's (2006:2) claim that new terrorism began in the mid-1990s can be refuted because of cases of aviation terrorism before 1990. Arguably, plane bombings or aviation terrorism can be linked to the history of new terrorism even though it is sparingly used by terrorists. The minimal attacks on the aviation sector could be a result of the complexity of getting bombs into airports and planes because of the tight security measures. There are several other new terrorism methods that are used these days. Tucker (2001:1) offers the postulation that new terrorism involves the use of information technology and that this appears to be an approach used by modern day terrorists. The use of social media and technology to create media presence that is dreaded by the public is a new approach used by almost every terrorist group.

In addition, Kometer (2004:5) theorizes that the introduction of combatant fighters such as the army and security operatives in the fight against terrorism constitutes the inception of new terrorism. Previously, there was no major concern to defend against Islamic terrorism attacks because they were once off and less severe, without the need for militarily participation. Simply, terrorism was not tackled in a military and tactful manner compared to what is currently happening with terrorist sects such as Boko Haram, ISIS and al-Qaeda. Uloho (2013:4) proffers that new terrorism involves the sects carrying out attacks out of its territorial stronghold. Uloho perceives that new terrorism involves innovation and entails the use of technology and cell networks, having external prowess and being able to operate in unfamiliar. In other words, the ability of most terrorist groups to carry out an attack in a different continent without physical contact with the perpetrator indicates dynamism and diversion from old terrorism. Additionally, the use of children by some terrorist groups as suicide bombers is an uncommon practice that can be categorized as

new terrorism. Crenshaw (2007:4) asserts that the cases of suicide bombing worldwide suggest a swing in terrorism. The use of children as suicide bombers is a more recent approach. Formerly, it was rare for children to be abducted for the purposes of suicide missions. It was more common for children to be used as child soldiers in conventional conflicts.

New terrorism is not a major diversion from traditional terrorism: Crenshaw (2007:5) posits that new terrorism is a more severe form of old terrorism. For instance, if an individual was the target of a terrorist sect under old terrorism; the targeted casualties under new terrorism will be twice or thrice that number. Crenshaw explains that the distinction between old and new terrorism is the magnitude of attack. Therefore, geographical expansion, operating outside a comfort zone, aviation terrorism, technology, child suicide bombing, sophisticated weaponry, Islamic extremism, military participation and lengthy battles are all paraphernalia of new terrorism. If these components are taken away from traditional terrorism, the concept of new terrorism ceases to exist. The Western world has experienced a lot of terrorist attacks while most Islamic terrorist groups are aimed at targeting national interests, citizens and properties of key Western countries such as the US, United Kingdom (UK), France and Spain. The US has experienced more Islamic terrorist related threats and attacks in the West than any other country. The peak of these attacks was the 9/11 incident (Crenshaw, 2007:1); a catastrophe which shook the entire world and which is widely recognized as the global dawn of new terrorism because of the success of the attacks against a superpower such as the US.

The 1985 Air India plane bombing happened far away from India and in an area that can be regarded as part of the West while the Pan Am flight 103 (Lockerbie) disaster happened almost within the same proximity and continent as the Air India plane bombing. The Lockerbie bombing happened within the United Kingdom air space and over the town of Lockerbie in Scotland (Syracuse, 2013); while the Air India plane disaster occurred at about 190km from Ireland coast while it was flying over the Atlantic Ocean (NDTV, 2010). The Lockerbie and Air India attacks are two major bomb related incidents that shook the West because of their gravity and the death toll (Daily Mail, 2011). Also, a lot of prominent

people were among the casualty in the Lockerbie bombing; most of the deceased were Americans, but individuals from 21 countries in total lost their lives (Daily Mail, 2011). The PanAm flight was enroute New York, while the Air India flight was enroute India with a stopover at London. Therefore, both attacks occurred within the geographical areas regarded as the West and as such can be perceived as major new terrorism incidents that occurred in the West. The 1933 Boeing 247 disaster could qualify as a new terrorism attack based on the involvement of an aircraft and the bomb explosion. Even though, the difficulty in ascertaining the motive and perpetrators responsible for the attack makes it difficult to conclude if the 1933 Boeing 247 disaster was caused deliberately or a result of human error. New terrorism techniques differ based on countries and the sect responsible for planning and carrying out an attack. The patterns used in the US might be slightly different from the patterns used in the UK, France and Spain. Likewise, the patterns used in the West might be slightly different from the patterns used in the Middle East and in Africa. Thus, most of the new terrorism techniques are employed based on prowess, links and financial capability.

According to Barron (2001) the 9/11 attack was a key moment for new terrorism as aviation terrorism was one of the methods used in attacking significant structures and locations. One of such key places of importance is the World Trade Centre which is an association that cuts across boundaries to aid people who are involved in international commerce with about 330 branches in over a 100 countries (World Trade Center, 2016). The World Trade Centre has a global significance in regards to trade and commerce and its centralized system connects a lot of member countries. According to 9/11 Memorial (2011), the concept of the World Trade Center which was initiated by David Rockefeller who was the Chase Manhattan's banks Vice Chair in 1958 began in the mid-1940s but the actual construction of the World Trade Center began in 1966. The project was initially meant to develop the Manhattan's lower east side but a lot of people did not warm up to the idea of having a World Trade Mart because of its impact on businesses, shops and already existing structures in the area (9/11 Memorial, 2011). The World Trade Center has been a major target by terrorists because of its significance and the height (110 stories) of the building which surpasses other buildings in New York (9/11 Memorial, 2011). "The World Trade Center towers would become iconic symbols of America's prosperity. They represented

America's unparalleled financial power and the rugged individualism of the American spirit. Thus, the World Trade Center became an important target for America's enemies, as was demonstrated first in 1993" (9/11 Memorial, 2011). The 1993 truck bombing of the World Trade Centre was carried out by terrorists who may not have carried out the attack as a terrorist group but operated under the control of a blind cleric, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman who presided over functions at mosques in Jersey City and Brooklyn (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2005c). The 1993 attack was carried out with zero or minimal external assistance by Muslims residing in the US. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as an attack which involved the use of major new terrorism tactics regardless of the characteristics of new terrorism such as the use of a bomb and links to Al Qaeda (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2005c). Nonetheless, the establishment of a link with al Qaeda can be validated through the fact that the World Trade Center was targeted again by terrorists in 2001.

Apart from the World Trade Center, an attack was also carried out against the Pentagon which resulted in the death of about 189 people, while 106 persons sustained injuries (Hollowed, Jeng, Jordan, Turner and Wang, 2005). History (2009) confirms the Pentagon is the headquarters of the US Department of Defense and the symbol of the US's military power. The attack on the Pentagon can be regarded as a huge success for al Qaeda because of the casualties and the destruction of important buildings. History (2009) explains that one-third of the Pentagon structure was destroyed during the 9/11 attack and it took about a year for the damaged parts of the building to be reconstructed. Unlike the 1993 truck bombing of the World Trade Center, the 9/11 attack on the Pentagon triggered a military response from the West on Islamic terrorist groups operating within and outside the Middle East, most especially after al-Qaeda declared that they were responsible for the attack (Stiglitz, 2011). Therefore, new terrorism can also be regarded as attacks aimed at the West and its allies because the PanAm flight 103 disaster and the Air India plane both happened in the West, while attacks aimed at the US and its allies by has increased since the 1993 truck bomb explosion in New York and the 9/11 attacks. Apart from the 9/11 attacks, more recent terrorist attacks within the USA and in Europe have been instigated by Islamic terrorist groups such as al Qaeda and ISIS.

According to Chossudovsky (2006), as at the time the 9/11 attacks occurred, the late Osama Bin Laden who was the leader of al Qaeda at that time was believed to be in Pakistan and far away from the US. Bin Laden was able to successfully launch a major attack on the US after the plan was hatched by him and his conspirators outside of the USA and with minimal help from within the US. The difference in location and the effectiveness of the attacks that were carried out became a standard approach in terrorism related attacks that followed after the 9/11 incident. Another issue that is really significant was the manner in which the attack was carried out; an approach that does not require suicide bombers or strategically planted bombs. Most recent waves of terrorism in the USA involve mass killings as a result of sporadic shooting instead of bombing. Since the 1993 truck bombing of the World Trade Center, the only other attack that has involved the use of a bomb was the April 2013 Boston Marathon attack carried out by the Tsarnaev brothers (Khomami, 2015). While the use of bombs seems to have been successful in most European countries such as the UK and France, its use has diminished in the US since 1993.

Lone Wolf Terrorists

There has not been any other successful case of aviation terrorism in the US since the 9/11 attack, despite attempts by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab to detonate a bomb on a flight heading to Detroit from Amsterdam in 2009 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2012). But, the most common form of post 9/11 terrorist attack is the lone wolf method of attack which is perpetrated by individuals either in their name or with the intent of ascribing their attack to a terrorist group. "There is a noticeable trend indicating the increasing frequency of lone wolf attacks by individuals and small cells with little or no connections to formal organizations" (Micheal, 2012:1). Lone wolf attacks are very common in the US and the entire West because it is now an easy way of gaining recognition, fulfillment and martyrdom as a Muslim with radical views. Lone wolf attacks can be in the form of forceful plane diversion as in the 9/11 attacks, aviation terrorism, suicide bombings and most commonly by sporadic shooting targeted at members of the society. Caruso (2014:161)

states that about 30 instances of lone wolf terrorism occurred in the US between 1968 and 2007, while 26 percent of fatalities of terrorism in the US between 1978 and 1999 were fatalities as a result of lone wolf terrorism. This means that lone wolf terrorism has been prevalent in the US and in other parts of the world for some time. On the contrary, a lone wolf attacker's motive determines whether it is religiously, politically or criminally driven.

Attacks by Maj Nidal Malik Hasan at Texas in 2009; Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad at Arkansas in 2009; Zale Thompson at Queens in 2012 and Muhammad Youssef Abdulazeez at Tennessee in 2015 were all cases of lone wolf terrorism which resulted in the loss of lives (Khomami, 2015). Most of these attacks involved the use of guns and were aimed at individuals who did not have an inkling of the attacks. Several other terrorism related attacks have occurred in the US after 9/11 but cannot be regarded as lone wolf attacks even though they were done in the name of Jihad because they involved more than one perpetrator. Lone wolf terrorism is defined as "the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or threat of violence committed by a single actor who pursues political change linked to a formulated ideology, whether his own or that of a larger organisation and who does not receive orders, direction, or material support from outside sources" (National Security Critical Issue Task Force, 2015). Based on the definition of Lone wolf terrorism, the Chechen brothers or the Tsarnaev, Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev attacks can be considered as a bomb attack and a lone wolf attack as the attack involved the use of pressure cooker bombs (Khomami, 2015). But the team work involved makes it difficult to term the Tsarnaev's as lone terrorists because they worked together in carrying out the attack. Despite the fact that Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab was radicalized in the Middle East, his attack could have been considered a successful lone wolf attack if his underpants bomb had not failed to detonate. Yet again, based on the definition of lone wolf terrorism, Abdulmutallab cannot be regarded as one because he received material support and instructions from a terrorist group. According to Michael (2012:141), Abdulmutallab came in contact with Anwar al-Awlaki, a cleric from Yemeni who played a major role in assisting al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

CNN (2015b) estimates that 2999 people lost their lives in the 9/11 attacks which took place at various locations within the US. The combined death toll of 2999 in a day has not been surpassed by any other attack in Western Europe or any other part of the world. With the emergence of ISIS, it has been difficult to record such high levels of fatalities in a day as a result of terrorist operations. The London train bombings, attacks in Spain and France which ensued on or after 2001 cannot be compared to the 9/11 attacks in terms of the death toll and number of those injured (The Economist, 2015). The earliest recorded case of new terrorism can also be traced to the PamAm flight 103 and the Lockerbie disaster as both attacks occurred in Western Europe. To be precise, the Lockerbie disaster occurred over the city of Lockerbie, killing everybody on board and a few people on the ground in the area where the plane crashed. According to Merelli (2015), Western Europe has experienced different terrorist related attacks since 1970 with an average of over 350 attacks in a year. Merelli (2015) concludes that the highest terrorist attacks to have been attained in a year in Western Europe occurred in 1979 with about 1019 attacks. But the entire 1019 attacks were not motivated as a result of religion or Islam because terrorism is also carried out under the pretext of politics, revolution etc. Despite the fact that the attack with the highest number of casualty was in the 2004 Madrid attacks with a record of 1853 people, Islamic terrorism has been responsible for more casualties. Therefore, Islamic terrorism has gained force over the years in Western Europe due to new terrorism approaches which sects have applied in their attacks.

Fire bomb was used by a terrorist group called Black September in destroying PanAm flight 110 in 1973 which was scheduled to leave for Iran but this attack cannot be regarded as a new terrorism attack because it did not involve the use of advanced bombs (Kaid, 2008:239). The firebombing of Pan Am flight 110 happened before the plane took off (Kaid, 2008:239). Currently, firebombs are no longer used and even if it was used, it would be difficult to gain access into a plane with firebombs because of the tight security at airports. Basically, advancement and innovations have led to a change in the system which has culminated in the reduction of aviation terrorism. British Broadcasting Corporation (2016) asserts that the recent success of an aviation terrorism attack at the Zaventem airport

in Belgium exposes the security lapses at airport entrances in Europe and other parts of the world. Both the Zaventem airport and the Maelbeek metro station bombings resulted in the death of 31 people on 22 March 2016 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2016). This means that terrorists are devising new ways to detonate bombs at specific places where they can target people of diverse backgrounds and nationalities. Hence, security at airport entrances has to be beefed up to deter terrorists from attempting to plant bombs at airports and in planes.

On 7 July 2005, about 56 people were killed and over 700 injured in underground train attacks in London; the attacks occurred in different locations in the underground tube, while a fourth bomb was detonated in a bus at Tavistock Square about an hour after the train explosions (Edwards and Gomis, 2011:9). Both Mohammed Sidique Khan and Shehzad Tanweer who were responsible for the attacks that occurred on 7 July 2005 were previously involved in the botched fertilizer bomb plot which never materialized as a result of a tip off from a storage facility manager who was suspicious of their activities (Edwards and Gomis, 2011:8). Edwards and Gomis (2011:8) further posit that Mohammed Sidique Khan was the ring leader of the 7/7 London bombings, while Shehzad Tanweer, Hasib Hussain and Germaine Lindsay were accomplices. Some of the terrorists were well known to security operatives but luckily evaded being detected at the time of launching an attack. There appears to be a hierarchy in terrorist attacks in Europe because a terrorist or terrorist group that carries out a new attack sometimes has ties with terrorists that have previously carried out attacks. For instance, the Brussel bombers of 2016 have a nexus with the Paris bombers of 2015 (Tomkiw, 2016). Does this not insinuate that family, friends and acquaintances of terrorists have to be thoroughly scrutinized and monitored to minimize the possibility of fresh attacks? Also, access to weapons and the potential of making bombs is worrisome because most of the weapons used by terrorists in their attacks are highly sophisticated.

According to Alexander (2015), the worth of sophisticated weapons used in the Charlie Hebdo attack is believed to be in the region of £19,000 (€25,000). *Telegraph* further explains that the weapons which include a submachine gun (Skorpion), Soviet-made pistols (Tokarev), a rocket launcher and three Kalashnikovs were produced in Bosnia and seems to have been sold to the terrorists through an arms smuggler who had access to weapons stolen from a military facility. Access to arms smugglers and bombs within Europe can also be through foreign assistance in the form of a terrorist group such as ISIS and al-Qaeda that have a broad range of contacts globally. Thus, new terrorism involves international cooperation; foreign assistance can also be in the form of online tutorials for potential terrorists on how to use a weapon, make a bomb and carry out an attack.

According to Edwards and Gomis (2011:8), the 7/7 London bombings make the first major Islamic terrorist attack to have occurred in the UK to date. Most of the recent attacks carried out in Europe involve bombs strategically placed and detonated with the intention of killing as many people as possible. British Broadcasting Corporation (2015c) explains that the Paris attacks of 2015 was one of such attacks where the society was at the mercy of terrorists because of the fear that pervaded France as a result of the death toll and the spontaneity of the attacks. People felt insecure in France because they could not fathom the next point of attack or who was responsible. Certainly, attacks in the UK, Spain, Belgium and France have proved that there is a shift in the terrorist paradigm of attack; lately, the death toll has lowered in attacks carried out in Western Europe but the attacks occur more frequently compared to the 1960s, 1970s and the 1980s.

In Europe and in other parts of the West, radicalization has now become a very sensitive issue because of the number of young people travelling to Syria to join ISIS. The issue of how and where they became radicalized calls for concern. New terrorism in Europe has taken a different dimension as slight modifications have been applied by terrorists in their ways of operation. For instance, ISIS is using a system where by individuals carry out attacks in their name. This means that the individuals do not require lots of accomplices to carry out an attack but rather focus on educating individuals on how to carry out attacks. Frequent terrorist attacks have been carried out by self-radicalized terrorist with minimal access to a

terrorist group. Some lone wolf terrorists become radicalized in their place of abode while others become radicalized after visiting the Middle East or some Islamic countries. “The lone wolf attacks indicate a shift from terrorism by organised groups to terrorism by unaffiliated individuals” (Micheal, 2012:1). Lone wolf attacks in Europe have been on the rise since the 1970’s. Caruso (2014:161) affirms that about 27 combined cases of lone wolf terrorism were reported in Italy, France, Germany and Spain between 1968 and 2007. Certainly, other parts of Europe would have experienced lone wolf attacks during the given period. But the type of attacks experienced in Europe lately involves more than one attacker with a clearly mapped out strategy which connotes external support.

Perhaps, it is a challenge for lone wolf terrorists to operate freely in Europe compared to the US. Connor and Flynn (2015) explains that more lone wolf attacks have occurred in the US since 9/11 and military personnel’s have become targets since the destruction of the World Trade Center as lone wolves have either killed or murdered 47 military personnel’s. While the US military warned its officers to be careful on social media because of the threat of ISIS which can result in lone wolf attacks (Frantz, 2015). According to Hunt (2013), military personnel in Western Europe have not had any major threats from lone wolves apart from the 2012 attacks by Mohammed Merah in France which resulted in the death of seven people including three police officers and three children. Nesser and Stenersen (2014) assert that it’s a new approach by terrorists to target military officers in communal places. Thus, the murder of military personnel, Lee Rigby, at Woolwich in the UK can also slightly be likened to a lone wolf attack because the perpetrators did not have any affiliation to an Islamic terrorist group but carried out the attack as a team (Gawker, 2013). The attack was carried out by Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebawale on the ground that British soldiers go to countries like Afghanistan and Iraq to kill and bomb Muslims (CBC news, 2013). Currently, most lone wolf attacks are targeted at military officers, but random individuals might be victims in the absence of military targets. Overall, lone wolf attacks aimed at military are more common in the US than in Europe.

Lately, terrorist attacks within Europe in countries such as France and Belgium seem to involve the use of bombs and are carried out by terrorists affiliated to ISIS. Suicide bombing is a common characteristic of new terrorism globally. For instance, suicide bombing is widely employed in the Middle East and in Africa by groups such as ISIS, al-Qaeda and Boko Haram. The November 2015 Paris attacks were one of such cases where suicide bombing was used in Europe. The suicide bombers, Foued Mohamed-Aggad, Omar Ismail Mostefai and Samy Animour are believed to have used suicide vests which they detonated at various locations in Paris: a bomb was detonated at one of the entrances to Stade de France stadium; another at restaurant Le Comptoir Voltaire on the Boulevard Voltaire and a third at an eatery not too far from Stade de France stadium (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015c). The bombs are believed to be alike and come from the same source (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015c). It is certain that new terrorism majorly has to do with affiliations, cells and networking but some part of new terrorism involves individual attacks without any substantial networking needed to groom the attacker.

On the other hand, new terrorism is prevalent in Europe because of the open borders which encourage the influx of refugees and migrants. Woolfe (2015) posit that the borders of most European countries are porous and can easily be infiltrated by terrorists disguised as refugees. The permeability of borders makes it more difficult for new terrorism to be eradicated because terrorists will continue to have access to sophisticated weapons and suicide vests if nothing is done to counter the security lapses in Europe. For instance, “ISIS’s fighters benefit from extensive support networks across the European continent” (Gambhir, 2016). But, Champion (2015) opines that setting up of interior borders within Europe won’t be a long lasting solution to terrorism in the continent. The permeability of Europe’s borders is similar to that of Africa in regards to the fight against terrorism. But the borders in Africa are more at the risk of penetration compared to the borders in Europe. Thus, the porosity of the borders in the Lake Chad Basin area in Africa has triggered a rapid propagation in Boko Haram operations.

Exposition of Boko Haram's operational system

New terrorism techniques have been experienced in Nigeria chiefly through Boko Haram in the Northern region. Even though Boko Haram has never carried out an aviation terrorism attack, it has manifested other forms of new terrorism such as child suicide bombing, geographical expansion, operating outside a comfort zone, use of technology, military participation and the use of sophisticated weaponry. Comolli (2015:8) asserts that Boko Haram has been able to expand and have a strong presence in two more states (Adamawa and Yobe) other than the initial area of origin in Maiduguri, Borno State. Also, Boko Haram's far-stretching capability to operate in neighboring states is a sign of new terrorism as they have shifted their attacks from Nigeria to other countries (Weeraratne, 2015). However, Boko Haram has not been able to carry out an attack in a different continent or in any country in the West. Therefore, there is a limit to how the group uses new terrorism approaches in their attacks as they have not been able to operate in a different continent or show that they have similar links to what ISIS and al-Qaeda have in the West. For Instance, ISIS have been able to carry out deadly attacks in Paris and Belgium through terrorists affiliated to them. Clearly, Boko Haram currently lacks the wherewithal to stage out an attack on Western soil but they still employ other new terrorism techniques.

Still, the sect has exhibited traits of new terrorism through its rapid growth and by annexing cities which put them in direct conflict with security operatives, most especially the military. Moreover, new terrorism attacks could be employed if military participation is highly required in tackling a group; an approach that can be termed as a full scale war based on Clausewitz's supposition. Boko Haram's operations have forced the Nigerian government to use strong military participation in curtailing and managing the threat of the sect (Weeraratne, 2015). From a security perspective, some respondents consider the Boko Haram conflict to be beyond the powers of the police because of the challenges and difficulty encountered in dealing with the sect. The early incompetence of the Nigerian police in dealing with Boko Haram led to the involvement of the Nigerian military. The

involvement of the military has shown that the war against Boko Haram is a national, regional and global crisis which needs further assistance from the region and the international community. In other words, the military's involvement in the war against Boko Haram confirms that Nigeria's autonomy is under threat because the military is used as a last resort by most countries in tackling foreign intruders. According to a police personnel who responded to the question on the participation of the police in the fight against Boko Haram:

No, it went beyond the police a long time ago. That is why the military had to come in. It's well beyond the police now. (RSP1)

From the findings, it is clear that the police have been left behind in the fight against Boko Haram due to their inadequacies. This point was supported by another respondent:

It is not the responsibility of the police to fight against Boko Haram. And that is part of the problem in Nigeria. The military is the one charged with the responsibility of fighting insurgency, not the police. The police are supposed to provide internal security in the towns and the cities and to that extent I think the police have tried given the challenges and the misuse of the police force. (RSP2)

RSP2 was quick to cite the lapses of the police and also explained that it is not the responsibility of the police to tackle insurgency. Perhaps, it is possible to agree that the dynamics of the conflict has changed, if it is not the responsibility of the police to tackle insurgency, then the state is parlous. The war between Boko Haram and the Nigerian military confirms that new terrorism is prevalent in Nigeria. New terrorism does exist in various facets in Nigeria and the world at large. There is a clear case of new terrorism in Nigeria based on the intervention and continuous use of the military in the battles against terrorists fighting in the name of Jihad, most especially when the military was not involved from the onset against Boko Haram. A respondent in the FCS-Muslim group opined that:

Before, the terrorists operate in the environment and it involves the Police. So, now it involves the military because the terrorists have left the environment and now operate at the borders. That's why the military came about.

This respondent believes that the reason behind the involvement of the military is the repositioning of the terrorists from the towns and cities to areas which are more rural and uninhabitable. Such areas are forests without any form of social activities. Upon further investigation on the change in tactics of Boko Haram, a respondent offered:

Nobody can count the number of tactics they have. They have so many [numerous] tactics that they come up with different ones daily. Their tactics is changing day by day. (RSP11)

This means that other new terrorism tactics could have been exhibited by Boko Haram in the war. In this light, RSP5 supported the contribution of RSP11 when asked if the tactics of Boko Haram had changed:

Basically, yes. In its own way, it has changed. They are no longer attacking towns. I think they are somehow decimated. Only recently, we have one or two attacks on towns unlike before when it was the order of the day, and before they will even send a message to say they are coming and they will actually come. So, right now we see them sort of on the run. We see more of the suicide bombings which mean they are hiding and striking. Definitely their tactics have changed.

The response of RSP5 in regard to Boko Haram being on the run and hiding was supported by a respondent in FCS-Muslim. The respondent clearly stated:

It has changed. It's not like before. At first, they used, as in to fight with the government face to face. But if you look at it now, they will just come and attack unknowingly. They are trying to just escape. But, if it was before, they will spend more than two hours in a town, operating, they don't care.

Even if government comes, they will find a means of attacking them. At the end, they can win the government. They are hiding themselves now.

From the findings, it is obvious that Boko Haram has definitely changed from what it was at inception to a more tactfully violent sect. Their patterns and tactics of attacks have changed in accordance with their growth and expansion, especially when faced with tough opposition from security operatives who seek to annihilate them. Based on the findings, the introduction of suicide bombings can also be considered a new tactic employed by Boko Haram. RSP5 believes that Boko Haram has been weakened; put under pressure, gone into hiding and forced to change their tactics, hence the preference of suicide bombers as opposed to more conventional exchange of fire which they initially used in their attacks. According to a respondent in FCS-Christian:

I think the tactics of Boko Haram has been changing to match and counter the attacks of the Nigeria soldiers. About two years ago, the Boko Haram insurgents entered every nook and cranny of Northern Nigeria; they use Bike; they use Keke NAPEP, which is tricycle. They use cars. They go to bus stops, parks, hotels and all those places to. But now, you can see that with the way soldiers are hammering on them, they have nowhere to go, so, what you see is the use of girls for suicide bombing. So, they have changed their tactics because of the way Nigeria soldiers are attacking them.

Countries such as Chad, Cameroon, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait had not experienced suicide bombing prior to 2015 (Action on Armed Violence, 2015). The use of suicide bombers by groups such as Boko Haram and ISIS has increased because of the effectiveness of using suicide bombers in raising the death toll from an attack. The very first case of suicide bombing in Nigeria was in 2011 when the Nigeria Police Force headquarters was bombed in Abuja by Mohammed Manga who was an established businessman (Salkida, 2011). British Broadcasting Corporation (2011) confirmed that the 2011 attack on the headquarters of the Nigeria Police Force culminated in the death of 6 people which included the suicide bomber. Despite the fact that Boko Haram was formed in 2003, the group did not explore the use of suicide bombers until 2011, whereas other terrorist groups, especially in the Middle East have been using suicide bombers for quite some time. This

indicates that Boko Haram did not utilize new terrorism tactics until it started carrying out suicide attacks. Basically, unabated and with little resistance from the military and the civilian segments, the sect grew in confidence over the years.

The respondent under RSP-Christian specifically mentioned the use of girls for suicide bombing. This assertion corroborates the existence of new terrorism in the form of child suicide bombing in Nigeria. Another respondent buttressed the claim that children especially girls are being used for suicide bombings:

In fact, I would say 80% of those Chibok girls are the ones being used as suicide bombers because if you notice most of the operations carried out by Boko Haram for the past one year since the Chibok girls got missing has been carried out by girls. So, I will say they Chibok girls are the ones being used for that and no other person apart from the Chibok girls. (FCS-Christian)

Although, some respondents in the Muslim focus group discussion agreed that children are being influenced to carry out the suicide bombings, it was due to poverty and other difficulties that they are faced with in the society. Almost all the respondents agree that Boko Haram is using children for suicide attacks. Though, RSP1 had more to say in regards to the subject of child suicide bombing:

It is terrible menace, it is terrible. It is condemnable! These are innocent children who do not know their left their right. So whatever ideology that Boko Haram has, nobody can convince me that the children are aware of the kind of ideology that they want them to fight. So, they are just using children as shields. They are using children to wreak havoc. It is terrible!

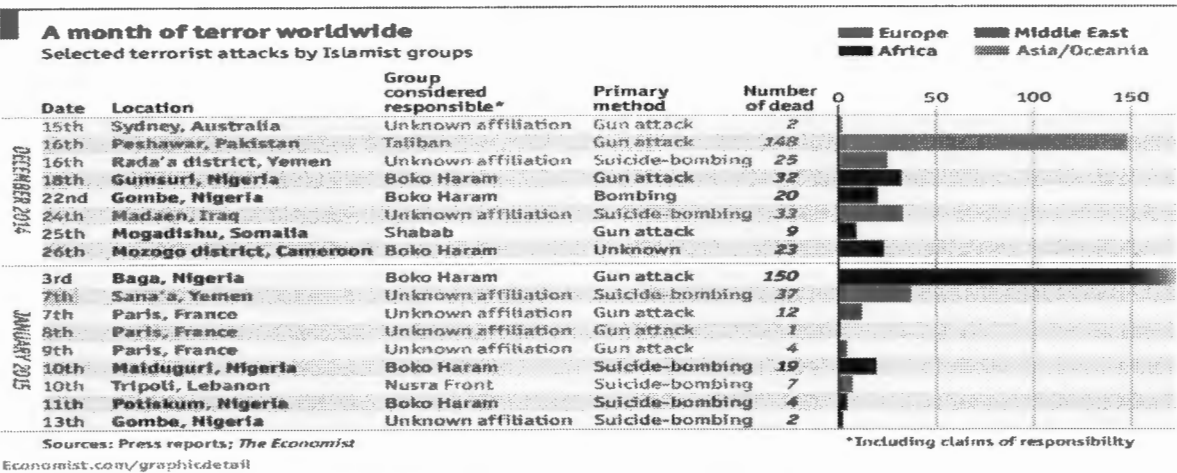
The children are not only being used suicide bombers but they are also used as shields according to RSP1. The response of RSP1 was strengthened by RSP8 who opined:

It's unfortunate that they will descend so low as to use children. And then we have heard situations whereby some of the parents are even the ones that donate their children. So, you begin to think what kind of fanaticism is that.

Well, it comes to the fact that well people are not educated. So, the narrative that Boko Haram is giving them that are what they will believe in. It is time for we other people, the good people, the government to begin to give a counter narrative.

The possibility of children being donated by their family members to Boko Haram for the purpose of using them as suicide bombers cannot be overlooked. Whether the children are used as human shields or donated by their parents, the fact remains that child suicide bombing is a new trend of terrorism which had not existed in Nigeria prior to 2014. The approach of using child suicide bombers is not widely used globally but it is employed by Boko Haram. The very first case of a child suicide bomber, who is believed to have a similarity to one of the captured Chibok girls, was in July 2014 at University in Kano (Obaji, 2015). “Since July 2014, nine suicide incidents involving children aged between approximately 7 and 17 years – all of them girls – have been reported. Their identity and exact ages have not been verified, as estimates are based primarily on eyewitness accounts” (Obinna, 2015). However, there have been several accounts of the inclusion of children and teenagers in terrorist bombings. Relatively, most suicide bombing cases in Nigeria involve more girls than women. Perhaps, the boys are being groomed as combatants and are not trained to carry out suicide attacks on behalf of the sect. Obaji (2015) asserts that girls are considered easy prey for suicide bombing because they can succeed in carrying out an attack without major scrutiny or suspicion from security operatives. Obaji (2015) further suggests that the use of women cannot be dissociated from the sublimation of women in Islam as the Muslim Hijab which is worn by women can conceal explosives. The Hijab makes it impossible to detect if a woman is carrying a bomb and they can easily mingle with other people, especially in public places such as markets, business centers etc. Obaji further explains that Boko Haram offers money in the region of about twenty five thousand United States dollars (\$25,000) to suicide bombers who in turn bequeath the money to their family (wife and children) before carrying out the life ending attack.

Chart 1.1 Global Terrorist attacks between 15 December 2014 and 13 January 2015.



Source: *The Economist* (2015)

The use of suicide bombs in terrorist operations seems to be an approach that is used in some developing countries with border insecurity. From the chart above, most developed countries have experienced terrorist attacks involving shooting as countries such as France and Australia had gun related terrorism attacks. Countries such as Yemen, Iraq, Nigeria and Lebanon experienced suicide bombing attacks within the period stated in the chart above. On the one hand, most developing countries have experienced terrorist attacks through bombing. Nigeria is at the top of the list of countries that have a high rate of suicide bombing. Action on Armed Violence (2015) explains that in regards to casualties between January to July 2015, Boko Haram was next to ISIS as it recorded the injuring and killing of approximately 637 people. “In all, Nigeria was the most dangerous country in the world during those seven months for civilians, with 1,261 civilian casualties from suicide bombs” (Action on Armed Violence, 2015).

Child suicide bombings have also occurred in neighboring Cameroon and Chad as a 12 year old girl strapped with a bomb detonated the bomb at a bar in Maroua, Cameroon (Weiss, 2015). Weiss further confirms that Boko Haram used a woman and a 10-year-old girl to carry out attacks which killed 50 people in Damaturu, Nigeria on 17 July 2015. Thus, child suicide bombing have occurred a lot in Nigeria and is now widely used in other

countries that are faced with the menace of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin area. Pertaining the use of some of the Chibok girls as bombers, Obaji (2015) opine that the Chibok girls could have been incorporated into terrorism and used as suicide bombers or murdered but paradoxically, the girls bodies would have been displayed to the whole world via social media if they had been killed. Therefore, there is a strong possibility that the girls are still alive and were not used as bombers. However, Boko Haram released a video in August 2016 showing about fifty of the abducted girls (Blair, 2016). So, what is the condition of the other girls who were not shown in the video?

