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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Chris Kaiser Granville

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Walden University 2020

Abstract

The Impact of Boko Haram Insurgency on the People of Borno State

by

Chris Kaiser Granville

MA, Norwich University 2006 BS, University of La Verne, 1985

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

June 2020

Abstract

Although researchers have examined the causes and impacts of terrorism in Nigeria, there is no known research on the impact of Boko Haram's insurgency on the people of Borno State based on their lived experiences. The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine the social, political, and economic consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State. The study's theoretical framework was based on the relative deprivation theory; the theory was used to diagnose the problem of the Boko Haram insurgency and articulate possible alternative solutions. The central research question concerned the adverse effects of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State. Data for this study were primarily collected through face-to-face interviews with a purposeful sample of 10 participants who were exposed to the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. A focus group discussion and document review were also conducted. Content analysis of collected data yielded 3 themes: (a) collapse of Borno State's social, economic, and political structures and processes; (b) undesirable/negative implications of insurgency on Borno State's corporate well-being; and (c) adapting to reality: coping with available relief services and programs. Implications for positive social change include giving voice to voiceless Nigerians and providing the Nigerian populace, multilateral and bilateral organizations, and the Nigerian government with information necessary to understand the effects of terrorism on the people of Borno State and promote resilience in the people who have experienced terrorism.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to Almighty God for the strength and courage I needed to make progress. I also dedicate this dissertation to my lovely mother whose prayers and love had been enormous in my life.

Acknowledgments

I have come along several people who encouraged me throughout the dissertation process. I thank my chair; Dr. Morris Bidjerano who has mentored me throughout the journey. My Second Committee Member; Dr. Raj Singh who have been a solid support all the way, and my URR, Dr. George Kieh whose comments have served as directions for progress. I thank my family and friends for the prayers and support throughout my doctoral journey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Security is among the core areas of focus in the internal and external development of states' affairs (Marc, Mogaka, & Verjee, 2015; Rogers, 2011). Thus, at country and international levels, policy makers are putting varying mechanisms in place to address issues of insecurity in order to create a safe environment for all. However, certain developments, as manifested in the threats and attacks from several groups of persons, have also been occurring within states. These events have had excessive influence in creating instability and insecurity in their immediate environments and in neighboring areas. Borno State has not known true peace for more than two decades and as a result of the ongoing restiveness and insecurity, it has not been able to realize its full potential. In Borno and its neighboring Nigerian states, these scenarios have played out in recent years with the uprising and escalation of the activities of Boko Haram in the Northeast region of the country (Adesoji, 2010; Adibe, 2012; Ahmed-Gamgum, 2018; Alao & Atere, 2012; Imo, 2017).

Boko Haram's activities have included recurrent attacks; killing of persons; and wanton destruction of property, population displacements, and other forms of aggression. These terrorist activities were particularly severe between 2008 and 2015 (Oyeleye 2016), the years during which Boko Haram operated with impunity in the northeast axis of the country, killing thousands of people and destroying properties worth several millions of dollars. According to Akinbi (2015), the activities of the sect especially since 2009 have constituted a major security threat to the nation and have made Northern

Nigeria, particularly the Northeast, which is the epicenter of Boko Haram activities, the most dangerous region in the country. As a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, [insert noun here] labeled Nigeria a major global center of violence, crime, and terrorism (Oyeleye 2016). The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), reported on December 11, 2014, that more than 5,000 people were killed worldwide that November as a result of jihadist violence, Nigeria shared the dubious honor of being one of the four countries, along with Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, that accounted for 80% of all deaths from terrorists' attacks. Although the report named Iraq as the single deadliest country accounting for a third of all deaths and the highest number of attacks, it rated Nigeria as the second deadliest country with Boko Haram blamed for the killings there (Oyeleye 2016). The report came from a study jointly conducted by the BBC and the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR) based at Kings College London. The study recorded a total of 664 attacks in 14 countries (Oyeleye 2016). The BBC/ICSR research validated an NBC report, mentioned by Ibilema (2014), which cited United Nations data stating that between November 2013 and November 2014, the casualty figures from the Islamic State's violence in Iraq and Boko Haram's violence in Nigeria were about the same: 10,733 and 10,340 respectively.

According to AON Terrorism and Political Violence Risk Map for 2015, Sub-Saharan Africa had the greatest number of high- to severe-risk countries (Imo, 2017). Nearly 80% of all terrorist attacks in 2015 occurred in just two countries, Nigeria and Somalia (Imo, 2017). Importantly, Willis and Al-Shahery (2016) noted that only one country in this cluster, Nigeria, featured among the 10 most terrorism-afflicted countries in the world. Of all the terrorist attacks in the world between 2007 and 2014, 30% occurred in Iraq; 15% in Pakistan; 11% in Afghanistan; 7% in India; 4% each in Thailand and Russia; 3% in Somalia; 2% each in Nigeria, Yemen, and Colombia; and 22% in all other countries (Imo, 2017). This means that only 10 countries out of 158 sovereign nations accounted for 78% of all terrorist attacks recorded in the world between 2007 and 2014 (Willis & Al-Shahery 2016). The Nigerian military became better suited in its response to Boko Haram attacks between 2016 and mid-2018 and thereby forced a significant reduction in Boko Haram attrocities (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016); however, in late 2018, renewed attacks by Boko Haram terrorists reversed the situation with the terrorists gaining the upper hand (Imo, 2017).

A number of studies have been done on the Boko Haram insurgency and its effects on different aspects of Nigeria's national life (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016). However, I found only two studies done on Boko Haram's impact on the people of Borno State in particular. One was a study on the implications of Boko Haram insurgency for small- and medium-scale enterprises in Borno State (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016); the other was on the effects of the insurgency on the physical and socioeconomic activities in Maiduguri (Mbaya et al 2017). These studies were limited in scope and did not address the entire spectrum of consequences of Boko Haram operations on the people living in Borno State. I conducted this study to examine the impact of Boko Haram activities on three key areas (economic, political, and social) of peoples' lives in Borno State.

In this chapter, I will examine the history and background of the Boko Haram phenomenon that turned into violent insurgency. I will present the study's research problem, purpose, research questions, theoretical framework I used to address the research questions, and nature of the study. I will also offer contextual definitions of key terms and concepts as used in the study. The assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study are also discussed.

Background

The incursion and subsequent imposition of a military command structure on governance in Nigeria between 1960 and 1970 was the genesis of a misleading impression of Nigeria's federalism and led to the commission of violent crimes in the country (Ewetan &Urhie, 2014). The quest for pure federalism, in addition to the total restructuring of the prevalent fiscal and political form of governance by different ethnic nationalities in the country, had been on the rise for quite a while. These agitations led to several ethno-religious conflicts and rebellion by groups that felt disillusioned and subdued in the country; these conflicts have caused notable security and economic challenges that have called the unity of the country into question (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014).

Since 2011, the situation has worsened with the Muslim fundamentalist sect Boko Haram instigating several bombing attacks, which have result in killing people indiscriminately, including children and older adults (Adagba et al., 2012; Odita & Akan, 2014). The genesis of terrorism in Nigeria could be traced to the Maitasine Islamic sect in Northern Nigeria in the 1980s, then continued through what is known as the Sharia riots of 2000-2001, and this has continued since 1999 (Ewetan, 2014; Oviasogie 2013). According to Ewetan and Urhie (2014), terrorism in Nigeria started as a result of religious, economic, cultural and sociopolitical components. Islamic fanaticism provided the basic building block for terrorism; however, the driving factors now are the growing gap between the rich and the poor in the country as a result of economic deprivation (CITE).

Boko Haram, which means "Western education is sin" (Cook 2011; Murtada, 2013), is an Islamist jihadist terrorist organization that sprang up from a religious commune established by Mallam Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, Borno State (Adebayo, 2014). It started as a peaceful organization, advocating a strict interpretation and implementation of Islamic law in Nigeria (Blanchard 2014; Shuaibu, Salleh, & Shehu, 2015). Loosely modeled after Afghanistan's Taliban movement (Simon, 2009), the Boko Haram organization's ideology is influenced by orthodox Islamic doctrines that forbid Western culture and its system of government. This is why the terror group is called and known as Boko Haram (Boyle, 2010). With an ideological mission of overthrowing Nigeria's Western system of governance and the imposition of Sharia law in its place, its campaign turned violent in 2007, when, according to Ali, Musa, and Fada, 2016), the group began murdering religious and political rivals and subsequently started to aggressively attack security agents of the country, especially soldiers and police officers. In 2009, the sect launched an insurrection centered in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital city. In suppressing the insurrection, the police and security forces extra judicially killed Mohammed Yusuf and more than 700 of his followers (Blanchard, 2014). After the insurrection, the group then went underground until 2011, when, under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau; it mounted a successful jailbreak and its first suicide

bombings of police headquarters and the United Nations' buildings in Abuja (Blanchard, 2014).

The activities of the sect escalated when on April 14, 2014, the terrorists kidnapped 250 students from Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok in Borno State; the kidnapping victims were popularly referred to as *the Chibok girls*, and the kidnapping started the #Bring Back Our Girls movement (Reinert & Garcon, 2014; Zenn, 2014). The terror group had by 2014 captured a portion of northeastern Nigeria the size of Belgium which it was administering under strict Islamic law and was threatening Maiduguri itself (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016). Following aggressive military offensives by the Nigerian military forces, the terror group was compelled to change its tactics away from occupying territories to guerrilla warfare and increased its use of suicide bombers, especially female bombers against "soft targets" (Quick & Demetriov, 2017). The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2015) reported that, 44 children were involved in suicide bombings, up from four in 2014. Seventeen of the bombings involving children bombers were in Nigeria, whereas the rest took place in Chad and Cameroon (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016).

Records of Boko Haram operations in various parts of the North show that thousands of people have either been murdered or kidnapped as a result of the group's activities from July 27, 2009, through late 2018 (Achumba et al., 2013; Adagba et al., 2012). According to Nigeria's National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), as of January 9, 2015, Nigeria had recorded a total number of 873,703 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the Northeast as a result of Boko Haram activities. The figure has been increasing rapidly as a result of unrelenting attacks by the terror group (NEMA, 2015; Silas, 2019). The NEMA report also noted that about 254 schools were destroyed and 120,077 students were forced out of school as of the end of 2014 (NEMA, 2015).

On the economic front, Nigeria's Northeastern region had suffered an estimated U.S. nine billion dollar, or N274.5 billion, economic loss as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency as of 2017 (Sawalha, 2017). Borno State suffered the highest loss of U.S. \$5.9 billion dollars (N180 billion), according to Quick and Demetriov (2017). The loss of agricultural production in the northeast caused by Boko Haram activities was valued at U.S. \$3.5 billion dollars (N107 billion), (Quick & Demetriov, 2017). Borno State had a greater part of resident homes damaged by Boko Haram in the region. Also destroyed were schools, hospitals, bridges, and other critical infrastructures (Amuka, 2017). The governor of the state, Shettima, argued that the insurgency also psychologically damaged and pauperized the survivors of the sect's vicious attacks (Amuka, 2015), which led to the postponement of the 2015 national elections in Nigeria for 6 weeks. The elections were originally scheduled to commence on February 14 2015, but had to be pushed forward until March 28, 2015, as a result of insurgency in the northeastern part of the country (Quick & Demetriov, 2017).

As I stated in the chapter introduction, there have been studies on the effects of the Boko Haram insurgency on some aspects of the life of the people living in Borno State who have been exposed to the insurgency Quick & Demetriov, 2017). In reviewing the literature, I found no study, however, on the perceived economic, social, and political consequences of terrorism on the people of Borno State, Nigeria. I was compelled to undertake this study because of the need to understand how the insurgents' criminal activities have impacted the economic, social, and political lives of the residents of Borno State. The opportunity to address the gap in the body of knowledge on this topic informed my decision to conduct this study.

Problem Statement

Boko Haram's terrorist attacks have been particularly intense in Borno State which, since 2011, has lost all scintilla of peace and as a result had become the most dangerous state to live in Nigeria. Some of Boko Haram's deadly attacks in Borno State included the unleashing of four female suicide bombers on Maiduguri, the State capital by the Boko Haram group on Wednesday, January 17, 2018, with the resultant explosions killed the four bombers and 10 others, and injured 65 people (Amuka, 2018); the killing of at least four civilians by Boko Haram bombers in the outskirt of Maiduguri on 26 April 2018; the capturing of Gundumbali town on 8 September 2018 by Boko Haram fighters; and the kidnapping of about 40 young adults, women and children and killing of 18 in Banki town in September 2017.

Boko Haram fighters have continued to ferociously attack different locations in the North-East of Nigeria, particularly several parts of Borno State such that the UN Office for Coordination of Human Affairs expressed its concern that "escalating attacks by non-state armed groups suspected to be Boko Haram terrorists were triggering new displacements in northeastern Nigeria, especially Borno State, with more than 2,000 newly displaced people recently arrived in Teacher's Village camp, Maiduguri after fleeing attacks in Kukawa, Doro Baga, Kekeno and Bunduram near Lake Chad (Silas, 2018). Another report mentioned a massive influx of about 30, 000 internally displaced persons into Maiduguri amid latest Boko Haram attacks (Silas, 2019).

The resurgence of Boko Haram's vicious attacks since late 2018 created a deteriorating security situation in Borno State and posed serious threat to efforts to reignite the state's socio-economic development and political stability. I believe the resurgence in Boko Haram activities in Borno state was as a result of a reported split in the Boko Haram hierarchy and a raging battle since August 2018 for supremacy between the two emerged factions, the main group under Shekau's leadership and a splinter group called The Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP), the faction that is affiliated to ISIS, and is led by Abu Mua'ab Albarnawi. The battle for supremacy had ignited the resurgence in terrorist attacks in Borno State in particular and other parts of the Northeast. The increased spread of the destructive activities of the Boko Haram terror group as a direct result of the schism and fight for superiority posed a new threat for the Nigerian military.

The problems addressed in this study are two-fold. One is the continual exposure of people living in Borno State to insurgency and the danger that comes with it, and secondly, the lack of adequate mechanisms and structures to alleviate the pains and agonies of the victims of Boko Haram insurgency.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine the impact of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State as it is the epicenter of the group's activities. The central phenomenon examined in this study was the lived experiences of people exposed to Boko Haram attacks in Borno State, specifically in regard to the social, political, and economic effects of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno. I adopted the qualitative research method to explore what these people experienced as a result of the terror attacks by Boko Haram. My broader goal is to help the Nigerian government and humanitarian organizations to develop an appropriate framework to effectively manage and ameliorate the pains and agonies, particularly socioeconomic and political, people of Borno State may have experienced and may continue to experience as a consequence of being exposed to the insurgent attacks.

Research Questions

I sought to answer the following research questions (RQs):

- RQ1. What is the social, political, and economic impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people residing in Borno State in Nigeria?
- RQ2. What measures, programs, or services are available to help people residing in Borno State who have been exposed to Boko Haram attacks cope with the consequences of experiencing the insurgency?

Theoretical Framework

The challenges and problems that face humankind exist within a contextual framework; therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the problem is inevitable in order to proffer a sustainable solution. I based the theoretical framework for this study on the relative deprivation theory (Bayertz, 1999; Schaefer, 2008; Walker & Smith, 2012). This framework was essential to diagnose the problem being research and articulate possible alternative solutions. The sustainability of security and stability in the Northeast region of Nigeria is dynamic due to the changing interests, needs, concerns and expectations of the people. This suggests that the policy makers should have anticipated that the rise of Boko Haram in Borno could be an attraction for those who feel deprived as a result of systemic corruption in government leading to a conflict. Conflict is a pervasive element which can occur at any time between individuals, groups, organizations or nations. Several perspectives on conflict have been advanced but mainly, Conflict theories focus on negative, conflicted and ever-changing nature of society. Originating primarily out of Karl Max's writings on class struggles but with roots also in the writings of Sigmund Freud, Adam Smith, Machiavelli, Max Weber, and Clausewitz, modern conflict theories such as the relative deprivation theory finds social conflict between any groups in which the potential for inequality exists for instance racial, gender, religious, political, economic, and so on.

According to Schaefer (2008), relative deprivation is "the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and present actualities" p.69). Walker and Smith (2012) argued that an individual or a group of people may feel deprived if there is a perception of denial of their legitimate rights and benefits. This may lead to a feeling of discontent among the affected individual(s) when they come to the realization that their prevailing circumstance is worse than anticipated relative to those of other groups or persons around them (Bayertz, 1999).

Most Nigerians strongly argued that they are consciously, systematically, and strategically deprived, with their economic, social, and political rights denied and violated by the State and Central Governments. This was evident in the Boko Haram declaration that Western education is forbidden which announced the advent of the conflict. While Psychologists focused on intrapersonal conflicts, Social psychologists concentrated on inter-personal and inter-group conflicts. Economists have focused on economic competitions, trade disputes and labor negotiations while Political Scientists have been concerned with political and international issues. Roderick Ogley (1999) defined the term 'conflict' as incompatibility in the aims, goals or interests of two or more individuals, groups or other interests. Pia and Diez (2007), describe conflict as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals. Also, conflict perspectives draw attention to power differential, presupposing that unequal groups in the society usually have conflicting values and agendas which cause them to constantly compete against each other which in turn orchestrate the everchanging nature of society. Pia Diez (2007) argued that conflict is not always characterized by violence but when not properly managed, conflict may escalate and lead to destructive results, in particular in form of physical violence that is increasingly seen as legitimate as conflict intensifies. The relative deprivation theory appropriately explained the rationale behind the thoughts of late Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of Boko Haram and his organization in seeking to bring about a radical change in the Nigerian society through violent conflict and forceful means.

While non-violent conflict can lead to a new social or political order if it is dealt with within clearly defined and observed societal rules, violent conflict, as Pia and Diez (2007), argued, cannot eventually lead to productive change except it is de-securitized. This then infers that until the Boko Haram insurgents are militarily defeated and incapacitated, their continued activities may spell doom for the country, particularly for the north-eastern region of the country.

The application of relative deprivation theory as the theoretical framework in this study provided an insight into the perceptions of the Boko Haram organization regarding existing government policies that are detrimental to the poor and how they used religion as an attempt to add structure and understanding in seeking to explain the noticeable deprivation and inequalities that exist in the northeast (McGonigal, 2017).

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was the basic qualitative design to extract in-depth and pertinent information. Qualitative research method is consistent with exploring and understanding the characteristics of a group of people or individuals in a given environment in relations to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2014). Traditionally, qualitative research is not consistent with proving or affirming a theory, rather it is precipitated upon the data collection which finally metamorphoses into a theory (Rudestam & Newton, 2007). Qualitative methodology is known to be the most appropriate research design since it aligns with the research questions, purpose and topic (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2002; Rudestam and Jack & Newton, 2007). According to Baxter and Jack (2008), qualitative methodology enables researchers to study a phenomenon within its defined context. This study focused on the people of Borno State and the implications of Boko Haram insurgency on their lives. Borno State is considered the epicenter of Boko Haram attacks because it is the home base of this terrorist organization. The State is of strategic importance to Islam because it is considered the

cradle of Islamic education in Nigeria and the direct trade route to Middle East through Chad Republic. The terror group reasoned that disrupting Borno State will have an immediate impact on both state and national Islamic educational foundation.

Purposive sampling was used to select 12 participants from population of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in a IDPs' camp in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State in Nigeria (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Maxwell 2013). This sampling method was used because it helped me to focus on study participants who have been residing in Borno state well before the advent of, and during the insurgency and have been exposed to Boko Haram terrorist attacks and have experienced sufferings and losses as a result to their exposure to the violence perpetuated by the terrorists.

The study collected data using interviews from participants between ages of 25 and 65. Face-to-face interviews were conducted at the convenience of study participants. Informed consent was obtained from all study participants before interviews were done. Appendix A contains the questions used in the face-to-face interviews.

A content analysis approach to data analysis was used to extract, organize and analyze the data to obtain emergent themes and their interwoven relationships (Edward & Welch, 2011; Wirihana et al. 2016).

Definitions

The operational definitions provide context and meaning for the major terms used in this study.

Amnesty: The formal granting of pardon to person or persons for crimes committed against the state (Ogege, 2011). When amnesty is granted by a state, the past

is forgiven and no records of the offense are maintained. According to The International Center for Transitional Justice (2004), amnesty can be used as a conflict resolution measure to bring armed conflict to an end. Morris (2000) argued that amnesty can be used as a peace-building mechanism and a strategy used to facilitate dispute resolution, sustainable reconciliation, and good governance to create good relationship for peaceful coexistence that precedes an end to armed conflict. This could be a strategy that the federal government may adopt to bring to an end the war against Boko Haram.

Boko Haram: A fundamental Islamic terrorist group that has been active in Nigeria, particularly in the northeast axis of the country, since 2009 and seeks to impose Sharia law in the entire Northern States of Nigeria.

Corruption: An abuse of entrusted power for one's game (Transparency International, 2014). Corruption affects everyone who depends on the integrity of people in authority. It encompasses dishonest and illegal acts and abuse of position of trust and authority by public servants, administrators, and business leaders (Transparency International, 2014).

Human Rights: The believed equal and inalienable civil, economic, and political rights for all in the community of nations. Observing these rights is imperative and is the bedrock for sustainable freedom, justice, and peace for humans everywhere (Ewetan, 2014). According to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the willful deprivation and violation of these basic rights is a catalyst to inhuman act of violence and denies people basic freedom (Ewetan, 2014).

Insecurity: The feeling of uncertainty and lack of confidence as a result of the combination of different factors that contribute to conflicts, and eventually to the destruction of lives and properties (Ewetan, 2014).

Insurgency: An armed movement or struggle that is intended to overthrow an existing government using a variety of violent and nonviolent tactics that include drawing support and sympathy from an acquiescent population in a weak state fractured along ethnic and sectarian cleavages (Carrol, 2012; Mackinlay, 2002).

Insurgents: Individuals who willingly enlist as members of Boko Haram and consciously carry out violent attacks against residents of Borno State in Nigeria with the intent of kidnapping, maiming, or killing people and destroying properties and infrastructures.

Social Justice: A form of justice that has restorative and retributive components. The fundamental tenets of social justice dictate equity in terms of distribution of wealth and opportunities within a given society (Ewetan, 2014). The Northeast is a classic example of people living in very poor conditions.

Sustainable development: "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland Commission Report, 1987, p. 16).

Terrorism: The use of violence and intimidation intentionally and indiscriminately by a group or an individual to cause and create fear, death, or destruction on others in pursuit of political aim (Sampson & Onuoha, 2011).

Victims: Residents of Borno State in Nigeria who suffered an emotional,

psychological, or material loss including but not limited to loss of property, livelihood, or loved ones as a result of Boko Haram's insurgency (Sampson & Onuoha, 2011).

Violence: Any premeditated use of force, or threat of use of force, upon a victim by an offender that may cause death, injury, or loss of property or livelihood to the victim and disturb the peace of individuals in a society or entity (Sampson & Onuoha, 2011).

Assumptions

Assumptions were very important in setting the stage for the research and guided the research through the process. The researcher may try to justify some assumptions and believes that they could be true, however, those assumptions may not be proven and at the same time beyond the researcher's control (Simon & Goes, 2013). First, I assumed that all participants suffered grievously as a result of their exposure to Boko Haram violent attacks, and that they bear pains and agonies in their hearts because they have become destitute in their own land. Secondly, I assumed that victims' exposure to Boko Haram malady has wiped off the victims' sense of self-worth and rendered their social, political and economic achievements and lifestyles null and void; I also assumed that existing mechanisms and structures to help victims cope with their pains and losses are grossly inadequate. It was also assumed that corruption played a key role in the failure to provide adequate and appropriate mechanisms and structures to give succor to victims of insurgency resident in Borno state. Finally, I assumed that the study participants would provide truthful and accurate information related to the impact of insurgency on their social, political and economic lifestyles.

Scope and Delimitations

The scope in a study explains what issue will be analyzed and establishes the strategy to be used (Creswell, 2013; Simon & Goes, 2013). Delimitations are what the researcher can and has control over and this can be established by how boundaries are set (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012). The study's participants were individuals who were exposed to Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State, Nigeria. The study focused on the social, economic and political implications of Boko Haram insurgency on the lifestyles of Nigerians and based on what the study participants described as their lived experience going through the Boko Haram insurgency. The findings will be used to establish the perceived impact of terrorism on Nigerians living at the epicenter of the terrorists' activities.

Limitations

One important limitation that affected this study was the inherent subjective nature of qualitative studies (Willis, 2014). Studies have shown that researchers' subjectivity and bias in the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation are among the limitations of a qualitative study (Creswell, 2013; Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2008). To address my bias, I maintained a high level of self-awareness and also used strategies such as peer review, triangulation, reflexivity, and member checking to confirm that my interpretation aligns with participants' perceptions and opinions (Creswell, 2013; Gasson, 2004; Goulding, 2002; Maxwell, 2013; Morrow, 2005; Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Patton, 2002).

Another inherent limitation of qualitative study method was challenge with generalization (Flyvberg, 2006; Willis, 2014). Findings of this study were generally limited to the perspectives of just ten victims among several thousands who had been exposed to Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State, Nigeria. This presupposes that external validity or generalizability may be an issue (Ezeoha, 2016). The generalizability concern was mitigated in this study by the strategic selection of the participants (Seawright & Gerring, 2008), to ensure that it was adequately representative of Nigerians exposed to Boko Haram insurgency. This informed the choice of Borno state residents who live in the epicenter of the insurgency. And since the success of this study depended to a great extent on the recruitment of right cadre of participants (Singleton & Straits, 2005), study participants were purposefully selected (Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002) from a population of victims of Boko Haram insurgency resident in one of over 20 camps for IDPs in Maiduguri, Borno state, who shared their lived experience coherently and unambiguously.

It is possible that the findings of this qualitative study may not be applicable to all Nigerians who had been exposed to Boko Haram insurgency because it was delimited to the point of views of Borno State residents exposed to the insurgency. It is possible that residents of other states exposed to the insurgency may have different views about the social, economic and political consequences of terrorism but the description of the impact may reveal hitherto unknown insights applicable to all Nigerians who had been exposed to the insurgency. According to Runfola, Perna, Baraldi and Gregori (2017), the findings from research studies can be used to explain other similar situations. This is also the view of Falk and Guenther (2006) who stated that generalization is possible in qualitative research methods because of "future implications, theory building - that is, the 'inductive' approach, and because of the receiving audience's perceptions" (p.8).

Significance

This study was unique because it was the first study, to my knowledge, that tried to identify and understand the impact of the insurgency especially on the people who bear the gravest proportion of the brunt – the people residing in Borno State. This study was important because it has brought to fore the social, economic and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on the residents of Borno State and their lived experiences as a result of their exposure to violent acts of the insurgents. Hopefully, the study findings will help expand the literature on Boko Haram insurgency and its consequences on the people in Borno and other states in Northeast Nigeria. The understanding may position the government and other stakeholders in a better position to develop policies to manage consequences on victims of future disasters.

Furthermore, the study may have the capacity to make available a credible pulpit or opportunity for highlighting and demanding the need for relevant federal, state, and non-governmental entities to identify, document, and provide the necessary compensations for the victims of Boko Haram attacks for their losses. The victims were the people of Borno State who had suffered emotional, psychological, and material losses as a result of the Boko Haram attacks. These losses may include loss of property, loss of freedom as a result of kidnapping, loss of livelihood, and or of loved ones by death. The study will advocate and bring to light the need to address the perceived neglect done to these victims.

Implications for Social Change

The search and hunger for equity and social justice in the world yearn for positive change. Depending on the findings of this study, it is presumed that it may advocate for the importance and the necessity for the state and federal governments to review and upgrade their public policies with the intent for social justice and human rights for everyone. Attaining this may serve as a confidence building measure that will encourage trust between different stakeholders and the federal government. Trust building is an essential commodity in establishing a firm foundation for the sustainability of security, trustworthiness, and peace that will facilitate development in Borno State that have been impoverished by the Boko Haram insurgency. This will result in creating an enabling environment that will attract both foreign and local investors to facilitate the economic and infrastructural development of the region. With this potentiality which will eventually translate into new job opportunities will alleviate the dire unemployment rate that is prevalent in the region.