According to Action on Armed Violence (2015), “in July 2015, at least six of the twelve suicide attacks perpetrated in Nigeria were carried out by girls reported to be as young as thirteen and ten.” The use of children in suicide bombing is a barbaric tactic which has been criticized by the US State department as unacceptable and senseless (US Department of State, 2015). Jean Gough, the UNICEF representative in Nigeria stated that “children are not instigating these suicide attacks; they are used intentionally by adults in the most horrific way” (Kaplan, 2015). Onuoha and George (2015) opine that the children been used could have been hypnotized and coerced into carrying out a bomb attack without them even knowing that their life is on the line. Action on Armed Violence (2015) assert that approximately 94% of all suicide related casualties in 2015 are civilians as they were the most targeted based on the modus operandi of Boko Haram which made them carry out attacks in places such as markets, police stations and churches.

On the other hand, weapons used by Boko Haram are highly advanced and sophisticated because of the sects capability to use IEDs. The use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) have led to the death of several people in Nigeria as it is one of the easiest ways to carry out an effective attack with more casualties. According to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2015), “an improvised explosive device (IED) is a type of unconventional explosive weapon that can take any form and be activated in a variety of ways.” This means that an IED can be produced out of a variety of materials and electronic gadgets. On the

other hand, a Christian respondent in the focus group discussion made mention of the quality of weapons being used by the Nigerian police as a factor behind the effort in tackling the sect:

Well, I don't think so because if we should discuss about weapons and everything that Boko Haram is using. I don't think the policemen are capable of having such things. A Boko Haram member will be holding a lot of weapons in his hands, but the police man will be holding a gun that it's not up to the standard of the ones that the Boko Haram members have. So, I don't think they can repel any attack or exchange of fire. (FCS-Christian)

The quality of weapons used by Boko Haram also confirms the sect is employing new terrorism tactics based on the weapons at their disposal and the way they are being used. A lot of the weapons being used by the police are not as standard as the ones being used by Boko Haram, So, the exchange of firepower will only lead to the defeat and dissuasion of the Nigerian police from further attempts to tackle the sect. Apart from IEDs, other forms of weapons are being used by Boko Haram in their operations. Some of the sophisticated weapons used by Boko Haram include rocket propelled guns, anti-aircraft guns and different types of machine guns (Niger Reporters, 2014). These weapons used by Boko Haram are the type of weapons used by the military and security operatives of most countries in proper warfare and these weapons are not just found in the possession of civilians. In 2014, the Nigerian army seized an Armored Personnel Carrier (APC) and a T-55 armored tank from Boko Haram at Konduga in Borno State (Sahara Reporters, 2014). The seizure of the APC and T-55 Tank happened after a heated battle between insurgents and the Nigerian army.

Onuoha (2013) asserts that the use of weapons such as Rocket Propelled Grenade (RPG) which can attack and tear apart targets from afar within a distance of about 900m. Onuoha further explains that the sophisticated weapons that are used by Boko Haram such as the mounted anti air-craft gun is a major threat to aviation travel in Nigeria because it can lead to aviation terrorism when aircrafts become the targets. It also makes the war against

insurgents difficult because military planes and helicopters can also be targetted easily by the weapons used by the sect. The origin of the weapons remains a mystery but Libya and Mali have been pinpointed as the sources of weapons found in the possession of the sect (Onuoha, 2013). The quality of the weapons used by Boko Haram confirms that new terrorism is prevailing in Nigeria from that angle because old terrorism involved the use of basic weapons such as pistols, shotguns and semi-automatic weapons that are available to civilians in certain countries.

In regards to the use of technology, Boko Haram has contradicted itself based on the sect's stance against the West, most especially Western education. Therefore, the sect is not supposed to encourage the use of phones, social media, medicine and anything related to technology because of its nexus with the West as most of them were made through Western innovation. Most especially phones, laptops and other forms of electronic gadgets are being used by the sect to make communication and networking easier. Through the use of technology, Boko Haram has been successful in maintaining a centralized network which would have struggled in the past due to the difference in locations and challenges encountered as regards the means of communication. For instance, the use of cell phones, laptops and social media are heavily involved in aiding Boko Haram attacks and publicity. The aspects of new terrorism that are not been explored by terrorist groups in Nigeria are the capacity to mastermind attack on the West or not being able to operate outside a comfort zone and lone wolf attacks. Nevertheless, the possibility of lone wolf attacks in Nigeria seems imminent because of the lapses of governmental lapses currently that are still prevalent in the society.

Furthermore, the emergence of lone wolf attackers cannot be ruled out in the future because of the religious background of the country, combined with the foundation and persistence of Boko Haram over the years. In addition, considering the racial diversity of Nigeria, lone terrorists have the potential of carrying out attacks in various parts of Nigeria because of the spread of Muslims all over the country. Just like Muslims, Christians are also present

in almost every state in Nigeria. Lone Wolf attacks and globalization seems to have a relationship because the global growth and consciousness of terrorist groups such as ISIS trigger the possibility of individual attacks by people who share in the belief and ideology of the Islamic religion or a particular religion. Thus, lone wolf attacks can also be carried out by someone with a different religious upbringing and ideology.

2.1.1 Activities of the Boko Haram in Nigeria

Aganwo and Wosu (2014:11) observe that Nigeria has every sign of a failed state because of the incessant operations of Boko Haram which are affecting the development of the country. The activities of Boko Haram amid several factors such as loss of lives, destruction of properties, displacement of residents and inefficient governance have a direct impact on the development of Nigeria. Aganwo and Wosu (bid) did not particularly assess the effects of Boko Haram on Nigeria's national sovereignty and neither did they put into consideration the position and influence of new media on national security. Although, their position on national security was robust, it failed to include other aspects relating to the sovereignty of the Nigerian state such as new terrorism tactics. According to Aganwo and Wosu (2014:13):

Nigeria's national security is threatened by the problem of inefficiency, collusion and despondency of its major institutions and structures as instruments of social action and rectification. This has ensured that the various governments and the state agencies have been unable consistently and institutionally to guarantee the adequate protection, peace and wellbeing of the citizens. This lapse has occasioned serious conflicts, situations of uncertainty, helplessness and instability that have compromised the very territorial and national integrity of this nation and exposed the bulk of the citizens to unnecessary fear, deprivation and chaos.

The incompetency of the government cannot be dissociated from the problems of insurgency plaguing Nigeria. Even the Niger-Delta militants emerged due to state inefficiency and poor governance. Without a doubt, Aganwo and Wosu focused more on

causes of national insecurity in Nigeria which also included Boko Haram. Thus, this research upholds Aganwo and Wosu's stance on national security even though they did not explore several other relevant aspects linked to Boko Haram and national security. Evidently, insurgency in Nigeria is expansive, depending on the context, period and area affected. In their analysis, Okoroafor and Ukpabi (2015) posit that "the concept and nature of insurgency always invoke the spirit of terror, evil, and rebellion against a constituted authority by those who want to undermine the efforts of an incumbent regime." This implies that insurrection always generates a negative effect, capable of destabilizing and usurping a state.

According to Folarin and Oviasogie (2014:1), issues bordering on unemployment, globalization and economic hardship were highlighted as factors which have spurred insurgency in Nigeria. Folarin and Oviasogie stress that these recursive problems are associated with insurgency in Nigeria, thereby leading to the formation and continuous operations of the Niger-Delta militants and Boko Haram. Folarin and Oviasogie assert that "There have also been problems of ideological and terrorist networks that have taken advantage of the instruments of globalization to emerge and threaten state sovereignty and its preservation"(2014:1).

The arguments advanced by Folarin and Oviasogie concentrate on areas that are not pertinent to the focus of this research, most especially because Boko Haram was thinly discussed in their paper. From inference, the scholars suggest that mechanisms of globalization have aided Boko Haram in terrorizing Nigeria. This suggestion is not completely true because at the same time that terrorism is a destructive Centerport has also been beneficial to globalization. Thus, the focus of this research is divergent from the assertion of Folarin and Oviasogie.

Salleh, Shehu and Shuaibu (2015) looked at Boko Haram threats on Nigeria's national security wherein issues such as the abduction of the Chibok girls and the intensification of bombings on mosques, police stations and schools were mentioned. However, the new tactics applied by Boko Haram in the form of child suicide bombing were not discussed extensively. National sovereignty was also peremptorily discussed based on the activities of Boko Haram which culminated in major attacks such as the attacks on the UN office in

Abuja which directly affected the international community. The literature explored in the study by Salleh, Shehu and Shuaibu (2015) also covered new patterns and types of weapons used; car bombs, suicide bombing and the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). These weapons and approaches are associated with the new techniques of Boko Haram but there are still several factors that were not analysed. Salleh, Shehu and Shuaibu (2015) posit that the inability of the Nigerian government to manage Boko Haram led to the presence and expansion of the sect into other African countries. But this spread can also be ascribed to a new terrorism approach. Thus, even though they are very similar and touch on some apposite key issues, the direction of Salleh, Shehu and Shuaibu (2015) is clearly not in line with this study as it does not address new terrorism in Nigeria in the light of national security and the new media.

Abang (2015:8) offer the postulation of national security which comes from a perspective of the insurgency taking place in Nigeria since the fourth republic and the possibility of these insurrections leading to the balkanization of Nigeria. The scope of Abang's literature on national security is broad as it dates back to the fourth republic and covers key periods such as the Nigerian civil war (Biafra War) which was instigated by the Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria as a result of their agitation for secession from a sovereign Nigeria. Abang largely examines how many other insurrections, which are mainly internal, have been difficult to repress for the Nigerian government. "The locals in the Northern part of Nigeria wonder why the Nigerian state and her security agencies cannot bring to an end this insurgency or terror committed against innocent people. Security of Nigeria people is paramount - the responsibility that government must not fail to ensure." Abang explains that the Nigerian state is considered incapable of providing adequate security for its inhabitants based on a host of internal insurgent activities since the fourth republic up till the current eighth republic.

From another standpoint, Omomia (2015:58) harps on the need for adequate security in Nigeria as a foundation for sustainable development which would woo investors and boost the economy. He further confirms that there is an existing relationship between security and religious fanaticism which can be either positive or negative. The relationship between security and religious fanaticism is such that development is expected as the dividend of a

working relationship based on the fact that some fanatics might extend the doctrines of a particular religion in a positive way that helps in preserving peace and security in a state. On the other hand, some fanatics might take advantage of certain aspects of a religion's doctrines to perpetuate evil and cause unrest and panic in the society, like in the case of Boko Haram. Omomia's perspective on national security looks at religious unrest in Nigeria caused by fanaticism as a threat to development and security in Nigeria. Omomia's position on development is similar to Aganwo and Wosu's stance on security and development except for the omission of the positive aspects of security on development by the latter. Also, Omomia's work lacks in-depth information on the history and attacks carried out by Boko Haram. For instance, the assassination of an Islamic cleric by Boko Haram was not mentioned by Omomia. These are scenarios that have catapulted the sect into its current height and hastened the spread of the sect within and outside Nigeria.

With particular reference to insurgency within Nigeria, Akanji (2015:58) argues that the national security of Nigeria is threatened by diverse factors which affect the unity, oneness, autonomy and geographic structure of the country to the extent that ethnic conflicts are rampant. Inhabitants of Nigeria struggle due to lack of inter-ethnic harmony based on the historical and colonial demarcations artificially created by religion, politics and culture. The main argument of Akanji is swung towards the conclusion that security threats in Nigeria such as Boko Haram are better interpreted within the context of the politically driven economy and make-up of the state which promotes and inclines citizens towards terrorism, militancy and other forms of insurgency (Akanji, 2015: 58). Again, politics has been pinpointed as having a link with insurgency in Nigeria. From a critical point of view, Aro (2013:1) argues that Boko Haram's widespread popularity started from the 2011 election due to the way religion was misconstrued, innocent people are killed and properties are destroyed. Once again, a lot of exploration was done on the causal factors of Boko Haram and how it affects national security in Nigeria but the media or new media was not included in Aro's submission and postulation. From a political perspective, Aro suggests that Boko Haram became effective from 2011. This claim is contestable as Boko Haram insurgency has been well known right from when it carried out its first attacks. In

addition, Aro (2013:2) assesses the consequences of Boko Haram on Nigeria and how to avoid more uprisings and further splinter sects from emerging.

In their analysis, Adeniran & Olutayo (2015:108) posited that Boko Haram insurgency is powered by violence across borders because of the similarity in language, culture and religion in the Northern part of Nigeria which seem to bring together states divided by imagined border lines and geographic demarcations. For instance, the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries of Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Nigeria have similar cultural and religious outlook, so this makes it easier for Boko Haram to recruit its members from these countries. Furthermore, Adeniran & Olutayo (2015:108) observe that Boko Haram combatants are mainly people of foreign descent from countries such as Chad, Niger and Cameroon. This is a suggestion which might be true because of the influx of foreigners into Nigeria through the porous Northern borders, while the spread of Boko Haram into the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries could have been a result of the involvement of these foreigners in Boko Haram activities within Nigeria. From most of the views and counter views in the foregoing, it can be deduced that the Boko Haram insurgency, as well as other forms of violent disposition in Nigeria has a lot to do with the fragmentation of the Nigerian state. Many prominent Nigerians, one of whom is Professor Wole Soyinka, while openly criticizing and condemning the sect, have also pointed at the problematic nature of the Nigerian state and the need for her to be decisive on the issue.

Professor Wole Soyinka, the 1986 Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature and also the first black writer to win the award, states that Boko Haram developed from Nigeria as a sect with a combined ideology of politics and religion (Taylor, 2014). This can be traced to the involvement of some members of the Boko Haram sect who were political thugs in the past and carried out the dirty job of politicians who later abandoned them. With the assertion that politicians aided in the establishment of the religious sect which is now a direct threat to Nigeria and some of its neighboring countries, especially the lake Chad Basin commission countries (BBC, 2014). Sharia law, which started during President Olusegun

Obasanjo's first tenure, also influenced the emergence of Boko Haram as the declaration and implementation of Sharia law by some states was not in line with the secular constitution of Nigeria (Cocks, 2014). Professor Soyinka reaffirmed that the emergence of Boko Haram was due to the freedom with which murderers continue killing with little restraint (Taylor, 2014). Nonetheless, the government could have delivered on its mandate at the beginning to effectively deal with joblessness and ostracism which are also some causal factors of Boko Haram, before it became uncontrollable (BBC, 2014). The Nigerian government has to come out strongly to mobilise and make a statement to the Nigerian public that they are ready to tackle Boko Haram on all fronts (BBC, 2014).

"The Boko Haram forces that would like to see this nation break up are the very forces which will not be satisfied having their enclave," he said. (We) are confronted with an enemy that will never be satisfied with the space it has" (Cocks, 2014). This implies that Boko Haram is targeted at covering as much geographical space as it can, irrespective of state and artificial boundaries. According to AllAfrica (2015b), Soyinka stated that the viciousness against humankind by Boko Haram suggests their lack of proper understanding and empathy given the levity that they have in carrying out attacks. He further stressed that the kidnapping of more than 200 school girls by the sect proves that the sect lacks morals, understanding and empathy regarding coexistence for the general good of humankind, most especially because of the possibility that some of the kidnapped girls are potential future leaders and experts. Even though Soyinka mentioned that the Nigerian army could no longer manage Boko Haram by itself and there is a need for international support, he failed to thoroughly address the extent to which the instability generated by BH has impacted on Nigerians and how the sovereignty of Nigeria is threatened. Also, there was no mention in his analysis of the media vis-a-vis the broader Nigerian audience receives, perceives and reacts to information about the sect and its operations, putting into consideration the rise in new media usage.

The spread in Boko Haram operations which is rife in the Northern part of Nigeria has been countered with stiff opposition since the militarization of the sect gathered momentum. Although the regime of ex-president Goodluck Jonathan was lambasted for incompetence and a lackluster approach in the fight against the sect, it curtailed the sect from gaining presence in other states like it had previously in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe where a state of emergency was declared (Sahara Reporters, 2013). Even though the sect carries out attacks in other states apart from Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, these are not regular. This is an indication that Boko Haram attacks are carried out in terrains that they know and understand. Ani (2014:511) assert that the operations of Boko Haram have affected the essence of Nigerian harmony because of the rate at which people are relocating to other parts of the country and other countries within and outside Africa. Ani (2014:511) further explains that the Boko Haram crisis has led to a breakdown of educational institutions and government parastatals in affected areas in the Northern part of the country. This means that affected areas in the Northern part of Nigeria experience a major setback due to the paucity of manpower and productivity experienced in that area as a result of insecurity and loss of lives. Ebiem (2014) argues that

“when the state or society that has received from the people their sovereignty and loyalty fails to provide, maintain or run these infrastructures and utilities for the benefit of the people, it means the state has abandoned its duties to the people and will no longer have any moral or legal right to continue to exercise authority over the people in such a society.”

As a result of terrorism, there is a halt to daily income-yielding activities in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria which has forced people to resort to relocation as a way of survival and security. Though Ani discussed Boko Haram's threats to Northern Nigeria and its impact on the peace and unity of Nigeria, it failed to holistically explore how Nigerian sovereignty can be fragmented as a result of the actions of the sect. Also, Ani discussed human rights abuses and violations in relation to the Boko Haram crisis but it did not elaborate on the inability of the Nigerian government to ascertain the true identity of the

migrants. This is important because terrorists take advantage of the situation and penetrate other parts of the country, disguised as migrants with a mission of establishing terror cells. With the intent of having a foothold in other parts of Nigeria, it becomes a catastrophe if Boko Haram annexes more states in a different geopolitical zone in Nigeria as the operations of the military get divided and weakened. Thus, Lyons and Lahai (2015:90) state that Boko Haram is the main security problem that the Nigerian state has to deal with because of the strain it has on law enforcement agencies as a result of the resources and manpower involved.

According to Hill (2012:22), the federal government of Nigeria is not totally in control of the sovereign region of Nigeria because of its inability to put groups such as Boko Haram and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) under its control, and the failure of the government to adequately protect its citizens. Though Hill did not mention the causative factors, his argument implies that the fragmentation of the Nigerian state is a result of several causative factors which include lack of education, poor human security, food shortage, refugee crisis, child abuse and migration. Issues such as poverty, corruption, ethno-religious conflicts and crime are basic causative factors which could diminish the sovereignty of a state when there are terrorist incursions that are minimally and ineffectually surveyed. However, there are other groups in Nigeria that pose a threat to the sovereignty of Nigeria such as Oodua People's Congress (OPC), the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and AREWA (Ezedani, 2015:58). Also, the recent secession agenda by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) poses another huge challenges to the sovereignty and unity of the current national, political and geographical arrangement in Nigeria (Vanguard, 2015). Basically, there are indications that portend the possibility of a feasible fragmentation of Nigeria because of the difficulty of the government to curtail these groups.

The new tactics employed by Boko Haram have made it more difficult for terrorists to be identified in the midst of millions of civilians. Women and children have become easy prey for Boko Haram who kill, abduct and enslave women and children to further their agenda. The tactics of involving women and children in terrorism are new terrorism tactics which instill fear in the civilians and assure protection for terrorists because of the damage they have done to the psyche of the civilians. People cannot live freely in the affected areas because of the fear of a reoccurrence or death in their communities. So, it worsens the situation because of the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as a result of the crisis. IDP camps have been set up in different cities in the Northern part of Nigeria to accommodate displaced persons. According to the International Organization for Migration (2008: 328), “refugees are increasingly portrayed as a threat to national security, a drain on public resources and a constraint to local development.” Thus, attacks by Boko Haram directly fuel the refugee crisis because of the rate at which women and children are leaving affected areas for other areas in Nigeria. Consequentially, the refugee crisis has an impact on the national security of a state. The International Organization for Migration analysed refugees and migrants with regards how they impact on national security. But it did not discuss in detail how the actions of refugees are inimical to the security in residential areas or country of origin.

Pertaining to the media, Ezedani (2015:138) opine that accurate information on Boko Haram is only made available to the public through the presidency, the private press and the Defence Headquarters (DHQ). Ezedani explains that the private press in Nigeria is very effective but has been criticized for taking the back seat in terms of reporting information due to fear, difficulty and challenges in accessing areas where attacks have occurred. The new media was not discussed by Ezedani and neither was his focus on national security and threats to Nigeria’s sovereignty.

The boom in information technology has taken over some forms of media which used to be standard avenues for disseminating and accessing information. People no longer have

to rely solely on traditional forms of media to gain access to information because of the emergence of new media which has resulted in the innovation of online news which appears to be faster in every aspect. More so, the appeal of new media is high when compared to previous forms of media because they function under different environments. As some scholars have argued, "it is now possible to access radio, television and newspapers from one source in the new media" (Adomi, 2010: 78). From Adomi's postulation, it is apparent that modern technology such as the internet precipitates the functionality of the media in such a way that traditional forms of media can be accessed through new media platforms. The possibility of listening, watching and reading both local and international news online has synchronized traditional media with new media. New media has now been recognized as a key aspect of the growth of the Nigerian economy because of the ICT boom; a lot of individuals and businesses now rely on the use of social media for marketing, e-commerce and disseminating and gathering of information (Columbia School of International and Public Affairs, 2007).

On a daily basis, social networking platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and LinkedIn are employed by Nigerians for networking, communication and business. The use of Twitter by the Nigerian government in reaching out to the public is gaining ground as it seems to be a reliable source for getting information. Politicians have also shown the will power to reach out to their enthusiasts and supporters through social media because of the number of high profile politicians that have signed up for Twitter, Facebook and other social networking sites to the extent that it is now a standard expectation of politicians to be on social networks. There is no doubt that Nigeria is going through a media evolution which has risen significantly since the beginning of the 21st century. Aderoju, Ibrahim and Onuoha (2013: 17) assert that areas such as power, telecommunications, marine, security, sports, information and transport have benefitted from the boom of ICT in Nigeria as they have now become easily accessible.

The development of ICT and the new media has been contemporaneous with the growth of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Presently, the use of social media in Nigeria, like in other parts of the world, seems to have no limitation with regards how it can be used in accessing and disseminating information. For instance, information can go viral on social media seconds after it is shared. Nonetheless, this affirms the correlation of national security and ICT as a result of previous circumstances and the way the new media is currently used by Boko Haram and other insurgents. ICT had little impact in Nigeria at the time the first militant groups such as the Egbesu Boys and MEND became a threat to national security. The period Boko Haram was formed matched with the time that ICT was gaining ground in Nigeria. The use of ICT has made it easier for information about Boko Haram and other militia groups to be conveyed from one source to the wider public without restriction from the government or any individual. Omotayo (2015:1) suggests that the transmission of and access to news has a direct impact on the fiscal power of a state. Thus, ICT is an easy way for both professional, independent and wannabe reporters to publicise stories without an iota of fear of never being heard because of the challenges and scrutiny encountered if one was to go through state regulated media channels. The contingent relevance of ICT to insurgency aided Nigerians who were influenced to learn and adopt the use of ICT because of the ease with which information could be made available in a short period of time. For instance, the use of new media platforms by Boko Haram has attracted a vast number of consumers to get trained on how to use the computer and the internet to access new media platforms for reliable information on this terrorist sect. People want the real deal and will do anything to make sure that they get direct information. Besides, many countries now rely on satellites and ICT in shielding their national interests as well as their geographical areas. This has led to the unveiling of 3 satellites in 2011 when the earth Observation satellites (NigeriaSat-X), communication satellite (NigComSat-1R) and NigeriaSat-2 were launched into space with the aim of amplifying issues and threats connected to national security” (Aderoju, Ibrahim and Onuoha, 2013: 17).

This study also scrutinizes factors such as national security in Nigeria, which has been a major concern for a long time because of various treasonable criminal activities perpetrated

in the state.. Okenyodo (2012: 5) opines that national security in Nigeria is interpreted in a myopic perspective such that it is believed to chiefly involve the security of a state, its citizenry, government and properties. This view is reflected in other factors which do not pose a direct physical threat to the sovereignty of the state. Undeniably, crimes such as armed robbery, kidnapping, oil bunkering, piracy, pipeline vandalism, militancy and recently terrorism have created insecurity and fear in the Nigerian public. Ogah (2011: 71) asserts that the national security of a state is hinged on her relevance and survival as a state in consideration of both the local and international environments. Both the internal and external causal factors have to be considered when examining the national security of any country. Senator Ike Ekweremadu, who is the current Deputy Senate President of Nigeria (2016) opines that the police are very vital in ensuring that the well-being and security of the people are well provided for; internal threats should be the worry of the police while external threats should be tackled by the military (Ekweremadu, 2013). If internal threats are the concern of the police force, terrorism in Nigeria is not only an internal threat to national security because of the involvement of the armed forces in tackling it. The presence of military personnel in the North Eastern part of Nigeria and also in areas like the Niger-Delta where there have been cases of militancy and kidnapping amplifies a threat to national security.

Thus, “to establish sound intelligence and national security policies, one must look thoroughly and eliminate all nuances that are inimical to the security of the country. In my opinion, the advent of carrying out such policies must be done in the following sequence, namely: micro security, macro security and strategic security” (Gbanite, 2001). The admissibility of Gbanite’s opinion on national security implies that the Nigerian government has encountered difficulties in putting together clear, well-structured and straight forward policies on national security as a result of the challenges in the political system where terrorism and corruption are major concerns.

Aderoju, Ibrahim and Onuoha (2013: 18) suggest that micro security is the domestic security of a country which requires law enforcement agencies and funding to carry out their work effectively; in Nigeria, government security agencies such as the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), the State Security Service (SSS), National Security Agency (NSA), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) amongst others, are responsible for the protection of the state from internal implosion.

Macro security is the wide-ranging security of a region which entails the security working in partnership, business initiatives and philosophical understandings of the success of a multifaceted regional body and for the security of the region; one of such multi-lateral bodies in Africa is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which is the regional body of West African states for harmonization and peace (Aderoju, Ibrahim and Onuoha, 2013: 18). The role of Nigeria in West Africa is dominant because of her role in ECOWAS. Prior to and since the inauguration of ECOWAS in Lagos on 28 May 1975, Nigeria has played a significant leadership role in piloting the body in the sub Saharan region of West Africa (Ojo, 1980:571). The fact that Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, combined with her richness in natural resources ,would have been a reason for total independence and the unwillingness to be involved in bodies like ECOWAS (Ojo, 1980:571). But Nigeria fully supported the creation of ECOWAS; a body which was formed to resolve inter-country battles and intraregional trade and cooperation among its member states (Wilson Center, 2007). With the vision of expanding, Ojo (1980:571) explained that the organisation grew from its initial fifteen member states to sixteen with the addition of Cape Verde. All these member states have experienced both internal and external conflicts which have posed threats to their autonomy. In the aspect of commerce, the Wilson Center (2007) confirmed that the European Union and the US were in negotiations towards strengthening business ties. But, in a big way, Nigeria has been at the fore front of peacekeeping and conflict resolutions in the sub-Saharan region of West Africa. Thus, Gowon (1984) states that

“if I have emphasised the role played by Nigeria, particularly after 1970, it is because international agencies and our future partners themselves recognised that, without Nigeria, there could be no effective West African community. By reason of its size, population and oil resources, Nigeria constitutes a core state, with no interest in territorial aggrandisement but concerned, understandably, with its own security and, therefore, with the stability of the region. These objectives are best served by policies of political cooperation, economic integration and adoption of a form of collective self-reliance.”

Gowon’s postulation clearly explains the need for internal security and the importance of regional stability for Nigeria. Without internal security, Nigeria is unable to protect its sovereignty and her territorial integrity is under siege and seriously threatened.

On the other hand, regional instability could lead to threats in the form of attacks being targeted at the state from another state within the same ECOWAS. Macro security is meant to checkmate any form of spread in instances where the regional security of a country is threatened. Other forms of threats under regional instability could be in the form of unchecked insurrections which grow from one country into several countries as in the case of Boko Haram. Presently, apart from Niger and Nigeria which are members of ECOWAS (International Democracy Watch, 2012); other countries experiencing Boko Haram attacks are not member states of ECOWAS. Countries such as Chad and Cameroon, together with Niger and Nigeria, can be grouped as the Lake Chad Basin Commission member states based on their geographic positions and their undertaking to work together which came into effect in 1964 (Sand, 1974:64). According to Salkida (2012):

Lake Chad is located in the far west of Chad and the northeast of Nigeria. Parts of the lake also extend to Niger and Cameroon. It is fed mainly by the Chari River through the Lagone tributary, which used to provide 90 per cent of its water. It was once Africa’s largest water reservoir in the Sahel region, covering an area of about 26,000 square kilometres, about the size of the US state of Maryland and bigger than Israel or Kuwait.

Figure 2.1: Map of the Lake Chad Basin area



Source: Channels Television (2015).

Evidently, Lake Chad is surrounded by Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria and it is a vital source of water to the inhabitants of these countries. Therefore, threats to national security in the area hinder a lot of social and commercial activities from taking place. Unlike ECOWAS, which was mainly established for regional cooperation for intraregional trade and interstate conflict resolution in West Africa, the Lake Chad Basin Commission was set up principally because of the development and protection of the Chad Basin as stated in Chapter 1 of the Statute (Sand, 1974:78):

Chapter I: Principles and Definitions

Article 1: The Member States solemnly declare their desire to intensify their co-operation and efforts in the development of the Chad Basin as defined

Article II. Article 2: For the purpose of this Convention the Chad Basin shall

comprise the area as demarcated on the map annexed to the present Convention.

Article 3: The Chad Basin is open to the use of all Member State parties to the present Convention, without prejudice to the sovereign rights of each, as stipulated in the present Statute, revision thereof, or subsequent regulations there under or by special agreement.

Article 4: The development of the said Basin and in particular the utilization of surface and ground waters shall be given its widest connotation, and refers in particular to domestic, industrial and agricultural development, the collection of the products of its fauna and flora.

Therefore, the ECOWAS is different from the Lake Chad Basin Commission in terms of its framework and mission. However, when faced with the scourge of Boko Haram, the ECOWAS countries and Nigeria are affected despite their distinct membership of the Lake Chad Basin Commission. This is an indication that the Lake Chad Basin Commission and ECOWAS could do more together in the fight against Boko Haram based on macro security because of their dual membership.

According to Aderoju, Ibrahim and Onuoha (2013: 18), strategic security is the last aspect of national security as it transcends boundaries and territorial borders compared to micro and macro security which are limited to a specific region. Primarily, the three types of security are interwoven because for regional security to function very well, the internal security of a country has to be guaranteed before venturing into broader security which extends to other regions of a continent. Over the past decades, Nigeria has been a major actor in peacekeeping, security and conflict resolution both in West Africa and the African continent. Alli (2012:12.) posits that the determination of Nigeria to become the hegemony in Africa has culminated in the protection of its geographical boundaries from foreign intrusion. In other words, the Nigerian government has increased security spending to boost its military power to defend and manage any impending crisis. This means that to a large extent, the national security of Nigeria has been stable and assured for the Nigerian government to have become a significant role player in Africa. In terms of micro security,

Nigeria has been tested in instances such as the 1967 Nigerian civil war and the emergence of militant and terrorist groups such as Boko Haram.

For the purpose of this study, it is important to have an insight into some the constitutional policies on national security in Nigeria as these constitute a basic frame for security in the country. Some of these constitutional policies as explained by Bello (2011:56) are:

issues relating to government responsibilities such as protecting the lives and properties of citizens as a state responsibility, improving standard of living as well as protecting the people's way of life are all national security issues which the government handle and address via public policies Section 14 (2) (a) of the Constitution. The Federal Republic of Nigeria provides thus:

It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:

- (b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and
- (c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Section 16(1) provides as follows: "The state shall, within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this Constitution:

- (a) Harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy;
- (b) Control the national economy in such a manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity;
- (c) that suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens.

Section 17(1) provides thus: “The State social order is founded on ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice.

(2) In furtherance of the social order:

(a) Every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law,

(b) The sanctity of the human person shall be recognized and human dignity shall be maintained and enhanced;

(c) Governmental actions shall be humane;”

(3) The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that:

(a) All citizens, without discrimination on any group whatsoever, have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment.

Section 18(1) provides thus “Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels”

Section 19 “The foreign policy objectives shall be:

(a) Promotion and protection of national interest.

(b) Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.

Section 20 provides thus: “The state shall protect and improve the environment and safeguard the water, air and land, forest and wild life of Nigeria.

Bello clearly lists the sections on national foreign policy as stated in the Nigeria constitution. Section 19 (b) corroborates Nigeria’s stance as a regional and continental power on the African continent. So, any action or move that goes against the aforementioned constitutional policies on national security can be deemed as a threat which is against the interest of Nigerian sovereignty. Having explored, interrogated as well as re

interrogated existing scholarly views on Boko Haram in Nigeria, vis a vis the incapacity of the state to decisively confront it, it is important to examine literature on the role of the media, first, at the level of terrorism generally, and brought down to the issue of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Now, the media, old or new, is known for dissemination of information and serving as society watchdog through its feedback mechanism. How has the New Media been reacting to these activities of the Boko Haram in terms of what its different posts disseminate to and analyse for the public, and in terms of the feedback such have generated?

2.1.2 Boko Haram and the New Media

According to Ekwueme and Obayi (2012:1), terrorism and the media maintain a contested relationship from which both benefit in a symbiotic manner. The media thrives through the coverage of terrorist occurrences which increases media audience, terrorism and the terrorist groups grow in popularity. Slocum (2005: 203) affirms that “former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher had it right when she proclaimed that publicity is the oxygen of terrorism.” This publicity oxygen has increased over the years with global impact such as the 9/11 incident and the emergence of groups such as ISIS. Furthermore, Ekwueme and Obayi (2012:1) state that the media has not been fair in their coverage of Boko Haram because their reportage of the sect seems biased. This means that the media sometimes omit certain details and add information to their reports which can have negative consequences on the subject of the news as well as all the actors involved. Popoola (2012:43) posits that there is a threat to media liberty despite the provisions in Article 22 of the 1999 Nigerian constitution which caters for broad reporting of happenings that are deemed relevant by the media in Nigeria. Clearly, these media laws have not been enforced and maximally applied due to the lapses regarding un-detailed media coverage. Popoola further asserts that the Nigerian media has limitations as journalists no longer feel safe due to death threats and attacks on their offices by Boko Haram. According to Vanguard (2011), a journalist, Zakaria Isa, who was working for the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) was senselessly murdered by Boko Haram. The sect further demonstrated their

anger and attacks on journalists when they killed 31-year-old Eneche Akogwu, a reporter with Channels TV who travelled from Lagos to Kano to record and get eyewitness accounts of the multiple bombings that occurred at Kano (Sahara Reporter, 2012). The death of both journalists created so much commotion within the media business circles in Nigeria and they remain the only cases documented wherein journalists were murdered by Boko Haram in Nigeria.