People who suffer from being subjected to political and social injustice and economic deprivation all over the world often desire and clamor for positive social change (Ezeoha, 2016). Possibly, this study may have implications for positive social change because it is expected that findings and recommendations from this study would help the Nigerian government and other stakeholders have a better understanding of the material, emotional and psychological losses of the people and residents of Borno State and spur them in the development and application of more effective intervention and policies aimed at supporting the people who have been exposed to, and traumatized by terrorism as individuals and collectively. If this happens, it will encourage and facilitate building of trust, an ingredient essential to laying a solid foundation for social, economic and political rehabilitation and re-empowerment of the victims of Boko Haram insurgency.

It is also possible that the findings of this study would one way or another reinforce the need for international assistance for the war on terror in Nigeria which may then lead to providing the Nigerian military with the weaponry and training very much needed to gain an upper hand in the war against terror. This may bring a significant reduction in the size and activities, or to the annihilation of the insurgents in the war against terrorism and thus bring to an end a sad chapter in the history of Nigeria. Should this happen, it would be a catalyst for an unprecedented positive social change not only in Borno State but in Nigeria as a whole. This would lead to an influx of local and foreign investment which would drive the reconstruction of destroyed infrastructures and reignition of economic activities in Borno and other northeastern States in Nigeria.

This study could also facilitate positive social change by way of potentially contributing to the federal government's efforts in the ongoing peace negotiation with the Boko Haram terror organization in the region. A thorough knowledge and understanding of the unintended consequences of peaceful negotiation and the floated amnesty policy for the Boko Haram members may lead to the possibility of collaboration amongst the stakeholders to proffer and implement mitigating public policies that will serve as an instigator to stem further bloodletting and destruction with its social, political, economic and environmental consequences for the region in particular and Nigeria in general.

It is my desire that the result of this study will become the facilitator for adopting and incorporating the knowledge of frustration-aggression theory (Dollard et al, 1939), as an integral part of both public and private sector policy and strategy formulation and implementation process because frustration-aggressive theory is a forerunner of conflict theory. Also, the unavoidable positive consequences of adopting the knowledge of relative deprivation theory will lead to enacting public policies that would take people's feelings and reaction into consideration. By adopting this management style, the decision making process of public administrators will be enhanced, which will eventually translate to a better life quality and living standards; thereby, reducing poverty and emancipation from economic deprivation and social injustice (Dollars, 1939).

In conclusion, it is my desire that the findings of this study would be a catalyst towards achieving sustainable security, peace and religious tolerance for unity and steady growth for this troubled region and the country as a whole.

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to identify and analyze the perceived social, economic and political impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people and residents of Borno State in Nigeria's Northeast axis as the state is the epicenter of the terrorists' activities. This chapter had provided background information for this study which examined lived experiences of people exposed to Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State, and the adequacy and appropriateness of relief-support mechanisms and

structure for the victims. Qualitative method was chosen as the research methodology in this study and has the ability to tell the story of the impact of Boko Haram terrorist activities on the people of Borno State. The Participants in the research was drawn from internally displaced people. Face-to-face interview discussions were used as primary data collection strategies for the study. Relevant government and non-governmental organizations' documents was reviewed for data generation for triangulation purposes.

The significance of this study will contribute in focusing on the impact of Boko Haram attacks on the people of Borno State, and will help in expanding the knowledge on the degree of destruction caused by the Boko Haram terror group. The study may contribute toward peacebuilding efforts in the region as well as addressing the issues of social justice and the gap between the elite and less privileged. The study may motivate the Nigerian government to address the needs and concerns of the victims of the terrorist attacks.

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature and theory related to terrorism while chapter 3 presented the methodology that was used to collect, analyze and interpret data. Chapter 4 presented collected data and the study's results while chapter 5 includes interpretations of the findings, recommendations, a description of the study's potential impact for positive social change, and a conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

When Boko Haram started its terror campaign, its targets were mostly government buildings and security personnel. The terror group began to attack churches, media houses, diplomatic buildings, and universities. From being an obscure movement confined to North-Eastern Nigeria (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016), Boko Haram, at the height of its success, emerged as the most palpable threat to Nigeria's continual existence as an indivisible nation (Eme & Ibietan, 2012). The inability of the Nigerian government to engage and destroy Boko Haram's insurgency at its emergence created widespread fear of insecurity and probably irreversible damage to the nation's polity and development. According to Eme and Ibietan (2012), not only did the persistent attacks of the sect created widespread insecurity and fear, but the unrelenting deeds of the militant sect also stifled day-to-day economic and trade activities, particularly for the people of Borno State.

Scholars have examined the root causes of Boko Haram's insurgency and its effects on psychological, socioeconomic, and political aspects of life and living in Nigeria (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016). However, as Adepelumi (2018) noted, there are gaps in research and inadequate policy efforts to make for a comprehensive and effective response to the Boko Haram insurgency, particularly in regard to its impact on the lifestyle of people of Borno State in the social, economic, and political realms.

The purpose of this study was to determine the economic, social, and political impact of Boko Haram activities on the people living in Borno State, as well as to

examine the adequacy and effectiveness of the relief and support programs for the victims of Boko Haram insurgency. Although none of the studies and documents reviewed focused specifically on the people of Borno State as victims of Boko Haram's activities, the literature review nevertheless shows that acts of terrorism perpetuated by Boko Haram insurgents have led to severe and untold pains, suffering, and agony on the people of Borno State who have borne the severest consequences of the insurgency not just in the northern part of Nigeria but in the entire country. This chapter offers a review of the literature, an overview of the study's theoretical foundation, and historical background on terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria, including an overview of Boko Haram and its operations, as well as programs and support services for victims of Boko Haram terrorism and insurgency.

Literature Search Strategy

A literature review helps place the research work in context by providing in-depth information on different aspects of a study's subject, facilitating the answering of research questions and identification of gap(s) in the literature and contribution to the body of knowledge on the study's subject matter. I searched for relevant peer-reviewed literature on various databases including those contained in Walden University Library; these databases included EBSCOhost, ProQuest Central, Academic Search Complete, Science Direct, and SAGE Premier, as well as Google Scholar and the Google search engine. I also searched and reviewed documents, reports, and studies from various news media and NGOs such as UNICEF, WHO, UN Office for Coordination of Human Affairs, and others. I used the keyword search to filter out unrelated articles and kept my focus on the literature relevant to Boko Haram insurgency and its consequences on the people of Borno State. Some of the key terms that were used for the search include *Boko Haram, insurgency, terrorism,* and *Borno state,* among others.

Theoretical Foundation

I based the theoretical framework in this study on the relative deprivation theory. In *Why Men Rebel*, Gurr (1970), argued that relative deprivation demonstrates a canyon or rift between expected and achieved socioeconomic and political opportunities. He articulated different kinds of political insurgencies as a consequence of collective discontent associated with a sense of relative deprivation (Gurr, 1970). His analysis appears to mirror and corroborated the current Nigerian incidence of terrorism, discernably since the Boko Haram insurgency can be attributed to and explained in part as an expression of the country conditions of relative deprivation.

According to Gurr (1970), relative deprivation is the inconsistency between what people think they are entitled to and what they actually think they can get; however, he postulates that "the potential for collective violence caries strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of collectivity" (p. 24). This argument holds some predictive value because the Northeast, which is the home of the Boko Haram terror group and the epicenter of the insurgency, is the most deprived in terms of socioeconomic and political opportunities in Nigeria (Ewetan, 2014).

Relative deprivation is associated with the discontent individuals feel as a result of their circumstance in comparison to others and the realization that they have less than them, no matter how marginal the difference might be (Bayertz, 1999; Bourgignon, 1999; Morrison, 1971; Runciman, 1966; Schaefer, 2008; Walker & Smith, 2012). According to Schaefer (2008), relative deprivation is the conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and the present realities. When individuals or group believe that their legitimate rights have been denied or marginalized, this may cause a sense of anger, antagonism, and lack of trust toward the responsible party or entity that is responsible for the deprivation (Ewetan, 2014). The marginalized individuals or group will engage any means necessary to restore a sense of social satisfaction (Morrison, 1971). Relative deprivation demonstrates a gap between anticipated and accomplished socioeconomic and political fortuities. There are different kinds of violence as a result of accumulated discontent as a result of a sense of relative deprivation.

The theoretical stance of relative deprivation gives credence to and corroborates the ongoing national incidence of terrorism in Nigeria. The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria can be explained in part as a manifestation and expression of the country's conditions of relative deprivation. The theory shows that terrorist activities and violence are as a result of socioeconomic and political marginalization, deprivation, and unequal access to economic opportunities.

The theoretical position of relative deprivation theory supports social inequality (Flynn, 2007; Runciman, 1966; Yitzahk, 1979). According to Yitzhak (1979), the Gini coefficient is proportional to the feeling of deprivation. This premise is evident in the Northeast where the majority of the population is illiterate and live in extreme poverty (Yitzahk, 1979). The Northeast states are at the bottom on every social and economic

index in comparison to other states (Yitzahk, 1979), which magnifies the degree of deprivation in that area.

According to Walker and Pettigrew (1984), relative deprivation provides a platform or framework for studying and understanding the psychology of how intergroup works; for instance, relative deprivation has been credited as one of the causes of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s in the United States, and the theory was the framework which was used in studying and understanding the dynamics of the movement (Yitzahk, 1979). According to Walker and Pettigrew (1984), relative deprivation may be used to describe an individual or group of persons based on categorization and identity. The Civil Rights Movement was defined by the associated civil unrest of the 60s. The people of the State of Borno, in particular, and Nigeria, in general, have experienced bad governance and corruption, the commonwealth looted by inept and corrupt politicians. Lack of industries and infrastructures led to lack of employment opportunities while the youth remained unemployed. For quality education, health care and social services, they had politicians who acted with impunity and routinely harassed them. The people expected political and economic relevance and inclusion, but received economic deprivation and political marginalization, making the place haven for acts of criminality. Political promises of economic development and inclusion into the political system are routinely not implemented as result of lack of visionary leadership, ineptitude, and political expediency. Their peaceful protests are often snuffed out by heavy handed military and police brutality and extrajudicial killings. These experiences further

reinforced their feeling of deprivation and hopelessness, thereby encouraged and justified the use of violence as a means to fight the status quo.

Behavioral effects of perceived or reality of deprivation feelings can also be addressed by relative deprivation theory. The actions taken by deprived and aggrieved individual or group is a manifestation of the behavioral effects to demand for their rights toward achieving social satisfaction. Morrison (1971) argued that social satisfaction is the antithesis of relative deprivation. The Boko Haram terror group felt deprived and aggrieved and resorted to violence as a result of the extrajudicial killing of their leader that was under police custody. The Boko Haram terror group in my opinion decided to engage in insurgency against Nigeria because they have lost all hopes that social satisfaction could be restored. This premise is congruence with Freire's (1997) argument who asserted that individuals or a group under actual or perceived marginalization will use any means necessary within their power, which include resorting to violence, to ameliorate the unfavorable condition and circumstance. Peaceful demonstrations for infrastructural development, self-determination, provision of basic health and education amenities, and social justice in the entire nation have not been addressed, in some instances; these basic demands have been met with brutal repression by the security agencies. These circumstances addressed above provided the moral imperative and justification and the enabling environment for violent conflict. Hence the Boko Haram insurgency did not come as a surprise, it was just a matter of time and when the conflict will arise.

According to Kamboj (2017), Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) understood the human society in terms of conflicts, especially conflicts in capitalist societies between those who owned the means of economic production, factory, and farm owners, for example, and those who did not, the workers. Marx posited that capitalism, like previous socioeconomic systems, would inevitably produce internal tensions leading to its destruction. According to Marx (1818-1883), capitalism will inevitably create conditions that will be detrimental to its existence as a consequence of deprivation arising from class consciousness and ailing economy due to cut-throat competition or marginalization; and this will lead to unavoidable revolution; and that property is upheld by the state, making property struggles into political struggles between owners and renters, capitalists and workers, and other groups. Material conditions determine the ability of any of these groups to organize effectively politically. Because the owners have an advantage in material wealth, their views gain upper hand.

For Marx, the conflict arises because all things of value to man result from human labor. According to Marx, capitalists exploit workers for their labor and do not share the fruits of these labors equally. This exploitation is what allows the owning classes to dominate politically and to impose their ideology on the people, disenfranchising them politically and economic marginalization. It is believed that Marx ushered in a radical change, advocating proletarian revolution and freedom from the elite. Marx wanted the economically deprived persons to revolt against the ideas of capitalism and to topple the capitalist system.

In response to Max's theory, Max Weber (1864-1920), articulated a different theory in the beginning of the twentieth century. Weber's approach to conflict contrasts with that of Marx. While Marx focused on the way individual behavior is conditioned by social structure, Weber emphasizes the importance of 'social action,' that is, the ability of individuals to affect their social relationships. Weber theorized that economy is not singularly the exclusive cause of conflict, however, the combination of the state and economy could breed conditions that may result to conflicts as a result of deprivation as was and still is the case in Nigeria that led to the conflict. The idea to legitimize is vital in Weber's scheme; and that the functionality of any system of oppression must be legitimized. As far as Weber was concerned, legitimization is indispensable in conflict and articulated the complexity deprivation and marginalization and other factors that contribute to social disparity, for instance, status, party affiliation and power. Weber's conclusions on the causes of conflicts are similar to those reached by thinkers such as Emile Durkheim, Sigmund Freud, and Nietzsche, namely that beyond emotionality, some particular forms of social interaction create strongly held beliefs and solidarity among members of groups.

Subsequent thinkers such as Georg Simmel, Talcott Parson, Robert Merton, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Lester Ward, Emile Durkheim, Max Gluckman, John Rex, Vilfredo Pareto, Lewis Coser, Ralf Dahrendorf and Randall Collins have advocated different causes of conflict like relative deprivation, that encompassed some of Marx and Weber's works and all of which have a common theme – different social groups have unequal powers although all of them struggle for the same limited resources. According to Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), society is interdependent. The chief form of social conflict that Durkheim addressed was crime. Durkheim saw crime as a factor in public health, an integral part of all healthy societies (Durkheim, 1938). The collective conscience defines certain acts as 'criminal.' Crime thus plays a role in the evolution of morality and law, implying not only that the way remains open to necessary changes but that in certain cases it directly prepares these changes.

According to Georg Simmel (1858-1918), conflict in society is a normal occurrence. Conflict in society has been seen as an agent of destruction and social change (Allan, 2006). Lewis Coser (1956), presented several propositions which were largely distilled from Georg Simmel's theory of social conflict. Coser (1956) used the significance and outcome of societal conflicts to debunk Talcott Parson's (1951), theory that deemed conflict a disease.

Ralf Dahrendorf (1957/1959) combined some aspects of Marx and Weber's works and splashes from Coser and articulated a novel understanding of conflict in society. Dahrendorf (1957/1959) espoused Marx's multi-perspective and the idea of political interest as a result of bi-polarized social positions. According to Marx, there are two distinct classes in a capitalist society, the owners and the workers. According to Allan (2006), Dahrendorf viewed these two positions as intrinsically opposed to each other as a result of their political ideologies; for instance, owners have the same political interests as the workers. Dahrendorf sees power and authority as vital and essential elements in social relations but does not see class in that light. Randall Collins (1975) argued that the forces that unite people in conflict could be attributed to emotional consensus and common good. Allan (2006) narrated Randall's subnormal bias or inclination as incomparable and robust contribution to the conflict perspectives, pointing out that other conflict narratives are skewed toward numerous components. In Randall's view, classification or social hierarchy is as a result of repressive construct that restricts inclusion and alternatives and power through ownership of material resources and social structure. Allan (2006) further stated that Randall also advocated a different level of analysis where in the arena of international politics, political conflicts are examined and scrutinized through past precedents and the region where it is happening.

Some of the modern approaches to relative deprivation theory include that of Gene Sharp (1928-2018). Sharp's narrative on power is that it is not an intractable or unchanging phenomenon associated to only those in power. Sharp further argues that the power of any state or an organization regardless of its structure comes from the people. He is of the conviction that the strength or power of any entity relies on the cooperation and submission of the people to the rules and regulations of those in authority. Without the obedience of those being ruled, the rules will be powerless. Accordingly, some schools of thought argue that Sharp's teachings have created oppositions in organizations all over the world. The Arab Spring democratic uprising that spread across the Middle east in 2011 toppled the government of Mubarak in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia other Arab countries were attributed to Sharp's influence and ideas. The color revolutions that swept through Eastern European countries arguably drew their inspiration from Sharp's works. Contemporary narrative of relative deprivation theory by Alan Sears (2008), clearly epitomized the phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria:

- Communities are frost with inequity and disparity that lead to conflict, instead of one that espouse equality and conformity. Conflict induced by inequality may be resolved through underlying radical changes and restructuring of the prevailing habit in the community with new and more inclusive relations.
- The needs of the impoverished in society are not on the same level as the elite and run counter to status quo, and if not addressed may lead to social upheaval. As a result, they are viewed negatively as change agents, rather than empathize with them.
- The spirit of ingenuity repressed by hostile and exploitative conditions, which prevail in societies with unequal division of labor. These conditions do not have to be accepted or nurtured as a requirement for "civilizing process" of functional necessity because ingenuity is a catalyst for both change and economic advancement.
- It is the responsibility of a theory to harness individual potentials that will encourage change in the society rather than trying to maintain the status quo. The contrasting position would be the disinterest and indifference in relation to affirmation, where theory is indifferent and detached.
- It is an understatement to consider consensus as an ideology because pure consensus is unattainable, the elite in the society thrust their ideas and perceptions on the less privileged and make them to accept these ideas. Consensus is not an

advocate of social structure; rather, it encourages social hierarchy which is the order of the society today.

- The interest of the elite in society is the foremost concern of the state while it pretends to be concerned in the affairs and wellbeing of all. Policies that seem to advocate for the rights of the less privileged may look like policies for the people by the people, however, in reality it is an illusion.
- Rather than provide assistance to the underdeveloped and developing third world countries as they are characterized during colonial and post-colonial era, the world's developing agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund provide monetary assistance to the most developed countries and multinational conglomerates.

Ho-won Jeong, cited by Lester Kurtz (1999), argued that relative deprivation, dissatisfaction of basic needs, failure of organizational functions, asymmetric power relations and dominant social structures are the important components in the origin of conflict. The incursion of the military into governance and subsequent imposition of military command structure set the tone for distortion of Nigeria's federalism, with the federal government subsequently overpowering and overwhelming the other tiers of government through whimsical distribution of national resources (Ewetan, 2011).

As a result of the failures of the military structure and the subsequent pseudo federalism, the demand for true federalism, fiscal and political restructuring by different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria has been on the rise. These agitations led to several ethnoreligious conflicts and violent rebellious reactions by aggrieved groups in the country that have called the security, unity and corporate existence of Nigeria as one country into question (Ewetan and Urhie, 2014).

Kamboj (2017), suggested that there are four primary assumptions that undergird our understanding of competition between social classes, which is really what relative deprivation theory is all about:

- 1. *Competition*: Competition over scare resources (money, leisure, sexual partners, and so on) is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus is at the heart of all human relationships.
- 2. *Structural inequality*: Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained.
- 3. *Revolution:* Change occurs as a result of conflict between social class's competing interests rather than through adaptation. It is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary.
- 4. *War:* Even war is a unifier of the societies involved, as well as war, may set an end to whole societies.

Several types of conflicts have been identified. For this study, I was interested in relative deprivation theory. The foundation and motivations for terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria, as epitomized by the Boko Haram group was clearly explained by relative deprivation theory – the enmity between the poor and the rich, the expression of which grew from initial peaceful and emotional protests into violent and physical battles that seem unending.

Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts

In contemporary times, the concept of terrorism has received serious attention from different scholarly perspectives. Merari (1993), described terrorism as a mode of warfare and examined its unique characteristics, by comparing this method of struggle to other forms of violent conflict. It further emphasizes the role of terrorism as a strategy of insurgence and delineates the main strategic ideas by which terrorists have hoped to achieve their political objectives. It concludes that the mode of struggle adopted by insurgents is dictated by circumstances rather than by choice. According to Schmid and Jongman (1998), terrorism is unlawful use or threat of violence against persons and or property in furtherance of political or social objectives, with the intentions to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals or groups to alter their behavior or policies. These authors captured terrorism within the context of three common elements namely: the use of violence, political objectives, and the intention of sowing fear in a target population.

According to Ganor (2002), a correct and objective definition of terrorism can be based upon accepted international laws and principles regarding what behaviors are permitted in conventional wars between nations as set out in the Geneva and Hague Conventions, which in turn are based upon the basic principle that the deliberate harming of soldiers during wartime is a necessary evil, and thus permissible, whereas the deliberate targeting of the civilian population is absolutely forbidden (Ganor, 2002). However, this author looked at the subject matter of terrorism through the lens of interstate attacks; without much emphasis on activities of actors within states.

In another vein, there are some scholars that considered terrorism from a relativist approach of what it means to the terrorist vis-à-vis the broad description of the concept. Here, there is this belief that an objective and internationally accepted definition of terrorism can never be agreed upon. This is as a result of the notion that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' (Goldberg, 2012; Laqueur, 1987; Olatunbosun, 2011). The question of who a terrorist is, according to this school of thought, depends entirely on the subjective outlook of the definer. Thus, while terrorists and their activities are being branded as being harmful to the society, to terrorists themselves such actions are necessary for their survival and in the pursuit of certain well-guarded ideologies.

Driving the above analyses home, Ogunrotifa (2013), used an interesting but rather neglected theoretical discussion of Karl Marx's Historical Materialism to shed light on the discourse of terrorism that pervades the contemporary global society, and presents a class theory of terrorism based on the study of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. This theory states that terrorism is an expression of an unending class struggle implicit in the hidden structures of oppression and structured contradictions of the global capitalist system. Through this perspective, it is argued that the discursive frame of terrorism cannot be analyzed in isolation of its class nature and the socio-economic conditions that gave rise to it; and that investigating terrorism must be limited to specific context and society that is crucial to the explication of the action that will be required to transform that context. The author concluded that as long as the endemic socio-economic problems caused by global capitalism remains, the use of individual terrorism will inevitably become a recurrent event or normal social response to the state of affairs. In spite of these developments, terrorism and terrorist organizations have been condemned by many authorities in the international system. Rogers (2011) argued that many actors in the international system have embarked on several active means to declare and win wars against terrorist groups especially since the 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States. According to Hoffman (2012), the effective policy and efforts in combating the evolving threats of terrorism since the opening decade of the twenty-first century have been adopting a global strategy that is being led by the United States. This has entrenched the idea of protection of national and international security through committed individual and collaborative states' efforts in wagging anti-terrorists' wars (Abbott, Rogers & Sloboda, 2006). The research argued that even in the environment of increasing wars against terrorists, their activities have kept on emerging and escalating in many parts of the world as a result of the divergence of interest of states and non-states actors in certain critical issues of concern. Stressing further, this study focused on significant aspects of Nigeria in reacting to terrorist-related activities concerning the Boko Haram terror organization.

Insecurity and Terrorism in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective

The origin of violent crime in Nigeria is traceable to the period between 1960, and 1970 (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). Shortly before Nigeria's independence in 1960 the British imposed a federal system of government upon Nigeria, which was alien to the concept of federalism as propagated by K.C. Wheare (1963), who argued that federalism is made up of different branches of government, separate from each other, with their distinct authority toward a common goal. The military takeover of a democratically elected government and the establishment of military rule and command structure; was the beginning of assault on true federalism.

Clamor for restructuring the current quasi federal government system by different ethnic groups in Nigeria has been very loud in recent times. These agitations led to several ethno-religious conflicts and uprising by different groups in Nigeria and have been a great test and created strains on the security and unity of the nation (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). Adamu (2005) and Ali (2013) argued that Nigeria's questionable federalism is only a recipe for conflict, a strain to national unity, peace and threat to national cohesion and peace, and an inevitable all-out war.

The incursion of the military into government facilitated massive importation of arms and ammunitions into the country which was used to prosecute the Nigerian civil war. Weapon proliferation in the aftermath of the civil war put arms in the hands of the wrong people which led to armed robberies and other gun related violence. In the prolonged years of military rule following the civil war, there were indiscriminate procurement of light weapons by individuals, some of which made its way to those who are not supposed to have them and the guns were used for devious purposes. This accentuated the level of insecurity with crime and violence such as gang killings, armed robberies, and intra and inters community clashes, became rampart.

In the Niger Delta region, crisis began to brew, which, according to Arong and Egbere (2013), grew from mere demands for reparation and agitations for fair treatment by the indigenes in the 1980s – 1990s to confrontations, riots, demonstrations, kidnapping of oil workers, vandalization of oil pipelines and flow-stations, youth

restiveness and killings took insecurity into a far-more dangerous dimension. By mid-1990s, the situation had worsened with near- daily bombings and wanton destruction of lives and properties in the Northern part of the country by Boko Haram insurgents. As Adagba et al (2012) and Odita and Akan (2014) noted, the very dangerous trend in insecurity Nigeria experienced then, (and to a large extent today) "came with Boko Haram, the Muslim fundamentalist sect bombing everything within reach" without regard for human lives, killing people indiscriminately, children and the elderly inclusive.

Many commentators established the causes of the rise in violence and insecurity that have been detrimental to Nigeria (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). These causes included ethno-religious conflicts, politically based violence, systemic and political corruption, economic-based violence (crisis of resource control and revenue sharing), pervasive material inequalities and unfairness (marginalization), unemployment, poverty, organized violent groups, weak security system, environmental degradation/destruction of aquatic eco-system, divide and rule policy of multinational oil companies operating in the Niger-Delta region, porous borders, and terrorism.

Of all of these causes and manifestations of violence and insecurity in Nigeria, terrorism has been the most fundamental source of insecurity in Nigeria since Boko Haram embarked on its insurgency, and it is threatening the country's security on all fronts. Boko Hara has become a metaphor for insecurity in Nigeria since 2009. Hassan (2014) defined terrorism as a certain kind of violent action carried out by individuals and groups rather than by the states and events which take place in peace time rather than as part of conventional war. Hassan (2014) further notes that as a strategy of insurgency, terrorism involves the adoption of some methods to achieve its goals. These methods include guerilla warfare, kidnapping, and adoption.

Osemwegie (2012) argued that the consequences of terrorism have been colossal, destruction of infrastructure, properties, and valuable human lives and economic sabotage which lead to the displacement of foreign direct investment. According to Osemwegie (2012), no business can thrive in tensed and unsecured environment; Boko Haram activities have serious implications on foreign direct investment and economic growth (Osemwegie 2012).

Causes and Effects of Terrorism in Nigeria

According to Ewetan (2014), terrorist activities is not a recent phenomenon in Nigeria, the Mataisine Islamic sect has been active in Northern Nigeria during the presidency of Shehu Shagari that was overthrown in a military coup in 1983. Again, in the years that Obasanjo was President in the present civilian dispensation, terrorism reared its ugly head, with religious riots in Plateau State in Northcentral Nigeria. According to Oviasogie (2013), Northern Nigeria is a haven for religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians. As a result of the heterogeneous nature of Nigerian Islam, many Islamic sects have sprung up just like the different denominations in Christianity. According to Oviasogie (2013), most of the new Islamic sects were not in congruity with the teachings of the orthodoxy of the Sufi brotherhood and as a result they started to alienate themselves from the main stream Islam in the country. According to Philips (2010), the religious rioting by the Mataisine Islamic sect in the 1980s which was followed the Sharia uprising in the beginning of the twenty first century as well as the intermittent Jos religious crises were suppressed by the Nigerian security agents who were taken unaware by the degree of violence and the consequent loss of lives and properties. Today, terror groups have political underlying as a means to achieving their goals. Mishabu (2010), argued that the militants in the Niger Delta used terror tactic to make their grievance known both nationally and internationally. Terror attacks could be used to make demands on governments, for instance, demand for redistribution of resources, freedom of worship, to bring about change in government and selfdetermination; and this is being spear-headed by the dreaded Islamic insurgents in Northern Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorists who have engaged the federal government in conflict since 2009.

Terrorism in Nigeria can be traced to socio-economic, political and cultural variables. While Islamic fanaticism provided the platform for terrorism, inequity, economic deprivation and disparity have been the forces propelling and sustaining their agenda (Osemwegie 2012), and (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). Corruption, poverty, disparity and fervent ignorance are the underlying causes of terrorism as exemplified by Boko Haram insurgency, as wells as in other parts of Nigeria (Oviasogie, 2013). The degree of moral decadence and corruption prevalent amongst Nigerian leaders is what informed the conclusion that corruption is so enamored and institutionalized in the country that it will take an act of revolutionary intervention to cleanse the system of this scourge (Oviasogie, 2013), and (Odunfa, 2010). In my opinion, another factor that promotes terrorism in Nigeria is the influence of external terror groups such as the Islamic State in Syria and the Levant (ISIS or ISIL), the Al-Qaeda, and the Al-Shabab that operate in Somalia.