On the other hand, several journalists have received death threats from the sect as the sect seems to specifically target journalists for reasons best known to them but which may not be unconnected to negative reportage which did not conform to the action and intent of the sect for sanitized publicity (CKN Nigeria, 2012). Another worrying issue is the role and actions of the journalists shortly before they were killed by Boko Haram. Both Zakaria Isa and Eneche Akogwu were killed in the North shortly after they visited and initiated contact with civilians in areas where Boko Haram attacks had occurred (Committee to protect journalists, 2015). allAfrica (2015c) attests that Adeola Akinremi, an editor with the THISDAY newspaper in Lagos received death threats from Boko Haram through an email a little while after he published an article, “Why Boko Haram don’t deserve our amnesty.” Adeola Akinremi’s report was against the granting of amnesty to Boko Haram by the federal government of Nigeria for several reasons which also include crimes against humanity and children (allAfrica, 2015c). In response to Adeola Akinremi’s article, Boko Haram sent him an email which read in part : “you’re going too Michika calling yourself a brave journalist, but you’re a coward. We will get you. It’s your government that talks amnesty, we are not looking for amnesty. Allah is with us. You’re now a walking dead and a prey to the Lions of Islam from the bullet of a passing car or a nearby rooftop” (The Cable, 2015).

In addition, Boko Haram threatened to attack the Hausa Language services of Radio France International (RFI) and Voice of America (VOA), shortly after the Thisday newspaper office was bombed in Abuja by a suicide bomber who drove a car directly into

the premises (CKN Nigeria, 2012). The suicide bomber is alleged to have arrived in a black jeep and the security opened the gates shortly before the bomb detonated (Premium Times, 2012). Five staff sustained injuries as a result of the bomb attack while two security operatives lost their lives. The attacks are believed to have been planned to happen at the same time at both the Abuja and Kaduna offices of Thisday because another bomb blast occurred in Kaduna, at a very popular location for vendors and media houses which includes Thisday ((Premium Times, 2012). In other words, The Cable (2015a) summarizes that “in April 2012, the Abuja and Kaduna offices suffered simultaneous suicide blasts. The Abuja attack resulted in the death of an employee, three passersby and the suicide bomber, while the Kaduna blast also wreaked damage on the offices of Moment and Sun newspapers.” So, journalists and the media have become a target for terrorist groups such as Boko Haram because there have been reported cases whereby reporters have been kidnapped and killed by other terrorist groups in the world because of their reportage on terrorism.

Conspicuously, this has an ill-disposed effect on the reportage of Boko Haram as the quality and correctness of news been broadcast by powerful media houses have been thrown into question. Thus, Aljazeera (2015) posits that “amid these gaps in the story - the public is not getting the information they deserve.” Furthermore, while Popoola’s argument was generally based on the media and its liberty, it failed to discuss the social media and other forms of new media vis-à-vis Boko Haram operations in Nigeria. The new media is widely used in circulating information among the Nigerian public instead of the traditional forms of media. But the origin and validity of the information garnered and disseminated are very important. This implies that the authenticity of the initial source of information is very important. There are some elements of terrorist attacks that have not been reported appropriately by the media in line with the agenda of Boko Haram. Again, the new media was skipped in discussions concerning terrorism in Nigeria and the media. The Associated Press (2015) suggests that Boko Haram gets assistance from ISIS because of the sect’s new media wing responsible for its Twitter accounts and videos. The Associated Press did not expatiate on the issue of new media in relation to Boko Haram.

But prior to 2014, Boko Haram did not use the new media and social media to gain popularity but this recent approach has become operationalised and a pattern of cultivated interest has emerged about the sect. Associated Press did not discuss the relationship between the new media and the Nigerian public in relation to how the Nigerian audience gets information through new media platforms. Musa & Willis (2014: 238) explain the relevance of technology to terrorist groups in the form of social media which extends to the broad use of cell phones for texting and for remotely sparking off bombs by members of the sect. Musa & Willis (2014: 239) further elucidate that the use of Facebook and YouTube videos is becoming more widespread as the groups aim to get new recruits through the promotion of Islam on social media platforms. Musa & Willis did not, however, discuss the importance of social media to the audiences who are not enticed by the operations of the sect but rather it only just made mention of how the sect uses the social media in gaining more followers. Likewise, Musa (2012: 119) indicates that Boko Haram uses the media through members who go online in search of innocent civilians with the aim of brainwashing and enlisting them into the sect; members of the sect who are responsible for radicalizing people online operate under various aliases and with extreme care so that they cannot be traced or apprehended by law enforcement agencies. It is a common practice by most internationally recognized Islamic fundamental groups as they seek to expand in horizon and membership through technology. In Musa's conclusion, new media was not discussed apart from the mention of how technology is used by Boko Haram. This means that the aspect of new media was not the focus of Musa's research and it was just barely discussed in the research in how the sect orchestrated their recruitment and membership expansion. Ridley (2014: 127) argues that Boko Haram mainly used the media for recruitment and propaganda in such a way that some of their actions were intentionally faked to have an effect on the people. Ridley examined how Boko Haram's actions were designed to target young and susceptible people who could be enticed to the allure of the group based on their operations.

Here comes the path of the lacuna that the current thesis intends to explore. Very little, if any doctoral work, or any other rigorous academic work of this form, has focused on the New Media and Boko Haram, as well as the nature and character through which it handles the Boko Haram scenario. In other words, the central concern here is the use of the net for terrorism journalism, the employment of the internet by the general citizens who are not necessarily trained in journalism, on dissemination of information that concern terrorism. In the view of Conway (2006), such ordinary people range from political activists, members of organised interests groups, and governments officials.

Archetti (2015) observes that since the September eleventh attack on the United States of America, "much has been said about the role of technologies like the Internet and global communication networks in sustaining transnational terrorism, the spread of its ideology, and its recruiting activities". This has led to many claims and counter claims, amongst which is the fact that the New Media and the internet communications technologies have been fostering the process of radicalization of peoples around the world, aiding them towards embracing extremist views and ideologies.

There is a model that elaborately states that messages through the internet posts, especially those that seem to showcase the strength of terrorists when they carry out attacks, tend also to negatively affect the morale of soldiers fighting terrorism, and that this is more traceable to the new media where untrained general public report and analyse. Sphere headed by Stevens, T. and Neumann, P. R. (2008) and Helmus (2013), this position assumes that the public is passive and that different members of an audience tend to change attitudes and behaviour in a similar way upon reception—or injection/inoculation, continuing with the hypodermic needle metaphor—of the same media message. Today, this is widely called the strategic communication approach to counter terrorism.

However, the strategic communication approach has its weakness, especially based on its assumption that the information space in the digital age is far simpler and more linear than

it actually is. To start with, it provides a strong focus on “messaging”, and reflects a woefully outdated model of public-media interactions. It appears and extension of the Media Malaise theory. This is stated against the background that it is simplistic and highly generalizing. As Archetti (2015) observes, people neither buy every commodity that is advertised by advertising agencies, rather, and as pointed out by a range of communication theories, the public is both active and selective, and do not at all consume all the information that is “out there” in any media old or new, hook , line and sinker. Weimann (2014) provides another dimension to the argument by emphasizing that the terrorist groups themselves utilise the New Media to perpetuate terrorists act, and this had even commenced before the September 11 attacks on the United States.

The fact of all these is that deliberately or otherwise, the New Media may be aiding and abetting radicalization and endangering national security. In the view of Alarid (2016), many people who are radicalized online are not devout Muslims, in fact, some do not consider themselves very religious at all. It is also easy to categorize anyone recruited online as gullible, but this is simply not the case. In fact, many people who become caught up in online propaganda did not seek it out—it found them. The demographics vary widely. They may be barely or highly educated, young or old, male or female. Even financial status is no indicator. Online radicalization occurs in all economic classes. It reaches those of lower economic means and those who are financially stable.

The common denominator seems to be that everyone who is radicalized and recruited online feels sympathetic toward that group’s cause, and people who feel there is “something missing” from their lives appear to be more susceptible than others. Radicalization is more widespread where conditions of inequality and political frustration prevail. It often takes root in people who sympathize with the plight of the oppressed and wish to show their solidarity. Radicalized men and women alike often feel despair, humiliation, and outrage over injustice and perceive few options for influencing change (Weimann 2014). One brief moment of intense emotion evoked in them while they watch a YouTube video of innocent victims in Africa or the Middle East can be all it takes to spark their interest.

Once someone is mobilized, next steps vary. Some begin to research the causes that various extremist groups are fighting for. This leads to their discovery of the radical groups—and, more troublingly, to the groups' discovery of them. The Internet makes it easy to be found. A candidate for recruitment may come to the group's attention by making a financial donation, downloading extremist propaganda, entering a jihadi chat room, or visiting radical pages on Facebook. In today's environment, we see numerous examples of the radicalization process, from interest to recruitment, through execution of an actual mission, happening entirely online. This means that radicalizing and recruiting online has great advantages over the traditional (and riskier) public communications. Terrorist groups can reach out to an incalculably vast audience. With no travel required, cost is minimal, no logistics or transportation support is needed, and the odds of detection are low. And the newly radicalized need not necessarily pack up and head for the Middle East—jihadi groups encourage attacks at home to avoid the risk of infiltration while travelling.

The threshold for engaging in cyber jihad is markedly lower than for someone who gives up a familiar, comfortable life to travel to an actual battle zone and risk death or capture. If the notion of online activism as a proper, respectable, and sufficient form of jihad wins wide acceptance within radical circles, we can expect ever-increasing efforts in online propaganda and cyber attacks. This could further inspire yet more individuals, facilitating both radicalization and recruitment, and lead to a new cycle of attacks.

The use of social media for recruitment and radicalization did not just suddenly emerge with ISIL. Even before 9/11, al-Qaeda recognized the value in harnessing the “new” media. It used the Internet to broadcast its message worldwide and prospect for recruits. It used the Internet for operational purposes, too. Much of the planning for the 9/11 attacks happened using online platforms. The attackers communicated with one another through the Internet and researched their targets online (CIAG, 2007). Over time, terrorist groups have adapted their efforts with the changing battlefield landscape. In an undated letter to

Taliban leader Mullah Omar that was quoted in a 2014 International Security article, al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, observed that "90 percent of the preparation for war is effective use of the media." Al-Qaeda has long advocated *ghazwa ma'lumatiyya* ("information operations") and *harb electroniyya* ("electronic warfare").

The article's authors pointed out that bin Laden's successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri, shared this view. He spoke of the "jihad of the spear" and the "jihad of the bayan" (message, declaration). He considered the latter more important and praised the "knights of the media jihad," the "clandestine mujahideen," who are conducting it (Mark and Wilner 2014). Al-Zawahiri practiced what he preached, making his declarations known in several videos and magazines posted online.

Then there is a need to establish the peculiarity of the New Media in the context of Terrorism. The new media differs from traditional media in several fundamental ways. They enable any terrorist group to reach a huge audience and circulate its message worldwide, and they provide a way to ensure that the group's propaganda lives forever online. And social media are democratic in the sense that they enable anyone to publish or access information online. Social media are often used to incite fear in the general public and deliver threats (using tweets as one method), create a sense of community, radicalize others, romanticize Sharia law and the Islamic State, and offer travel advice and logistics for recruits.

As the Critical Incident Analysis Group (CIAG) points out, the Internet allows for vital dialogue between extremist ideas and inquisitive minds to take place in a virtual setting where infiltration is difficult: "For the post-Iraq (post-2003) generation especially, Internet chat rooms are now supplementing and replacing mosques, community centres and coffee shops as venues for recruitment."

Nearly everyone in business today, licit or illicit, understands the importance of creating online communities. Even small mom-and-pop shops that were reluctant to provide Wi-Fi to their customers or build a website to market their business know that if they want to succeed and grow their customer base, an online community is a great way to start. And higher educational institutions realize that to stay relevant, they must routinely offer online courses and degree programs. According to Don Hinchcliffe of ZDNet, "Online communities are seen as a way to organize people and accomplish work in a collaborative manner, across geographic and demographic boundaries. The world is beginning to understand that online communities aren't just for socializing; they are also for getting things done." Illicit power structures, and terrorist organizations in particular, understand this as well as anyone. As this study of al-Qaeda and ISIL shows, such groups have adapted the same platforms that we all commonly use and rely on. They use them to foster intra-organizational communication, radicalize the vulnerable, mobilize supporters, and recruit people from all over the world. And over time, they have become increasingly effective and increasingly efficient. Here are some key ways that they are leveraging the cyber universe to their own ends.

Apparently therefore, there is a need to explore how the new media has over the years handled terrorism, in terms of reporting and analysis as well as evaluation, and with focus on the Boko Haram in Nigeria, and how such handling has affected the national security of Nigeria. This is the intellectual lacuna, what Nwagbara (2015) calls textual gap that the current study intends to fill, and it is best supported by the New War Theory as a framework.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The New War Theory

The central idea of the New War theory is to intellectualize the distinctions between 'real', conventional wars such as the World War 2 and American Civil War, and other violent

human relations that are much more serious than conflicts, as deadly and destructive, if not more than war, but are yet not categorised as wars.

Whittaker (2012:303) observes that terrorism has a similarity with war as a type of violent force because of the response which might come in the form of harm - direct and indirect - killing, victimization. War and terrorism share a similarity in patterns regarding the methods of engagement and violation of certain fundamental human rights (Whittaker, 2012:303). Hence, the Boko Haram insurrection cannot be considered a mere conflict which Peace Pledge Union (2015) refers to as “the expression of disagreement over something important to both (or all) sides of a dispute.” Peace Pledge Union adds that conflict is possible to preempt, control and find a long lasting solution to a conflict when it can be construed. On the other hand, war is termed as “an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will” (Clausewitz, 2008). In this regard, Boko Haram insurgency can be termed a war because the sect coerces people to do their will in its quest to islamicize parts or all of Nigeria.

However, if Boko Haram activities are more serious than conflicts and best considered as war, it is yet not a war in the sense of its conventional meaning. The nature of war has taken a different dimension and it has changed compared to what it was about four decades ago (Firchow, 2005: 36). Kaldor (2013) posits that new wars can be considered as wars which have begun and evolved with globalization while the wars that occurred in the nineteenth century can be termed as old wars. According to Mary Kaldor, new wars find their origin in the context of the globalization of the 1980s and 1990s which she defines as ‘the intensification of global interconnectedness – political, economic, military and cultural’ (Franco, 2011). Kaldor (2013) argues that the awareness regarding wars has now made it to be termed as either old or new: for instance, it was easier for the killing of almost 200,000 people to be acceptable during the Second World War than for it to be accepted now because of globalization which is termed as greater form of human awareness.

People react sympathetically to the figure of combatants and non-combatants killed in a battle with less regard for the warring factions, irrespective of whether they are in support

or against a particular side. Fircchow (2005: 37) further asserts that new war mainly operates out of the conventional structure of a country and it is based on an evolving economy of war which involves politics. It has also been stressed that “Modern wars are seen as modern because they reflect the key distinctions of modernity: between public and private, internal and external, economic and political, civil and military, combatant and non-combatant” (Abujidi, 2014:14). To cap it up, new war comprises both state and non-state actors such as law enforcement agencies, the military, mercenaries and jihadists while old war chiefly involves the military and law enforcement agencies of a state (Kaldor, 2013). This means that religious terrorism has a nexus to non-state actors of new war because of the jihad factor. Kaldor (2009) further suggests that “old wars were fought for geo-political interests or for ideology (democracy or socialism).” Kaldor observes that the distinction between new wars and old wars is founded on the number of civilian casualty to non-civilian casualty which has risen in recent wars when compared to casualties in the previous wars (Ritter, 2010).

Franco (2011) supports Kaldor’s postulation that there are three key differences regarding the goals and basis which fuels the new war theory; the under mentioned distinctions are based on the means of warfare; goals and motivations; and the means of funding war. Firstly, Kaldor asserts that the beginning of globalization at the conclusion of the cold war replaced military philosophy with distinctive politics as the cause of conflicts. Kaldor acknowledges that there is the possibility of background ideas which can only be seen as primeval, unrealistic, and sentimental depiction (Franco, 2011). This means that the end of the cold war culminated in the birth of dormant hatreds amongst nations. These wars could have been silent for as many years as possible due to development and the activities that were the point of focus at that time (Franco, 2011). The second difference points to the approaches of combat and war. Kaldor elucidates that there is a move for a practice of fright and detestation which suggests fresh combat where civilians end up at the receiving end and are the most affected (Franco, 2011). This point is highly debatable and it is likened to the Clausewitzan trinity of citizenry, state authority and military with the unclear circumstances of new wars where fighters and civilians are embroiled and the arrangement

of the country is totally destroyed (Franco, 2011). Lastly, according to Franco (2011), the third variance of the new war theory is known as the new globalized war economy; basically, new wars would cease to be autocratic, structured and integrated but spread out in a way that there is joblessness and reliance on foreign means. Furthermore, in contrast to standard combat, new combats are fought by various elements which are also responsible for funding through illegal markets, foreign aid and looting, all-encompassing assistance from nearby state authorities, payments from various people, taxes of public-spirited assistance and prohibited business in weapons, diamond and crude oil (Franco, 2011).

New wars are fought in the name of identity (ethnic, religious or tribal). The new wars theories simply indicate that geopolitical and ideological factors are no longer the reasons behind modern war (Malantowicz, 2013: 53). New wars can also be triggered by the actions of politicians who divide their communities and societies for the control of power. Malantowicz, (2013: 53) further suggests that “political leaders apply identity politics to justify authoritarian policies and to mobilise political support by increasing fear and insecurity or simply to find scapegoats. This has been depicted in the assertion that the emergence of Boko Haram was because of desperate politicians who wanted to win elections by all means possible. So, politicians created a divide through their actions which led to widespread insecurity and culminated in the polarization of the society (Malantowicz, 2013: 53). This is why certain people can be influenced by the allure of insurgents while others firmly oppose insurgency. However, Kaldor weakened her views when she explained that new war was evolving and it was not necessarily different from old war based on the wounded and fatalities (Ritter, 2010). Kaldor shored up her point by her postulation: “my argument is that ‘new wars’ are the wars that come after the knowledge of those ‘wide barriers.’ After Hiroshima and Nagasaki came the realisation that war in Clausewitzian terms would lead, in Sakharov’s words, to “the self-destruction of civilization” (Ritter, 2010). Consequently, Face2face Africa (2015) argue that that in lieu of establishing an autonomous state from an existing one, the new war fighters are more focused on the breakup of the state through disturbances and on how they can amass wealth through the degeneration of the state. This is against the adoption and views of some

proponents of the new war theory. Moreover, sects such as Boko Haram did not put material benefit as their primary goal for fighting the Nigerian government; rather they have displayed other views such as inciting unrest and creating chaos with the purpose of Islamicising Nigeria.

The new war theories create the possibility for regional or international assistance in the form of military forces that are assigned to help in the fight against insurgency (Malantowicz, 2013: 53). Based on this postulation, the launch and approval of a Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) to tackle Boko Haram by the African Union affirms that new war theory is prevalent in Nigeria and its neighboring countries. Over the years, the African Union and other intergovernmental organizations have been equipped and prepared to tackle threats such as new wars. This help has now come in the form of international alliance and assistance which has led to the formation of Boko Haram as countries such as the United States which donated the sum of \$5 million to the MJTF (Premium Times, 2015). Linda Thomas-Greenfield, the US assistant secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, stated that “the United States is providing strong support to AU on security, as it has a strong partnership with Africa on security. We are working closely with the Lake Chad Basin countries: Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon to address the issue of Boko Haram” (TheCable, 2015b). Also, President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria donated \$21 million to the MJTF (The Guardian, 2015a). It is good to note that Nigeria has recorded more attacks than any of the other countries affected by Boko Haram since its inception. The intervention and the aid rendered by the international community implies that the Boko Haram insurgency has some characteristics of new war.

Some scholars who believe in the new war theory support one or more of the following regarding the theory:

- (1) the number of civil wars is increasing;
- (2) the intensity of battle is increasing;
- (3) the number of civilians displaced in civil wars is increasing;
- (4) the number of civilians killed in civil wars is increasing; and
- (5) the ratio of civilians to military personnel killed in civil wars is increasing (Hall, Melander and Öberg, 2006: 11).

All of the 5 points have been displayed and witnessed in the Boko Haram crisis. For instance, the number of attacks has increased since the first attack by the sect some years ago; they have annexed cities and villages and in the process gone into battle against the military and MJTF on a regular basis. This confirms that the intensity of the battle is getting stronger and wars are increasing as a result of the location of the fights taking place more frequently. Hall, Melander and Öberg (2006 : 13) opines that different methods of financing battles, innovation, technology, philosophies and a declining state have a strong effect in new wars as it fuels the ferocity of the battle. It is not unusual for people to be displaced in war torn regions and countries: a lot of people have been displaced in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria and in areas around the borders that separate Niger and Nigeria; Chad and Nigeria; Cameroon and Nigeria (Odunmorayo, 2015). According to Eze (2016), Nigeria has the highest number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world with about 5 million people displaced as a result of Boko Haram. The number of civilians that have lost their lives as a result of the Boko Haram crisis has been on the increase and in 2014, Nigeria recorded more casualties as a result of Boko Haram attacks compared to any other Lake Chad Basin commission countries (The Guardian, 2015b). Hall, Melander and Öberg (2006: 14) assert that combatants (Boko Haram) are more likely to target non-combatants (civilians) in fights with the aim of satisfying their economic necessities and political aims as murders and population dispersal is believed to be a way of obtaining political authority which hinges on identity, while non-combatants are targeted because of the resources they have which support the combatants during the course of the war. The political authority in this sense is the sovereignty and creation of a new state which Boko Haram seeks through Islamification and terror.

In 2014, 6,347 civilians are believed to have lost their lives in Boko Haram related fighting (The Guardian, 2015b) while about 3,500 civilians are believed to have lost their lives in Boko Haram related attacks in 2015 (Vanguard, 2015b). However, this is not the final death toll for 2015 as this figure was published in October 2015. Lastly, the proportion of civilians to military officers killed is increasing by the day but it seems to be the only weak point regarding the operations of Boko Haram because it is difficult to enumerate the exact death toll of the military personnel as the death toll of civilians is way more than that of

the military officers. The deaths of military officers are not widely discussed compared to civilians, but this is an affirmation that civilians suffer the most in new wars with less regard for their safety and protection by the warring factions (Hall, Melander and Öberg, 2006: 19).

Ultimately, therefore, new wars are wars of the 20th century and are handled by the New Media of the 21st century. While the conventional wars of the pre globalization era were reported by radio and television channels as well as newspapers, the new war is essentially reported and analysed by the New Media through their posts on the twitters, Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and so on. Even the conventional media forms such as newspapers, including radio and television now rely heavily on the New Media posts in order to achieve wide, global circulation as almost all newspapers, radio stations and television channels are no 'online' and disseminate their information through the New Media Posts (Akanji 2016).

When the activities of the Boko Haram are posted on the New Media therefore, they come through both credible and incredible, known and unknown, certified and uncertified sources. The reported activities can originate from the media to the general public, which include the Boko Haram members while the Boko Haram members too utilize the same post to disseminate their information. During analysis, the audiences that respond to postings are so diversified that they can be anything ranging from secret government agents, activists, radicals, extremists, policy makers and so on. All these have implications for the National security of Nigeria as will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter covered the techniques employed in making the area of study researchable and worthwhile. The various research methods used encompasses the scope, area of study, sample population, sample size and selection method, data collection sources and methods of data analysis. The primary sources used in obtaining information in this research was paramount in making the research deeply grounded. Most previous scholarly related work had disparities and lacked credibility as a result of poor or zero first hand information.

3.1 Research Methods

This research work adopts the qualitative methods. The choice is informed by the researcher's task of linking terrorism with the new media in the context on Nigeria's national security, so, as Liebscher (1998: 669) rightly recommends that "qualitative methods are appropriate when the phenomena under study are complex, are social in nature, and do not lend themselves to quantification", the researcher settles for it.

Similarly, Roller (2017) observes that researchers conduct qualitative research because they acknowledge the human condition and want to learn more, and think differently, about a research issue than what is usual from mostly numerical quantitative survey research data. From this premise Roller joins another scholar in identifying certain characteristics that are unique to qualitative research. Along with Lavrakas (2015), Roller asserts that Absence of "truth", Importance of context, Importance of meaning, Researcher-as-instrument, Participant-researcher relationship, Skill set required of the researcher, Flexibility of the research design, Types of issues or questions effectively addressed by qualitative research, Messy analysis and inductive approach as well as Unique capabilities of online and mobile qualitative research.

With all the emphasis in qualitative research on reality and the human condition, it might be expected that qualitative inquiry is in the business of garnering “the truth” from participants. Instead of “truth,” the qualitative researcher collects information from which some level of knowledge can be gained. The researcher does not acquire this information and knowledge in a vacuum but rather in a context and, in this way, the research data are a product of various situational factors. For this reason, qualitative researchers do not talk about the “truth” of their findings but rather the “plausibility” of their interpretations.

A relevant factor in the elusiveness of “truth” is the central and significant role context plays in qualitative research. Whether it be the physical environment or mode by which an in-depth interview (IDI), group discussion, or observation is conducted the outcomes in qualitative research hinge greatly on the contexts from which we obtain this data.

Although the goal of all research is to draw meaning from the data, qualitative research is unique in the dimensionality of this effort. Qualitative researchers derive meaning from the data by way of multiple sources, evaluating any number of variables such as: the context, the language, the impact of the participant-researcher relationship, the potential for participant bias, and the potential for researcher bias.

Along with the emphases on context, meaning, and the potential for researcher subjectivity, qualitative research is distinguished by the fact it places the researcher at the center of the data-gathering phase and, indeed, the researcher is the instrument by which information is collected. The closeness of the researcher to the research participants and subject matter instills an in-depth understanding which can prove beneficial to a thorough analysis and interpretation of the outcomes; however, this intimacy heightens concerns regarding the researcher’s ability to collect (and interpret) data in an objective, unbiased manner.

Closely associated with the idea that the researcher is the tool by which data are gathered is the important function of the participant-researcher relationship in qualitative research and its impact on research outcomes. This relationship is at the core of IDIs, group discussions, and participant observation, where participants and researchers share the

“research space” within which certain conventions for communicating (knowingly or not) may be formed and which, in turn, shapes the reality the researcher is capturing in the data.

Qualitative research requires a unique set of skills from the researcher, skills that go beyond the usual qualities of organization, attention to detail, and analytical abilities that are necessary for all researchers. Techniques to build rapport with participants and active listening skills are only two examples. Qualitative researchers also need a special class of analytical skills that can meet the demands of “messy analysis” (see below) in qualitative inquiry where context, social interaction, and numerous other inter-connected variables contribute to the realities researchers take away from the field.

A defining characteristic of qualitative research is the flexibility built into the research design. For instance, it is not until a focus group moderator is actually in a group discussion that he or she understands which topical areas to pursue more than others or the specific follow-up (probing) questions to interject. And, a participant observer has little control over the activities of the observed and, indeed, the goal of the observer is to be as unobtrusive and flexible as possible in order to capture the reality of the observed events.

Qualitative research is uniquely suited to address research issues or questions that might be difficult, if not impossible, to investigate under more structured, less flexible research designs. Qualitative inquiry effectively tackles: sensitive or personal issues such as domestic violence and sexual dysfunction; intricate topics such as personal life histories; nebulous questions such as “Is the current school leadership as effective as it could be?”; and contextual issues such as in-the-moment decision-making. Similarly, qualitative research is useful at gaining meaningful information from hard-to-reach or underserved populations such as children of all ages, subcultures, and deviant groups.

Without a doubt, qualitative research analysis is messy. The analysis of qualitative data does not follow a straight line, where point ‘A’ leads to point ‘B’, but rather is a multi-layered, involved process that continually builds upon itself until a meaningful and verifiable interpretation is achieved. The messiness of the interconnections, inconsistencies, and seemingly illogical input reaped in qualitative research demand that

researchers embrace the tangles of their data from many sources. A large contributor to the “messiness” of the analytical process is the inductive method. Qualitative researchers analyze their outcomes from the inside out, organizing and deriving meaning from the data by way of the data itself.

Online and mobile technology offer unique enhancements to qualitative research design. In large part, this technology has shifted the balance of power from the researcher to the online or mobile participant who is given greater control of the research process by way of more flexibility, convenience, and ways to respond in greater detail and depth to the researcher’s questions.

The power of the qualitative method is in its descriptive strength in giving vivid information on the area of research which provides a thorough understanding and justification for social communications and human performance. Babbie (2007) explains that most research often requires the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods despite their incompatibility. “Qualitative analysis involves a continual interplay between theory and analysis. In analyzing qualitative data, we seek to discover patterns such as changes over time or possible causal links among variables” (Babbie, 2007:401).

Therefore, this research operationalises qualitative methods because of the complexities and exploratory context which requires a mixture of research methods. The mix in methods was not a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, but a combination of methods under qualitative research such as historical and exploratory methods. According to JHA (2014:106), a historical method denotes an investigation into past occurrences to ascertain how the present events can act as a critique of past events. The present is basically an important aspect of assessment and evaluation as it explains better about the current situation regarding the research area. The historical approach involved the “systematic collection of data which was preceded by the objective evaluation of information related to past events so as to test hypotheses in regards to their causes and effects in order to be able to explain the present trends and have focus on the future” (Busha & Harter, 1980: 90). The historical approach is important to this study because of its significance towards understanding the history of the Boko Haram scourge in Nigeria and its interplay with the

media. JHA (2014:106) asserts that historical research method is a type of exploratory research. So, there is no major difference between the research methods and ultimately this research is exploratory, but other methods under exploratory research such as ethnography was not applicable to this study.

The use of data collection methods such as in-depth interview and focus group discussions are the major research strands in this study. The mix of both focus groups and in-depth interview is unique as it gives an insight into the area of study in two different ways: in focus group discussions, the contributors discuss the area of study from their individual perspective as a group while in-depth interviews allow participants to give their individual or direct input about the area of study as individual participants whose experience of the Boko Haram phenomenon is extensive (Hagglund, 2009). Focus group discussions were thoroughly conducted interviews done as a group with the interviewer asking questions while a group of people (interviewees) responded; in-depth interview on the other hand chiefly involved an interviewee and the interviewer. Both methods of data collection involved the participation of the interviewees in a way that their perceptions about the area of focus are relevant to the entire research. In analyzing the data, content analysis and thematic analysis was applied.

3.2 Study Area

This study is majorly carried out in Nigeria, specifically, the North East of the country where activities of Boko Haram is most complex. However, interview of key informants is extended to audience and users of the New Media, some parents of the Chibok Girls as well as other stakeholder. Boko Haram members are excluded as there are no safe possibilities of getting to them even when there are indications of their negotiating with the Federal Government of Nigeria. Such negotiation will be done under heavy states security and the researcher will not have access to them. In its sampling therefore, the study dealt with people of diverse backgrounds with a strong inclusion of Hausa and Fulani affiliations who have been directly and indirectly affected by this conflict. Security and government parastatals were also contacted for their input regarding this study because of their daily involvement in terrorism related issues. Also, Christians and Muslims residing in the Northern part of Nigeria were included in this study. NGO representatives, journalists and

social media personnel across the country were also interviewed to produce a robust data set essential for such a study.

3.3 Sample Population

The population of this study is a combination of several key players who constituted the basis for this research. The most discussed actor, Boko Haram, in this research cannot be included in the sample population because of the difficulty and risk involved in interviewing their members. As a result, a majority of the sampled population are people who make up the new media audience in Nigeria with little or no affiliation to the government or Boko Haram. Some relatives of the abducted Chibok girls were sampled. Muslims and Christian residing in the Northern part of Nigeria were considered to be vital to this research because they are hail from the affected areas in the North.

3.4 Sample Size and Selection Method

The sample consisted of both men and women from various ethnic and religious backgrounds in Nigeria. The respondents were purposively chosen to reflect the various geopolitical zones, professions and age groups. The sample consists of people who are very knowledgeable about Boko Haram and its operations in Nigeria. In addition, the sampled people have resided in the affected areas in the Northern part of Nigeria where Boko Haram attacks are rife. As a matter of fact, one of the participants is from Chibok and is an uncle to three of the girls kidnapped in Chibok, Borno state. Interviewees from states such as Adamawa, Yobe, Bauchi and Zamfara also participated in the study. The percentage of people accessing the new media is very low and is between the ages of 18 and 55. However, this percentage does not mean everybody within the ages of 18 and 55 have access to social media and the internet although the percentage of Nigerians with access to ICT is now more compared to what it used to be about a decade ago when the use of cell phones and other ICT devices were considered a luxury instead of a necessity. According to FinIntell (2012), the ICT sector's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) soared from

below 0.5% evaluated in 2001 to approximately 6% in 2012. So, the new media audience is an important sample to this study as it cuts across users of different ages, ethnicities, religious, socio-cultural and political background. However, the identities of most of the respondents were protected and hidden in a fashion that can be termed as anonymisation.

3.5 Data Collection Sources

This research is a qualitative study and was conducted using data procured from both primary and secondary sources. It uses a combination of primary and secondary sources as information sources. Thus, interviews were recorded and later transcribed while direct questionnaires were used in some cases.

3.5.1 Primary Sources

The following primary sources are utilised in the study.

3.5.1 (i) In-depth interview

In-depth interview is a very effective method of getting direct primary data for social research. Hence, in-depth interview was one of the primary sources for obtaining data for this research.