Demoralized and poverty-stricken Northern Nigerian Muslims probably draw inspirations from these foreign terror groups to perpetuate their evil deeds in the country.

One of the effects of terrorism in Nigeria is the decline of peace. Various issues of The Human Development Report by Transparency International cited by Ewetan and Urhie (2014), shows that peace is eluding the country. The effects of the Boko Haram insurgency are evident in the increase in security spending in the government as well as in the private sector security investments, and the movement of displaced persons from their places of abode to unfamiliar and most times unwelcomed areas of settlements which breed distrust and hostility from the host communities as a result of ethnic and religious divide (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014). Odita and Akan (2014), argued that terrorist activities have led to disruption of economic activities, particularly in the North-East axis of the country, evidenced by increased migration from that part of the country to other regions, significant reduction of properties' rental values in key metropolises in the north, reduction in road transport and scanty attendance and activities in several open markets in the terror-infested North-East region, particularly Borno state. Arong and Egbere (2013) identify national loss of income and resources (Nigeria is losing money), kidnappings, hostage-taking and death, destruction of national unity, and down-sizing of oil companies employees as other effects of terrorism and militancy in Nigeria. Umejei (2011), asserted that the increase in terrorist activities have complicated the Nigerian business environment and made it unfriendly to investors. In Umejei's view, the one area of the economy that appears to bear the brunt of terrorism is FDI, the inflows of which had been

declining in recent years. Appendix B contains background information on the formation of Borno State.

The Boko Haram Story: Origin Ideology and Operations

Religious uprising in Northern Nigeria is not a new phenomenon, however, the emergence of the dreaded Boko Haran terror group and its sophisticated military tactic and operation is a far cry from the mundane religious riots in Northern Nigeria (Oviasogie, 2013). According to Murtada (2013), the real name of Boko Haram was Jama'atuAhlisSuunaLidda'awatiWal-Jihad. The phrase 'Boko Haram' means 'Western education is forbidden.' Boko Haram is an Islamist jihadist terrorist organization that is based in the Northeast of Nigeria. According to Taiwo (2008), the Nigerian authorities have known the group has been in existence since 1995, under the name of Ahlulsunnawal'jama'ahhijra. The Boko Haram terror group has operated under different names in the past like the Nigerian Taliban, Boko Haram, and Yusuyyah sect named after their charismatic leader and founder, Yusuf. The group has adopted its official name to be 'People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad, which is the English translation of Jama'atuAhlisSuunaLidda'awatiWal-Jihad, (Cook, 2011).

Founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, in the city of Maiduguri, it aimed to establish a Sharia government in Borno State under former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff (Eme and Ibietan, 2012). Yusuf established a religious complex that included a mosque and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria and neighboring countries enrolled their children. Eme and Ibietan (2012) noted that the center had ulterior political goals and soon it became a recruiting ground for future Jihadists to fight the State. Some members of Boko Haram are foreigners who spoke only Arabic. The group made the founder's village, Kanamma their operational base in the state of Yobe near the Niger Republic border, and it was called 'Afghanistan' (Awofadeji, 2009). The primary objective of the Boko Haram terror group was to create an Islamic Caliphate in the entire Northern region based on Sharia law (Sunday Vanguard, 2010).

According to Oviasogie (2013), Boko Haram changed its mode of operation and carried out a military style operation by attacking police stations and civilian targets in the towns of Geiam and Kanamma in Yola State. The group set up command posts in the captured territories and hoisted their symbol of nationhood, the Afghanistan Taliban flag. The federal government launched a counter operation nick named "operation flush" and recaptured the besieged cities and arrested some of the enemy combatants (Suleman, 2007).

The terrorist group continued their siege on security installations by attacking two police stations in Bama and Gworza in Borno State, carting away police assault weapons, killing some police officers and torching the stations. The federal authorities did not pay much attention to the terror group despite these isolated attacks until 2007, which changed when the group started murdering religious political rivals and their attacks on military and police installations and stations increased (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016).

The Islamic sect went underground without much activity until July 2009 when they carried out a well-coordinated multi state violent campaign unparalleled since their inception which the economist magazine likened to the Taliban style attack. The aftermath of the attack left approximately 3,600 persons internally displaced, many children orphaned, and scores of women widowed (The Economist, 2009). The security personnel were not spared in the attack, more than two dozen police officers; undisclosed number of soldiers and prison guards lost their lives. In a reprisal attack or what the government dubbed quelling an insurrection, the sect leader Yusuf Mohammed was extra judicially killed including approximately 700 members of his followers (Blanchard, 2014). Scores of the sect members were arrested and detained for prosecution (Adagba et al., 2012; Oviasogie, 2013).

Most of the enemy combatants that were captured during the five state attacks were detained at the federal prison facility in Bauchi for interrogation and prosecution. The terror group in retaliation to the killings of their charismatic leader and other members staged an attack on the Bauchi prison facility and rescued their members (JWMG), 2010). After freeing the inmates from the prison, they later set the facility and vehicles parked within the premises ablaze before retreating to their enclave. The Nigerian government was hopeful that the elimination of Yusuf, the Boko Haram charismatic leader would have led to the disintegration of the terror group (Oviasogie, 2013), however, the success of the attack proved to the contrary.

The group then went underground until 2011, when under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau; it mounted successful jail breaks and its first suicide bombings of Police headquarters and the United Nations' buildings in Abuja (Blanchard, 2014). The activities of the sect escalated when on 14th April 2014 the terrorists kidnapped 250 students from Government Girls Secondary School, Chibbok in Borno state (Zenn, 2014; Reinert & Garcon, 2014). The group had by 2014 captured a portion of Northeastern Nigeria the size of Belgium which it was administering via strict Islamic law and was threatening Maiduguri itself (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016).

Following aggressive offensives by the Nigerian military forces, the terror group was compelled to change its tactics away from occupying territories to guerrilla warfare and increasingly using of suicide bombers, especially female bombers against 'soft targets' (Quick & Demetriov, 2017). The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reported that in 2015, forty-four children were involved in suicide bombings, up from four in 2014. Seventeen of the bombings involving children bombers were in Nigeria, while the rest took place in Chad and Cameroon (Ali, Musa, & Fada, 2016).

Although Boko Haram operation is commonly depicted as religious (Shehu, 2014), several commentators, however, point to its political nature. Oviasogie (2013) argued that the factors and motivation driving Boko Haram attacks have political underlying which is suggestive that the reasons for the attacks are skewed toward inequality, uneven distribution of wealth and power in Nigeria and more so in the Northern region where the people are more impoverished in comparison to the rest of the country, rather than religion induced. This argument is buttressed by the fact that a good number of Boko Haram members are highly educated and were retired lecturers and the sophistication of their weaponry. According to Schulze (2009), the leader of the terror group received some assistance in procuring weapons through the borders of Nigeria and Chad during the early stages of their terror campaign.

The effects of Boko Haram activities on the people of Northeastern Nigeria had been catastrophic. Records of Boko Haram's operations in various parts of the North show that about 1,094 people were murdered as a result of the group's activities between July 27, 2009, and August 7, 2012 (Adagba et al. 2012 & Achumba et al. 2013).

NEMA indicated that about 8,000 persons had been displaced and 254 schools destroyed by the Boko Haram terrorist attacks (Punch, 2015). As of January 9, 2015, Nigeria has recorded a total number of 873,703 internally-displaced people in the Northeast as a result of Boko Haram's activities in the three states of Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe. The figure has been increasing rapidly in the face of constant attacks by the terror group (Daily Post Newspaper, January 21, 2019). This was in addition to 254 schools that were destroyed and 120,077 students who were forced out of school as of the end of 2014 (NEMA, 2015).

I had earlier cited a United Nations data which stated that between November 2013 and November 2014, the casualty figure from Boko Haram's violence in Nigeria was about 10,340. Between November 2014 and March 2015, Boko Haram, through its activities, has also killed about 1,000 people, according to several reports of the group's activities garnered from local and international news media. For instance, the BBC reported the death of about 200 people who were killed in Kano during an attack in the city's Central Mosque on November 28, 2014, during the Friday prayers by two suicide bombers. The BBC reported another Boko Haram attack in a report titled, 'Boko Haram kills dozens in a raid in Nigerian village' where suspected Boko Haram militants were said to have killed at least 64 people in Njaba village in Borno state during a raid. They

targeted men and boys before setting the entire village ablaze on Tuesday, March 3, 2015.

The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office estimated that more than 4,000 people were killed, and another 900 kidnapped in Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria in 2014 (Sawalha, 2017). In another report, The Punch, quoting a London-based intelligence-gathering organization, said Nigeria was reported to have the most kidnap attempts in the world in 2013, accounting for 26 percent of all such recorded occurrences. Mexico came second with 10 percent, while Pakistan was adjudged third on the list with seven percent of the incidents recorded (Sawalha, 2017).

Another report in The Punch Newspaper titled '58 killed, 139 injured in Borno multiple bomb blasts' described the killing of at least 58 people on March 7 2015, following multiple bomb blasts in Maiduguri which also left 139 people injured. The BBC News titled its version of the attack, "Nigerian city of Maiduguri hit by multiple blasts." Some other reports of the nefarious activities of the group, among many include "Female suicide bomber kill five in Potiskum" (The Punch Newspaper, 2015); and "Boko Haram attacks Borno town, kills 9" (The Punch Newspaper, 2015).

Beyond the effects of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria that I had mentioned, two particular consequences of Boko Haram activities come to mind. First, Governor Shettima of Borno argued that the survivors of the sect's vicious attacks were now psychologically damaged and pauperized (The Punch, 2015). Secondly was the postponement of the 2015 national elections by six weeks. The elections were originally scheduled to commence on February 14, 2015, but had to be pushed forward until March 28, 2015. As a result, insurgency in the Northeastern part of the country.

On the economic front, Nigeria's Northeastern region had suffered an estimated U.S. \$9 billion dollars, or N274.5 billion, economic loss as a result of Boko Haram's insurgency as of 2017 (Sawalha, 2017). Borno State suffered the highest loss of approximately U.S. \$5.9 billion (N180 billion). The loss of agricultural production in the Northeast caused by Boko Haram activities was valued at US\$3.5 billion (N107 billion). Borno State had 95% of the 450,000 houses damaged by Boko Haram in the region. Also destroyed were schools, hospitals, bridges and other critical infrastructures (Sawalha, 2017).

Although the offensive against the insurgents by the Nigerian Armed Forces seems to be yielding some positive results, doubts persist as to whether this military campaign can completely rid Nigeria of Boko Haram insurgency. As I had shown earlier, the group, in spite of the military campaign against it, has continued to kill and maim people in different locations in the North-East of Nigeria, particularly several parts of Borno State such that the UN Office for Coordination of Human Affairs expressed it concerns that escalating attacks by non-state armed groups suspected to be Boko Haram terrorists are triggering new displacements in Northeastern Nigeria, especially Borno State, with more than 2,000 newly displaced people recently arrived at Teacher's Village camp, Maiduguri after fleeing attacks in Kukawa, Doro Baga, Kekeno and Bunduram near Lake Chad (*Daily Post*, December 28, 2018). Another report mentioned a massive

influx of about 30, 000 IDPs into Maiduguri amid latest Boko Haram attacks (*Daily Post*, January 21, 2019).

The resurgence of Boko Haram vicious attacks since late 2018 is, as I said earlier, traceable to a reported split in the Boko Haram hierarchy and a raging battle of supremacy since August 2018 between the two emerged factions, the main group under Shekau's leadership and a splinter group called The Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP), the faction that is affiliated to ISIS, and is led by Abu Mua'ab Albarnawi. The battle for supremacy had ignited the resurgence in terrorist attacks in Borno state in particular and other parts of the Northeast. Appendix C contains a timeline of select Boko Haram attacks in Borno State.

Summary and Conclusions

The scourge of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Northeastern Nigeria, and especially those of Borno State is quite burdensome. It is widely acknowledged that terrorist activities have dealt (and are still dealing) heavy blows on the people consistently exposed to Boko Haram violent attacks, causing deaths, economic deprivations, social and political subjugation and physical/mental limitations all of which result in dehumanization of the victims of Boko Haram insurgency. As victims of terrorism battle to survive and readjust their lives to realities engendered by their exposure to Boko Haram violence in Borno state, it is important to see the depth of the impact of these violent attacks on the economic, social and political dimensions of the victims' lifestyles and also whether or not the existing relief-providing mechanisms and structures offer sufficient and adequately-satisfying relief and support to the victims. It was with this view in mind that the literature review was undertaken. The literature reviewed supported diverse consequences of insurgency driven by Boko Haram on the people with lived experiences in the Northeastern region of Nigeria. However, despite a plethora of literature on Boko Haram, and its impact on different aspects of Nigerian economy, politics, culture, and social interactions, there was nothing on how the economic, political and social dimensions of lifestyles of people of Borno state, who experience the largest exposures to Boko Haram violent and deadly attacks on regular basis have been impacted. Neither was there anything on the sufficiency and adequacy of victim relief and support system. This was unexpected given the critical position of Borno state as the epicenter of Boko Haram's operations in Nigeria and the crippling of the state's economic and socio-political systems and infrastructures.

This study will not only contribute to the body of knowledge but provide an understanding of the economic, social and political impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno state in Northeastern Nigeria who experienced (and still experience) lived exposures to acts of terrorism on a regular basis and on the adequacy and sufficiency of relief/support mechanisms and structures to help victims cope with the traumas and agonies they suffer as a result of their lived experience of insurgency. In Chapter 3, I introduce the research design and approach for the study.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to identify, examine, and understand the consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State in Northeastern Nigeria. The terror attacks by groups associated with Boko Haram have caused untold security issues particularly in the Northeast. Although though several studies have been done on the insecurity consequent to these attacks (Yitzahk, 1979), researchers have not examined the political, economic and social consequences of terrorism on the people of Borno State.

A full consideration of this topic is lacking based on my literature review. In this study, I sought to address this gap in the literature. A better understanding of the unintended negative consequences as a result of Boko Haram attacks may proffer possible sustainable solution options. If implemented, these options may create an environment for sustainable peace, security, and normalcy for the people of Borno State, in particular, and the nation of Nigeria at large.

In this chapter, I address the research design and the rationale of the study; the chapter includes the RQs which were generated to create an understanding and examine the impacts of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno and the insecurity, and the effort by the Nigerian military to stem these attacks. My role as a researcher is also addressed in this chapter in relation to various stages of the design and execution of the study. Lastly, I address how trustworthiness of the study and ethical treatment of

participants was achieved. In summary, I make the case why qualitative research design was the appropriate methodology for this study.

Research Design and Rationale

I used the basic qualitative research design in this study because it aligned with the RQs and purpose and the nature of the topic. According to Qazi (2011), a qualitative study is interpretive, and the researchers explore a phenomenon to comprehend the reason behind the actions of the individuals or groups being studied. Basic qualitative research design encompasses the study of a particular issue in the context of a real-life experience (Yin, 2009).

I used the basic qualitative design in trying to understand the implications of how the activities of the Boko Haram terror organization affected the people of Borno State. The study construct or design was consistent in trying to identify the consequences of Boko Haram attacks on the people of Borno in Northeastern Nigeria and what the identified consequences meant for the region and the nation. The study design also assisted me in unlocking the possible reasons and motivations behind the attacks and the consequences. It was of critical importance to understand these motivations because of their importance to the Nigerian society. The qualitative design provided an opportunity to document the lived experience of people of Borno in Nigeria exposed to the Boko Haram insurgency, how they related to their exposure to terrorism, and the meaning they gave to their experience with terrorism. I conducted face-to-face interviews with study participants who had experienced the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno, Nigeria. A basic qualitative design is often used in studying phenomena within the context of certain temporal or geographic parameters, or both to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon or phenomena being studied (Creswell, 2013). Using qualitative method begins by properly identifying the particular phenomenon, which may be an individual, an organization (s), a relationship, a project, or a small group (Creswell, 2013). Theory offers a broader perspective and explanation for attitudes and behaviors in a basic qualitative study (Creswell, 2009). Yin (2008) argued that theory should be used for directions and to set the tone in a research or study. Researchers also use theories to answer the questions, analyze, and interpret the findings and conclusions. Its inherent flexibility and in-depth approach made the qualitative methodology the optimal strategy to study the consequences of terrorist attacks on the people of Borno State in the Northeastern region of Nigeria, by focusing on Boko Haram.

I paid considerable attention to defining the scope and context of the study for the prevention of possible expanded study, which can invariably compromise the purpose and duration of the research (Yitzahk, 1979). It was challenging to maintain and respect these boundaries; however, that was accomplished through firm discipline and determination. Qualitative design was the most suitable approach for the study because I intended to provide the readers with critical insight about the effects of terrorism on the people of Borno in Northeastern Nigeria through the lens of Boko Haram attacks. Qualitative design made it possible for me to uncover the profound consequences of the terror attacks of this deadly terror group for stakeholders in Nigeria.

I selected Boko Haram as the representative phenomenon for this research; the terror group was chosen because of its destructive footprint across the Northeastern region and their continuation across the immediate states of Nigeria's security value chain. Boko Haram activities have stretched to countries such as Cameroun, Chad, and Niger, all of which are located around the Northeastern boundaries of Nigeria (Aduloju et al., 2014, Usman, 2014). As a result of their footprints and destruction across the Northeast, Borno State bears the brunt of the attacks and activities by this terror group. The consequences of these attacks and activities have been profound on the people of Borno state and have compromised the security of lives and property in the state.

Through the basic qualitative design, the best answers to the research questions are made possible (Pinnergar & Dayes, 20017). A tenet of the constructive paradigm, which the study was modeled on, states that truth is relative and a function of the participant's perspective (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). The qualitative methodology allowed me to identify the consequences of the Boko Haram attacks through the lens of Borno people. According to Crabtree and Miller (1999), constructivist paradigm "recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but doesn't reject outright some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object" (p. 10). The philosophical imperative of the qualitative design on constructivism is that it allows a symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the participants, creating an enabling environment for the participants to tell their stories without inhibitions, thereby giving the researcher the much-needed opportunity to make sense of the picture unfolding from the stories by the participants (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Lather, 1992; Robottom & Hart, 1993). I was able to access the minds of my participants as a result of this symbiotic relationship. This was made possible as a result of the prolonged engagement, using interviews to unravel and make sense of what they experienced and perceived to be the consequences of Boko Haram attacks in Borno state and their thought process on the implications of the said consequences. As a researcher, the basic qualitative design allowed me to have an undeterred insight into the study phenomenon, which concerned the consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State.

Role of the Researcher

In a study, the research instrument is the tool used for data collection; this instrument facilitates variable observation and measurement, and it is of vital importance that the tool must be reliable and valid (Creswell, 2013). The role of the researcher makes the researcher the primary research instrument in collecting and interpreting data in a qualitative study (Baxter, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Janesick, 2001; Meloy, 2002; Meriam, 2002; Patton, 2002; Piantanida & Garman, 1999; Shinlder & Case, 1996). The researcher is an intricate part of a study and key to the intent of the research and the inquiry process. This study was dependent upon the thinking capability and capacity of the researcher and his bias. (Piantanida & Garman, 1999). Trondsen and Sandaunet (2009), argued that the primary reason for having the researcher as the primary instrument in qualitative study is to make sure that he/she explores fully the social context of the phenomenon by thoroughly engaging the participants enthusiastically that will compel their analysis of the phenomenon that affected them and how it could be

addressed. This is necessary for them to elicit high quality information required in response to your research questions and as a result meet the research purpose.

Qualitative methodology compels the researcher to be the primary data collection and interpretation instrument and at the same time transform the data collected (Barret, 2007). The researcher in his role is regarded as the discoverer and interpreter of data; in this capacity, the researcher explains and makes sense of the phenomenon from the sometimes complex and ambiguous data collected. As a result of its traditionally subjective nature, it is morally imperative that the researcher is aware of his or her role and keep them in check to avoid its interference in the researcher's interpretation of the participants' experience and perspective as narrated (Creswell, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). It is paramount that the researcher's integrity and neutrality are noncommittal for the study findings to remain valid.

The role of the researcher in qualitative methods dictates that he or she must be empathetic, sensitive and observant to the needs of the participants that may influence their willingness and readiness to voluntarily participate effectively in the study. The atmosphere and environment must be made conducive by the researcher to motivate the participants to readily engage in giving the information and data that will be contributing to answering the research questions. According to Creswell (2103), it is vital that the researcher involves participants that will be voluntarily willing to provide information and data that will be relevant in answering the research questions without ambiguity and duress. Eliciting the critically needed information and data from participants in qualitative study depend on the style, approach, and personality of the researcher and in my role as the researcher and the primary instrument in the collection of the data; I adopted appropriate situation that was effective communication techniques to get the needed data and the pertinent information for the study. I provided a very suitable and comfortable environment to the participants during our interactions which were very critical to the success of the study; I also engaged the participants in data gathering strategy that was convenient for them. The participants felt a sense of empowerment through this technique, and it motivated them to provide honest responses to the interview discussion sessions and questions. Utilizing the informed consent protocol, I empowered the participants to control the scope and degree of their voluntary participation during the duration of the study. It made it clear to them that they reserved the right to withdraw at any time they wanted to and to request that any prior information that had been supplied by them to be deleted from the study data set. This process provided them additional control and trust while eliminating any feeling of coercion.

Establishing a friendly environment coupled with the right working relationship with the study participants created a transparent and much- needed ingredient that made the participants volunteer the necessary information and data essential to addressing the research questions. I used this technique to establish trust and mutual respect between the researcher and the participants during the data gathering phase. I challenged myself to be transparent, approachable and friendly during the course of the study to the participants and the ethical imperative was foremost in my mind.

As traditional in research, Challenges presented themselves that needed to be overcome to complete the study successfully. I was not insulated to the trauma of Boko Haram attacks and the killing of innocent people and the wanton destruction of property as a consequence of their brutal tactics of suicide attacks and actual military like brazen attacks on military installations and schools. As a result, I saw myself as an interested insider. The concept of the "insider" phenomenon is in alignment with the concept of the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection (Piantanida and Garman, 1999). My sense of empathy and ability to understand to some degree the dialect of some of the participants was advantageous because they saw me as an insider rather than someone intruding into their private lives that would have been the case to a total outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). It, therefore, made it easier for my conclusion to align with the feelings and thought process of the participants.

According to Brannick and Coghlan (2007), bias could be problematic for an insider in a study which may lead to illicit and predetermined process; therefore, I made a concerted effort to maintain my integrity and remained objective by confirming and reconfirming with the participants that the conclusions reached were in sync with their understanding and experience of the phenomenon being studied.

My primary role as a researcher was the collection of data and information through the lens of the people of Borno state as a result of the attacks and activities of Boko Haram from the point of view and perspective of the participants. Due to my insider position linguistically with some of the participants and as a passive observer of Boko Haram attacks, I understood clearly the dynamics and languages of the participants. I had direct access to the key stakeholders like the internally displaced persons who were directly affected by the terror activities of Boko Haram. The above opportunities put me in an advantageous position and made it easier for the collection of enriched data and their interpretation as it was intended within the context of the study. The above premise was in alignment with Grause and Walsh's (1998) argument that the conclusion of a study should reflect the primary evidence of the phenomenon intertwined with the interpretation of the study as told from the lived experiences of the participants.

Methodology

I used the qualitative research methodology in this study. This methodology is best suited considering that it aligned with the research intent, purpose and the nature of the topic. Creswell (2009) argued that this methodology is best suited for "exploring ad understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem or phenomenon" (p. 4). Generally, qualitative study is subjective and at the same time inductive, which focuses on individual meaning, interpretation, and understanding of issues based on the views of the participants, in their own natural settings and environment (Creswell, 2009). As the principal research instrument, this methodology gave me the opportunity to both describe and narrate the story of the people of Borno and the implications of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Participant Selection Logic

For the purpose of recruiting willing, enthusiastic, and motivated participants that will provide the quality data and information required to respond to the research questions, an environment of trust and transparent relationship was my focus. According to Creswell (2009), the strategy to create this kind of atmosphere is to purposely select your participants. The plan was to select the participants from a pool of potential participants who had the experience, emotions, and mental capacity to provide credible information relating to their personal experience, perspective and opinion on Boko Haram insurgency. The informed consent protocol was utilized to establish mutual respect and transparency with the participants in the study.

It was required of me by the informed consent that I discussed the purpose of the study with the participants and what was expected of them in their roles as voluntary participant, as required by the informed consent. Also, I explained the potential benefits of the study to the security and development of Borno State in particular and Nigeria in general. Transparency and honesty were always maintained with the participants and they were assured of their maximum confidentiality and privacy during the duration of the study and that their identity was not revealed to a third party absent their explicit consent.

The participants were assured that the study and its outcome will be based solely on the information, data, and perspective of the participants and the meanings they ascribed to them. This process was achieved by making it possible that the interpretations and conclusion was subjected to member cross- checking and peer review. Member checking was utilized to establish validity, accuracy, and credibility of the study as the true meaning and valid interpretation of participants' story to the phenomenon under study (Barbour, 2001; Bryne, 2001; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Doyle, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Open ended questions were asked in order to refrain from leading questions (Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

According to Morse (2004), sampling in a qualitative study is an act of conscious and deliberate selection of participants that are most suitable for the study which will be in sync with the purpose and need of the study. It can be assumed that the above premise supports the fact that the unique characteristics of the participants will meet the needs of the study (Morse, 2004; Palinkas et al., 2013). The importance of qualitative sampling is immeasurable as a vital component in a research process; and the quality of the study is determined by it (Gibbs et al., 2007). The selection process of potential participants in a qualitative study must be very deliberate and in congruity with the peculiarities of the study. This, in essence, is called purposeful sampling. Purposeful sampling entails a careful and methodical selection process of the right number and quality participants for the study (Bryne, 2001); Creswell, 2013; Marshall, 1996; Mason, 2010; Morse, 2004; Palinkas et al., 2013; Patton, 2002; Pettus-Davis, Grady, Cuddenback & Scheyett, 2011). The purposefully selected participants should be able to provide the necessary information that will unlock the research questions.

The samples in a qualitative study are primarily put together to reflect the purpose of the study (Mason, 2010). An argument can be made that if the role of the researcher as the primary instrument in a qualitative study is the most important determinant of the quality of the study, the next vital component to the success of the study is the research participants who are the brain child of the researcher. This researcher purposefully selected the research participants with the foreknowledge that they will be representative of the population whose experience and views were vital and comprehensive enough to answer the research questions (Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). I made sure that the purposeful sampling technique afforded me the best participant pool that encompassed all the groups who have a stake in the study; this invariably provided the integrity and validity of the study outcome. The selected participants were those who have been long term residents of Borno, who had experienced and suffered grievously from exposures to Boko Haram vicious terror attacks between 2009 and 2016. This sample group was made up of those men and women between the ages of 25 and 60 years old.

After identifying my prospective participant pool through preliminary interviews for their eligibility, I presented the identified participants a written document which served as an official invitation to participate in the study. The content of the invitation letter explained the research purpose as well as their consent. The participants had the option to consent explicitly by saying yes to the consent form after reading it out loud to them individually on the audio recorder voluntarily without coercion. Those who responded accordingly became my purposeful sample participant pool. The preliminary selection procedure (the informed consent protocol) helped ensure only individuals who have vivid memory of and were able and willing to explain and share details about their lived experiences of Boko Haram nightmare were chosen.

Traditionally, the sample size in a qualitative study is a reflection of the research purpose and its intent. The sample composition is also a reflection of the sampling process and procedures (Castillo, 2009). The size of the sample does not necessarily reflect its relevance or superior data collection due to the law of diminishing returns (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). The logical explanation to this premise is that as the study progresses, more data does not translate to new information or dimension to the study. It is a common belief that there is no one magic formula when it comes to the number of participants needed in a qualitative study in academia, however, there are suggestions regarding the required number which is driven by different variables like the phenomenon, the study design, nature, and the study context (Bertaux, 1981; Creswell, 1998' Morse, 1994). My data collection was made up of 10 purposefully selected participants with divergence of experience and knowledge of the activities of the terror group and the consequences from the place. This number in my opinion achieved the saturation point within the span of the study (Curry, Nembhard, & Bradley, 2009, Green & Thorogood, 2009; Guest et al., 2006; Morse, 2008).