In-depth interview is a form of qualitative research that entails the carrying out of thorough interviews with a few participants with the intention of finding out their views and ideas regarding a particular salient subject of interest (Boyce & Neale, 2006:3). According to the postulation of Allmark, Boote, Chambers, Clarke, McDonnell, Thompson & Tod, (2009:3), in-depth interviews are typically unstructured or semi-structured. The participants are interviewed individually and contribute immensely to the research as a result of their familiarity with the subject or official position. For instance, a key official of Bring Back Our Girls organization contributed immensely to the data because of her knowledge of Boko Haram's abduction of children and how it embodies the basis of the organization. Marsiglio (n.d) assert that if in-depth interview is done appropriately, researchers assist respondents to reflect their individual involvements in a meaningful way.

Berry (1999) suggests that in-depth interview is also referred to as a qualitative interview which is used by researchers to produce data with the aim of having an all-inclusive understanding of the respondent's perception. In the pursuit of detailed and distinctive data regarding an individual's ideas and actions which may be a new subject, in-depth interview is vital (Boyce and Neale, 2006:3). In-depth interview is used in giving background to a subject area by making the information more detailed and whole. For instance, an account of Boko Haram by a reporter working with the *SUN* Newspaper is different from that of a reporter working with the *Leadership* newspaper. This is due to the fact that both reporters have different accounts of a particular event and might have come across several facts, combined with the possibility of meeting people with different versions of what transpired.

Marsiglio (n.d:1) explains that the interviewee is responsible for majority of the work in an in-depth interview as he/she does most of the talking in a very relaxed and calm manner. The interviewee also takes time in responding to questions delicately to ensure that their input is meaningful and helpful. The fear of giving a wrong response in an in-depth interview actually spur an interviewee to give a very sound input, unlike in a focused group interview where people can reply to questions without caution due to the fact that it is a group presentation. Whereas, some people may not be comfortable participating in group interviews and would prefer a one-on-one and private interview.

In-depth interview stands out from other data collection techniques because it offers rich data as a result of the ease that the interviewee has (Boyce and Neale, 2006:3). Although, in-depth interview has some disadvantages which affect the validity of the accumulated data; in-depth interview is vulnerable to unfairness in a way that the interviewee will respond to questions in defense of an interest which may not truly represent their view or the truth regarding the subject (Boyce and Neale, 2006:3). This means that the researcher has to ensure that there is little or no partiality because feedbacks from interviewees may be partial because of interests. There are also setbacks experienced in the form of articulation and rambling which usually happens in some interviews where the interviewee is uncooperative or uninformed (Marsiglio, n.d:4)

Another advantage of in-depth interview is the time involved in processing the data which entails the actual interview, data decoding and end product analysis (Boyce and Neale,

2006:3). It takes some time for the data to be analysed because of the care involved in getting to a good conclusion. Also, the researcher has to know how to go about the interview session to avoid any mistake that will make the interviewee feel uneasy, distracted and confused (Boyce and Neale, 2006:4). This means that the researcher has to be highly principled and calm about the way they ask questions as this will help the interviewee to settle in and respond maximally. Although, uneasiness and setbacks were encountered in some cases were illiterate interviewees who participated in their local dialects and with little English where interviewed. The assistance of a local and someone who understands the language made the processing time easier and faster.

Lastly, generalizability is not applicable in in-depth interview: effects obtained through in-depth interview cannot be generalized because the analysis entails minor samples but does not apply the use of random sampling techniques (Boyce and Neale, 2006:4). Therefore, it is difficult to analyse in-depth interview information by generalization and supposition based on a small sample when compared to samples used in other techniques. However, the repetition of a theme or subject connotes a satisfactory sample dimension has been gotten. In-depth interview data collection process uses the same research process that is used by other techniques: The stages involve planning, developing, instruments, data collection, data analysis and conclusion dissemination which can also be referred to as findings dissemination (Boyce and Neale, 2006:4).

Pertaining to this study, a few specific Nigerians were interviewed because of the complexity of Boko Haram and also because of the use of qualitative methods in procuring data. The interviewees comprise of journalists who are affiliated to media houses. Interviews were also conducted with individuals affiliated with the Nigerian military, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), Christians and Muslims. It was not possible to directly get information from individuals in the affected areas because of the danger involved. However, a relative to three of the kidnapped Chibok girls was successfully interviewed. Thus, interview techniques which are precise and organized for a successful outcome in order to obtain positive feedbacks from the interviewees were employed. Primary sources include in-depth interviews and focused

group discussions while the secondary include printed material of books, journal and news materials.

3.5.1 (ii) Focused Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were also used in this research because of the need to have a robust feedback from interviewees regarding the area of study.

According to Wilkinson (2004:177), the application of focus group in social science dates as far back as 1920 but it was efficiently used in the area of marketing and business sometime in the 1970's. The use of focus group in marketing had to do with research and opinion seeking survey orchestrated by politicians (Wilkinson, 2004:177). "Powell et al define a focus group as a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research" (Gibbs, 1997). The topic was explored thoroughly because of several factors such as the luxury of time which was afforded the interviewees/participants. Many a time, focus groups are used as a sole technique in research by some researchers (Barbour, 2008). But it can be combined with other qualitative methods or in a mix of both qualitative and quantitative research (Barbour, 2008).

In a focus group discussion, people interact, debate, argue, crack jokes and try to influence the discussion and argument (Wilkinson, 2004:188). Gibbs (1997) posits that participants in a focus group might take charge of a focus group discussion compared to an individual interview such as in-depth interview where the interviewer has more control and power. Gibbs also stresses that in a focus group interview, more information is elicited within a short period of time because of the diversity of the selected participants and the quality of information that each participant possess. Wilkinson (2004:177) asserts that focus group approach can misleadingly be seen to be plain without any complexity. However, this is not true as the focus group technique has its own challenges as the interviewer deals with lots of interviewees/participants that may want to respond to questions at the same time or keep silent due to lack of information concerning an area of discussion. There are many other characteristics of focus group which broadens its complexity; according to Gibbs (1997), focus groups can ultimately turn out to be a medium of transformation due to the

interactions during the interview and the effects it has afterwards on the participants. Therefore, the researcher/interviewer is not the only one who benefits in the form of data accumulation from a focus group discussion, the participants also stand a lot to benefit in the form of exchange of views and ideas concerning a particular subject as a result of feedback received in the process of discussing.

Furthermore, creating an enquiry or set of questions is very important in a focus group discussion; when forming a set of questions, the types of the questions and number of questions should be put into consideration as the question have to be framed to connect with the research questions and objectives (Health and Safety Executives, 2000). Essentially, the questions asked were relevant to this research. Furthermore, the selection of participants is very important because the participants should be able to contribute in-depth to the discussion for a proper collection of data and they should be comfortable working together as a group (Health and Safety Executives, 2000). In this regard, participants who are not relevant to the research or who have little or no information regarding the subject were not included to avoid unnecessary problems that can be averted as the quality of the data is very important and should not be compromised. According to Health and Safety Executives (2000), the role of the researcher is very important because he/she has a major task in ensuring that probing is done to stimulate the discussion and to encourage participants to openly discuss issues “During the meeting moderators will need to promote debate, perhaps by asking open questions. They may also need to challenge participants, especially to draw out people’s differences, and tease out a diverse range of meanings on the topic under discussion” (Gibbs, 1997).

For the purpose of this research, a group comprising of mainly literate Christians residing in the Northern part of Nigeria were interviewed. The same process was applied to the Islamic religion where an interview was conducted with Muslims only based in the Northern part of Nigeria. In total, 10 participants, comprising of both Muslims and Christians were involved in the focus group qualitative discussions. Furthermore, both focus group interview participants are people who regularly use the new media and social media, irrespective of their location in Nigeria.

3.5.2 Secondary Sources

For this research, the sources of secondary data were journal articles, newspapers, books, government reports, publications and the internet. Secondary sources provided broad data which complemented the primary sources to add purpose and significance to this study.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Both content analysis and thematic analysis were used in this study. Content analysis and thematic analysis were employed in analyzing both primary and secondary data in this research.

3.6.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a commonly used research technique which has been effective in the past; instead of being a single method, recent applications of content analysis portray three separate methods which are conventional, directed and summative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1277). In the conventional approach, the investigator goes through a text to understand it and plans content classifications from the analysed data (Lewis and Zibarras, 2013:85). It is a traditional method that involves the assessment of materials which is followed by categorization. On the other hand, the directed approach is where a prevailing philosophy or concept is applied in the study (Lewis and Zibarras, 2013:85) “Directed content analysis is a method in which initial coding starts with a theory or relevant research findings (Wildemuth and Zhang, 2009:2).” For instance, the new wars theory and framing theory are the pivotal theories in this research. In the directed content analysis approach, this implies that categories derived from the current research are tested against constructs that shape new wars theory and framing theory. In other words, the categorical provisions in theory are used as benchmark tests of the goodness of fit of the findings to the theoretical moorings already privileged in the study.

Dunphy, Ogilvie, Smith and Stone (1966: 5) define content analysis as “any technique for making interpretations by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text.” Hence, data from both primary and secondary sources were

examined through content analysis. Content analysis is applicable to this research as it provides for an understanding of the difficulties surrounding the social media experiences and roles regarding Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Lastly, the study combines information from both primary and secondary sources to deliver analysis of the impact of terrorism on national security in Nigeria. Audience Dialogue (2012) posit that content analysis is a pattern for summing up data by calculating different areas of the data in numerical and percentage form. The data assessed in content analysis can be written, pictorial or projected in the form of sound. Kohlbacher (2006) argues that content analysis and case study research are approaches of inspection of data content and strives to inspire the incorporation of content analysis into the data examination in case study research. Content analysis of the data collected was carried out on the field work assessments on Boko Haram operations and its relationship with the new media. Specifically, thematic analysis is the type of qualitative analysis that has been widely employed in the data deciphering process because of its similarity with content analysis. Even though content analysis is different from thematic analysis, there are no clear distinctions intended in this study since their interplay and interconnectedness suggests overlaps (Bondas, Turunen and Vaismoradi, 2013). This implies that content analysis can be integrated into thematic analysis based on comparisons and disparities in the data collected.

3.6.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method for analyzing ethnographic and textual data. Boyatzis (1998) postulates that thematic analysis in its modest type is a classifying tactic for qualitative information; investigators appraise their information, create records and sort it into patterned groups. Thematic analysis aims to uncover the themes noticeable in writing at diverse stages and thematic network intends to discern the arrangement and characteristics of these patterns (Attridge-Stirling, 2001:387). Basically, the investigator is responsible for choosing and grouping information into recurrent themes (Kiyimba and O'Reilly, 2015:75). This implies that the researcher could reach incorrect analysis if mistakes and errors are made in the categorization and selection process. Data reduction through coding framework is an important aspect of thematic analysis because it shortens the data and allows for the data to be configured and categorized easily for easy

interpretation. In support of Attridge-Stirling, Boyatzis (1998:390) explains that the investigator formulates codes, terms and expressions that act as brands for segments of data. The similarities in terms and phrases help in the categorization process as it makes the decipheration easier and simplified. “While researchers debate whether thematic analysis is a complete “method” per se, it is a process that can be used with many kinds of qualitative data, and with many goals in mind. For that reason, thematic analysis is often implicitly and explicitly a part of other types of data analysis including discourse analysis, grounded theory, and case study” (Boyatzis, 1998).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The researcher would have been in a very precarious position if any act of violence or terrorism related occurrence had happened in the process of collecting data for the research (Barnard, Gerber and McCosker, 2001). In other words, if the researcher had beheld an attack or had been attacked directly during the field work, it would have caused trauma and the contention whether to disclose what was experienced or not to the law enforcement agencies (Allmark, Boote, Chambers, Clarke, McDonnell, Thompson and Tod, 2009:6)

After the data had been analysed, all participants received a transcribed report of the interview conducted in the way that it would be used in the final dissertation to avoid any issue regarding the misuse of their information as a result of the way it was relayed (Righi, 2014:71). In addition, all interviewees were briefed about the objectives of the study and guaranteed that their participation was voluntary with assurance that their information would not be divulged to a third party (Allmark, Boote, Chambers, Clarke, McDonnell, Thompson and Tod, 2009:5). In such cases, data anonymization was applicable to the process as it was used to protect the identities of participants (Gill and Rodiya, 2015:228). And data anonymization makes it impossible for any other person apart from the researcher to identify a participant or interviewee.

3.8 Supplementary Comments

The use of images was applied to this research; the diagrams and images used do not portray any form of violence and terror which could prompt trauma to any individual participant.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

This chapter clearly outlined how the data obtained was obtained and put into use in getting a desired outcome. There are demographics features of the sample population as well as inputs/contributions from respondents who participated in both the focus group interviews and the in-depth interview. The respondents were grouped based on the geo-political zone they hail from.

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

As influenced by its nature, and as pointed out in earlier chapters, this research utilised both primary and secondary materials, and it needs to be pointed out here that a key reason for this is the challenge involved in getting direct information on the subject matter. The crux of the research is in the focus audiences which are mainly new media consumers who comprise Muslims and Christians based in the Northern part of Nigeria, NGO stakeholders, media personnel, journalists, security operatives, relatives of victims and survivors of Boko Haram attacks. The data gathered from the target participants of social media users, Muslims, Christians, military and police personnel, media houses and NGO's were analyzed using content and thematic analysis to determine the impact of new media in the Boko Haram insurgency. The analytical methods used in this study proved important as they provided rich and robust information for the summation of this study. The data analysed was done in tune with the objectives and the research questions that are provided at the onset of this study..

The research mainly focused on Boko Haram since its inception up till the time of writing this research because the principles of the formation of Boko Haram and how potent it was after it was established was explored and elucidated. In other words, information on Boko

Haram since 2002 has been used in this study. Also, the 9/11 attacks have been discussed in Chapter five in trying to understand new terrorism in a global perspective. In the same vein, new terrorism is discussed within the broader parameters of global terrorism such that the Nigerian dynamics connected Boko Haram are fully contextualized in light of the role of new media platforms. The use of the social media by terrorist sects and the way terrorism related information is making the round on the new media is very recent and necessitates a thorough analysis. The under mentioned are the objectives of this research:

- To critically examine how the insurgency by Boko Haram impacts on the security of the Nigerian state.
- To ascertain how posts on new media platforms keep the audience and the public abreast on Boko Haram operations in Nigeria.

The emergent findings in this study were obtainable through the use of a qualitative technique. Materials which have already been analysed either as books, journals, newspapers and reports were used in deducing the appraisal of the impact of media on the projection of Boko Haram insurgency.

4.1 Data Presentation

During the course of this study, cross sections of participants, mainly from the Northern part of Nigeria were interviewed to get an understanding of the subject area. Among the people interviewed were Muslims who reside in the Northern part of Nigeria. They participated in a focus group discussion which was also conducted with Christians residing in the same geographical region of Nigeria. However, one of the Muslim participants is from Edo state; a state in the South-South which has a very large Muslim population. The reason for selecting participants from the North for the focus group discussions is because all the Boko Haram related attacks in Nigeria have been carried out in the Muslim North. Just as the Niger-Delta militias have refused to carry out an attack in the Northern part of Nigeria, Boko Haram has not carried out an attack in the Southern part of Nigeria. But in relation to communication and media aspect of this research, some interviewees and

scholarly work from authors based in the Southern part of Nigeria were admitted in this study. Most of the respondents in the focus group discussions are fresh university graduates who had just been inducted into the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme. The fact that the respondents reside in the Northern part of Nigeria makes them relevant to this study because they are educated individuals who use the new media and have an understanding of Boko Haram's impact on Nigerian society and sovereignty.

Most of the focus group respondents are between the ages of 22-29. This means that they are familiar with the subject when they were studying, whereas most of them grew up being trained in the use of ICT as their growth coincided with the ICT revolution in Nigeria. They do not struggle to use the social media or other new media platforms as these platforms are accessible either through their smart phones or computers such as laptops and desktops. Therefore, most of the respondents who participated in the focus group discussions are without jobs but contribute a lot in the use of ICT and the media in Nigeria. Due to the qualitative methods used in this research, most of the participants involved in the focus group discussions obtained a minimum of secondary school education and other forms of tertiary education. The general breadth of this research created room for participants from diverse backgrounds irrespective of their social status and education, but most uneducated people struggled with providing credible information for the study because of lack of in-depth understanding of the study area. Some of the fresh graduates who participated in this research had majored in social sciences, law and engineering. This did not pose a major challenge to the interviewees as most of them were familiar with the subject area and how it affects them as Nigerians. Most of the interviewees in the in-depth interview are professionals such as journalists, police personnel, media gurus and activists who are well known or hold significant positions in their respective fields in Nigeria. A resident of Chibok and an uncle to three of the kidnapped girls also participated in the in-depth interview research. His contribution towards this study was priceless because of the first-hand information he had, considering the fact that some of his relatives were kidnapped and he hails from one of the hot zones.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, in-depth interview respondents have been coded RSPs. Thus, RSPs is used in place of an interviewee in the interpretation of data. RSPs add up to

a total of 12. This means that the study interviewed a total of 12 respondents in the in-depth interview sessions. Therefore, for clarity, they range from RSP1 – RSP12. Of these 12 respondents, 9 are males while 3 are female. Out of the 10 focus group participants, 9 are males while there is only one female in the mix. The only female participant in the focus group discussions is a Christian who resides in Maiduguri, Borno, which is the bedrock of Boko Haram. Also, for clarity, the focus group discussions have been divided into two groups which are FCS-Muslim for the Islamic discussants and FCS-Christian for the Christian discussants.

Table 4.1.1 Demographic Features of the Sample Population

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	18	81.8%
Female	4	18.2%
Religion		
Christianity	12	54.55%
Islam	9	40.9%
Pagan	1	4.55%
Profession		
Journalist	2	9.19%
Media Personnel	1	4.55%
Public servant	5	22.7%
Trader	1	4.55%

NYSC Members	10	45.45%
Others	3	13.6

The study led to the interview of a total of 22 individuals. From the above, 81.8% are males while 18.2% are females. Precisely, 54.55% of the sample population are Christians, while 40.9% are Muslims. The remaining 4.55% of the sample population under religion reflects the participation of non-denominational participant in the study. In addition, the table reflects the various professions of the participants in the study. It was unnecessary to include the age differences and categories of the respondents as it was not essential to explore these dimensions in the current study.

Table 4.1.2 Respondents by Geo-political Zones

Geopolitical zones of participants		
Zones	Frequency	Percentage
North-East	13	59%
North-West	2	9%
North-Central	6	27.27%
South-South	1	4.55
Totals	22	100%

Exactly 59% of the sample population is from the North-Eastern part of Nigeria where the Boko Haram insurgency is more directly experienced compared to any other part of the country. The North-East geopolitical zone is considered the stronghold of Boko Haram based on the fact that the sect originated from there and has become widely established in

the same region. Therefore, the North-Eastern geopolitical zone is regarded as an area which the Boko Haram insurgents are familiar with. The North-Central axis of Nigeria also has a fair number of participants who have been affected by the series of attacks that have occurred in that area. It is significant to observe that some of the participants who hail from other parts of the country are also domicile in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, which falls under the North-Central geopolitical zone. Table 3.2 above, shows the entire sample population by geopolitical zones of origin.

4.2. Data Interpretation

Table 3.3 below, reflects causal factors that led to the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The table analysis in 3.3 is specifically a categorization arising from in-depth interviews that were conducted, excluding data from the focus groups discussions. Thus, the codes RSP and FCS are only used in Chapter Four and Chapter Five to consolidate and buttress the research.

Table 4.2.1

Causal factors of Boko Haram		
Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Political	2	16.7%
Socio-economic	1	8.3%
Religion	4	33.3%
Impunity	2	16.7%
All of the above	1	8.3%

Undecided	2	16.7%
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The data interpreted in this chapter is used in the succeeding chapters to explain new terrorism on national security and new media audience in Nigeria. Thus, chapters four and five will manifest feedbacks and responses from participants.

What can be expressly derived from the foregoing presentation is that Boko Haram activities were caused by a multiplicity of factors in Nigeria, and among these factors religion ranks highest. It is also clear the new media swiftly responds to reporting and analysis of Boko Haram activities through all of its posts. These recording were however mostly handled by individuals who neither have any form of training in journalism nor have their information censored before putting on air. The result of these is dissemination of certain religious and culturally sensitive information is not only capable of creating insecurity in the anion, but also completely destabilizing it. Deriving from the above, the new media, through its several posts have disseminated several information on the Boko Haram, that are capable of aggravating the religious intolerance currently witnessed in Nigeria, present Boko Haram activities in ways that positively reinforce them, portray terrorism as virtue and subsequently render it attractive to youths, popularize the activities of the Boko Haram in such a way to attract international solidarity and alliance from other international terrorist groups, aggravate north west dichotomy in Nigeria and do a whole of other things that have implications for national security.

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction

The crux of this research is on insurgency with a major focus on Boko Haram. This chapter presents a holistic view of the activities of Boko Haram, starting from what obtains in Nigeria where the activities are mainly carried out, to series of other parts and sectors of the world where the Boko Haram activities have implications and their impacts are felt.

5.0 HOLISTIC EXAMINATION OF BOKO HARAM ACTIVITIES

5.1. The use of Children in Terrorism

It is no longer news that Boko Haram use children in their battles: this is a very common practice among rebel and terrorist sects across the world. In Nigeria, there is currently a rise in the abduction of children by Boko Haram with the aim of forcing them into terrorism either as suicide bombers or as wives to terrorists (ThisDay, 2014). In the past, children have been trained to fight using weapons by rebels and terrorists groups but not as suicide bombers or forced into marriages. The use of children as suicide bombers is a new practice which was recently adopted by insurgents in Nigeria: this was not a common practice in 2014. The first recorded child suicide bombing in Nigeria which killed 19 people and injured several others was on Saturday 10, January 2015 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015b). Boko Haram stops children from studying because it is against their beliefs and they would rather force them into supporting radicalization in different ways (Botelho, Duthiers and Karimi, 2014).

Berko (2012:148) explains that it was not difficult to get suicide bombers in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because potential suicide bombers go looking for senders (terrorists) and some do not find senders who would approve an attack or supervise them. Berko (2012:148) argues further that children are being used as suicide bombers but it is not easy to send and supervise children. In addition, most people, especially parents do not support the use of children as suicide bombers. And this is seen as a challenge for senders as the media will not relate the story in a way that the sect will be glorified, thereby creating a

setback for the terrorist group with regards positive publicity effect. But in reality, terrorists groups such as Boko Haram care less about the inclusion of children in terrorism or the media impact it has on the sect. And the media will not hesitate in criticizing terrorist groups for the use of children in carrying out bomb attacks and at the same time talking about the extent of the damage done by these terrorists. Terrorists become more daring in abducting children for the purpose of gaining attention and creating media frenzy. Berko's explanation of child suicide bombers portrays a challenge where criticism is a concern for the terrorists. Even so, groups such as Boko Haram need the attention from the media for them to grow but they do not care whether children are used and killed. Conclusively, Islamic terrorists show little or no empathy for children.

Terrorist groups are different in their f approaches and this also influences how children are used to further the conflictual interests of the terrorists. According to Mapp (2011:75), some terrorist sects such as the now defunct Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka used more than 6000 children as soldiers during f their battles. Mapp (2011:75) further states that "the Tamil Tigers received international condemnation for the regular use of child soldiers, with one of their brigades known as the "Baby Brigade" due to the youth of its members. Approximately 40% to 60% of their forces were under the age of 18 years, most of them recruited when they were between 10 and 16 years old."

The Tamil Tigers was known for using children in conventional warfare and more than half of the child soldiers were young girls (Mapp, 2011:75). This approach is different from that of Boko Haram as the Tamil Tigers did not use children deliberately to seek attention or influence the media. Another f focus has been the abduction of school girls by Boko Haram; these girls are alleged to have been forced into marriages with terrorists and the abducted girls) ended up serving these terrorists. For instance, the abduction of over 200 school girls by Boko Haram in 2012 attracted a lot of international criticism against the abuse of women sexually and their involvement in terrorism (Ridley, 2014:143). To date, the Nigerian government remains uncertain about the exact number of girls abducted and

they have failed in rescuing the girls. However, the possible use of these girls as suicide bombers and fighters has been down played. Hence, the difficulty of the Nigerian government to give an exact number of the girls kidnapped and in rescuing the girls months after they were abducted suggests a challenge in accountability which remains a conundrum regarding the sovereignty of the Nigerian state. Ariyo (2014) suggests that the new tactics of Boko Haram can be theorized as war on children.

Figure 5.1.1 Pictures of some of the abducted Chibok girls

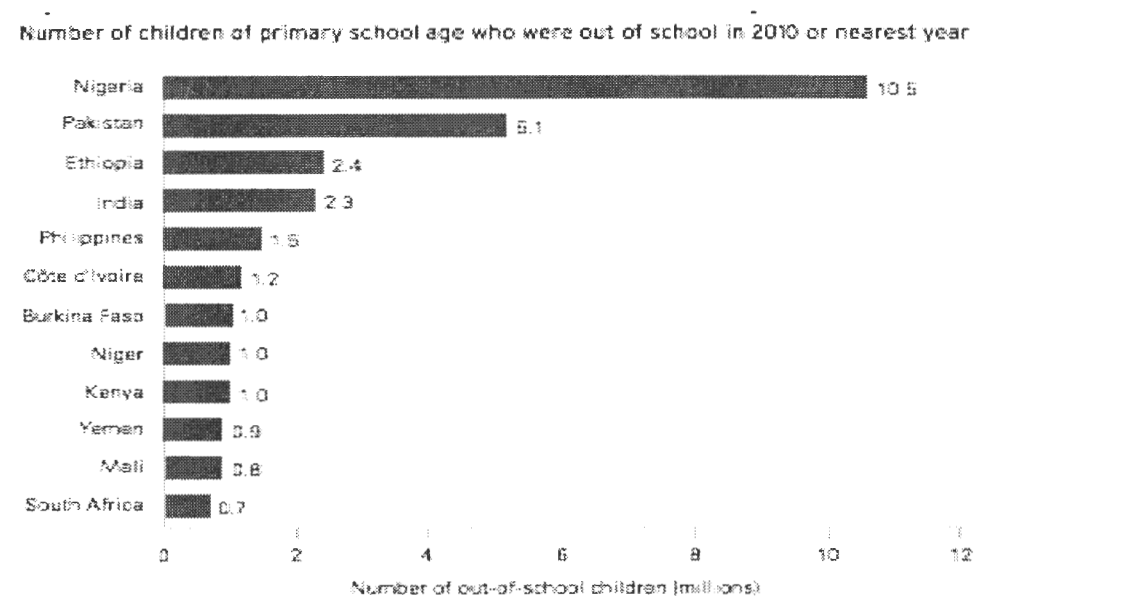


Source: Omomia (2015:68)

Sotubo (2014) concludes that children and women are being killed in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria because they tried to evade being recruited by Boko Haram. While the children are used as fighters and spies, the women are used as human shields by the terrorists in trying to counter the operations of the government military. There is also the possibility that both women and children are used as fighters because of the increased suicide attacks which have been carried out by children in the past. No matter what a child does to evade joining Boko Haram, they have no option but to join once they have been captured by the sect because of the reported brutality of the sect. The sect shows no mercy and manipulates children once they have been abducted. Boko Haram solely determines whether a child should live or not and whether a child should be used as a spy or as a suicide bomber. The Danish Institute for Human Rights (2015) validates that law enforcement agencies in the Lake Chad Basin commission countries, which have been affected by Boko Haram, have been apprehending children heavily involved in terrorism as sufferers, facilitators or observers. Sotubo (2014) further explains that the children are hypnotized, drugged and brainwashed into participating in Boko Haram operations. The rights of the children, most especially the teenagers, are usurped from them because of the effect of the hard substances that they are made to take.

This makes it impossible for the children to discern between wrong and right. Abduction and involvement of children in Boko Haram operations continues to be a direct threat to national security because of the effect it has on child development and education. Thus, Ilechukwu (2014) states that “the closing down of the schools for good is the ultimate goal of Boko Haram. Leaving the schools shut gives Boko Haram success in its bid against Western Education. This portends great danger to education in Nigeria. The attack on innocent school children traumatizes them. In this case there is problem of how to care for traumatized school children and win them back to the school.” In such a case, lack of educational development impacts on the security of the nation as the children of today are the leaders of tomorrow and they will not be able to protect the nation if they have minimal or no education. Poor child education is confirmed in the statistics below by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) which points out that Nigeria has the highest number of children who are not in school with more than 10,500,000 (ten million five hundred thousand) children out of school (Abdulmalik, 2013).

Chart 5.1.2 Almost half of the world's out-of-school children live in just twelve countries.



Source: Abdul Malik, 2013.

Rhodes (2015) asserts that the number of children out of school cost Nigeria money running into billions because 10,500,000 of the population translates to about one percent of the GDP which is a significant figure. Moreover, the quality of a nation’s policies is weakened as a result of poor educational foundations which have an immediate impact on the state because policies are integral to state security. Even though Illechcukwu (2014) was able to thoroughly relate the impact Boko Haram had on child education in Nigeria, the study failed to correlate how the lack of education as a result of Boko Haram operations affects national security in Nigeria.

5.2 International Dimension to the Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria

Activities of Boko Haram is not limited to the Nigerian nation, it is indeed spread into the international community affecting the economic, political and diplomatic issues beyond casual means. According to Gilbert (2014:150), Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Nigeria have given Boko Haram that international dynamism because of the porous borders among these countries which makes it very difficult to tackle the sect. In what follows, the chapter discusses the several international dimensions to the issue:

5.2.1 Multi-National Corporations (MNCs)

Multinational corporations have a strong international appeal and network based on their services and proficiency which is highly sought after by most countries as most of them have existed for years and earned outstanding reputations. Hence, security threats to MNCs easily attract the international community because of their global status and structure. Most MNCs will do anything to protect the lives of their workers and assets because they are concerned about their interests and global reputation. The interests of any multinational corporation are paramount as they sustain its survival. For instance, Shell Nigeria will ensure that everything is done within its power to release an abducted worker with the aim of protecting its image. Also, Shell Nigeria will be affected if there is a decrease in oil production due to militant operations as such a decrease has financial repercussions. In all these ramifications, the image of an MNC has to be protected to prevent opportunists or rival companies from taking advantage of their shortcomings as most MNCs have contenders in the same sector that would compete and throw anything for the purpose of making more profits and shaking off competitors. According to Bakara (2010), “the activities of Multinational Corporations are supportive to the growth and development of many countries, including Nigeria.”

Etemike (2012:583) explains that MNCs intent on investing in Nigeria will easily be dissuaded because of the alarming rate of terrorist attacks. It is even more challenging for would-be investors to invest in an area that is regarded as high risk irrespective of the resources that have been earmarked for the purpose of such investment. Thus, Nigeria News (2010) suggests that “foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is getting leaner, and international oil investors are diverting to cheaper and safer environments, thereby denying the Niger Delta the chance for more investments that can provide jobs and boost local economy.” Similarly, it would be difficult for a MNC or a potential local or foreign investor to invest in the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe because those are regarded as high risk zones. Also, some neighboring states would also not be considered as suitable locations for investment because of the proximity to the affected areas in the North-Eastern part of

Nigeria. Okonkwo and Ugwa (2015:140) posit that terrorism is a major danger to Nigeria's foreign policies and collective goals, inclusive of multinational companies. In actual sense, Nigeria has missed out on a lot of foreign investors because of threats to national security which puts them off. However, Boko Haram operations have not affected all the MNC's operating in Nigeria because some of them are not present in the North-Eastern part. But, some foreign telecommunication companies operating in Nigeria such as MTN might find it hard to access their facilities in areas annexed by Boko Haram. Therefore, MTN's service delivery and annual proceeds could be affected which would have an overall impact on its turnover and performance rating. The effect of insurgency on MNCs has both internal and external negative impacts due to the challenges encountered in the form of Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants. Most especially, MNCs that produce certain products in Nigeria and export them to other parts of the world are faced with low output as a result of insurgency related activities which affects their business and supply. Also, some MNCs that operate in the affected Lake Chad Basin Commission countries are most likely to feel the impact of Boko Haram because of the presence and activities of the sect within their territory.

5.2.2 Extraterritorial Proliferation of Boko Haram: Lake Chad Basin Commission countries

Undoubtedly, Boko Haram is an African menace because other Lake Chad Basin Commission countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger are now involved in tackling the sect as a result of its activities within their borders (Vanguard, 2016c). The expansionist agenda of Boko Haram through geographical seizures, combined with its relationship with other established sects such as al Qaeda, simply confirms how deeply Boko Haram is entrenched in the use of new terrorism tactics. Boko Haram's alliance with al Qaeda makes terrorism more deadly because they share a similar ideology with slightly different techniques. The intervention of the AU and other interventionist agencies in the Boko Haram crisis means it is not only a concern to Africa but to the international community as well (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2015d). According to RSP1:

Regional cooperation is very important. Insurgents - they operate at the borderlines. And if they pull their troops together, immigration, the armed forces, they check their activities where the arms and all of these are smuggled into. The cooperation, if they put serious strategies together, I think they will be able to curtail the activities of these insurgents.

The importance of regional cooperation is pivotal in the fight against Boko Haram because of the positive outcome that will emerge. RSP1 posits that a combination of several ideas and strategies would be of a great help in tackling the sect compared to the strategies and approaches of just one country. RSP3 also supported RSP1 by asserting that:

Initially they tried to work together but there wasn't a common front. They all had different ideas on how to tackle the problem. But right now, I believe the Nigerian president has been able to marshal them and has been able to mobilize them enough to agree that they can work together and create one front to face these gangs of criminals

'They,' as used by RSP3 refers to the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries that are faced with threats from Boko Haram. In addition, RSP 7 also supported the views of RSP1 and RSP3 and sang praises for President Muhammadu Buhari by stating that "we are grateful for the president for galvanizing this unity. With this, I think we still have hope that there may be hope and positive development at the end of the day." Thus, most of the respondents embrace and applaud the unity and efforts of the Lake Chad Basin Commission in tackling Boko Haram. Furthermore, another respondent stressed the unity of the Lake Chad Basin commission member states:

Well, they need to come together. They need to unite. Basically, the biggest weapon of Boko Haram is disunity amongst people. These other nations, when Nigeria was being attacked, they felt that it was none of their business and they moved on and, of course when you do that it simply emboldens the enemy as they come to get you. So, they need to unite. They need to work together, they need to share information; they need to share intelligence. They need to remove ego. It's not about who wins the war, it's

not about which country wins the war at the end of the day. It is about the war being won. (RSP5)

Initially, the non-committal attitude of other Lake Chad Basin Commission countries backfired as Boko Haram seized the opportunity to groom and exercise its strength within their geographical boundaries. RSP5 also emphasizes the need for the affected countries to work together. RSP10 had a similar opinion about the expansion of Boko Haram:

By having the political will, it is important that there is a political will because there have been too many incidents in the past that have created a lot of distrust amongst the various countries. And until the political will is there, until all the countries realize that they have to curtail the insurgency one way or the other. And that should translate into political will. Until we reach that level, I am sorry; all that is happening now is just politics because it is very obvious that Boko Haram has havens in most of these countries. And it doesn't look like the leaders in those other countries are really concerned about depriving Boko Haram of operational bases in their countries.