Instrumentation

The structure of interview questions in a study determines the quality of the data and information that the participants in an interview session provide; the questions allow them to exhale and tell their story in a manner that represents their true experience and opinion about the world they live in to the researcher. Patton (2002), argued that there is no better information gathering channel in a study in comparison to interviews that give the researcher the opportunity to get into the participants' thinking process.

There are different kinds of interview question options for the researcher in a study, for instance, questions that are related to the interviewee's behavioral pattern, experience, values and opinions, knowledge, feelings and sensory eschewed questions (Patton, 2002). The interview question patterns used in this study were a combination of different types that were vital to the study that got the best quality information laden answers from my participants. To avoid any ambiguity, I used singular, clear and open-

ended questions, and a concerted effort was made in the choice of words used in structuring the questions to avoid any leading questions that will prompt a preconceived response (Patton, 2002). Patton (2002), suggested that researchers should adopt prefaced questions with "what, "why, and "how," this gives the interviewee the freedom and opportunity to express their opinions and their thought process about the questions without inhibition. Appendix A contains the questions used in the face-to-face interviews.

Procedures for Data Collection, Recruitment, and Participation

Data collection in a qualitative study, as other components of the research, should be guarded and with set boundaries. Gathering information through unstructured or semistructured strategies; and by establishing the protocol for information recording. In-depth interview technique will be the primary data collection strategy that will be utilized in this study (Patton, 2002; Stakes, 1995). The "data collection circle" will be used to collect high-quality data and information needed to answer the research questions (Creswell, 2013, p. 146).

The in-depth face-to-face interview discussion technique was suitable for this study because direct observation technique would not have been possible, trying to understand how a group of people lived and organized their lives and the meanings they attached to their experiences in their world would be impossible through direct observation (Patton, 2002). Creswell (2009), argued that data collection through interview gives the researcher a better and more control over the line of questioning he envisages will get out the vital information needed for the study. The face-to-face

interviews will be conducted at the convenience of the participants and as a result, yield the participant pool.

In-depth interviews were the primary data collection strategy that was used in this study. According to Patton (2002), interview is strategically a vital method of inquiry and advocates that researchers adopt a blend of informal conversation and open-ended questions during the process of data collection. The intent of the interview technique is to aid the researcher in accessing the private world of the participant (Patton, 2002). The researcher plays a vital role in interviews, and the quality of the data collected from the participants depends on the experience of the researcher who is the primary data collection instrument. Not only does the researcher dictate the tone and pace of the interview sessions, he or she also is responsible for creating the serenity and comfort that is needed in eliciting quality and vital data and information from the purposefully sampled participants.

According to Creswell (2009), there are different kinds of interview techniques, for instance, the face-to- face, email, and telephone interviews; however, the face to face interview technique was used because it is very convenient and the most suitable for this study and the participants. Listening is an art that is elusive to most people and according to Rubin and Rubin (1995), to be effective; the qualitative researcher has to master the "art of listening" (p. 361). I not only listened to their spoken words; attention was also paid to the unspoken words which manifested itself in the form of body languages coming from the participants. The participants were asked questions in a normal and serene tone which made them feel relaxed with some feeling of importance (Carnegie, 1936), which in turn made them volunteer vital and important information that was vital to the study.

The setting for the interview was as important as the interview itself, I made sure the participants felt comfortable by engaging them in side talks and making them understand the purpose and intent of the study, discussed the estimated time of completion of each session and I made water available when it was needed and reinforced the confidentiality and protection of their participation and information and their right to stop and walk away any time they deemed it necessary that they cannot continue any longer. Confirmed their ongoing consent and the permission to get our conversation recorded in accordance with the dictates of the relevant principles of ethics. The functionality of the devices used was confirmed before the beginning of any interview session with a provision of a spare recorder in the event of any mechanical malfunction. Recording the interview session afforded me ample time to observe the interviewee and the opportunity for note taking (Patton, 2202).

The notes taken during the interview session made it possible for me to come up with follow-up questions, became a facilitator in data analysis, interpretation and acted as an insurance policy in the event the recording failed. In additional to all these pros of the notes, it was also a bias check tool and kept me in check during the interpretation phase of the study. In conjunction to taking the notes during the interview session, the body language of the interviewee was observed; their recorded responses were played back to them for instant confirmation of the data and information and confirmed my understanding of the information through their lens. The interviewees were encouraged to interject and make corrections when necessary or additions if plausible. A concerted effort was made to complete the interview at the anticipated period.

The responses coming from the well-structured interview questions will make it possible to gather more information and data by further probing their thought process from their responses. Follow-up questions will be asked from responses of open-ended questions presented to the interviewees. I kept my probing and transitioning from between exploring new avenues of the participants' thought process by staying focused on my structured interview questions (Nachmias, 2008). I remained alert and flexible during the duration of the interview sessions and took good notes and at the same time made sure that I put my listening skills into practice which was an added value to the data and information gathering process.

For this study, I used the audio recording capability in conducting the traditional face-to-face interview technique, and as eluded earlier, the participants were purposefully selected internally displaced persons who had lived experience of the attacks. I managed the interviews and provided the guidance needed to prevent digression, maintained focus and a civil interaction, determined when a topic had been exhaustively discussed and encouraged them on with follow up questions from the participant's responses if plausible. Structured questions were used during the traditional face-to-face interview sessions in order to bring out the best in the participants.

I reviewed relevant documents after obtaining the required permission from the relevant authorities by going through them and analyzed the information and data that was vital in answering or unlocking some puzzles relating to the study and confirmation of misconstrued general opinions on important records. This process involved reviewing of some government gazettes and documents relating to specific research questions and the official perspective regarding the impact of the Boko Haram terror attacks in Borno State and the Northeastern regional of Nigeria. Data protection, storage and the privacy of data gathered, and the study participants were of vital importance to me. To achieve this, data was stored in a secure location. Digital-based data and audio files were properly stored and secured with password capability for accessing them on my laptop. For risk management purpose, all computer stored data were backed up and stored in different computers in different locations to minimize loss as a result of computer being hacked or corrupt.

Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis is a process that involves coding the collected data for the purpose of identifying emerging patterns, themes, and categories. The system of coding does not subscribe to a consensus or uniformity for pre-coding in a qualitative study because each study determines a custom designed coding that is particular and unique to it (Huberman & Miles, 1994). It is recommended that the data gathering process, data analysis, and report writing should be done conjunctively. As a result, Creswell (2013) recommends using "data analysis spiral" (p. 183), to integrate these interrelated steps. Researchers should be familiar with their dataset before venturing into the actual data analysis process (Agar, 1980; Patton, 2002).

Content analysis is one of the different techniques of data analysis researchers can conveniently use in a qualitative study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000).

According to Patton (2002), content analysis is a "qualitative data reduction and sensemaking effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meaning" (p. 435). This underscores the centrality of pattern recognition to the success of qualitative data analysis.

The dataset that forms the input for content analysis comprises the audio, text, and or visual data from interviews document reviews or observation. It is the duty of the researcher to search through the data for recurring patterns, words or themes. Boyatzis (1998) argued that pattern recognition is dependent upon the inherent ability of the researcher to discern or recognize patterns from random information. This study used the content analysis strategy to search for the presence of themes, keywords, and categories within the text data. This made it possible to analyze whether inferred or implied the meanings of identified themes, patterns, concepts or categories, and also, any relationship that may be apparent amongst them.

Table 1

Primary Code	Secondary/Child Code	Data Collection Protocol
Government (Institutions)	Actors, Self-interest, decision-making	8, 9, 10
Perspective/Perception	Global and local view, media (TV, Radio), Family circle	1-11
Constraints/Challenges (delivery of services)	Behavior	1, 2, 4
Narrative/Experience	Actors, Voice, Stories	5, 6, 11, 7

Preliminary Coding Scheme

The process of transcription entails converting recorded audio or visual data into text data. This process can be done either manually or by using computer software capability. It is vitally important that the researcher is guarded against loss or corruption of data during his process. In both manually or computer software aided transcription, it is pertinent to make sure that the transcribed data files are properly saved with unique identifiers, to avoid any mix up, easy identification, categorization, and retrieval. Manual transcription of vital portions of the research audio data was utilized in this study from the interview sessions. The interview sessions were conducted in English language and recorded using the portable digital voice recorders. The digital voice recorders made the transcription process very easy because it had the ability to time stamp and bookmark important sections.

Issues of Trustworthiness

According to Lincoln and Guba (1981), trustworthiness in qualitative research means that the researcher possesses the skill and capacity to demonstrate to others that the findings and conclusion of his study could be trusted and that it signifies what he or she says they are. Trustworthiness is the premise through which the researcher can demonstrate and establish to his readers the credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability of the findings and conclusions of his study (Guba, 1981; Lincoln, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 1981; 2002; Shenton, 2004). In light of the inherent subjectivity of qualitative study, it is of imperative that the researcher is able and capable of demonstrating the trustworthiness of his study throughout the research process without ambiguity. During the duration of this study, I used various strategies in establishing trustworthiness of the research, the process was transparent, managing biases, the process of triangulation, member checking, manually cross-checking transcribed data for the confirmation of its accuracy, made sure that participants responses were truthful, and constant debriefing and peer reviewed (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2008; Morse et al, 2002; Shenton, 2004).

Ethical Procedures

According to Hickman (2010), ethics is a code of conduct, based on morally sound decisions, that serves as a compass that guides an organization or individual. As in all other human endeavors, a study requires and entails making ethics proof decisions. During the process of making decisions, the researcher faces conflicting ideas and interests which are unrelated to his non-aligned personal and cultural values, business and personal expectations and aspirations and family demands. Experienced and effective researcher would strike a balance between their conflicting priorities to the degree that the researcher's fairness and adherence to the ethical codes of their institution is obvious (Baker, 2013).

An ethical framework is vital in an organization's efficiency and survival because it propounds consistency, equity and quality decisions making through all levels of the organization (Self, 2013). This is the essence of establishing the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process as an oversight for the conduct of research work. The mandate of IRB is to make sure that research studies involving human participations must be in accordance with the stipulated ethical standards and code of conduct. I completed the mandatory ethics course for researchers as required by the National Institutes of Health Office of Extramural Research. The successful completion of the course demonstrated my knowledge and ability to understanding applicable ethical requirements and the need to protect people and especially the vulnerable ones that participated in my study.

As a researcher and a scholar practitioner, it was incumbent upon me to comply with all the ethical codes of conduct guiding my study as stipulated by Walden IRB. The implication of this was that the welfare, safety, and security of the study participants were responsibility during the period of their participation in the study. In furtherance to their protection, measures were put in place to protect them from post participation harm by protecting their identity and confidentiality. This was achieved by using codes to identify each participant; their actual names were not used during the writing of my findings. The consent protocol was fully observed during the data collection process and the participants were constantly made aware of their rights, roles, and responsibilities.

The data provided by the participants were not manipulated during the data collection and interpretation phases to maintain my integrity as well as for the research itself. I made sure that data; evidence, findings, and conclusion were not compromised, misrepresented, of falsified (Creswell, 2007). My findings and conclusions were crosschecked by a member of the study and peer review; these was done to make sure that the findings were ethical, valid and credible.

Summary

The methodology adopted by the researcher serves as the process driver for the study, and the research method should align with the research purpose and the collection

of the data that will eventually answer the research questions. I have established and demonstrated the reason why I chose qualitative design and the complementing phenomenon for this research. A traditional face-to-face interview was the primary data collection technique that was utilized in the study. Document review strategy was also adopted for additional data collection for cross-checking and triangulation.

The role of the researcher has been elaborated as being the primary data collection and analysis instrument, the sampling and data analysis strategies that will be used have been discussed, and the role technology will play in enhancing the accuracy, quality, and analysis of the data collection process. Data collected was analyzed for themes, patterns, and concepts before their interpretation through the content analysis process. This chapter addressed the strategies that I used to demonstrate and establish the trustworthiness of the study process, data collection, analysis, and subsequent interpretation. Chapter four and five will addressed the collected data, its analysis, interpretation, findings, conclusions, the implications for social change and conclusion.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

I conducted this qualitative study to identify and understand the social, political, and economic impact of Boko Haram's terror attacks on the people of Borno State in Nigeria's Northeastern region. The study showed that the people of Borno State have borne the severest consequences of Boko Haram's insurgency as a result of the state being the birthplace of the terrorist group and also the epicenter of unparalleled acts of terrorism in Nigeria. The study was also initiated to examine the adequacy and effectiveness of relief-providing and support mechanisms for the victims of Boko Haram's terrorism, and to offer a comprehensive framework for effective management of the adverse effects of terrorism on the people of Borno in the event existing mechanisms proved to be inadequate or ineffective, or both.

I collected the data analyzed in this study through face-to-face interviews with 10 people who met the demographic requirements outlined in Chapter 3. I used two questions to gain an understanding of the participants' lived experience as a result of their exposure to Boko Haram insurgency in Borno and to drive data collection. The questions were as follows:

RQ1: What are the adverse social, political, and economic impacts of Boko Haram insurgency on the people residing in Borno State in Nigeria? RQ2: What measures, programs, or services are available to help people residing in Borno State who have been exposed to Boko Haram attacks cope with the consequences of experiencing the insurgency? In this chapter, I present the results of the data collection and analysis process and describe the demographics of participants, as well as provide evidence of trustworthiness as it related to my research. Then I present the study's results.

Setting

I conducted the study in northeastern Nigeria. The rationale was that this region of the country is the epicenter of Boko Haram's terrorist activities. Hence, the study's participants, who were chosen from this region, would have much better understanding of the impact of Boko Haram's terrorist activities. All the participants had worked in Borno state during the Boko Haram crisis. These selection criteria aligned with the statement in Chapter One and Chapter Three respectively that participants should have experience of the Borno state terrorism.