RSP10 believes the lack of political will is hindering the Lake Chad Basin Commission member states from banishing Boko Haram from their territories. It is obvious that they cannot ignore the sect for too long because of the threat it poses to their sovereignty. From the analysis, it is apparent that Boko Haram has expanded from Nigeria to other neighboring countries. This is also a sign of new terrorism as the sect seeks to expand and have a presence in as many countries as possible. Thus, Boko Haram is operating with an expansionist agenda within Nigeria and in the Lake Chad Basin area. However, there is a possibility that the sect might move into other parts of Africa from the Lake Chad Basin Commission area. Furthermore, the approach to work together in tackling terrorism at a regional level has been replicated at a more advanced level by Nigeria. Akinbajo (2016) explains that Nigeria agreed to join a coalition of Islamic countries against terrorism which is led by Saudi Arabia. The coalition tackles Islamic terrorism as a united front instead of operating independently without any meaningful results. But Nigeria's decision to join the coalition has been criticized as a way of aligning with Saudi Arabia to affirm its authority

over Islam and the Sunni Muslims over Iran which is the base of the Shi'a Muslims (Akinbajo, 2016). According to Vanguard (2016c), President Muhammadu Buhari defended the move to align with other Muslim countries as the best thing to happen to Nigeria in the fight against terrorism as it is regarded as their common enemy. Several countries have assisted financially in the fight against Boko Haram apart from the donation of one hundred million United States dollars (\$100,000,000.00) by Nigeria to the Multinational Joint Task Force (Usman, 2015). The United States of America (USA) made a pledge of forty-five million United States dollars (\$45,000,000.00) to countries that are battling Boko Haram (allAfrica, 2015d). According to *The Nation* (2016), Turkey also pledged its support to Nigeria in the fight against terrorism in March 2016. Other countries have followed suit by making pledges and assisting financially towards ensuring that Boko Haram is defeated. The African Union (AU), as a regional body, works with other intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Thus, the approach in tackling Boko Haram has received tremendous support from the international community despite the fact that the Boko Haram is currently only operational in the Lake Chad Basin region of Africa. So, foreign policies have been made by Nigeria to conform to regional and international pacts in the fight against terrorism.

CHAPTER SIX

Introduction

This chapter covered the new media in relation to how affects insurgency in Nigeria. Particularly, the relationship between the new media audience in Nigeria and Boko Haram. This chapter also explored the make-up of the Nigerian media and the repercussion of Boko Haram on the Nigerian media.

6.0 THE NEW MEDIA AND BOKO HARAM ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA.

Nowadays, the new media is the easiest way of circulating information among the public. Eber-Schmid and Socha (2014) concur that new media was coined in the 21st century; it is used to denote anything linked to the internet and the interconnectivity between sound, pictures and technology. “These new media are not completely new phenomenon. They have been growing out of ‘old media’ for some time. Furthermore, the concept of new technology is not unique to the current digital revolution” (McMillan, 2002:3). Thus, Jones (2002:1) suggests that new media is ever developing and what are now old forms of media were once considered as new forms. This means that forms of media such as print media and electronic media were once considered as new media after their innovation.

For instance, through the new media, information was circulated about the Nigerian government’s role in the rise of terrorism because of the ineptitude in tackling Boko Haram. Also, there have been allegations posted on the new media that some powerful governmental officials and politicians in Nigeria are sponsoring Boko Haram (ThisDay live, 2014a). On the other hand, new media has been largely used by Boko Haram to broadcast information and reach out to potential recruits.

In understanding the potency or otherwise of the threats posed by any form of insurgency, there is always the need to have knowledge of the ideologies and mechanisms of operation of the group in question. In the case of Boko Haram, the new media appears to be a major avenue if not the only one through which information is disseminated by the sect. Hence,

new media is currently an unavoidable subject when issues surrounding the operations of Boko Haram are discussed. As evidence points out media has been used in many instances to influence certain agenda and the new media in Nigeria could unknowingly complicit and be influential in aiding or fighting Boko Haram. Essentially, solutions can be derived through the understanding of Boko Haram's impact on national security and the challenges involved in networking and reportage. Nonetheless there exist no studies that have actually explored the potential of the new media in the operations of Boko Haram vis-a-vis to how the state is affected, hence the gap that this study seeks to fill.

6.1 Media Audience in Nigeria

The Nigerian society is a very diverse multicultural society such that languages, religion and cultures are numerous and slightly differ in their background but this diversity can all be relayed through the media. Therefore, the media in Nigeria is strategically positioned to convey different genres that are in tandem with the society. To a large extent the society produces the audience wherein their desire for information satisfaction becomes paramount and key. In this regard, people decipher information in different ways which are most times reflected through contexts such as culture and religion. This implies that the media is a major aspect of the society as it has the potential to challenge and compel the government of a country to make decisive changes which multiply affect the dynamics in a country and inspire changes in policies. In a broader perspective, "media, all over the world, are regarded as the conscience of the society due to the important role they play in the socio-economic and political development of a nation" (Akinreti, Odegbenle and Ojo, 2013: 67). Politics involves the use of media to the extent that the government can be affably projected or negatively critiqued through the media. For the media to excel in any country, the public cannot be marginalized because inevitable criticism and feedback which the media requires to stay relevant are needed from the citizenry who constitute the audience. The Nigerian public largely constitutes media audience in Nigeria and a vast majority of viewers are mainly civilians who are not in government. To a great extent, the public drives the media because of the demand for current and topical information. Hence, politics, governance,

economy, security and religion are the major issues discussed on the media daily as these are key areas linked to the sovereignty of any country.

The media audience in Nigeria just like the media audience in every country craves for both internal and external news which they can obtain through various platforms inclusive of both traditional forms of media and the new media. According to Auwa (2015:59), traditional forms of media cannot be overlooked when talking about new media because the latter has some elements of traditional media. In fact, traditional media is considered the foundation of new media. For instance, new media have some traits of traditional media such as a live broadcast or online newspaper that can now be accessed through the internet. Furthermore, news from radio broadcast can also be accessed via the internet. Stareva (2014:14) asserts that the internet gives room for traditional media to evolve in tandem with other new media approaches in order to cover the needs of the audiences. The same transition and evolution is being witnessed in the media sector in Nigeria. Meanwhile, Nigerians are majorly concerned about occurrences within Nigeria and how they affect every aspect of their lives. Hence, Nigerian media focus a lot on occurrences in Nigeria as it is more marketable and easily accepted by the Nigerian audience. Akinreti, Odegbenle and Ojo (2013: 67) explain that similar to the UK, Nigeria has a powerful media and heavily relies on it. In contrast, Oji and Omenugha (2008) observe that the commercialization of the media in Nigeria has manifested in less significant news that are given more attention than important news. This connotes that media can publish stories that are not newsworthy as long as the bill for publication are footed. Asogwa, Attah and Iyere (2012:175) posit that:

What seems to matter to mass media practitioners is to write or broadcast the latest happenings under the philosophy that people have the right to know what is happening within and outside their environment. Looking at this stance of the media practitioners closely one is provoked to ask these questions: How are the mass media practitioners or gatekeepers sure that what the “global public” wants is given to it in terms of information distribution? How are they sure that their audiences like the way and manner

criminal and terrorists activities are enthroned on the media podium of agenda-setting theory?

In the process of satisfying the demands of the society, little importance is given to the credibility of the news being broadcast. Thus, audience perception can be manipulated to suit the demands of the players which are the financiers. In this scenario, financiers are the lead actor and the media houses/channels are the accomplice. Most times, the audiences are fed what they yearn for as it is used to satisfy their desire but does not always reflect the essential truth. Arthur and Oliha (2014:99) opine that the print media, which is a form of mass media, has lost its importance in the advent of new media. The new media is cheap and could be accessed easily by new media audience. However, traditional forms of media such as the print media which are gradually becoming expensive are still important in Nigeria and cannot be abandoned because of the level of poverty and illiteracy across the state. For instance, some people rely on one-week-old or one-month-old newspapers to get information; even if they do not read it immediately, they still end up accessing the news somehow. Also, it is very easy to give out a newspaper that has been read to a friend or stranger than to give one's phone or computer to someone else. Therefore, the same cannot be said about new media because of the difficulty in sharing a computer or phone for the purposes of accessing information. Besides, a lot of people still do not know how to access information using technology such as the internet, phones and computer.

According to Arthur and Oliha (2014:101), interests and age are other factors which determine media audience in Nigeria as some older people are more interested in traditional forms of media than the younger ones who are more conversant with technological gadgets and new media platforms. So, some people find certain aspects of media to be convenient and appealing to the point that it institutes their patronage. As already mentioned, another interesting factor which shapes the media audience in Nigeria is literacy because many people who are not educated and therefore find it difficult to access the new media because of the difficulty in reading and writing. Already, some illiterate people do find it difficult to comprehend what is being aired on radio or televised except in areas where stations use local dialects. But it has grave implications because some stations that broadcast in local dialects omit certain stories which lead to unawareness regarding some developing media-

worthy issues. Despite the subjects of insecurity, politics, business, sports and governance, some individuals have nothing to contribute to viewership and patronage of the media if it does not fall within their interests.

6.2 Make-up of the Media Audience in Nigeria

The Nigeria audience is diverse and can be configured in accordance with the religious and cultural patterns of the country. For instance, media reportage of news in the South-South geopolitical zone is different from that of the North-East zone and while the general media audiences have been drawn to the presence and operations of insurgents, there is still a distinction between the operations of Boko Haram and that of the Niger-Delta militants. Media reportage on the Niger-Delta militants is different in contexts from media reportage of Boko Haram. But they can all be generalized as insurgents by some section of the media while others refer to them as terrorists without clearly distinguishing between Islamic terrorism and militancy in the form of the Niger-Delta struggle. In other words, media audience can also be differentiated based on factors such as religion, politics and geographical affiliations. According to Jeremiah (2015), the Muslim North which is currently battling with Boko Haram is now believed to be chiefly an All Progressives Congress (APC) region, while the Christian South where the Niger-Delta militants originated is regarded as a People's Democratic Party (PDP) stronghold. As seen in the 2015 elections, there are strong affiliations for political parties which also encourage ethnic sentiments and politics. Whilst President Goodluck Jonathan was in power as the political head of Nigeria, leaders of the Niger Delta militant groups were empowered after agreeing to the Amnesty and they soon became a major media focus as people from all parts of Nigeria, most especially in the Niger-Delta region, were concerned about how militancy would come to an end. So, the Nigerian media focuses on areas and topics that increase sales and are sometimes area specific based on their coverage and market in a particular location.

Some media houses and new media platforms focus on regional news based on the owners and directors of the media companies. Media companies such as *Vanguard*, *Thisday*, *the Sun* and the *Guardian* focus on different aspects of news to cater for their respective audiences (Odoemelam and Okoro, 2013). It is possible for an individual to buy several

newspapers or access news online on official media houses websites with the intention of getting different perspectives from information concerning Nigeria. Thus, the makeup of the Nigerian media audience comprises of several role players who have various interests and attractions. The makeup of the media audience sometimes encourages framing for audience satisfaction. While some media houses and platforms are concerned about job creation and economic growth, others are concerned about security and the sovereignty of the Nigerian state. For instance, *The Sun* might focus more on occurrences in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria, while *Leadership* might focus more on events in the Northern part of Nigeria such as Boko Haram related topics. Media houses such as *Vanguard* give reliable and substantiated first-hand information regarding groups such as MEND and the NDA. Boko Haram has stirred up commotion and fear in Nigerian society based on the news relayed on the media in Nigeria. In reality, the media has the potential to downplay the operations and attacks of Boko Haram to the point that it would not gain the kind of attention needed for it to cause panic in the Nigerian society. But the composition of the Nigerian audience precipitates overplaying it as the demands of the Nigeria audience are ever evolving and depends on the news periods and agenda. The reasons for shaping media news are numerous as people seek to gain answers and clues regarding certain issues. For instance, news on Boko Haram can be shaped in the media with the intention of getting a response from the government.

6.3 Insurgency and the Nigerian Media

The initial stage of insurgency in Nigeria lacked media presence and power because of the backwardness in news coverage, lack of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and new media. The major source of information about insurgent groups was through the mass media which could have easily been one sided and altered to suit the actors involved. The propagation of Boko Haram insurgency has been made easy with the use of new techniques which also include media tactics designed to gain prominent attention. *Niger Reporter* (2014) posit that media coverage has escalated as Boko Haram attacks have become amplified because of the huge benefits of news on insurgency to the Nigerian media. In the past, the media has focused on insurgent groups such as OPC and the IYC which gained notoriety for instigating domestic conflicts. However, groups such as MEND,

NDV and the NDPVF were known to have ushered in an era of prolonged conflicts against the Nigerian government. These groups were formed in the early 2000s as opposed to the groups which were formed in the 1990s. This means that media coverage on militancy has been intensifying.

Groups such as OPC, Egbesu Boys, MOSOP and IYC were formed in the 1990s, and the internet had not been widely used in Nigeria. Adepoju (2015) explains that the internet was used in Nigeria before the introduction of Global System for Mobile communication (GSM) into Nigeria. *Vanguard* (2010) confirms that the internet was first launched in Nigeria for profitable purposes by Linkserve Limited on 1 January 1997, some months after 38 internet service providers were licensed by the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC). This means that the internet was launched in Nigeria in 1996. Moreover, the use of GSM in Nigeria after its introduction was considered a luxury and not a necessity by the general public. So there was a void in the media sector which made some people downplay the effect of insurgency activities on the sovereignty of Nigeria.

Thus, the advent of militancy in Nigeria was during a period where traditional forms of media were mainly used in circulating information. Besides, the type of mobile phones which were available at that time did not have functions that could promote the use of the internet. So there were limits to the ways the public could access and disseminate information on insurgency and other politically newsworthy items. However, militant operations have given primacy to the use and access to media, providing in the process a different surge because of the demand from the public audience which also encouraged the growth of ICT in Nigeria. The media then did not have a broad network capable of causing widespread panic compared to what it is today. People were not informed and did not know the capability of terrorist or militant groups back then compared to this era when gory pictures are shared quickly and instantaneously via the internet. Unlike the first militant groups, Boko Haram as a religious insurgent group was formed at a time when ICT was gaining recognition and gradually becoming widespread in Nigeria. The growth of Boko Haram today has a nexus with the media because the group would have had little or stunted recognition without the media. Furthermore, groups such as MEND, NDV, JRC and Boko Haram which were formed post 2002 gained much media hype and coverage because of

the ICT boom in Nigeria at that time. For instance, people who had no background knowledge of insurgency could now get quick access to information concerning various groups online. The change in media patterns was also an added advantage as it became easy for people from other parts of the world to get information easily in the form of the new media.

6.4 New Media in Nigeria

New media in Nigeria has taken a different dimension and is still developing with the daily use of new techniques and approaches. New media as a subject is not widely discussed and debated because of the lack of information on it. However, the advent of ICT in Nigeria did not begin with the new media as it took a while for it to be introduced, embraced and applied by Nigerians. Contrary to the initial divergence of other elements of the media such as the computer and the internet in the early 2000s, there is now a collaboration of both the internet and the computer in making the new media exceptional (*The Tide*, 2011). According to Ikpe and Olise (2010:63), this notion supports the hypothesis that the new media is a combination of both telecommunication knowledge and computer knowledge.

Olakitan (2012) submits that the new media has an effect on traditional forms of media in Nigeria as other forms of mass media such as the radio, television and the print media have caved in for the internet to be more dominant because it is faster and quicker. Also, the internet possesses some characteristics of print media, television and the radio. Hence, “this new media makes use of videos, audios, and pictures and can disseminate information faster than any newspaper or television house” (Olakitan, 2012). This means that the new media is made up of a collection of several accoutrements of traditional forms of media. The new media is widely sought after because of its uniqueness and the fact that it can also be influenced and framed to carry information in a certain pattern to amplify audience, viewership and acceptance. According to Ikpe and Olise (2010:59), the traditional media which gave rise to the new media in Nigeria changed media culture despite the fact that some of the basic practices of media relationships are still maintained. In other words, the traditional forms of media which were incorporated into the new media did not restrain media relation practices from evolving. The new media has an effect on several other aspects of media and technology because it is currently at the forefront in terms of the

patronage of social networking platforms. Furthermore, the new media's relationship with ICT boom cannot be questioned because it is the current media trend which is closely connected to newer and advanced forms of technology. According to the Tide (2011), ICT is a speedily growing sector in the world because of its relevance to the daily activities of life, irrespective of geographical or continental positioning. Apparently this also has an effect on globalisation.

6.5 Repercussions of Boko Haram on the Nigerian Media

Boko Haram has given the Nigeria media a new boost because of the demand for news on the sect from both local and foreign audience. Media companies which were on the verge of collapse have been reinvigorated because of their reportage on Boko Haram as it is not every media company that has the capability of giving reliable news about the sect principally because of the difficulty in accessing hot zones and affected areas. Furthermore, some media companies do not have dependable staff and the logistics needed to gather up-to-date and correct information. While the general public relies heavily on the media for information about Boko Haram and its operations; generally, people expect information through the media from other geopolitical zones and areas which cannot get reliable information via word of mouth. Boko Haram has caused a media frenzy in that any issue in relation to the sect becomes headlines news in Nigeria. Such reports invariably become the most discussed subject on several media platforms and houses. Basically, the media gives terrorism related news priority because of the importance of such news to the society and also because it is lucrative.

The growth of the Nigerian media in reaching out to a broader foreign audience seems to have a disadvantage as some aspects of the news are edited and shaped to suit the international media. Patrick (2014) asserts that westernization poses a challenge to media as the local audience is unable to get correct information tailored for the Nigerian society and market because of the need to meet the 'taste' standards of the foreign market. The effect of Westernization on the media has a negative impact on the locals because the

correctness of the news and culture is omitted. Therefore, some news about Boko Haram have been influenced and tailor-made to suit the international audience. For instance, the alleged truce between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram was incorrect and could not be substantiated; the purported agreement was criticized with claims that the Nigerian government was duped by fraudsters posing as representatives of Boko Haram (*News24 Nigeria*, 2016). According to Mark Schroeder, vice president of Africa Analysis at the Stratfor consultancy, President Goodluck Jonathan's government was quick to announce a truce with Boko Haram in order to win the minds of the masses ahead of the 2015 election (*Aljazeera*, 2014c). The authenticity of this alleged truce was not backed by the Nigerian government and it still remains unclear if the Nigerian government truly went into such an agreement with people pretending to be Boko Haram members. Thus, there is indication that the purported ceasefire agreement could have been made up by the Nigerian government to create the impression in the international community that the war against Boko Haram was yielding positive results.

On the other hand, international media houses also have their reporters stationed in Nigeria who are responsible for giving feedback to their head offices. The international media can also make up stories about a ceasefire with the intention of attracting a broader audience. The authenticity of news published on and about Nigeria can also be questioned because some of the reporters are scared of visiting the hotspot and risky areas for fear of being kidnapped and abducted by terrorists. Therefore, the impact of Boko Haram on the media depends on the context and the coverage of a particular occurrence. Irrespective of the impact of Boko Haram on the Nigerian media, the new media seems to be a leading area for the Nigerian audience as many people now rely on new media news about the sect because of the multiple sources. At the end, it is left for the audience and users to filter the news and discern between what is true and untrue.

6.6 The New Media and Globalisation in Nigeria

The new media's attribute of being a collection of several forms of traditional forms of media makes it have a strong connection with globalisation. According to Kiely, Shuey

and Wells (2001:37), globalisation explains the current and quick practice of transnational commercial and socio-political integration. Many people in the society are of different backgrounds and views which can be harnessed to make the society more productive and conducive for continuous habitation as a result of the changes which can be made based on the integration. Igwe (2013:111) explains that the economic and political aspects of globalisation in relation to the globe can be assimilated to have a better understanding and working relationship. For instance, the world trade center in the US has several branches all over the world; despite the fact that the World trade center has a global economic significance, the branches in each country have to work in line with the laws of that area and in accordance with the directives of the head office at New York. For instance, “the economic and integration of world economies has been ongoing over the last fifty years, as countries have worked through GATT and the WTO to reduce trade restrictions” (Chatterji and Gangopadhyay, 2005:57). The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is a polygonal agreement controlling trade among 153 countries with the possibility of growing in membership based on the effectiveness of the organisation (Ni and Van Wart, 2015:372).

Although GATT has been replaced by the WTO, GATT is a clear model of globalisation as it brings together different nationalities and cultures which can even be more powerful when combined with the use modern technology. On the other hand, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was set up in 1995 to replace GATT. This means that the World Trade Organisation is an intergovernmental organization and passes as a catalyst for globalisation (World Trade Organisation, 2016). Thus, Kiely, Shuey and Wells postulation appears to be on point as globalisation seeks to affirm international ties along economic, political and social lines. Thus, “GATT and the WTO have helped to create a strong and prosperous trading system contributing to unprecedented growth” (World Trade Organisation, 2016). Colander (2005:57) asserts that globalisation is connected to the improved amalgamation of the global society, with a major focus on economic amalgamation. Thus, the new media’s contribution to the economic development of Nigeria is a high factor because it is

a very resourceful avenue for raking revenue through the various statutory payments among other payments that are required.

The integration of countries and technologies is unstoppable because of the demand for it in the society. According to Friedman (2000):

the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before-in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world.

People understand the importance of globalisation because of the ease and fastness involved. Globalisation is continuous procedure of connecting rural and urban areas, states, countries and inhabitants in the diaspora; as a result, human existence and daily activities of people all over the world have become interconnected through our culture, food, music, ideas and religion (UNESCO, 2010). According to Bussolo & Round (2006), “through facilitated transportation of merchandise, capital, labour, technology or information, the recent acceleration of globalisation is thought to have had a major impact on the distribution of standards of living both within the world and within countries.” This is an indication that globalisation affects almost every aspect of human existence as it is deeply rooted in the daily activities of the society. Globalisation should not be only about the economy, trade and politics but several other aspects which also include religion, technology: ICT, the media and science. According to Moses (2006:18), President Jimmy Carter stated that:

Globalisation, as defined by rich people like us, is a very nice thing... you are talking about the Internet, you are talking about cell phones, you are talking about computers. This doesn't affect two-thirds of the people of the world.

Jimmy Carter's explanation of globalisation clearly indicates that the relationship between new media and globalisation is not divergent as they are interrelated and work together. However, contrary to Carter's claim that globalisation does not affect two-thirds of the people and might indirectly be a luxury, cell phones and computers are now becoming widely used and a necessity. Carter's statement supports the interconnectivity between globalisation and the new media because the internet, cellphones and computers are vital elements of the new media. Furthermore, the use of the new media which can be referred to as a foreign and adopted concept, has given several Nigerian writers, critics, politicians and scholars the platforms to freely express themselves and to criticize the opposition. Others have turned to the new media as a means of getting reliable and quick information regarding issues in areas in Nigeria where they cannot easily access or get first-hand information from as a result of the risks involved in being in such an area. The use of the new media is now becoming widespread and affordable compared to about five or ten years ago when it was seen as a luxury. In regards to the media and the global audience, RSP5 states that:

But at that time, the world was not as sophisticated as it is today where what is happening in one part of the world will easily be heard by another part of the world. So, they were curtailed

"But at that time" as used by the respondent meant the period that Boko Haram emerged. RSP5 gave a very profound circuitous link up between the media and globalisation regarding the world not being advanced some years ago as it is currently where information can be shared within a short period of time, notwithstanding spatial differences. This clearly indicates that the growth of Boko Haram has been hinged on the shortcomings of the media and the ineffectiveness of globalisation in Africa. So, the media, globalisation and Boko Haram have a very strong interdependent relationship. To further buttress the point of RSP5, a respondent opined that the media:

has created awareness about the danger of Boko Haram. But Boko Haram has also been creative in using the new media in its insurgency. (RSP2)

Thus, RSP2s response affirms the use of new media by Boko Haram. And of course there is no way that the new media can be mentioned without the inclusion of globalisation and ICT which are integral to the growth of the contemporary society. Most telecommunication networks now have cheap packages for access to the internet and for the use of Facebook and other social media platforms. From all indication, globalisation is still evolving and is now a part of day to day operations in Nigeria as the new media is been used by to keep up with popular culture and to have access to international news. The effect of globalisation is vice versa in Nigeria because the international community also makes use of the new media to get information about events in Nigeria. For instance, operations of militant groups such as MEND, Boko Haram and the NDA can be obtained through new media or reporters media houses. Globalisation worldwide has a strong connection with terrorism as terrorist groups operating in the name of Islam have capitalised on new media as a way of communication and publicity. Also, the public, the government and terrorists are all involved in the use of new media as it is essential to them. Generally, the public are the major audience and users of new media. On the other hand, the military might use the new media for intelligence gathering and for security surveillance while terrorists use the new media for publicity. Terrorists also use the new media as a way of recruiting new members. Although, there has been no clear case of terrorists recruiting new members through the new media in Nigeria, groups such as ISIS have been able to successfully recruit through the use of new media platforms.

For globalisation to be very effective in Nigeria, modern strategies and technological innovations are important as they overcome the challenges of time and space while more consumers subscribe to the use of new media. Principally, the room for new media expansion in Nigeria is very huge because of the level of underdevelopment and illiteracy. According to Igwe, (2013:111), new media and globalisation are in synchronisation, while globalisation is believed to have made the world smaller because of the availability of information which ordinarily would have been difficult to access by a lot of people globally. Thus, globalisation “fosters the advancement of a ‘global mentality’ (elitist mentality) and conjures the picture of a borderless world through the use of information technology to create partnership to foster greater financial and economic integration” (Igwe, 2013:110). Igwe’s assertion links cosmopolitanism, globalisation and the new

media because a world without boundaries will encourage popular culture and a generally endorsed identity. The promotion of popular culture promotes the most dominant culture over others, thereby leading to the affirmation of westernization at the expense of other cultures which are destroyed and become extinct in no distant time. Globalisation and cosmopolitanism are very similar and both make the world smaller, but the new media is a facilitator responsible for making them thrive. Thus, the new media can be regarded as the new foundation on which cosmopolitanism and globalisation thrives because of the ease of the internet, computer, social media and other forms of technology.

According to Igwe (2013:112), the media can be made to reflect the views, opinions and interests of the people who own and run the media platforms. For instance, the owner or authority in control of *Vanguard* can change a story with the intent of influencing the audience before it's uploaded on its website. News can be fabricated and distorted with the intent of making more profit based on patronage. Igwe (2013:112) posits that media moguls create their goods in such a way that it can have an effect on the people and instigate them to act in a particular way. This simply means that globalisation might be used circuitously for self-aggrandizement or for the benefit of some power brokers who have an agenda of penetrating and controlling the government, global market, system and intergovernmental bodies. Boko Haram operations have been made public with the help of globalisation through the new media. Like any other terrorist group, Boko Haram strongly relies on media publicity to gain more power and to create fear in the society. The new media gives Boko Haram so much exposure as every new media consumer in Nigeria should have accessed or come across stories in connection with the sect. On the other hand, the issue of criminality is also a concern as criminals have taken advantage of new media technologies to the detriment of others. For instance, issues such as scams, child pornography, piracy and theft perpetrated online have caused so much chaos in the society because it is difficult to apprehend the culprits who might be in control from a different area or continent. In a nutshell, the borderless new media also promotes criminality which includes terrorism.

Igwe (2013:115) opines that Nigeria has to be fully prepared to face the challenges in the 21st century which might not be unconnected to the impacts of globalisation and new media which have both positive and negative sides. But this does not undermine the importance

of the new media to the Nigerian society, despite the fact that criminals and terrorists have opted to use the new media to further their interests.

6.7 Understanding the New and Social Media

As recent and current as the new media, it comprises of different aspects which makes it very broad. The new media strongly combines the use of graphics, texts, pictures and the internet. For instance, the social media is one of the key areas of the new media as it has now become an innovative necessity to the world at large. The use of social media and networking platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube is like a trend which seems to be ever evolving. And, there are several other social media platforms that offer a variety of user friendly media entertainment applications which are highly in demand in the society. In addition, news online which is another aspect of the new media can be shared and accessed via social networking platforms (Fenton, 2009:184). But the true concept of a social medium has to be interpreted; according to Brunty, Helenek and Miller (2014:2), “a social medium encourages its users to communicate with other users who are a part of the network and/or the site creators themselves, and creates an environment for users to share content and/or connect through their similar interests.” Based on the meaning of social media, it is said to rely heavily on connectivity in the form of the internet and technology for it to be operational. Dike, Edogor, Ezugwu and Ojo (2015:85) assert that the social media has set a standard as a powerfully inevitable means of communication between individuals and in the broad public space. The social media is in high demand as people look forward to joining social media platforms as soon as they are educated and informed about ICT. The use of a network within the user environment does not necessitate all users to be within the same geographical location. As a matter of fact, the use of the social media transcends geographical and continental lines. In other words, a user of a social media might be in Nigeria, while he will be communicating with someone based in the Australia or Japan. Some of the social media communications are allowed to include two or more users.

In most cases, such kinds of communication are referred to as a group chat or discussion. Although, there has never been a confirmed evidence of a group discussion among Boko Haram members, it is highly likely that Boko Haram has applied this strategy in circulating

quick and instant messages amongst its members in different locations within and outside Nigeria. Apart from using the social media to circulate information among members of the Boko Haram, the sect has devised a plan of publicizing its operations on Twitter which is a powerful social media platform. Boko Haram opened a twitter account with the name, Alurwa Alwuthqa; an account which is believed to have had more than 3000 followers within a short period of time (Hassan, 2015). British Broadcasting Corporation (2015f) opine that Boko Haram's practice of using Twitter was most likely influenced by the operations of ISIS which the sect now looks up to for guidance and support. Also Boko Haram pronounced its seizure of Monguno through its Twitter account, while pictures of children being trained were also uploaded on the same Twitter account (*Daily Post*, 2015).

According to Farrington, Hall, Kilvington, Price and Saeed (2014: 6), social media "increases our ability to share, co-operate with one another, and to take collective action, all outside the framework of traditional institutions and organisations." This means that social media can be used as a veritable channel for rebuffing or furthering the causes of Boko Haram in Nigeria. This is in line with the responses of the RSP and FCS respondents. People are genuinely interested in stories that are making the rounds on the social media and the same social media can be used to sanitize the minds of potential and wannabe recruits who do not have the right information about the sect. The fight against Boko Haram can be rebuffed by the international community on social media if time is apportioned to that particular task. Farrington, Hall, Kilvington, Price and Saeed (2014: 6) explain that the social media is accepted as a tool for freewill and liberty without cause for concern as to what should not be expressed through it. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (United Nations, 1948). As it stands, anybody can instigate a riot, criminal acts, violence and acts of terrorism through the social media because of the number of people that subscribe to its platforms worldwide.

Oguntimehin & Olanrewaju (2016) explains that there are laws guiding the internet that can restrict and stall what people have to write to avoid impostors from taking advantage of social media and internet freedom. Currently, in Nigeria, the social media is also used by politicians for campaigning and to keep their constituents abreast of their activities. Sotubo (2015) posits that the use of social media seems like a trend among politicians in Nigeria, especially after Facebook sent a team to educate the National Assembly on the use of the platform. And in countries like the US, the social media is used to counter political office holders to the extent that some people are compelled to resign as a result of the backlash from social media users. Therefore, social media has a big potential as it is still evolving and it might get to the point where it will be a necessary aspect of life as the young ones and future generations will subscribe to it or better the current versions of the social media for communication and easy interaction. Certainly, the social media has come to stay and it will be difficult to supplant it with other forms of media, most especially traditional forms of media.

A social media user has a strong online power because they can create and falsify stories with the intention of misleading the public or boosting the numbers of affiliates they get online as a result of the type of stories they share. Dike, Edogor, Ezugwu and Ojo (2015:85) explain that some of the information about Boko Haram on social media platforms is blown out of proportion in a bid to attracting a wider audience. This means the information they share might be distorted and misleading with the potential to cause panic. This also implies that social media frames are highly likely to attract the attention of users. On the other hand, frames can be applied to new media platforms to influence stories and reports from the government and public. Boko Haram also has the potential to influence stories through their claims, posts and videos. But most of the information circulated about the sect seems to be from people who either take the stories out of context or get the details overstated to catch the attention of social media users (Dike, Edogor, Ezugwu and Ojo, 2015:85). Thus, social media is pivotal to the persistent operations of Boko Haram as it can be used in several ways by the sect in furthering their cause, while it can also be used by social media users to circulate quick information which might sometimes be misleading.

Fenton (2009:184) understands that the internet encourages a wider unrestricted involvement in information-sharing practices. And the internet is more or less the hub of the social media. The social media can be used to enlighten the society about the risks involved in getting involved in terrorism and how it can affect them. It can also be used to douse the panic that Boko Haram activities and other insurgent groups such as the NDA and NDGJM have created in the society. Arguably, from the findings of this study, Nigeria's sovereignty can be deemed to be under severe threat based on the activities from the aforementioned groups. A respondent who believes that Boko Haram is creating a lot of panic in the society shares a different view about the sovereignty of Nigeria being under threat:

Well, it might have gotten to that precipice. But we are coming back from that precipice. I don't think that these bands of criminals are beyond the power of the state. So, the state can still handle and the state can still keep the sovereignty of Nigeria intact. (RSP3)

Despite the respondent's position on security in Nigeria, there is still a high level of confidence in the government's capability to protect its citizens from Boko Haram attacks. And the media is a role player in creating or dousing panic in the society as most of the stories can be downplayed to reduce the impact. Facebook, Twitter and YouTube are some of the platforms that are commonly used by both Boko Haram and the general public in circulating both positive and negative information about the sect. Other unknown and uncommon platforms are also used in circulating and receiving news. Ultimately, terrorists aspire for a larger audience and publicity. Hence, social media should be used in restoring peace and calm in the society by countering any iota of Boko Haram's publicity and attacks.

6.8 Boko Haram and New Media

From all indications, the inception of Boko Haram coincided with the steep and rapid evolution of ICT in Nigeria. Although the sect was not perceived to portend any danger which made it gain little attention from both the local and international media. This means that at one point, the sect was not a subject of interest to the broad media circle. The assassination of a Muslim cleric in 2007, four years after the sect was formed, was the first

recorded killing by Boko Haram which instantly sparked media interest (Walker, 2012:4). But, the killing of the Islamic cleric did not draw much attention to the sect or cause an uproar in the international community as the group was still considered to be toothlessly insignificant at that point in time. Basically, the potential of the group was belittled and undermined initially or else the Nigerian government could have responded swiftly to wipe out or subdue the sect from growing out of control. Initially, the sect's inability or inefficacy in carrying out an attack confirmed their minimal use of technology and ICT, but the growth of the sect has led to a change as the sect currently utilize ICT advantageously to the point that it has caught the attention and focus of the global media.

The sect's reliance on publicity via the media has given them a boost while the new media has been used by the sect to promote its ideology and agenda. Principally, the rise of the new media both within and outside Nigeria has contributed in catapulting Boko Haram to its current height. According to Major General Lucky Irabor, the theatre Commander of the Counter-Insurgency Operation, "the fight against insurgency and terrorism is a collective one to which the media should play critical and positive role" (Oguntimehin & Olanrewaju, 2016). This means that the new media may not have been used in the right way to assist the government in tackling Boko Haram as there are blogs and online news reports about the sect which are reported in such a way that the sect is believed to have an edge over the Nigerian military. Most reports and speculation on the new media are about Boko Haram's successful attacks which only create more fear and panic in the society. At the long run, the Nigerian military was regarded to be incompetent without any clear combative strategy to defeat Boko Haram. However, the Nigerian army is now believed to be tackling Boko Haram on all fronts since General Muhammadu Buhari assumed office as the president of Nigeria (Premium Times, 2016).

In the past, the setback encountered in subscribing to new media platforms made it difficult for Nigerians to benefit from information and news available online as opposed to citizens in some countries who already had access to new media platforms. Thus, residents of developed countries benefitted a lot from new media as information on Nigeria was easily circulated and accessed on new media platforms all over the world. For instance, residents of the United States have an edge over Nigerians in getting access to information via the

new media because they can access new media platforms at ease compared to a vast majority of Nigerians who cannot afford it or use it. This was a major gap at the advent of ICT in Nigeria and there is still that huge difference between developed and developing states. While most local reporters and journalists in Nigeria sent first-hand information to their counterparts in developed societies who easily disseminated the information, at the same time, the same information had not been widely circulated among Nigerians because there was no medium for instant dissemination other than the print media and electronic media. Another problem is the accessibility of new media platforms from remote and rural areas where there is poor or zero network coverage. Aljazeera (2015) explains that the difficulty in accessing ICT infrastructures in areas that were annexed by Boko Haram was a challenge to the new media in terms of correct information circulation. To a great extent, new media communication also experienced a setback because of the destruction of infrastructures and the difficulty in getting reliable first-hand information other than the information released by Boko Haram either through the new media or through government reports on the subject.

As at 2009, there was paucity of information on Boko Haram on the internet because the group was still unknown to a vast majority of people, while it was not yet a threat to the sovereignty of Nigeria. Most of the early publications on Boko Haram were mainly authored by foreigners. There could have been as a result of several factors; at a point, the new media was hardly used in Nigeria because of issues bordering on affordability which made it scarce and inaccessible by a lot of people. Also, the number of people who could operate computers and have access to the internet was just few because a lot of people were not computer literate as at then. So, the few people who could access the internet and new media focused on the foreign media market as an easy way of making money as opposed to the local market. There was also the presence of foreign reporters, academics and students who came to Nigeria for work related purposes. These foreigners somehow had access to direct information or were able to obtain valid feedbacks from locals who had direct information. So, most of the early materials on Boko Haram were mainly from people who knew less about the sect or Nigeria as a country because of the lack of reliable first-hand information. At present, the relationship between the new media and Boko Haram is stronger than it was in 2009; just like the relationship between the media and

terrorism, Boko Haram and the new media are strongly tied because of financial and publicity reasons. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the new media has been used by Boko Haram in promoting their agenda and ideology, it has not been used effectively by the government or security operatives to tackle the sect (Musa, 2012). With a reverse approach, new media can be used by the government positively to ensure that Boko Haram is not given the slightest opportunity to advertise its attacks and brainwash people. With a bigger social media presence and with the assistance of most new media platforms, the government can overturn the panic and negativity created by Boko Haram. This means that the new media has more to offer in the fight against Boko Haram and terrorism in general.

Alqali (2016) admits that the new media is an interruption to the more widely used traditional forms of media and it should be used by youths wisely to avoid indoctrination by Boko Haram and other terrorist groups out there. As mentioned earlier, there is a symbiotic relationship between the media, globalisation and Boko Haram because of the interdependence. However, they can all work independently with less need for one another. But this interdependence has majorly fueled the growth of Boko Haram which is the negative element out of the trio. The initial challenge in receiving Boko Haram related information in other parts of the country has been addressed by the advent and full use of ICT in the Nigerian media sector. But before the spread of ICT in Nigeria, there were a lot of challenges encountered by the group in getting to the peak of popularity and fame due to the shortcoming of the media. For instance, the access to reliable news combined with the risk of going into Boko Haram territory in search of information were some of the challenges the media encountered. Furthermore, the delay in disseminating information to the broader public based on the limitations of the print media and electronic media were also a major challenge. Thus, the introduction of new media has even made it easier and more convenient for the dissemination of information directly from Boko Haram and the exchange of information about the sect in the public. The use of social media platforms and the media in general have increased the worldwide popularity of Boko Haram, while at the same time it has helped in creating fear and panic in the minds of the general public. From the analytical findings on how the new media has been helpful in fighting Boko Haram, some respondents had some interesting views. According to RSP1:

They've not. As far as I am concerned, they just report their activities. They have not helped in exposing their whereabouts. No security agency has been able to use a link offered by any of the social media or the new media for any breakthrough. So, as far as I am concerned, they just celebrate the activities of Boko Haram on the social media platform.

In addition, the same respondent had more to say and criticized the media when asked about the role the media play in the propagation of the ideas of Boko Haram; RSP1 opined that:

Our media, to some extent, my opinion is that the media should actually play down on some of their activities. Particularly when the so called leader of Boko Haram comes up with a statement and then it becomes a worldwide statement like one president has actually spoken. Some of these things should be actually played down. If they don't find themselves in the media, they would be at a loss.

Based on the Boko Haram attacks and ongoing conflict, people expect the role of the new media to change slightly in a way that it would be more helpful in the fight against terrorism instead of promoting and popularizing the sect through its platforms which may also be self-regulated for the purpose of selfish gains and propaganda. RSP9 was also doubtful of the new media's participation in the fight against Boko Haram

In fighting Boko Haram, I wouldn't know to what extent because it has not galvanized the people. The way I will say it has fought Boko Haram is that when it galvanizes the people and the people come united and say we are united against this cause.

So, new media is believed to have not been used rightly regarding the Boko Haram insurgency. Some respondents also supported that the new media had negative effects but they were quick to point out the positive impacts too. A focus group respondent from FCS-Christian opined:

Talking about the new media, what I will say is that the new media have somehow helped and at the same time it has not really helped because when you watch, most of the times, when news is being broadcasted; some of the news is not correct. Some are false. So, in a situation whereby a bomb blast happened somewhere and 10 people died at the spot, the new media can decide to say 50 people. In such a situation, the people listening to that particular news will feel insecure: there was a bomb blast somewhere; people lost their lives; what am I going to do? Like in some cases, it helps the people to be prepared for whatsoever that is going to come.

So, through new media, there is a possibility of reshaping and distorting Boko Haram related information for both positive and negative impacts. To this end, a respondent even cited the videos of the missing Chibok girls as being distorted for personal aggrandizement by Boko Haram and the media houses. A respondent under FCS-Muslim suggest that

it wasn't the Chibok girls. Anything can be edited in this era. It was the initial video of the Chibok girls that was the real one. Subsequent videos have been edited. Up till now, I am in doubt. The video is not real and that there is no hope of finding the girls.

Hence, that the new media can be fine-tuned to get results based on the regulation and control of the manipulator. When asked on how Boko Haram is been portrayed on new media platforms, RSP2 asserted that:

Boko Haram is portrayed as a group of crazies and depraved people. People who are lawless; basically this is what comes across on the social media.

A FCS-Christian respondent also opined that “they are portrayed negatively. They have never been portrayed positively.” The fact remains that Boko Haram is mainly portrayed on social media and new media platforms in a bad way with so much negativity. Lastly, to strengthen the assertion of the FCS-Christian participant, an FCS-Muslim respondent stated that:

Like on Facebook and all that, they have portrayed themselves in a way that they create fear in the hearts of people; they have portrayed themselves to be a very wicked sect, dreaded. They are portrayed to be evil. We all know that they are evil. So, they can never associate good with Boko Haram.

However, some respondents believe the new media has not been used effectively in the fight against Boko Haram because of the way they have focused and hyped attacks and operations of the sect on new media platforms. Since Boko Haram operations being circulated by the new media has created panic among the populace. Then, the new media has also helped in provoking fragmentation which destabilizes the national security and sovereignty of the Nigerian state. So, the media, from a negative perspective has a negative contribution to the Boko Haram insurgency.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Nigerian media which is tailored to suit the demands of both the local and international communities. The strong reliance on the foreign market is because of the broad audience as more foreigners subscribe to the media and access media platforms compared to most Nigerians who cannot afford it. Therefore, the international media space is regarded as big business which makes it a target by smaller and upcoming media houses and new media platforms. However, traditional forms of media cannot be undermined as they remain an aspect of new media irrespective of technological advancement. Traditional forms of media such as the print media, radio and television are now part of what make up the new media supported by the internet. In other words, news online and the streaming of live TV channels can be regarded as new media. However, a lot of people who are not yet computer literate still struggle with the use of computers and the internet. In addition, the media, globalisation and Boko Haram have a symbiotic relationship wherein they all benefit.

The makeup of the Nigerian audience is that politics, religion and culture are oftentimes the major focus. But, Boko Haram has given the Nigerian media a big boost to the point that it has a global appeal because of the nature of terrorism which is a shared problem in the international community. However, the demand for news from Nigeria has a

disadvantage in that the news conveyed can be influenced and distorted to appeal to the foreign market. Most reports on Boko Haram are made to suit the West, thereby neglecting the local market. With the aim of satisfying the audience, media news can be influenced to meet the demands and needs of specific audiences. New media has both positive and negative effects regarding Boko Haram insurgency as a result of the interests of stakeholders involved such as the media houses, Boko Haram, government, independent reporters and social media subscribers. The major problem of the new media is the right to freedom of expression wherein anybody can write and post anything without checks and limitations.

Finally, this chapter captured the use of social media in Nigeria. Currently, social media usage has already been cemented globally as one of the most important spaces of the new media. New media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter are commonly used by people worldwide and are some of the platforms that are used by terrorists, public and the government to generate conversations on the most contested issues. Most especially, Twitter has been employed by Boko Harm to publicise their activities and can be regarded as one of the means of getting direct and accurate information about the sect. The media has more of a negative than a positive impact on Boko Haram operations. Thus, posts depicting the activities of Boko Haram have created so much panic in Nigeria to the extent that they are a direct threat to national security and the sovereignty of Nigeria.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 IMPLICATION OF THE NEW MEDIA'S HANDLING OF BOKO HARAM ACTIVITIES ON NATIONAL SECURITY

Introduction

The media is very powerful and can be used in both positive and negative ways. Thus, this chapter broadly correlates the new media's effect on Boko Haram activities to national security in Nigeria. The impact of the new media on national security as highlighted in this chapter has an effect on human and economic security. Militant groups that have been operating in other regions of the country were also explored to understand their threat on national security.

7.1 National Security

The issue of national security has remained topmost in the agenda of many nations in the 21st century. In the words of Blessert (2011: 11), "this is not only because of the gross inequalities that now pervade the world and predispose it to violence, but also in line with growing extremist ideologies". National security is defined as the absence of threats to the territorial, economic, political and social dignities of a state as well as its citizens (Akanke 2002). Nigeria has an overabundance of natural resources that directly and indirectly exposes her to intra and international violent conflicts and this threatens her national security to a very large scale.

This is more so in the light that as the country has a vast array of natural resources, her citizens yet have not benefitted from good governance as they remain poor and insecure – experiences that are aggravated by high levels of corruption and maladministration on the part of the political leaders (Enu and Ugwu, 2011:255). Apart from terrorism which has recently gathered momentum, the aforementioned factors have threatened the unity and sovereignty of the Nigerian state, throwing up agitations and counter agitations by many groups within and outside her territories. Since independence in 1960, the state had existed as a British colony from 1900 up till 1960. Under the control of the British Empire, Nigeria

exhibited problematic features (Akinjide, 2000 as several conflicts with locals were recorded prior to the formation of the British protectorate (Williams, 2008). Jaja of Opobo and Oba Ovonramwen of Benin Empire waged war against European invaders in the 19th century (Osahon, 2013). Since the establishment of Nigeria as a nation state, the major threats to national security were the civil war (Biafran war) and the coups which occurred before the emergence of Boko Haram. The civil war is documented and regarded as the worst conflict experienced in the history of Nigeria because of the fatalities recorded. The Biafran war occurred from 1967 to 1970 (Desgrandchamps, 2012:1409); and documents tentatively suggest the loss of about two million Biafran civilians and approximately one hundred thousand combatants registered (ICE cases, 1997).

PM News (2013) assert that Biafrans were initially in control of the war before Nigeria gained control and frustrated them through banning of ships and vessels from going through Nigeria waters to do business with Biafra. It was a very fierce battle which could have been won by the Biafrans but the shortage of food and other basic necessities were contributing factors to the ultimate and the eventual defeat of the secessionists. It is a historical to believe that the war was directly between the Biafran military and the Nigerian military as notable non-combatants were also involved either in support or against the war. For instance, Professor Wole Soyinka was arrested and held a prisoner for about 22 months because he advocated for a ceasefire through one of his articles (Biography, 2015). Wole Soyinka hails from Abeokuta in the South Western part of Nigeria; an area that was not included in the Biafran agenda or in the Biafran map (Biography, 2015). This implies that he could have abstained from interfering in the Nigeria-Biafra war but he got involved in the process of agitating for peace which resulted in his imprisonment by the Nigerian government. In addition, other notable Nigerians such as Chinua Achebe and Cyprian Ekwensi, the renowned writer, were at the forefront of steering the Voice of Biafra as the Director of Information Service (Awoyokun, 2016). Basically, the conflict involved Nigerians from every part of the country such as General Yakubu Gowon and Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu who were directly or circuitously affected by the war.

On numerous occasions, Nigeria's strength and solidarity has been tested by internal determinants but it has remained resilient and indefatigable when faced with uprisings and

insurrections. Political, religious and ethnic differences are some of the reasons why national security is been threatened in Nigeria because a vast number of citizens are not satisfied with the system of governance, and in trying to change the system they have perpetrated treasonable activities against Nigeria. Insurgency related problems are not new in the state and can be considered as unresolved anomalies, of which some were thinly manifested in the military era. In the name of tackling poor governance and corruption, groups such as the Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF) were formed, while Boko Haram was conceived on a religious foundation. Some of these groups did not hesitate in abandoning their founding principles and ideologies because of the lure of money and rapport with the federal government. Most of these groups operated in the Niger Delta region as militant groups that were untouchable and highly dreaded to the extent that the federal government had to negotiate with the militants for the protection of the vast oil reserves and for peace in the Niger Delta region.

7.2 Threats to Nigeria's National Security

There have been some obvious threats to the security of Nigerian state since 1960, but most of these threats became fully manifest in 1999 and have since aggravated. The return to nascent democracy after an era of military rule coincided with changes and freedom in various aspects; in a flash, some Nigerians took advantage of democratic weaknesses to do certain things that would have been deemed impossible and treasonable during the military regimes. In other words, out of fear and due to the possibility of being repressed by the military, most militant groups were not formed during the military regime. The earliest known militant group in the Niger Delta was the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) which was led by the late Ken Saro-Wiwa and was known for its peaceful crusade against Shell because of environmental ruin caused by oil spillage (Hanson, 2007). MOSOP and other groups such as the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) were formed before 1999 (Onimajesin, n.d); these groups were well known at their peak as a result of the conflicts that they incited. These groups have become known in Nigeria for their operations as some of them are still clandestinely operational despite efforts made by the federal government to stem their activities within the country. The groups listed below gained

nation-wide recognition after the 1999 democratic regime had begun and they have at some point been a threat to national security:

7.3 O'odua People's Congress (OPC)

The O'odua People's Congress was formed in 1994 but it had some problems within the period 1999 -2016 that caused panic in Nigeria because of the fighting and unrest that spurred endless conflicts. The OPC was a radical branch of Afenifere, a Yoruba nonmilitant group that is widely known for protesting the 12th June 1993 elections which the late M.K.O. Abiola won (Onimajesin, n.d). Human Rights Watch (2003) asserts the OPC is an organization which protects the interest and promotes the sovereignty of the Yoruba ethnic group. Regardless of location, the OPC is meant to bring together Yorubas who can protect the interest of the ethnic group. In other words, the OPC is regarded as an ethnic militia, even though it did not begin as a radical group as it took some years for it to be involved in any conflict after it was formed. According to *Nigerian Eye* (2013), Dr. Fredrick Fasehun is the founding father and President of the OPC. Sindjoun (2010:193) asserts that the first recorded conflict wherein the OPC was involved was between the Hausa settlers and the Yorubas at Sagamu, Ogun State. Almost fifty lives were lost in the fight and the OPC identified with their Yoruba kinsmen by supporting them in the fight against the Hausa settlers who are from the Northern part of Nigeria (Sindjoun, 2010:193). In response to the attacks that occurred at Sagamu, Hausas attacked Yorubas based in Kano which resulted in the death of about 1000 individuals (Sindjoun, 2010:193). But then, not all OPC attacks have been against other ethnic groups. Intra ethnic conflicts have led to the loss of lives and often have been sparked within and outside the group (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Onimajesin (n.d) explains that the conflict which erupted on 9 September 1999 was incited by factions of dockworkers in Apapa; OPC gave its support to the Yoruba faction over the Ijaw faction which was trying to expand its authority to the Apapa Port after taking charge at Port-Harcourt in Rivers state. After the incident which involved dock workers, the OPC became embroiled in various fracas which resulted in violence and killings. Following the 1999 conflict, the government declared OPC as unlawful, imposed a ban on them and gave outright instruction to the police to deal with them pitilessly (Human Rights Watch, 2003). In some cases, the government had to impose curfews in certain areas and mediate

with the warring factions (Onimajesin, n.d). Currently, the OPC has several factions; its widely accepted national coordinator is Gani Adams who is alleged to have amassed much wealth through his position as a leader (Abimboye and Ezeamalu, 2015). Similar to the way the Niger Delta militants were empowered by politicians and the government, Gani Adams was also empowered by politicians and the federal government. OPC is still growing as it has a large database of members present in almost every state of the country (Abimboye and Ezeamalu, 2015).

7.4 Egbesu Boys

Egbesu Boys, also known as the Egbesu Boys of Africa, is another group which started in the early 1990s but did not become widely known until they took up arms to challenge the degradation and impoverishment in the Niger Delta area which they linked to marginalisation from the government and neglect from the multinational corporations (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2006). Agbu (2004:29) argues that Egbesu Boys is one of the earliest militia groups to be formed in the Niger Delta. It is alleged that Alex Preye, the leader of the group, was killed by the police in the Niger Delta during one of their criminal activities (Naagbanton, 2008:10). The person who took over the reins of leadership and succeeded Alex Preye is not known but it is possible that the group had an internal fracas which led to its fragmentation after the death of Preye. Egbesu boys is believed to have “begun as a religious cultural group of the Ijaw people but subsequently took up arms to challenge perceived injustice caused by the exploitation of oil resources in Ijaw land and the Niger Delta by the Nigerian state and multinational corporations” (Adelowo and Oguntolaon, 2013). Naagbanton (2008:10) suggests that Egbesu which was formed in 1998 is named after the Ijaw god of war and is a criminal group involved in sea piracy and political violence to assist corrupt politicians win elections. In the past, Egbesu has been identified as the militant arm of the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), and this the group is believed to have a presence in almost all the Niger Delta states apart from Cross Rivers (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2006).

Naagbanton (2008:10) suggests that the group is now disbanded and its members have been incorporated into other powerful militia groups in the Niger Delta. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2006) alleges that the onetime leader of the Egbesu boys is

Mujahid Asari-Dokubo; an assertion that questions the existence, structure and dependence of the group as Asari is also purported to have broken out of IYC and formed MEND. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2000) alleges that Egbesu is a spiritual cult in Ijaw land. Hence, it is possible that Egbesu was the spiritual arm of the IYC because it shares the same name as the Ijaw god. Egbesu boys is highly revered in the Ijaw dominated area of the Niger Delta to the extent that the onetime governor of Bayelsa state, the late Chief Diepreye S. P. Alamieyeseigha, was sternly against the banning of Egbesu boys by the federal government of Nigeria (Patrick, 2002). Alamieyeseigha feared the response the federal government would get from the people of the Niger Delta because of the banning of Egbesu boys (*Daily Trust*, 2002).

7.5 Revolutionary Council (JRC)

Okonmah (2010) contends that the Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC) encompasses MEND, NDPVF and Martyrs Brigade. The JRC was formed in 2006 as an authority body for MEND and other affiliated splinter groups (Ali, 2015:130). In support of Ali, Okonta (2006) suggests that the JRC was established by existing groups such as MEND, Martyrs Brigade and Coalition for Militant Action in the Niger Delta (CMND) which were new groups formed in reply to a potential move by the US marines to enter the Niger Delta. Okonta contradicted himself when he stated that MEND, NDPVF and other groups formed the JRC (Okonta, 2007). This triggers some doubts in regards to the authenticity of the JRC. Was there really a Joint Revolutionary Council? Through framing, anybody could have come up with the name of the JRC on media and aligned it to several established groups for easy recognition. In addition, Okonta (2007) suggests that the establishment of the JRC created fear in the international market and culminated in the pegging of the crude oil price at \$72 per barrel. The JRC boasted that it would use its recently purchased rockets and weapons to attack Bonga Oil field with the intent of disabling Shell's offshore operations (Okonta, 2006). The JRC's threat on oil corporations is known as black November (Watts, 2008). Emeni (2012:320) asserts that the JRC once took over a Shell location, held all the workers as hostages and asked for their cooperation to avoid any problems because they were after supplies of food and other valuables. Shell is the biggest

oil company in Nigeria, with an operational span of over 31,000 square kilometers while oil production in Nigeria accounts for approximately 80% of the government revenue and over 95% of export income (Konne, 2014:182).

In 2011, the JRC made a bold and daring move when they gave Boko Haram a 14 day ultimatum to either stop killing Christians in the North or face the consequences of Muslims being attacked or sent back to the North from the Niger Delta region (Sweetcrude, 2011). Sweetcrude further explains that the JRC was diplomatic in its approach; it did not hesitate to use violence if Boko Haram carried on with its incessant attacks which were distracting the president and upsetting the Nigerian state. The JRC is believed to be very strong because of its structure which comprises different militia groups. Okonmah (2010) lists factors such as marginalization, poverty, infrastructural redundancy and lack of accountability as motivating factors behind the existence of the group and its operations. “Dokubo-Asari’s function of MEND operates under the Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC) led by Cynthia Whyte” (Naagbanton, 2008:16). This implies that Cynthia Whyte is the leader of the JRC and this is an indication that her name is just an alias to cover her tracks. Again, the existence of the JRC is questionable. Unlike Boko Haram, there is no recorded case of a female militant actively involved in the purported Niger Delta struggle. *Global Post* (2014) asserts that a lot of Niger Delta women who assisted the militants either as cooks and maids have undergone rehabilitation and training. But some of the women who participated in the government sponsored amnesty training cannot be regarded as militants as most were faceless and not given significant roles.

7.6 Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF)

Omotola (2009:109) asserts that the NDPVF was formed in 1998 by Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo-Asari in the struggle for autonomy and control over the huge oil resources and also against economic and political marginalisation in the Niger Delta region. Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium (2010) states that NDPVF was formed in 2004 by people of Ijaw extraction; the Ijaws are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria and the biggest ethnic group in the Niger Delta region but they have little to show in terms of development as a result of poor governance. According to Ayeni (2010:55), the Ijaw

population is approximately fourteen million. This means that fourteen million people have been largely affected by poor governance, environmental degradation and pollution.

According to Krause (2013:89), “the IYC is perhaps most famous for its December 1998 Kaiama Declaration, which demanded that the government return control of the region’s resources to the Delta.” A lot of Ijaws heeded the call made through the Kaiama Declaration which led to the emergence and resurgent activities of militia-groups. Another account of the formation of the group posits that the NDPVF started as an offshoot of the IYC; the NDPVF is believed to be a militant faction which broke out of the IYC under the leadership of Asari (Krause, 2013:90). Asari is a former Vice President of the IYC who later became the president with the assistance of Governor Peter Odili of Rivers State (Obi, 2009:121). From all indications, the IYC simply wanted autonomy over the resources of the Niger Delta and Asari, in the process of trying to achieve his goals, set up a militia arm of the IYC. Irrespective of how and why the militia-group was formed, the NDPVF repeatedly called for a larger piece of the crude oil wealth from both federal and state governments but its resilient Ijaw agenda has led to battles with the Nigerian government (Ojakorotu, 2010:135). UNHCR (2008) posits that the NDPVF functions under protection of the Joint Revolutionary Council (JRC) and MEND. If this submission is correct, it means that the NDPVF relied on a more powerful group for directives. The group was heavily involved in carrying out attacks in the Niger Delta area during the regime of President Olusegun Obasanjo and still remains a threat to Nigeria despite embracing the amnesty programme. The operations of the NDPVF were at its peak between 2004 and 2008 before it agreed to a ceasefire.

7.7 Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)

MEND is regarded as the umbrella body of all militant groups in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria (Hanson, 2007). Formed in 2005, it is a militant consortium of all militia-groups (Ali, 2015:129). The group announced itself to the world when it kidnapped four foreign nationals in January 2006 (Hanson, 2007). “Its stated mission is to expose the exploitation and oppression of the people of the Niger Delta and devastation of the natural environment by public-private partnerships between the government of Nigeria and foreign corporations involved in the production of oil in the region” (Terrorism Research and Analysis

Consortium, 2009). According to Ali (2015:130), MEND was formed to protect the interest of the Niger Delta region but seems to have deviated from its founding ideology because of the attacks on oil pipelines and the kidnapping of foreign nationals or expatriate workers for ransom.

Similar to the way Boko Haram was formed, the creation of MEND is believed to have been fueled by politicians who used its founding members to rig elections and subvert the will of the people (Duffield, 2010). This implies that MEND's foundation was not solid as its purported ideology in agitating for the interest of the impoverished Niger Delta was not in line with their actions. Duffield (2010) posits that the group comprises of armed fighters from within the Niger Delta region, while the unity of the group has been a subject of debate because of a weak and decentralized structure. According to Hanson (2007), the disunity in MEND was confirmed through the continuous militant activities carried out by a faction of the group even after they had negotiated with the government and included in the amnesty programme. Ali (2015:131) asserts that the amnesty declaration which was inaugurated in June 2009 has seriously been criticized for its shortcomings. In addition, most of the participants in the amnesty programme are believed to be non-militants as they could not identify with any of the various splinter groups.

7.8 Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV)

The Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) is another Ijaw dominated militant group which was formed in 2003 and is led by Ateke Tom (Adeyemi and Musa, 2015). Similar to MEND, the founder, Ateke Tom, of NDV was formerly the leader of the Okrika Vigilante and he was sponsored to help win elections by Peter Odili, the former Governor of Rivers state (Obi, 2009:121). The "Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) force are actively deployed and were paid by high-ranking politicians to disrupt election proceedings" (Sampson, 2009: 35). Furthermore, in 2003, the NDV was involved in a conflict with NDPVF which finally ended in 2004 (Adeyemi and Musa, 2015). Sampson (2009: 35) asserts that the NDV was highly involved in oil bunkering while some of its members were involved in organised crime. The NDV is similar to

MEND and NDPVF in terms of ideology and tactics because it also targeted foreign nationals, multinational companies and national pipelines in the Niger Delta region.

Though the militant leaders benefitted a lot from President Goodluck Jonathan's regime (Odunlami, 2012); the main reasons behind their truce with the federal government of Nigeria are questionable because of recent developments under the current regime of President Muhammadu Buhari. What was the actual motive behind the ceasefire agreement between the militants and the government? Was it for individual financial aggrandizement of some militants or for the interests of the entire Niger Delta region and people? Even though the aforementioned militia groups claim to be disbanded and inactive, they still pose a threat because they have the potential to regroup and carry out attacks anytime. There are many more groups which are not listed in this research, while some groups operate as splinters under the authority of more established groups. This suggests that militant groups are a threat to national security as long as their leaders identify with the groups and statements are made on behalf of the group. Idun (2011:126) argues that militant groups and their operations should be classified as terrorism. Based on the definition of terrorism used in this study, militancy in the Nigerian context can be regarded as terrorism irrespective of the claim that it is for the Niger Delta struggle. Militants actually dented their advocacy of the 'Niger Delta struggle' by kidnapping foreigners and seizing of vessels. Moreover, the renewed militancy in the Niger Delta in the form of the Niger Delta Avengers and Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate (NDGM) has stirred the interest of the international community once again because of the effect of their activities on Multinational Corporations (MNCs), gas and crude oil production in Nigeria.

7.9 Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate (NDGM)

The Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate (NDGM) is believed to be the most active militant group to have emerged from the Urhobo ethnic region of the Niger Delta in the history of Nigeria (Vanguard, 2016a). The current Senator representing the Delta Central Senatorial District occupied by the Urhobos, Senator Ovie Omo-Agege, stressed that the Urhobos are the largest onshore producer of crude oil with more than fifteen oil and gas fields in Nigeria (Ahon, 2016). But similar to areas occupied by other ethnic groups in the Niger Delta, there are no laudable signs of development in the areas occupied by the

Urhobo ethnic group. Thus, the group could have emerged as a result of underdevelopment, poverty and purported marginalisation from the federal government. On the other hand, the group has shown its destructive capability through the few attacks it has carried out on gas and oil installations in the Niger Delta, despite the fact that its set-up, modus operandi and mission remain ambiguous. Okafor (2016) suggests that the spokesperson of the NDGJM is General Aldo Agbalaja who happens to be the only known name linked to the group.

According to *Daily Post* (2016) the group has driven home their point through attacks on oil pipelines in the highland region of the Niger Delta. The NDGJM has demanded to be involved in the negotiations process between the Nigerian government and other militant groups or else they are intent on blowing up more oil installations (Okafor, 2016). “The group maintained that while Mr. Clark is a leader of the Ijaw nation, he cannot claim to speak for all Niger Delta peoples. The militants explained that if negotiations with the federal government are to be fair, all Niger Delta ethnic groups must be represented” (Sahara Reporters, 2016). According to *Vanguard* (2016a), the group appears unwilling to dance to the tune of the federal government if its demands are not met as efforts to negotiate through locals have been rebuffed. “The Urhobo militant group said it had once warned against the victimization and harassment of defenseless people of the region, especially in the creeks, but rather than heed, the Nigerian military has increased its presence and made life more difficult for the people” (Idowu, 2016). So, they might launch more attacks if a truce is not brokered.

7.10 Niger Delta Avengers (NDA)

DiChristopher (2016) asserts that the Niger Delta region of Nigeria is once again faced with threats from militants in the form of the Niger Delta Avengers after seven years of peace. The group is believed to have been formed in the same year as its first post titled: “*About Niger Delta*”, which was uploaded on 6 February 2016 (Niger Delta Avengers, 2016). “The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), which began its attacks in February, has cut Nigeria’s oil production by hundreds of thousands of barrels per day (bpd) in 2016” (Gaffey, 2016). Very little is known about the group and apart from a certain Col. Mudoch Agbinibo who signs press releases on behalf of the group, they are yet to publicly declare a leader (Ewokor, 2016). According to DiChristopher (2016), “the Niger Delta Avengers

are in the business of destroying oil infrastructure - working in teams, carrying small arms and explosives, blowing up pipelines and sabotaging facilities - taking advantage of the Delta's complex, creek-filled terrain to stay one step ahead of the Nigerian soldiers chasing them.” Niger Delta Avengers (2016) claim that that they are very direct, equipped and organised with some well-travelled and educated members. This is an assertion that has been validated through their approach which strongly includes the use of new media amongst other tactics in their insurgency. *The SUN* (2016) confirms that the NDA has publicised its attacks through Facebook, Twitter and its website. According to *Daily Star* (2016), the NDA's initial Twitter account (@NDAvengers) has been shut down. But the group now has a new Twitter account which is @AgbiniboND (Niger Delta Avengers, 2016). Nonetheless, it might not take too long before the group's current Twitter account is deactivated similar to the way other terrorist and militant linked accounts have been deactivated by Twitter since the middle of 2015 (*The Daily Star*, 2016).

The group's threat to Nigeria's security has reached heights that prompted President Muhammadu Buhari to declare the government's openness to negotiations with the NDA with the aim of resolving militancy in the Niger Delta (Gaffey, 2016). Evidently, the NDA have proven that they are very different from the previous militia groups because they have strategically attacked the Nigerian state by blowing up specific oil and gas pipelines, as well as flow stations. According to a respondent in FCS-Muslim:

If you look at the Niger Delta militants, they are blowing the oil pipelines and Nigeria is losing. We depend on this oil...Both of them cripple the economic growth of the nation which affects the Nigerian state.

Both, as used by the respondent in FCS-Muslim, refer to both the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram. The approach of targeting oil and gas pipelines has seriously affected the Nigerian economy combined with the dwindling price of crude oil. In support of the FCS-Muslim participant, a respondent in FCS-Christian asserted that:

I think the similarity in the fight of Boko Haram and that of the Niger Delta militants is that they are really destabilizing the economy of Nigeria.

Another respondent in FCS-Christian supported the claim of the aforementioned respondents, but also added that:

Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants are disturbing the peace and security of Nigeria. But they have more differences because the Niger Delta militants are fighting for their rights.

Based on the respondent's assertion, peace and security in Nigeria are under threat from militants and Boko Haram. The respondent further mentioned that the Niger Delta militants were actually freedom fighters who are fighting for their rights and a just cause as opposed to Boko Haram. In support of the claim of the respondent in FCS-Christian, *Daily Post* (2016) opine that the approach of the NDA has been applauded by some Nigerians because it is expected to pressurize the federal government to negotiate with the militant groups and address the recurring problems of underdevelopment, corruption and marginalisation being experienced in the Niger Delta. Previously established groups such as MEND, NDPVF and the NDV did not only blow up oil pipelines but they carried out terrorist crimes against the international community and Nigeria through the abduction of foreign workers and foreign vessels. Thus, there is major difference between the old militia groups and the NDA. In fact, there are two sides to the coin regarding the creation of the NDA as it is possible that the group was formed by a new breed of militants who are sincerely agitating for change and the development of the Niger Delta, while there is a possibility that the group is an extension of an old militia group or aggrieved ex-militants who decided to rebrand and operate using a new name with a different strategy. According to *Vanguard* (2016b), the Nigerian government sent members of the military into Gbaramutu in Delta state to comb for a fugitive and ex top leader of MEND known as Government "Tompson" Ekpemupolo who is wanted for graft after he executed some contracts on behalf of the government under the PDP regime of President Goodluck Jonathan. Tompolo is alleged to have ties with the NDA and to have formed it as a reprisal for the attempts by the federal government of Nigeria to arrest and prosecute him.

Another factor that could have led to the emergence of the NDA and other new militia groups is the setback suffered in the Amnesty programme, due to the delay in paying the stipends of ex-militants who do not have a source of livelihood other than the stipends

(Akasike, 2016). There is so much uncertainty regarding the creation of NDA, but the group has ties and knowledge of militancy because of the ease with which they carry out attacks. This strongly points out that some ex militants are involved in the set-up and operations of the NDA.

7.11 The Miyeti Allah

It has been broadly asserted that the 1960 long unresolved contradictions of the Nigerian state would keep manifesting in different groups agitations as they have been from the periods after independence, and events all and around Nigeria past and present have not suggested otherwise. Just as Boko Haram was a metamorphosis of several agitating groups, many other groups keep evolving from such extremist ideas even as the Federal Government of Nigeria claims it has succeeded in combating terrorism. The latest of such groups in Nigeria is the Miyeti Allah, which, at the moment claims to protect the interests of cattle rearers and abattoir workers which, given the way the scenarios of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen played out, is very likely to boomerang.

7.12 Economic Security

One of the major factors that determine the economic growth of any nation is investment (Nwogwugwu, Alao and Egwuonwu, 2012:30).

According to Okezie and Amir (2011:369), the Nigerian economy has witnessed a gradual rise since independence and can be regarded as a leading economy in Africa. But internal conflicts and wars have had an effect on the Nigerian economy; insurgencies in the form of Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militants have had an impact on the economy of Nigeria. As mentioned earlier, multinational corporations have been discouraged and affected by the negative effects of insurgency in Nigeria. According to Bakare (2010), “there is a positive relationship between multinational direct investment and growth in Nigeria. It shows that 1% rise in multinational direct investments will cause as much as 80% growth in the gross domestic output.” So, the economy of a country will grow faster if there is more foreign direct investment (FDI). Olusola (2013:153) explains that the daily production of oil was affected to the extent that a loss of approximately 211,000 barrels

was recorded daily due to militancy in 2006. The militant vandalisation of pipelines and shutting down of flow stations disturbed the production of oil. Some of the militant groups were also involved in oil bunkering as this was a means of generating income to buy weapons and to cater for their members (Nwogwugwu, Alao and Egwuonwu, 2012:29). In 2006, the export of crude oil was affected by 20% as approximately 25% of the amenities that produced the oil such as the flow stations remained inactive and deserted, while workers, especially foreign workers were scared of working in the Niger Delta region (Olusola, 2013:153). The sale of crude oil, which is a great source of revenue for the Nigerian government, reduced significantly. Furthermore, power generation was affected due to the reduction and total cut off of gas supply to the power stations that generate electric power (Olusola, 2013:153). As at 2016, power production is very low in Nigeria and a reduction in the power that is being made available will certainly have a negative effect on the economy as businesses and production will be affected. This means that the economy weakens in the face of insurgency. Nwogwugwu, Alao and Egwuonwu (2012:29) opine that investors are worried about their investments in Nigeria, while foreign workers who are meant to be contributing to the development of the Nigerian economy through their expertise are scared to remain in Nigeria. Nwogwugwu, Alao and Egwuonwu (2012:30) further state that telecommunications companies such as MTN were also affected as 43 of their base stations were closed in 2007 because of the operations of militant which made the stations unreachable. But after negotiations between the militants and the government in 2009, a peace deal in the form of Amnesty was reached which prompting the militia groups to halt their activities in the Niger Delta (Lahai and Lyons, 2016:134). Thus, the oil output received a boost as production went back to normal.

On the other hand, similar to the impact of the Niger Delta militants who are regarded as terrorists, Boko Haram has had a negative effect on the Nigerian economy. Adebayo (2014:485) suggests that “the fear caused by the ‘Boko Haram’ bombings in particular has made most foreign investors, who usually featured at the annual Lagos Trade Fair to show case their products to stay away and even those who came, had heavy security network around them.” But the war has not majorly affected the production of goods and services all over Nigeria. The areas that have been affected are the towns and cities annexed by Boko Haram in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria and a few other areas in Northern Nigeria.

Adebayo (2014:481) contends that the state of emergency imposed on the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe crippled business operations and agricultural activities in the affected areas. Internally, Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SME) have been affected in the North because many citizens have relocated out of fear of being attacked by terrorists. Hence, the capacity of most IDP camps is maximized to accommodate the internally displaced. Most northerners are predominantly into agriculture and small businesses; livestock is also a major business in the North-East territory while cash crops such as vegetables, rice, maize, cassava, millet, guinea corn and cotton are cultivated (Vanguard, 2014). Commercial businesses were also affected because people who are supposed to patronize the businesses have abandoned their cities for safety in more secure regions and states (Vanguard, 2014). For instance, the markets in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe are deserted because of the fear of explosions and traders find it difficult to sell their wares. Vanguard (2014) assert that motorcycle riders find it difficult to get passengers and some of the riders were compelled to sell their motorcycles for a giveaway price because of the dilemma. According to RSP5, Boko Haram:

You will find that farming activities cannot take place. Some of the foodstuff that we eat in this country; you talking about beans, onions and stuff like that, they come from the North-Eastern part of the country, and right now they can't farm and that is affecting everybody. Not only the North-East, even the North-West. I am a business woman like I told you earlier and my business is affected by the insurgency. I deal with poultry feed and what we do is that poultry, I normally use in the night; that's when you get your roasted chicken; you have what we call Meshai, tea sellers, who sell a lot of eggs and all that and we have all these bike riders. A single person can buy like ten eggs and eat but now night life is dead and it's greatly affected our businesses.

A respondent in FCS-Muslim also affirmed RSP5 stance regarding the impact of Boko Haram on the economy of Nigeria. The FCS-Muslim respondent stated that:

if you look at them, most of them are farmers. And Boko Haram, they are hiding either close to their farms in the bush. When they go to farm, Boko

Haram will allow them, but when it's harvesting time, they will go and pack them and go with it, they will not allow them to go with it. Those that are close to Lake Chad; their major occupation is fishing; I heard that Boko Haram killed many of the fishermen and that's the main source of income and that in turn affects Nigeria.

The use of 'them' by the respondent refers to the inhabitants of the affected areas in North-Eastern Nigeria. People in these areas have no option but to abandon their source of livelihood as a result of Boko Haram attacks. The difficulty in generating funds from the crisis hit areas has an adverse effect on the economy. Farming, manufacturing and the supply of agricultural produce to other states and countries have been hindered due to shortages in production as a result of insurgency. Therefore, Nigeria's internal revenue flow and economy is affected by Boko Haram operations while food production is also a concern as interpreted from the responses of RSP5 and the respondent in FCS-Muslim.

7.13 Food Security

Food is essential to every nation because people need food to maintain good health and stay alive. Food insufficiency leads to malnutrition which is not good for the labor force and population of any country. "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 2005). So, if there is food insecurity, people have an unhealthy life, starve, fall sick and die. Furthermore, food security as coined by Awodola and Oboshi (2015:11) comprises the prospect of farming, availability of food to the general public and being able to purchase food at reasonable prices. Thus, Adebayo and Ojo (2012:200) explain that any country where the food demand is more than the supply is in danger of encountering a food disaster. Thus, shortage of food has a direct impact on national security and human security. "Food insecurity exists when people do not have adequate physical, social or economic access to food" (FAO, 2005). Due to the challenge encountered in farming as a result of Boko Haram attacks, there has been a shortage and non-circulation of food in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria.

Awodola and Oboshi (2015:13) indicate that the effect of Boko Haram on food supply is very grave as cities such as Maiduguri, which is advantageously positioned as a centralized hub for commercial activities in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria, is targeted by the sect. Also, Maiduguri is a key destination for visitors and traders from the neighbouring Cameroon, Chad and Niger. The possibility of a smooth inflow and outflow of food in the affected areas in North-Eastern part of Nigeria is very slim. In this manner, commerce is stunted in the region. Awodola and Oboshi (2015:13) suggest that “the agricultural product grown and produced in the 27 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Borno state are brought in to Maiduguri and traded among the three major markets of the Baga fish market, Gomboru market and the Monday market”. The assertion of Awodola and Oboshi is in line with RSP5’s response on food production and business in the North. This is further buttressed by Vanguard (2015c) with claims that markets in Maiduguri are subjected to attacks from Boko Haram in communal places through suicide bombers. Without doubt, there is a huge challenge in getting food from the 27 Local Government Areas to the markets in Maiduguri because of Boko Haram. Thus, the shortage of people in the Local Government Areas has led to a shortage in food production and supply.

Traders are also affected because they do not have enough food to supply consumers, while businesses might yield good profits even if food is available in the markets as a result of the absence of buyers. Also, people in other parts of Nigeria find it difficult to get certain staple foods which are chiefly cultivated in the North-Eastern states. When there is insufficient food, the individuals have no option but to import food mainly for survival and for the generation of income by traders. However, depending on foreign aid or food importation is not a long term solution because of the negative implications it has on the economy of the affected country.

Adebayo and Ojo (2012:203) show that food shortage invariably leads to food importation which may have an effect on the economy as some countries rendering help capitalize on the vulnerability of the affected country by demanding for payback in a political way. And such demands might not be in the overall interest of the affected country. But this does not apply to countries that have the funds to purchase food because some countries rely only on external aid without the capacity to produce or buy food. Adebayo and Ojo (2012:203)

suggest that there is the possibility of an increase on foreign reliance because of the problems faced in producing food locally for the masses in Nigeria. Ike and Onoriode (2015:162) assert that agriculture was a major income generating avenue for Nigeria in the 1960s as it promoted foreign exchange incomes, internal manufacturing and reduced unemployment. So, the decline in the agricultural sector over the years as a result of Nigeria's dependence on oil, combined with conflicts in areas where farming is widely practiced, has led to a shortage in food production for internal consumption (Ike and Onoriode, 2015:162). Ammani (2011) argues that the reliance on crude oil has not had a negative impact on the agricultural sector in Nigeria because of the capital expenditure allocation that the agricultural sector has received since crude oil was discovered. But the decline in food production has been going on for some time, especially since oil was discovered in Nigeria. Based on the decline, the Nigerian government brought in the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986 to alleviate the deleterious decline of production and agriculture (Ike and Onoriode, 2015:163). The SAP is an economic solution promoted by the IMF and the World Bank to assist Africa or developing countries in Africa (Ogbimi, 1998). Nwagbara (2011:32) explains that the SAP for developing countries was fashioned to tackle economic difficulties combined with the socio-political imbalance which were prevalent in the 1980s. From all indications, the SAP was unsuccessful and rebuffed by a large section of Nigerians. According to Nwagbara (2011:32), the SAP was introduced during the regime of President Ibrahim Babangida who was regarded as an authoritarian.

Other factors such as political instability and negative policies have affected the yield from agricultural production in Nigeria (Ike and Onoriode, 2015:163). The operation of militants in the Niger Delta did not have any major threat to food production apart from disruption of fishing or trading in the creeks which was as a result of fear of being kidnapped or killed. Nigeria has depended on importation of food such as fish, rice, chicken and turkey to meet domestic demand. These are warning signs that Nigeria has an internal challenge in producing enough food for its citizens under the specter of new terrorism. Terrorism remains a major threat and certainly the impact of the Boko Haram operations in the Northern part of Nigeria has resulted in adverse food insecurity.

7.14 Human Security

The protection of human lives is very important to every nation. According to the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (2009:5), human security means to defend the important principle of all human existence in patterns that improve human liberty and human contentment; it means defending individuals from serious and extensive threats and its circumstances. Enu and Ugwu (2011:254) posit that human security is chiefly about human emancipation from false and bodily interferences such as political coercion, conflict and poverty which prevent individuals from deciding and acting without restrictions on a particular interest of choice. In addition, human security connotes making social, military, environmental, economic, political and traditional arrangements that mutually give individuals the structure of existence, means of support and self-respect (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2009:5). Based on the definition of human security, it is important for human lives to be respected in a way that actions that can terminate the life of another should be prohibited, whether it is intentional or unintentional. Therefore attacks by Boko Haram constitute a threat to human existence and the liberty that people have in the society. Critics have argued that the main shortcoming of human security is that it is all inclusive and has been unsuccessful in its objectives for enhancing the human state (Human Security Initiative, 2011).

“The term Human Security was first popularized by the United Nations Development Programme in the early 1990s. It emerged in the post-Cold War era as a way to link various humanitarian, economic, and social issues in order to alleviate human suffering and assure security” (Human Security Initiative, 2011). According to Srinivas (2001), the widespread dislodgement of people, offensive violation of human rights, AIDS, transnational terrorism, environmental hazards and organized crime are straight forward threats to human security which compels us to embrace a much more organized method to a variety of subjects. In the past, the loss of lives as a result of AIDS directly affected the work force and population of certain countries; most countries were worried about the AIDS pandemic because it was out of control due to the unavailability of antiretroviral (Armstrong-Mensah, 2010:1).

7.15 Human insecurity in Nigeria since 1999

The transition to democracy in 1999 introduced a new era in Nigeria politics and governance because of the transformation that is associated with regime change. Enu and Ugwu (2011:254) assert that it is the government's responsibility to ensure its citizens are protected and secure from both internal and external threats at all times irrespective of location. The proponents of human security and peace building initiatives affirm that security which focuses on the citizenry is paramount to national, regional and international steadiness (Enu and Ugwu, 2011:254). Enu and Ugwu (2011:255) explains that most inhabitants of the Niger Delta area live on less than a dollar a day and such has contributed to the high rate of poverty which is a threat to human security in Nigeria. Enu and Ugwu further explain that it was difficult to differentiate between a military regime and a democratic regime during the reign of President Olusegun Obasanjo because he ruled with so much power and authority to the extent that he ordered security operatives to shoot on sight; an order which violates human rights and which led to loss of lives and properties at Odi in the Niger Delta. Odi was almost wiped out as a result of the order which is against the protection and safety of the people. Basically, clan and family displacement, poverty, social inequality, government, environmental dilapidation and slow growth as a result of mediocrity are the reasons for human insecurity in the Niger Delta (Enu and Ugwu, 2011:255). The Niger Delta militants scared inhabitants of the area as a result of their activities, but most of their threats were to draw the attention of the government and the international community without any major aim to kill and destroy. Their most common approach was the kidnapping of foreigners for ransom and bargaining while Boko Haram is focused on senseless killings without any major preference for foreigners.

Srinivas (2001) suggests that terrorism is a persistent threat occurring in almost every continent when considering its multidimensional background. Based on the mission of Boko Haram, people no longer feel safe in some cities in the North, especially in areas already annexed by Boko Haram. Terrorism has caused widespread panic as Boko Haram shows little or no mercy for citizens when carrying out an attack. Othman, Singh and Sule (2015:37) opine that businesses are not functioning; there are no jobs because most of the companies have folded up and relocated from the North-East region. Boko Haram operations in Nigeria have caused the displacement of people both internally and externally

as people have left the North Eastern part of Nigeria in droves in search of security and peace in safer areas. Therefore, Boko Haram is a definite threat to human existence in Nigeria and other countries.

7.16 Panic and National Security

Table 7.16 (i) Appraisal of insecurity and panic in Nigeria.

The table below illustrates and helps in analyzing the height of panic and fear created by the operations of Boko Harm on the Nigerian populace. Again, this table is an exclusive elucidation of the viewpoints of RSPs regarding their security in Nigeria.

Do you feel secure in Nigeria?		
Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3	25%
No	5	41.7%
Relatively	4	33.3%

From the statistics, 25% of the sample population has confidence in the Nigeria government in the handling of Boko Haram irrespective of the difficulty in finding and rescuing the Chibok girls. While 33.3% of the respondents position on security is moderate and shrouded in so much uncertainty due to the shortcomings of the Nigerian state or the difficulty in getting security in other climes. Precisely 41.7% have so much doubt on their safety and security in Nigeria because of the activities of Boko Haram. They do not feel

safe in Nigeria despite the fact the regime change in 2015 and different approaches geared towards eradicating Boko Haram which have even led to a multilateral cooperation in curbing the sect. one of the respondents simply stated his lack of trust in the Nigerian government:

I don't feel secure because of impunity. (RSP11)

The lack of trust in the Nigerian government emanates from the difficulty to tackle Boko Haram and this has led some people to believe that the Nigeria government is incapable of providing adequate security for Nigerians within and outside the North-Eastern geopolitical axis. The issue of impunity is as a result of the overlooked stagnant problems plaguing the North-Eastern territory. So, not until those problems are addressed, some people will not feel safe in Nigeria due to the continuous rise of the dreaded sect. Conspicuously, the FCS respondents also had their invaluable inputs on the issue of security in Nigeria. Surprisingly, FCS-Christian, which comprises of Christian respondents, feel more secure in Nigeria as opposed to their Muslim counterparts (FCS-Muslim) who do not feel secure. Perhaps, this is constant reminder that there is a temporary shift in paradigm by Boko Haram from unbelievers and Christians to also include fellow Muslims within their reach. However, this shift does not mean that Boko Haram will not attack Christians, foreigners and unbelievers alike at any given opportunity. According to one of the respondents under FCS-Muslim:

In our areas, we are scared because after Boko Haram started, some members came to attack us. So, they are a threat. They came to attack an officer of police in Sokoto but they haven't really come back since that then.

This position validates assumption that there is so much panic and fear within and outside the Muslim circle but majorly amongst Muslims as they are meant to bear the brunt because of their geographical location and the shared religion with Boko Haram. The response of the FCS-Muslim group also validates the potential of Boko Haram to conveniently carry out attacks in other states and geopolitical zones where attacks have and have not occurred in the past. Also, another respondent who is a Muslim also had her view on how the activities of Boko Haram have created so much panic and insecurity amongst Nigerians:

I remember sometime last year, after the bombing at emir plaza. There is a Mosque around there. And I went to a Mosque; and as I was approaching the Mosque. There was somebody in front of the Mosque; you know they normally check before people go in. And he turned and he saw me and he was so petrified. And that is a Muslim seeing a fellow Muslim wearing the Hijab and being so petrified. So, that says a lot. And sometime again, there was a time we were sitting here at Unity fountain. I was here advocating for Chibok girls. And I raised my head, and I saw a man coming in. He was wearing this flowing cloth and he had a back pack. And I tell you my mind did cut. (RSP5)

The response of RSP5 elucidates the magnitude of panic Muslims have from fellow Muslims which could be as a result of unanswered questions regarding the kind of Islam that is being practiced by Boko Haram in an Islamophobic like manner which shouldn't be coming from fellow Muslims. People are truly petrified and the Hijab and other outfits associated with Islam makes it even more difficult for people to remain calm when in the public. Obaji (2015) opined that Boko Haram take advantage of the use of Hijab in concealing bombs for potential attacks. Even Mosques, which are the primary Islamic places of worship, are no longer sacrosanct because of the history of attacks perpetuated by Boko Haram in the past and the possibility of an unexpected fresh attack. Are followers of a particular faith supposed to be searched before going into their places of worship? It is difficult to accept and practice a religion without absolute freedom in accordance with the dogma due to the threat of insurgent attacks and being killed in the process. The same is applicable to the Christian fold; what is truly the essence of going to church if one will be searched? The act of searching alone at places of worship promotes fear and insecurity amongst religious people. Although, under the focus group discussion for Christians residing in the North, one of the respondents had this to say regarding security in Nigeria:

Actually I feel secured here in Nigeria and I feel very much secure each time I am in my state because since the inception of Boko Haram, there haven't been any activities of Boko Haram recorded here in Sokoto, where I am from. You understand! So, I think Sokoto is a very peaceful state. So,

I feel very much secured each time I am in Sokoto and Nigeria at large.
(FCS-Christian)

The respondent, who resides in Sokoto, was the only person to respond to the question on security and there was no opposition from other participants in the group who reside close or in the heart of the Boko insurgency. Sokoto is relatively a peaceful state, although it's dominated by a very large Muslim population because of the history of the inhabitants and the Sokoto caliphate (Afigbo and Falola, 2005: 453). However, Sokoto is in the North-West geopolitical axis of Nigeria which has not really experienced any major threat from Boko Haram. But how long will some key Northern states outside of the hot zone remain unscathed by the insurgents? This further dampens the postulation that Nigeria is secure and can guarantee the safety of its citizenry. But again, a lot of people are believed not to have a clear grasp and understanding of terrorism, especially in the Southern part of the country. Perhaps, this is the reason why some people still believe they are insecure in Nigeria even when they reside in areas that are free from Boko Haram attacks. According to one of the participants under FCS-Christian:

I don't think so. Not everybody understands what terrorism means. Some peoples understanding of terrorism can be linked to Islam that is some people's belief. The South-Eastern part of this country, they believe that whenever they mention terrorism, it's linked to Islam. So, I don't think everyone understands what terrorism really is. Terrorism has no religion and has no connection with any tribe or anything; everybody can be involved in terrorism.

Terrorism is not ascribed to a particular religion; clearly, some people might assume that all Mosques and every Muslim is a terrorist. Thus, Islamophobia has been fueled in Nigeria by people based on the level of insecurity and persistent challenges being encountered in Nigeria. Certainly, all Muslims cannot be regarded as terrorists, but there is so much ignorance and lack of awareness in regards to terrorism in Nigeria. So, people are forced to stick to what they understand and know about terrorism. The FCS-Christian respondent's opinion on terrorism may also refer to a broader terrorism that includes groups which are contentiously considered to be terrorists such as MEND and the NDV which are Niger-

Delta militias. These groups in the Niger-Delta have at a point in time obstructed the Nigerian government from maintaining its autonomy as a sovereign state. The safety of people in Nigeria is highly debatable because of several perceptions and views of respondents who do not feel secure in Nigeria either as a result of Boko Haram or the impunity which is also regarded as a causal factor of the sect. Even, Muslims do not have confidence and trust in fellow Muslims because of attacks that have been targeted at Mosques by the sect. Also, some people in the Southern part of Nigeria assign terrorism to Islam only based on their understanding of insurgency and without considering other groups capable of upsetting the Nigerian state.

7.16 (i) Foreign Policy Dimension to National Security

Premium Times (2014) explains that foreign policy is regarded as an expansion of domestic policy. The role of internal policy-making is very important to the external because they are connected and the former is a foundation for the latter. Nigeria's foreign policy formulation processes have certain limitations such as the environment and the actors involved. For instance, the decision of the Nigerian government to join the Islamic coalition has been met with stiff opposition and criticism from some Nigerians as it is seen as a ploy to Islamicise Nigeria. There are many other instances where Boko Haram operations have forced Nigeria to make and change her policies while other countries have been left with no choice but to adjust their foreign policy in regards to Nigeria. Countries attempt to reshape and restructure their foreign policies to suit their interests and the height of insecurity in Nigeria might deter other countries from having favourable policy decisions towards Nigeria. Venda (2015) asserts that people are losing confidence in the Nigerian government both locally and internationally because of its inability to deal with Boko Haram. According to *Premium Times* (2014), erstwhile Senate President, David Mark, explained that Boko Haram has forced a modification to Nigeria's foreign policy to establish a relationship with other members of the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries who primarily speak French. Thus, Akpomera and Omoyibo (2013) postulates that Nigeria no longer plays its role as a force and regional authority in West Africa because of the 4000 foreign nationals that were sent back to Chad, Cameroon and Niger from Nigeria. According to Bamgbose (2013:127), 7000 illegal refugees were also deported to Chad and

Niger from Nigeria. This is just the ascertained figure for illegal migrants that are known to the Nigerian government. What about other migrants who came into Nigeria undetected? In the past fifty years and prior to the spate of attacks by Boko Haram, Nigeria has been home to a lot of foreign nationals who are involved in criminal activities such as arms trafficking, religious radicalism and other forms of organised crimes due to the permeability of borders in the Northern part of Nigeria (Akpomera and Omoyibo, 2013). Nigeria's foreign policy on refugees, most especially refugees from neighbouring countries have changed because of the need to beef up security at the borders and to get rid of foreign nationals who directly or circuitously fuel the incessant presence of Boko Haram. According to a respondent under FCS-Muslim, "most of them are from other countries such as Niger and Chad. They claim Islamic religion but they are not good Muslims because Muslims do not accept terrorism."

Furthermore, countries such as the US and the United Kingdom have been forced to adjust their foreign policy pertaining to Nigeria with the aim of protecting their citizens. "The state of emergency declared by President Jonathan on Borno, Yobe, Plateau and Niger states have been reacted against negatively. Thus following this action by the President, the United States of America warned her nationals not to travel to such problematic areas in Nigeria" (Bamgbose, 2013:127). The assumption is that most areas in Nigeria are unsafe for foreigners as a result of terrorism. Hence, foreigners are likely to be discouraged from travelling to Nigeria by their consulates and government. In this light, the United Nations decided to suspended travel to Nigeria after the bomb blast that occurred at its office in Abuja (Bamgbose, 2013:127). The effect of Boko Haram on foreign policy in Nigeria can be negative or positive because the government has taken advantage of the conflict to reinvigorate its relationships with several countries. And most countries consider their short and long term goals before formulating or altering their foreign policy to align with an interest. Bamgbose (2013:132) explains that in Nigeria, foreign policy has been changed in the past on several occasions as intergovernmental organizations such as the Commonwealth was compelled to act when Nigeria, under the military regime of General Sani Abacha, killed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other people for purported criminal activities. The internal conflicts and policies triggered an international backlash reaction because of the death of Saro-Wiwa and his MOSOP co-conspirators (Etemike, 2012:582).

Also, the Niger Delta militants were able to force multinational companies and their overseas headquarters to have a rethink regarding the environmental degradation and poor state of development in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria. The pressure was as a result of the reduction in the daily production of oil from several flow stations in the Niger Delta because of the vandalism of pipelines and the abduction of both foreign and local workers (Etemike, 2012:583).

The affected oil and gas MNCs were able to influence their respective head offices and home countries to alter some policies to enable smooth running of their investments in the Niger Delta. For instance, Royal Dutch Shell which was established in 1907 and is known worldwide (Shell, 2015); issues would be resolved timely as Shell would not want to tarnish its global image and reputation. Both Nigeria and the home country headquarters of the affected company would have to negotiate to arrive at a viable solution to the problems. However, some of the agreements reached with the Nigerian government have not proved helpful because of repeated problems being experienced in the Niger-Delta.

Another instance of a foreign policy change occurred during the visit of President Jacob Zuma of South Africa to Nigeria in March 2016 (ENCA, 2016). Zuma's trip influenced the Nigerian president, Muhammadu Buhari to order a renegotiation of the seven hundred and eighty nine billion Naira (N789,000,000,000.00) fine slammed on MTN by the Nigeria Communications Commission (NCC) (Vanguard, 2016d). The initial fine imposed on MTN is as result of its delay in disabling unregistered users on their network, which were used by terrorists in their operations (Nigerian Nation, 2016). The Nigerian government adjusted its internal policy on communications to accommodate an external actor which is the South African government. But MTN remains the link because of its presence in both countries.

According to Isa (2014), despite the support offered to Nigeria by some countries, they have refused to get involved in the war against Boko Haram and subsequently declined to send fighters to Nigeria. For instance, the US can send marines and specialists who are already trained in tackling terrorism to help in guiding the Nigerian fighters and to assist in the battles against Boko Haram but they have not. The United Kingdom could have sent troops because of its strong ties to Nigeria and also because the United Kingdom has trained

fighters who were once in Afghanistan and Iraq. Isa (2014) asserts that the interest of the West is not directly at stake and that is why they have not done anything to protect lives and to put a permanent end to Boko Haram. “The conscience (if any) of the international community has failed to inspire effective commitment to help Nigeria tackle it. Moreover, the situation is not likely to change as long as the crisis remains largely confined within the sub-region and doesn’t seem to threaten the economic interests of the so-called western political power, especially in oil and other strategic sectors in the country and the wider region at large” (Isa, 2014). From all indications, the West could have intervened like they intervened in Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan but they have decided not to alter their foreign policies because the attacks do not directly affect their interests. President Barak Obama of the US declared in his foreign policy address at West Point that he would support in the fight against Boko Haram and assist in educating the youths in Nigeria, but the physical intervention has not happened yet (Traywick, 2014).

According to Joseph (2014), the abduction of more than 200 school girls in Chibok led to an international backlash on the Nigerian government as people were unhappy that adequate steps had not been taken to rescue the girls. Odunsi (2015) maintains that irrespective of the presence of Boko Haram, ISIS and Al Qaeda, the US still believes in pursuing religious liberty as one of its main foreign policy goals. This means that the US foreign policy is not biased against Islam as it permits the acceptance of refugees from war torn areas such as Syria and the affected Lake Chad Basin Commission countries. With the projected admittance of 100,000 refugees in 2017, the US foreign policy on religious freedom makes it possible for more refugees from the affected Lake Chad Basin Commission countries to be accepted into the US. But why is the US openly accepting refugees from Syria without extending the same privilege to the affected Lake Chad Basin Commission area? This is an indication that the US foreign policy on refugees is a little bit skewed and not all-encompassing. Former US ambassador to Niger, John Campbell (2014), explains that the US needs to have a review of its foreign policy on Nigeria as issues bordering on human rights abuse, electoral fraud and Boko Haram have to be looked into. “Washington should pursue a longer-term strategy to address the roots of northern disillusionment, preserve national unity, and restore Nigeria's trajectory toward democracy and the rule of law” (Campbell, 2014). Reiterating the USA’s position in assisting foreign

countries tackle insecurity and the suggestion of a Counter-terrorism Partnership Fund (Joseph, 2014); why has it been difficult for the US to send its military to help in the fight against Boko Haram?

Basically, foreign policy has been influenced by various insurgency threats in Nigeria over the years and since the existence of Nigeria. In policy formulation, insurgency related issues can weaken or strengthen foreign policy.

7.17 Conclusion

This chapter discussed national insecurity and new terrorism. Apart from the Nigerian civil war (Biafran war) of 1967 and some coups which took place in Nigeria, groups such as OPC, MEND, NPDVF and Boko Haram have become direct threats to peace and security in Nigeria through their activities. Their activities have an impact on Nigeria in several ways even if some of them negotiated with the government and were incorporated into the Amnesty. The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate (NDGM) are new militia groups that emerged in 2016. The structure and modus operandi of both the NDA and the NDGJM remain sketchy but the former has explored the use of the new media through their official website, Facebook and Twitter in disseminating information and interacting with the public. The group's use of Twitter confirms the departure from more traditional forms of media to new media platforms which can instantaneously provide a distributor (militant) and receiver (public) interaction. The NDA and NDGJM are very different from the previous militia groups such as MEND because they have mainly blown up oil and gas pipelines, as well as flow stations to attract and compel the Nigerian government to negotiate with them for the development of the Niger Delta. So, far there is not recorded case of kidnapping of foreign workers or oil bunkering carried out by the NDA and the NDGJM. Despite the fact that national security is believed to be under threat from militants and Boko Haram some militia groups are actually regarded as freedom fighters that are fighting for their rights and a just cause. In this respect, the NDA has been applauded by some people in the society. However, some people believe that the NDA is an offshoot of an old militant group, while the delay in the payment of Amnesty stipends could have also triggered the creation of the NDA. Similar to the activities of Boko Haram, operations of militia groups such as NDA and NDGJM are

seriously crippling the Nigerian economy because of the blowing up of oil and gas pipelines in the Niger-Delta. Thus, the Nigerian government has looked at negotiating with the militants for a long lasting solution.

On the other hand, Boko Haram remains a threat to Africa as the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger are battling to put an end to the sect's activities within their borders. Boko Haram has expanded into other countries from its original base of operation. Also, the alliance between Boko Haram and al Qaeda is a threat to the world because of the diverse approaches of both sects. Lately, Boko Haram has employed new terrorism tactics in its attacks. Upon realizing the need for cooperation and assistance, the AU and the international community have been assisting in the fight against Boko Haram. Regional cooperation is very important as most of the Lake Chad Basin Commission states are affected and involved in the fight against the sect. Thus, regional cooperation is highly important in the fight against the sect. Permeable borders and an influx of foreigners need to be addressed in tackling Boko Haram as most of the fighters move freely in and out of Nigeria undetected. They use the same medium to bring in weapons which are used in attacking the society. On the other hand, similar to the impact of the Niger Delta militants who can also be regarded as terrorists, Boko Haram has had a negative effect on the Nigerian economy as farming and commercial activities have been stalled. People can no longer go their farms or to the market out of fear of being attacked or kidnapped. Hence, a lot of people have been forced to flee their homes in search of security in other climes. Thus, there is a shortage in food internally which has an adverse effect on Nigeria's economy. Also, commercial activities with traders from neighbouring Lake Chad Basin Commission states are hindered because most of the traders are scared to continue with their businesses within the region

From the analysis, Boko Harams emergence has been triggered by several socio-economic, religious and political factors which may still be the current challenges encountered and needed in decimating and exterminating the group from operating within Nigerian geographical border and in other neighbouring countries. Religion is seen as a huge factor behind terrorism as 33.3% of the sample population indicated that it was responsible for starting the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. So, under religion, Boko Haram is seen as

a major problem because its root is firstly cemented in Islamic ideology rather than socio-economic factors and political reasons. Other factors such as politics and impunity are only secondary and hinge mainly on religion which is the fundamental causal factor of the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria, and which in turn has upset the autonomy of Nigeria. Thus, the national security of Nigeria can be said to be under threat because of the undermining factors which are fermented from a religious angle and which have a direct impact on human and economic security amongst others.

This chapter also discussed new terrorism in the West and in Nigeria. Aviation terrorism was discussed as a pattern of new terrorism as plane bombings can be linked to the history of new terrorism. This justifies the use of new terrorism in the 9/11 attacks on the USA. Also, subsequent attacks in the USA and other Western countries have confirmed new terrorism approaches in the form of lone wolf attacks. Since 9/11, there have been a lot of cases of lone wolf attacks in the West. Whereas in Nigeria, the introduction of the military in the fight against Boko Haram has prompted a redefinition of the fight from a mere conflict to a full war which requires stiffer and tougher opposition which the police cannot exclusively guarantee. So, the war between the military and Boko Haram can be termed as new terrorism because of the participation of the military while on the other hand, Nigeria can be considered to be involved in a full scale war as a result of the military's intervention.

Truly, the dynamics of the conflict has changed since it became intense and the police has been displaced and supplanted with the military in the fight against Boko Haram. Even though, new terrorism is already widespread in some parts of the world, it is still very much new in Nigeria and in Africa. Also, the use of sophisticated weaponry and firepower by Boko Haram is a clear sign that new terrorism is ongoing in Nigeria based on the shift from a more conventional approach of exchange of fire to more sophisticated weapons which also includes the use of bombs. However, most of their bombs require human contact for them to detonate. This means that most people who are used for carrying out bomb related attacks by Boko Haram do not survive to narrate their experience. Furthermore, the expansionist agenda of Boko Haram confirms the use of new terrorism approaches by Boko Haram as it improves their geographical seizure and control of places such as cities, villages, towns, forests etc. The zest for territorial control by Boko Haram has transcended

border lines and now cuts across several countries in the Lake Chad Commission region. So, new terrorism tactics are widely being manifested by Boko Haram in Nigeria and within the Lake Chad Basin area. And the possibility of aviation terrorism taking place in Nigeria cannot be ruled out because of the inadequacies of the government.

Finally, this chapter identified new terrorism patterns being employed in Nigeria. Operating outside a comfort zone, geographical expansion, technology, child suicide bombing, sophisticated weaponry, Islamic extremism, lengthy battles and military participation have been demonstrated and employed in the complex and new Boko Haram insurgent attacks.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusion

What can be expressly derived from the foregoing presentation is that Boko Haram activities were caused by a multiplicity of factors in Nigeria, and among these factors religion ranks highest. It is also clear the new media swiftly responds to reporting and analysis of Boko Haram activities through all of its posts. These recording were however mostly handled by individuals who neither have any form of training in journalism nor have their information censored before putting on air. The result of these is dissemination of certain religious and culturally sensitive information is not only capable of creating insecurity in the anion, but also completely destabilizing it. Deriving from the above, the new media, through its several posts have disseminated several information on the Boko Haram, that are capable of aggravating the religious intolerance currently witnessed in Nigeria, present Boko Haram activities in ways that positively reinforce them, portray terrorism as virtue and subsequently render it attractive to youths, popularize the activities of the Boko Haram in such a way to attract international solidarity and alliance from other international terrorist groups, aggravate north west dichotomy in Nigeria and do a whole of other things that have implications for national security.

This study examined and explored how the new media handles the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and how the society that uses the new media is involved in disseminating information on Boko Haram and structuring the stories that they get from the media on the group.

Because the new media is operated mostly through members of the public who are neither trained in journalism nor are under any form of regulations, they hardly ever follow any professional ethics. Therefore, in most cases, stories they present to the public may be fabricated to satisfy the news and information demands of the society and the international market, rather than what is authentic. More specifically, posts on new media platforms are

most of the time used to disseminate heroic messages about Boko Haram thereby creating panic in the society. The national security implications here are quite obvious.

It has been adduced by certain scholars that the new media and terrorism are interconnected, and that they therefore work together for common goals (Andrew 2014). The media privileges the financial gain and popularity from news covered on Boko Haram, while Boko Haram needs the publicity to create fear through the way the media depicts them. This means that the abduction of children by Boko Haram for instance, is meant to attract sympathetic attention from every part of the world. And Boko Haram does not particularly care how children are affected by their actions provided they create a negative and terrifying impact on the public.

The propagation of terrorism in Africa appears to be rapid as regions such as East and West Africa have experienced terrorism related attacks within the last decade. In East Africa, Somalia and Kenya have experienced attacks from a terrorist sect called al-Shabaab while the Lake Chad Basin commission countries such as Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon are currently faced with threats from Boko Haram. Nonetheless, the notoriety of Boko Haram does not overwhelm the operations of other insurgency sects presently operating in West Africa. For instance, a sect called al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is also considered a threat in Mali but it is not as widespread and powerful as Boko Haram. This research has looked at the history of Boko Haram and how the sect has evolved from a small group formed in 2002 to become a violent insurgent sect in Africa. Based on the ideology of Boko Haram, Western education is considered a sin. But Boko Haram has increasingly used Western backed technology and innovations in their operations to the extent that they now use social media and other new media platforms. In all ramifications, Boko Haram is now the most dreaded Islamic terrorist sect in Africa based on its presence in about four countries and the high number of casualties arising as a result of its attacks.

Also, Boko Haram is believed to have ties with superior sects such as al-Qaeda and ISIS to affirm its authority as the most dreaded Islamic sect in Africa. One of the major difficulties in tackling Boko Haram has been the ease with which terrorists move freely in and out of Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin area. This means that Nigerian borders in the North-Eastern region are highly porous. Hence, Boko Haram has access to space and land

which cuts across several countries. Nigeria has been greatly affected by the operations of Boko Haram to the extent that people have been forced to relocate and scamper for safety. The difficulty in tackling Boko Haram is similar to the challenge of curbing terrorism in other parts of world because well-known terrorist sects such as al-Qaeda have not been eradicated irrespective of the fact that some of their key members have been killed and arrested in the past. There seems to be a hierarchy in place for Islamic terrorist sects which make it difficult for them to be completely destroyed. Also, the absence of a universally accepted definition of terrorism makes it difficult to understand and tackle terrorism appropriately. For instance, some acts of terrorism can be considered as acts of militancy, liberation struggle and advocacy by some people in the countries affected; while others regard the same acts as terrorism. Hence, a global definition and understanding of terrorism would ensure that the international community knows when it could intervene and respond to terrorism related cases. Currently, countries have their various definitions of terrorism which differ based on state, political and geographical interests. In the long run, the United Nations has a major role to play in ensuring that terrorism is contextualized and interpreted definitively because it is a powerful intergovernmental organisation that deals with issues bordering on terrorism, human rights etc. As a matter of fact, it was the UN that influenced the definition of terrorism in the Nigeria context. Thus, an anti-terrorism bill was passed by the National Assembly of Nigeria in 2011.

Furthermore, the body of this work looked at the international dimensions of insurgency in Nigeria wherein the effect of Boko Haram operations on the international community and the Lake Chad Basin Commission were covered. The national security of Nigeria has been threatened on countless occasions by insurgency and conflicts which are directly a threat to peaceful human coexistence. From the Niger-Delta militants to Boko Haram, Nigeria has experienced turbulent times as a result of insurgents who have slowed down the economy from the drop in oil production, agriculture and commerce. The major threats to Nigeria's sovereignty since independence are the Biafra war which started in 1966, Niger-Delta Militants and very recently Boko Haram. The Biafra war alone resulted in the death of about two million people (ICE cases, 1997). On several other occasions, Nigeria's sovereignty has been tested but none of these insurrections has been as consistent and deadly as Boko Haram since the end of the Biafra war. Groups such as MOSOP, OPC,

NDPVF, Egbesu boys, JRC, MEND and NDV have constantly been a threat to Nigeria at various occasions. The majority of the aforementioned groups have been involved in the Niger-Delta struggle, using means that are of a negative consequence to the Nigerian state and the international community. For instance, the attacks on top multinational corporations such as Shell and Chevron have reduced the daily output of crude oil production because of either vandalism of pipelines, kidnapping of both foreign and local workers and oil bunkering. The damage caused by militant activities has had a toll on the oil sector because most of the MN's were not operating freely as their foreign workers were the targets of militants groups who demanded ransom for their release.

The attacks of Boko Haram alone crippled commercial activities in some key states in the North-East and consequently, a state of emergency was declared on Adamawa, Borno and Yobe. Commercial activities and farming have been stalled in the affected areas in Northern Nigeria, while people no longer feel comfortable and safe going to mosques, schools and markets. The entire populace feels threatened and they fear being attacked. The difficulty of operating freely in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria has resulted in a significant drop in food production: a lot of traders and farmers have lost lives and properties in the process of their daily routine to earn a living. Thus, the drop in food production is a direct threat to national security because it can lead to sickness from malnutrition and death as a result of starvation. Food security is very essential as it has an impact on human security for the fact that food is essential to human existence. Human security entails the protection of humans from any form of threat that has an effect on their existence. This means that food shortage is a major factor to consider when talking about human security.

Furthermore, the reduction of human population through migration and deaths as a result of the fear of being attacked by Boko Haram has an incalculable effect on human security. Boko Haram attacks have led to a refugee crisis which has encouraged people to relocate to other regions within and outside Nigeria. There has been a high percentage of internally displaced persons in IDP centres across Nigeria as a result of attacks carried out by Boko Haram on their communities and towns. Meanwhile, refugees are considered a threat to national security as they require urgent financial attention from the government which

might not be available due to their high numbers. Most especially, the abduction of children and women has increased the number of refugees as a result of people who have fled their communities. The use of women and children is a tactic which is quite new in Nigeria as children are scarcely used as suicide bombers by terrorists worldwide. Diseases such as AIDs and environmental hazards are also a threat to human security. Furthermore, the number of people who leave Nigeria daily for other countries for safety and other security reasons is alarming. The fact is that terrorism has an effect on human security in Nigeria as people are killed every day, while some take refuge in countries that are peaceful and receptive. The Nigerian economy has been affected by foreign policy decisions taken by the government and other stakeholders. Both local and foreign investors do not feel secure to invest in certain areas in Nigeria because of the uncertainty regarding their investments. Thus, it is difficult for the Nigerian government to generate revenue from areas where the insurgents and militants are operational.

This study also revealed the evolution of terrorism from old to new. This evolution of terrorism has necessitated the development of a novel understanding of types of terrorism; new terrorism is a recent version which is different from old terrorism. Globalisation has made the world smaller and at the same time aided terrorism in gaining global recognition. For instance, news on the 9/11 attacks in the US quickly spread because of the use of ICT and globalisation. Therefore, globalisation and terrorism have strong ties. However, new terrorism is more closely linked to globalisation than old terrorism which relied less on the international media. Apart from technological innovations, new terrorism includes other elements that involve biological and chemical arsenal of weapons. The 9/11 attacks are believed to have been the apparition of a new terrorism in the world as significant places in the US were targeted on the same day. However, terrorism comes in different forms and has been experienced in different ways in other climes before it began in Nigeria. Countries such as the US, UK and other European countries have become targets of terrorist groups who have an agenda to accomplish through their attacks. To be precise, the US had experienced a lot of terrorism cases before the 9/11 incident. But, the 9/11 attacks was the dawn of global terrorism and new terrorism as the number of people who lost their lives exceeded 2500. Even though, new terrorism is believed to have started from the 1960s, some scholars argue that new terrorism started from the 9/11 attacks because of the

approach and strategy used by al Qaeda. Prior to the 9/11 attacks, other forms of aviation related terrorism were the Air India flight 182 plane bombing and the Lockerbie Scotland bombing of 1988 which were carried out by separate sects with different motives.

Though there has never been a recorded case of aviation terrorism in Nigeria, it is not impossible for it to happen in the near future because of the security lapses in the aviation sector in Nigeria. Aviation terrorism can be categorized as a type of new terrorism based on the strategy involved in carrying out such attacks. Other characteristics of new terrorism are geographical expansion, aviation terrorism, operating outside a comfort zone, child suicide bombing, technology, advanced weaponry, prolonged wars, Islamic extremism and military involvement. Based on the components of new terrorism, it is evident that Boko Haram has manifested attributes of new terrorism in its approaches which has made its attacks more lethal. The use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) and the abduction of children who are later used as suicide bombers are all new strategies which are exhibited by the new terrorism that defines Boko Haram.

The research also revealed the influence of new media on the populace with regards Boko Haram in Nigeria. The new media is connected to so many aspects of the Nigerian contemporary society which makes communication easier. The ease with which one can access the radio, television and news online through one platform is uniquely powerful as it is connected to businesses, governments and the society at large. The Nigerian economy has been aided by the boom in ICT which is still evolving. This means that the Nigerian economy is poised for further growth based on the spread of ICT as there is still room for more people to embrace the use of the internet and computers. The percentage of uneducated and illiterate people in Nigeria is high compared to those that are educated. Therefore, a huge gap remains to be filled in the use of ICT. Social networking platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are employed by Nigerians on a daily basis for business and communication. In the late 1990s, most of the social networking platforms were not available and the growth in ICT was initially limited as a result of its use by a few agencies, companies and individuals who could afford it. In other words, at a point in time, computers and the internet were considered a luxury. Furthermore, the use of ICT has been incorporated into protecting national security in some countries. To this effect, Nigeria

launched its satellites into space in 2011. Additionally, due to the rate of insurgent attacks in Nigeria, mainstream media has been at the center of reporting on the operations of both the Niger-Delta militants and Boko Haram. New media has supplanted traditional forms of media which are still in vogue but with minor developments. The new media involves technology which has been a major threat to Nigeria because it is also at the disposal of insurgents. Without doubt, the media has been employed vis-à-vis insurgency in Nigeria as most renowned terrorist groups rely on publicity to gain presence and notoriety. Therefore, the new media is linked to the operations of Boko Haram as it is a catalyst in portraying the sect both negatively and positively through the dissemination of news.

Furthermore, the abuse of women and children by members of the sect cannot be ruled out as some of the girls might have been sexually abused. Most of the children are believed to have been brainwashed, drugged and coerced into carrying out life threatening attacks at the behest of Boko Haram because the children find it difficult to discern between right and wrong at their age. On the other hand, Boko Haram's continuous inclusion of children in their scheme of operations indicates that the development of children is practically impeded. And the poor development of children is associated with minimal education which can be an indirect threat to national security. The attack of the sect on western education undermines the achievement of educational goals set in Nigeria. The attacks also thwart the millennium Development Goals on Education such as Basic education for all children in the country, Education for All (EFA) aims to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 and Education for Rural People aims at addressing rural urban disparity in education. This means that the attacks by Boko Haram contribute towards the surge of illiteracy in Nigeria. UNESCO confirms that Nigeria has the highest rate of children who are not in school and the attacks of Boko Haram in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria further scare children from education.

This study showed that the fear of Boko Harm in the Northern part of Nigeria, combined with the activities of the Niger-Delta militants, have proven that Nigeria needs restorative measures because of the signs of fragmentation caused by groups such as the OPC, MEND, NDV, Boko Haram and NDA. Thus, the looming signs of a likely disintegration are present and therefore require measures that promote unity and ethnical oneness in Nigeria. This

research showed that the process of working towards defragmentation is an uphill task as the causal factors are yet to be addressed; factors such as poverty and corruption have not been effectively managed in Nigeria. The new media has not been used maximally in the fight against Boko Haram as it is the same channel through which the sect exerts its strength and false authority over Nigeria.

8.2 Significant Contributions of this Research

This study exposes the threats posed by the new media's reportage of the activities of Boko Haram to the national security of the Nigerian state in view of the fact that information about the sect is made available to both the public and government through uncontrolled representations of their activities on new media posts.

The study significantly contributes and validates that Nigerians get most information about Boko Haram through the new media and mass media and are able to react to such dissemination. This information can be framed and distorted by several actors. Thus, as stated in earlier parts of the research, Boko Haram has been pinpointed as a threat to the sovereignty and unity of Nigeria because of the panic it has created through media posts and the impact of its operations on the economy, food production, trade, diplomacy farming and general human existence.

From its findings, the study also clarifies that the activities of new militant groups such as the NDA are different from previous militant groups such as MEND. Thus, the NDA cannot be referred to as a terrorist group when compared to the MEND because of the former's different approaches even though her activities have affected crude oil production by Nigeria. In essence, the study creates a distinction between agitation and terrorism.

Another key contribution is the demonstration that the Boko Haram's use of children in suicide attacks is a strategy that had never been employed by any other insurgent group in Nigeria. It is also unprecedented among most Islamic terrorists operating in other countries. The study then asserts that this modus operandi deployed by Boko Haram for suicide attacks demands urgent stemming.

Another key contribution of this research is the pinpointing of other types of new terrorism such as geographical expansion, aviation terrorism, operating outside a comfort zone, child suicide bombing, technology, advanced weaponry, prolonged wars, Islamic extremism and military involvement. And most of these types of new terrorism are present in Nigeria. Furthermore, this study discussed aviation terrorism; a new terrorism tactic which is yet to occur in Nigeria but can be considered as an impending threat due to the fact that major terrorist groups such as ISIS and al Qaeda have staged aviation terrorism attacks in the past. The weakness of the security operatives and borders make it very possible for an aviation terrorism attack to be masterminded and successfully carried out in Nigeria. With the revulsion and attack on Boko Haram from the Nigeria military, the sect would devise and adopt new ways of carrying out attacks in Nigeria. Thus, the possibility of aviation terrorism cannot be ruled out in Nigeria. This study suggests the use of both old and new forms of terrorism by Boko Haram demands sophisticated reconnaissance and military tactics that tap into modernity and gadgetry in order to pre-empt the security lapses inside Boko Haram.

The study was able to relate the importance of the social media to the Nigerian society and the international community. Through globalisation, the internet and the new media, terrorist groups have been able to have freedom of expression with little restraint. This research also established the symbiotic relationship between the new media, globalisation and Boko Haram. They all benefit from their interdependence in several ways. The area of media is very broad but due to the focus area of this study, much emphasis was given to the new media as it easily is made accessible to diverse individuals more than any other form of media. For instance, a lot of Nigerians have mobile phones which they use for telephonic communication, while a sizeable percent of Nigerians subscribe to the new media through their cellphones and other electronic devices. The study on new media in this research has strictly been focused on insurgency and threats to the sovereignty of the Nigerian state to avoid deviating from the focus area. Therefore, there are still more possible areas for further research developed in relation to the topic of this research. In Chapter Four, this study showed the magnitude of panic that Boko Haram has created in Nigeria to the extent that people no longer feel secure in their places of worship and communities.

8.3 Thesis Recommendations

It is important for the sovereignty of Nigeria to be protected against disintegration as a result of internal wrangling which can be curtailed and prevented. As a pace setter and major actor in Africa, Nigeria should ensure that insurgency related issues should become a thing of the past as it looks at resolving crises within West Africa and other regions of Africa in order to affirm its position as a hegemonic player in politics, peacekeeping and conflict resolution in Africa. The Nigerian government should encourage the use of the new media as it also helps in the growth of ICT and self-education; the ICT industry in Nigeria is big but still developing, hence, there is still room for improvement in the sense that more people can learn how to use the social media and other forms of new media through technological devices such as computers, phones, laptops, Ipads, etc. Most people learn through the new media by educating themselves based on what others publish online, the various educational websites available online which might be in the form of an online dictionary, encyclopedia or tutorial.

With the consistent patronage and use of the new media, a vast majority of Nigerians will have more access to valuable first-hand information about Boko Haram as opposed to second-hand or third-hand information which may be distorted either from the source of origin or new media consumers who disseminate stories. The fluidity of news on the new media is baffling because freedom of expression encourages framing and agenda setting which can be either positive or negative and against the interest of the general public. For instance, the use of Twitter by Boko Haram could have an effect on potential recruits because of the publicity that Boko Haram has combined with the popularity of the platform on which news about the sect are broadcast. There should be a policy review by the national assembly on issues pertaining to what can be shared and disseminated on new media platforms because people tend to do what they like knowing full well that they will not be charged if they are apprehended. Basically, there should be a penalty for the unlawful use of the new media vis-à-vis terrorism. On the other hand, technology and the new media now define the future in the modern day society because people depend on it for information. Therefore, individually, people have to process and filter the information that

they get through the media differently instead of embracing the news in its entirety. Terrorism is evolving rapidly and governments of developing countries should be ready and well equipped to withstand the patterns of new terrorism attacks. Ultimately, the oneness and unity of Nigeria is very important and this study suggests the possible causal factors which could be a threat to national sovereignty. The lapses in the media could continue to have an adverse effect on the sanctity and harmony of the Nigerian state but can be used to tackle terrorism in a way that the sect would not be given the power and fame that it seeks through media publicity.

8.4 Recommendations and Counter-Terrorism Measures

In the course of this research, a lot of views about Boko Haram operations were analysed for a thorough understanding of the research area. All the suggestions garnered from the research were aimed at how Nigeria can become safer, better and more secure for its citizens, potential investors and companies already operating in it. All the suggestions are aimed at how Nigeria can remain well protected without internal and external threats from insurgents, militants and criminals. It was established that some people feel safe residing in their place of abode or areas in Nigeria even though it is in the Northern part of Nigeria. They do not see Boko Haram as a direct threat to any other part of Nigeria apart from the areas that they have annexed or carried out attacks. Thus, the causal factors of Boko Haram and other forms of insurgency have to be revisited in a bid to address the recurring problems associated with militancy and terrorism. Issues such as corruption, poverty, unemployment and maladministration have to be put into consideration because of the effect they have on the Nigerian society. The historical background of this study has proven that modern insurgents are brainwashed and enticed to join, but a vast majority of insurgents get involved because of the poverty and the economic hardship in Nigeria. From all indications, it is clear that the Nigerian government still has a lot to do. Therefore, the government has to use all means possible to eradicate corruption, poverty and maladministration which are the major causal factors of insurgency in Nigeria. Members of Boko Haram and the Niger-Delta militant have been pushed to the margins and experience extreme difficulty to earn a living. Therefore, the government should look at

the creation of more jobs for the unemployed, both for the educated and uneducated. With regards boosting the economy, security should be beefed up to ensure that Nigeria is safe for foreigners with the aim of attracting foreign investors from various countries into Nigeria. If insurgency cannot be curtailed, then the economy will continue to suffer because of Nigeria's dependence on foreign products.

With the aim of having a peaceful and effective government, the federal government of Nigeria has to revisit the constitution to look at policies which are hindering the growth of the state. There are policies which encourage corruption and impunity while other policies do not reflect the overall interests of the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria. So, the problems of Nigeria could be plausibly addressed if the Nigerian constitution is reviewed with the intention of making policies geared towards empowerment of all Nigerians irrespective of political affiliations. Policy formulation has to be done in order to reduce poverty and deter any form of insurgency. Against the backdrop on issues bordering on terrorism and militancy, the government should be able to study insurgency in Nigeria. The Nigeria government should work on establishing an institution to carry out research on insurgency in Nigeria and Africa. The aim of understanding terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria will be an advantage to the Lake Chad Basin commission countries and to other countries in Africa who experience terrorism currently or in the future. On the other hand, research and education on insurgency will also help countries that are yet to experience cases of terrorism because it could happen at any point in time. For instance, Saudi Arabia which was previously a safe haven in terms of terrorism related attacks has witnessed cases of suicide bombings lately (FirstPost, 2016). No country is immune to terrorism; there is simply no guarantee that terrorism related attacks will not occur in a country in the future if it is yet to happen. Therefore, there should be proper funding for researches on insurgency while tertiary institutions can introduce counter-terrorism studies in their curriculum. This is a proactive step towards tackling an ever evolving terrorism as groups such as the Taliban, al-Qaeda and ISIS remain defiant. Countries like the US, the UK, Australia, Israel and other European countries have gradually introduced programs in counter-terrorism to have a better understanding of the growing patterns, trends, threats and effects of terrorism in the world. Nigeria should champion the cause of promoting the study of insurgency and counter-terrorism in Africa because of the threat of stronger forms

of terrorism which might be difficult to comprehend or curtail. The war against terrorism cannot be won by mere surface knowledge. Hence, research on terrorism is very important because it will help the government in understanding the characteristic of a terrorist group and how to subdue and eradicate it. So, the Nigerian government should fund researches on terrorism and counter-terrorism measures because of the evolving nature of terrorism.

Another suggestion garnered in the course of this research is the use of the new media which is not yet widespread in Nigeria. A lot of people, both young and old, have never used a phone, internet or any other form of technology that accesses the new media. Hence, the use of the new media should be encouraged in Nigeria because of the ease and low costs involved in accessing information on new media platforms. However, the government has to work on protecting and ensuring that information disseminated on new media platforms are accurate and correct so as not to mislead the public about what is happening. It is a difficult task to restrict people from expressing their views through the new media because of the freedom that comes with the use of the social media but there should be a way of disseminating accurate information to the general public which should not be misleading and untrue.

In relation to the permeable borders in Nigeria, security operatives should be given the necessary weapons, equipment and facilities to manage the influx of terrorists and foreigners from other countries. The attacks carried out in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries are as a result of the free movement that Boko Haram members have. If the borders are well protected, it will be difficult for terrorists to move in and out of Nigeria freely without facing stiff opposition from combined security operatives which includes but are not limited to immigration, customs, military, MJTF and the Nigerian Police Force. Thus, there should be proper funding for effective border control in North-Eastern. Basically, the government has to minimise Boko Haram's territorial occupation by all means. The establishment of the MJTF is for the interest of Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries that have experienced Boko Haram attacks. Also, the Nigerian Air force could improve in their approach by stepping up patrol and surveillance of the affected region in the North-East to monitor terrorist movement. Therefore, the MJTF and the Nigerian government should do more to

beef up border security and to tackle the way weapons are being brought into the country. But, the unity and oneness of the Lake Chad Basin Commission states in the fight against Boko Haram is paramount.

Furthermore, education and sensitization on new terrorism is important because of the need to understand how it occurs in Nigeria and in ways that it differs from the patterns experienced in other climes. A lot of people still do not understand the distinction between old and new terrorism. Therefore, it has to be explained and understood because terrorism is a repetitive and evolving phenomenon which needs to be understood by all. Children who have become major targets of terrorist groups in Nigeria should be educated on what it means to be involved in terrorism because a lot of them can be easily brainwashed and hypnotized into joining Boko Haram. So, the education on terrorism should not be limited to tertiary sites as the young people in the society have to be warned and advised on the implications of getting involved in terrorism and insurgency. Some adults also require education on terrorism because they still do not have an understanding of what it means and how it can frustrate socio-economic activities in a society. Most lone wolf terrorists are able to embrace the ideology of Jihad and Islamic terrorism because they live in isolation and ignorance of terrorism. The impact and magnitude of killing people randomly is not weighed up properly before an attack is launched by a lone wolf terrorist. So, proper education on terrorism could reduce and prevent lone wolf terrorism. Thus, for countries like Nigeria that has never experienced lone wolf terrorism, educating the public about terrorism would be a proactive step.

In regards to the new media, the Nigeria government should have an effective regulatory body to monitor and control how the new media is used to circulate distorted information about Boko Haram and insurgency. A powerful new media regulatory body would put the needed checks in place to minimize the misuse of the media. Lastly, the Nigerian government has to encourage independent reporters and journalists for them to be brave and upright in dealing with terrorism since the media is the most viable means through which information about insurgents are disseminated.

8.5 Prospective Areas for Future Research

The complexity of this research proved that there are more interesting research areas which this research could not cover because of the scope. However, these areas could be considered for further study because the focus area covers a phenomenon which is experienced in several parts of the world. The under mentioned topic areas are highlighted for further studies:

- The relationship between the new media and terrorism in Nigeria still requires further study because of the lack of information and scholarly research materials on this area. The new media's connection to both religious and non-religious terrorism should be examined for a better understanding of the nexus. The same difficulty in getting materials to connect the new media and Boko Haram was also experienced in connecting the new media and other forms of insurgency in Nigeria.
- Much work has not been done on terrorism in Africa. So, scholars could look at the possibility of exploring globalisation and Boko Haram in Africa. This research area comes at a time when Boko Haram has proven its potential and capability to expand to other countries in Africa. However, Africa should not be considered as the only possible target area of Boko Haram because it could carry out threats in other continents with powerful networks and funding. Globalisation is critical to Boko Haram if the sect seeks to expand and become a major terrorist group such as ISIS and al-Qaeda. Therefore, there is need for a futuristic study on this subject area.
- In addition to globalisation and Boko Haram, new terrorism patterns in Africa have to be studied for a better understanding of how they differ and what instigates them. For instance, terrorist groups such as al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have similar ideologies as their foundation is rooted in Islam but their ways of operation are different. Some still maintain old terrorism patterns while others exploit the frontiers provided in new and more effective patterns of terrorism.
- Child suicide bombing is a new approach used by terrorists in Nigeria and the world at large. In Nigeria, the first case of child suicide bombing was recorded in 2014

and children have been used more widely since then. Therefore, further research has to be carried out on child suicide bombing in Nigeria with the aim of understanding the processes involved in getting, coercing and preparing children to sacrifice their lives in the name of Islam.

- The aviation industry in Nigeria is one of the biggest in Africa due to the high traffic of people travelling within and outside Nigeria. The percentage of people who travel by air as an alternative means of transport within Nigeria has experienced growth lately. Groups such as al Qaeda and ISIS have launched aviation attacks in the past. Thus, aviation terrorism attacks by Boko Haram cannot be ruled out in the future in Nigeria. Therefore, with the possibility of a terrorist attack on the aviation sector in Nigeria, a futuristic study is important as it helps in preventing such an occurrence or in managing an aviation terrorism attack.
- Lastly, another area that should be looked at is the impact of Boko Haram on the refugee crisis within and outside Nigeria. The attacks by Boko Haram have led to the creation of more IDP camps in the country. Neighboring countries are now faced with making preparations to take care of Nigerian refugees that have been sacked from their communities by the sect. Most likely, some skilled workers and entrepreneurs such as farmers and traders have now become refugees. So a study has to be done on how the refugee crisis that has specifically been caused by Boko Haram affects Nigeria and Africa.

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Annexure

Questionnaire

Dear participant,

My name is Justin Oberhiri Uloho, a PhD candidate with the University of North-West, Mafikeng, South Africa. This interview is being conducted for my doctoral research on insurgency and threats to national security. Therefore, I would expect you to give your sincere opinions regarding the questions that will be asked. Furthermore, note that this interview will be recorded. But, your name and contact details will be kept confidential for security reasons.

Venue:

Time:

Date:

Questions

1. What is your name?
2. What is your occupation?
3. Can you tell me more about your job description?
4. How long have you been with your company/organization/business?
5. What is your religion?
6. Which part of Nigeria are you from?
7. How long have you lived in the FCT or in the Northern part of Nigeria?
8. When did you first hear about Boko Haram?
9. In your honest opinion, what prompted the emergence of Boko Haram?
10. Do you think Boko Haram is politically motivated?
11. Do you feel secure in Nigeria?
12. How much panic has the activities of Boko Haram created within the Nigeria public?
13. Do you think the sovereignty of Nigeria is under threat?
14. Has the government done enough to neutralize the operations of Boko Haram?

15. The Lake Chad basin commission countries such as Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Nigeria have been affected by the activities of Boko Haram. How can these countries work together to successfully eradicate Boko Haram?
16. How has Boko Haram activities had an impact on the North-Eastern part of Nigeria?
17. What is your opinion about children being used as suicide bombers by Boko Haram?
18. Is there any hope of finding the Chibok girls?
19. What do you think the girls are being used for by Boko Haram?
20. Do you think the tactics of Boko Haram has changed lately?
21. How did you first hear about Boko Haram?
22. What role do the media play in regards to Boko Haram/terrorism?
23. Do you think the new media has been helpful in fighting Boko Haram?
24. How is Boko Haram portrayed through posts on new media platforms?
25. Does the government use the media effectively in the fight against Boko Haram?
26. Are people aware of Boko Haram all over Nigeria?
27. Do you think an average Nigerian understands the meaning of terrorism?
28. Do you think the Nigerian public is getting the correct information on Boko Haram?
29. What is your opinion about Islam as a religion?
30. What is the general perception of Islam in Nigeria?
31. Do you believe all Muslims are terrorists?
32. Has the police and military been able to manage and curtail the activities of Boko Haram?
33. How can the police and military improve in the fight against terrorism?
34. How does Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and other social media platforms have an influence on terrorism?
35. What is the similarity between the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram? And how do they affect the sovereignty of Nigeria?

Thank you for your time. I am very grateful.