Demographics

This study included 10 participants from diverse backgrounds; the participant pool consisted of three women and seven men who were selected for the study. Eight of them were indigenes of Borno State while the remaining two were from other parts of Nigeria's Northeastern region and ranged from 25 to 65 years of age. As long-term residents of Borno State, all of them knew when the insurgency began and were exposed to attacks by the terrorists between 2011 and 2017. They were all able to recall vividly the events that occurred during their exposures to the Boko Haram insurgency and willingly provided details about their lived experience during the rebellion. The participants' names were changed for confidentiality purposes, and each of them was assigned a unique alpha-numerical identifier, Pxx, in which P stood for participant and xx, a numerical value ranging from 01 to 10.

The study participants have diverse educational and religious backgrounds. At the time of this study, nine of the participants had a bachelor's degree or its equivalent (Higher National Diploma), and the remaining one had a high school diploma or its equivalent. Seven of the participants were adherents of the Christian faith, while three subscribed to the Islamic belief. Before their exposures to Boko Haram attacks, six of the participants were either private business owners or employees, two were local government employees, and one was an unemployed college graduate while one was engaged as a nursing assistant. All the participants were born and educated in Borno or other states within the Northeastern region. Three of the participants had continually lived in Borno State for over 50 years at the time this study was conducted, while three others had been residing in the state for 40–50 years. Only four of the participants had lived in the state continually for fewer than 40 years before this study was done. The participants are proficient in the English language. Table 2 provides a summary of the study participants' demographics.

Table 2

Demographics of the Study Participants

Reference	Religion	Gender	Age	Educational level
P01	Muslim	М	65	College diploma
P02	Muslim	М	58	College diploma
P03	Christian	F	52	College diploma

PC)4	Christian	Μ	48	College diploma
PO)5	Muslim	М	43	College diploma
PO)6	Christian	F	40	College diploma
PO)7	Muslim	F	36	High school
PO	8	Christian	М	34	College diploma
PO	19	Christian	М	32	College diploma
P1	0	Christian	Μ	25	College diploma

Data Collection

I used two data collection methods to gather data: interviews and document reviews (see Figure 1). Following the Walden IRB approval, I made initial contact with participants through the camp coordinator at Bakassi IDPs camp in Maiduguri. On the recommendations of the camp coordinator, and with his assistance, I selected 25 potential participants for the study. During an informal interview session with the potential participants, I had them review the informed consent form. Also, they asked for clarifications to help them make an informed decision on whether or not to participate in the study. In the end, I was able to whittle down the number to 10 participants who partook in the study.

Interviews

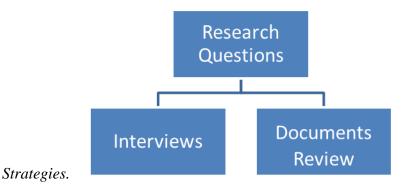
I interviewed each of the 10 participants at the agreed-upon time and place within the camp. Interview settings were comfortable, functional, and devoid of distractions. Besides reminding the participants of the voluntary nature of their participation in the study, their confidentiality, and their right to withdraw from the study at any point without notice or reason, I ensured that participants reviewed and verbally agreed to the consent forms for the interview and audio recording at the beginning of interview. The mood preceding each interview session was calm, and interviews were conducted in English in a casual, conversational, and friendly atmosphere with enthusiastic participants who narrated their experiences in different manners. Some were very emotional as they recounted their experiences, and others, particularly older participants, were able to rein in their emotions and calmly shared their experiences during exposures to Boko Haram attacks. I asked for and obtained each participant's verbal permission to make an audio recording of the interview on a digital audio recorder. The audio file from each interview session was saved with a unique identification code corresponding to that particular participant. The same identification code was assigned to the corresponding handwritten notes taken during the interviews to ensure the integrity and credibility of data analysis and interpretation. Each interview lasted between 45 and 55 minutes with frequent short pauses. I recorded the discussions on both a digital voice recorder and an Android smart device to ensure redundancy and prevent the possibility of a total loss of collected data in the event of a malfunction of a single appliance.

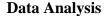
I transcribed, filed, and saved data from the interviews on my private computer and later transferred to discs which I kept locked in a steel and fireproof cabinet in my residence in Nigeria. These raw data will be kept safe for the next five years by following the data protection regulations and IRB guidelines.

Document Review

I supplemented data collected from the face-to-face interviews with data collected from the review of available and relevant documents. The additional data were collected for triangulation purposes to validate or repudiate data collected using the primary strategy and the output of data analysis.







The findings for this study were derived from the basic qualitative study of the lived experiences of participants exposed to the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno, which is located in the northeastern region of Nigeria. These documents (transcribed from interviews, and document review) became the working transcripts for analysis and coding purposes. Content analysis was used to analyze data collected in this study. This methodology comprised strategic and inductive evaluation of the raw data collected. Content analysis is an iterative process composed of numerous steps that include data organization to establish relationships, themes, patterns, and contexts.

I performed initial data analysis in conjunction with data collection since qualitative data analysis can be done simultaneously and in parallel with data collection. I utilized the ten-step approach to content analysis recommended by Surrey University Library (n.d) to perform the data analysis. I also integrated Creswell's (1998) four- stage approach, that is, data management, reading and memoing, description, classification interpretation, and public data presentation into the content analysis methodology. The first phase of data analysis entails data management. I did minor editing on the face-toface discussion data download. I noted the long form of abbreviations the participants used during the discussion and spelling corrections. I played back the recorded audio data several times and performed partial transcription of vital sections to text data and saved both data files in password safe mode in passworded folders on both my desktop and laptop.

The second phase of the 10-step process in the data analysis process entailed reading, memoing, and plunged myself in the collected data. I listened to the audio recording of the interviews and read and reread the focus group text data several times until the collected data started making sense to me and started assuming the form of a picture mosaic of information. As I was reading and listening to the collected data, I took reflective notes. I made vital comments on the digital data files as I venture upon relevant or perspective information that assists in providing answers to the research questions. I used comparative strategy regularly by repeated interaction with the collected data for the probability of new insights until saturation was reached. This iterative process was continually used, reflected on the notes, wrote out the emerging patterns and themes, and started the process of categorizing them.

The third phase of the 10-step content analysis process automatically translated to a full description, classification, and interpretation of information, categories, and themes that emerged from the second phase. The picture started to become more precise, and I started to read meanings and perspectives into the emerging themes and themes that have similarities. These emerging themes were applied to the research questions to establish their compatibility and relevance in answering them and commence to the process of identifying the consequences of Boko Haram attacks and its implications on the people of Borno and what the government and other non-governmental organizations may do individually and collectively to alleviate the consequences in order to bring about positive change.

The fourth phase of the content analysis is to showcase the outcome of the content analysis process. Due to the general criticism of the qualitative research process is the subjective and the private nature of data analysis (Constas, 1995), member checking was used to validate my initial findings and conclusions. The outcome of the data analysis was sent to some participants asking them to ascertain that the findings, interpretations, and the conclusion is consistent with their views and lived experiences. I merged their feedback into the final study results. I made sure that the written narrative accurately reflected the beliefs, intent, and context in which the participants presented them by using their exact quotes or paraphrases, as much as possible, to present the research findings and results as told by them. When the transcription of the participants' interviews was completed along with the review of the reflexive notes, there were no cases or evidence of disclosed discrepant cases in the research data.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

To demonstrate the trustworthiness in this qualitative study, it addressed the issues of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Member checking was used through the data gathering process and data analysis to ensure trustworthiness of my process. For instance, participants were asked to clarify any notion of ambiguity or to confirm that my understanding of their responses is an accurate reflection of their thought process and what they meant. This realtime confirmation ensured the accuracy and validity of data.

Credibility

To ensure this study's credibility, the research findings were presented to the study participants for validation before additional analysis was done on the verbatim transcript. Shenton (2004), argues that qualitative researchers should leverage credibility to demonstrate that they had painted a true and accurate picture of the phenomenon under study. Maxwell (2012), and Miles et al. (2013), argued that the researcher should ensure that information gathered reflect an accurate representation of historical events relevant to the objectives of the study. Credibility measures the extent to which the research findings are accurate, factual, believable, and aligned with the reality of the study context. According to Patton (2002), credibility is anchored on three pillars, namely the rigor applied in collecting, recording and storing field data and analyzing them, the credibility of the researcher, and philosophical belief in the value of qualitative research. By interviewing participants who experienced attacks by Boko Haram elements and using triangulation, I demonstrated the credibility of the study.

Validity

I ensured validity through member checking. Member checking allows study participants to review the transcripts of their interviews and verify, edit, or expand on the interview material if they so desired (Carlson, 2010). I went back to the IDP camp and met each of the study's participants separately, where I provided them with the list of the themes and descriptions of their accounts for review.

Transferability

Transferability addresses the degree to which research findings be generalized or justifiably transferred to other settings or contexts (Merriam, 2008; Shenton, 2004). To demonstrate transferability and extension of my study findings to any similar situation in northeastern Nigeria, or indeed in any insurgency-infested area in Nigeria, I broadened participants' selection to cover all socioeconomic classes of victims of insurgency. This diversity ensured a wide spectrum of opinions and perspectives were covered and considered, and this makes the study's outcome reasonably applicable in similar situations and thus can be generalized.

Dependability

Dependability affirms that the process or procedures used for the research are repeatable. Shenton (2004) argues that because of the changing nature of situations (in which the study was conducted), it may be challenging to establish dependability and reliability. However, Lincoln and Guba (1985), argue that by demonstrating credibility, the researcher has also shown dependability to a certain degree because of the direct relationship between the two concepts. I demonstrated dependability and reliability by ensuring there was a synergy between the purpose of the study, research questions, methodology, and theoretical framework, which helped generate dependable findings.

Confirmability

Shelton (2004), argued that confirmability seeks to demonstrate the extent to which research findings and conclusions are true reflections of participants' views and lived experience and not the researcher's ideas. Confirmability helps to ensure that there is a clear linkage between the research data and its interpretation. Miles and Huberman (1994), argued that the extent to which researchers acknowledge their biases determine the level of the confirmability of their studies. To ensure confirmability, I collected data from multiple sources covering a broad spectrum of perspectives other than from participants who had experienced Boko Haram insurgency in Borno state, and I carefully documented the rationale and motivation for decisions taken throughout the research process. To reduce the breach of study participants' confidentiality and privacy as well as the possibility of intra and inter-coder reliability, I was exclusively responsible for data collection and analysis. To maintain consistency, I used open-ended questions focused on issues relevant to the economic, social, and political effects of Boko Haram insurgency on the study participants. I also ensured that findings and conclusions emanated only from the raw data gathered from the study participants. I used member checking to validate the accuracy of the transcription of audio data collected during the interview, as well as my findings and conclusions. The member checking gave the participants the opportunity to review and clarify the meaning of statements, views, opinions, and comments they made during the interview and focus group sessions.

Results

The purpose of this qualitative study was to determine and examine the economic, social, and political impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno in northeastern Nigeria. The results presented in this chapter is a detailed interpretation of the analysis of the data collected from the ten participants whose age range between 25 and 65 years and had suffered from exposures to Boko Haram insurgency. The study premise was that there is a little or insufficient examination of the consequences of terrorism as perpetrated by Boko Haram insurgents on the people of Borno (which was the epicenter of Boko Haram's activities) who had borne the major brunt of the group's activities. The study was also interested in examining relief provision mechanisms for victims of Boko Haram insurgency and the sufficiency and efficacy of those relief services and programs from the victims' perspectives. This led to the formulation of the following study's research questions:

RQ1- What are the adverse social, political, and economic impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people residing in Borno State in Nigeria? RQ2 - What measures, programs, or services are available to help people residing in Borno State who have been exposed to Boko Haram attacks cope with the consequences of experiencing the insurgency?

To provide answers to these research questions, 11 open-ended interview and focus group questions were presented to the study participants. The survey questions were designed to encourage study participants to supply the information required to answer the research questions. The research questions sought to identify the adverse social, economic, and political consequences on the people who resided in Borno and were exposed to the insurgency and benefitted from the relief services provided by governmental and non-governmental agencies and individuals to improve the victims' pains and agonies. The interview questions were deliberately formulated to elicit the information and data needed to answer the research questions from the participants. After a thorough examination and analysis of the transcribed interviews, my memo and syncopation with research questions and literature, the following three themes emerged:

- 1. The collapse of Borno's social, economic and political structures and processes
- Undesirable/negative implications of the insurgency on Borno's corporate wellbeing.
- 3. Adapting to reality: Coping with available relief services and programs.

Below is a detailed discussion of each of the identified theme concerning the interview questions.

Theme 1: Collapse of Borno State's Social, Economic, and Political Structure and Process

Each of the participants expressed divergent views on what they perceived as social, economic, and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno. Still all of them agreed that terrorism has led to a complete collapse of economic, social, and political structures and processes in Borno and among its people. Besides expressing sadness, shock, grief and frustration over their personal losses and deprivations as a result of their exposure to Boko Haram attacks, participants also expressed worry, fear and a sense of insecurity over the disruptions to, and destructions of political, economic and social processes and structures which were prevalent in Borno before the escalation of violence in the state since 2009.

In answering the question, "How will you describe the impact of Boko Haram attacks on social, economic and political structures and activities in Borno state?" most of the participants used phrases such as "catastrophic collapse," "complete destruction," "total wipeout", and 'grave consequences' to describe what they considered to be the adverse consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on Borno and its people. Ahmadu, who was a small business owner/operator (p01) lamented: "Boko Haram has wiped out all Borno economic and political structures and process and has rendered social values and practices comatose. The consequences of the insurgency on social, economic and political activities and structures in Borno are grave and includes pathetic and irreversible destructions of long-term relationships between different groups of people, paralysis of business and government activities, destruction of economic and basic infrastructures, creation of scarcity of food and potable water, indiscriminate and summary executions of perceived political and religious opponents, kidnappings for ransom, and a sense of insecurity, fear, and trepidation in the minds of the people of Borno. Businesses have been wiped out, and this has created massive unemployment in the land, and people can no longer fend for themselves. I am saddened by the degree of destruction of public utilities and infrastructures that have led to the rise in poverty level among the people of the state. Politics and political activities in Borno are now at the mercy of the terrorists who frown at any Western idea. Security structures in Borno have

been ridiculed and weakened by constant terror attacks and endemic corruption. The state is one huge mess, and we, the poor victims, bear the brunt."

Mariam, a trained nursing assistant (p06), echoed Ahmadu's comments and described the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on the social, economic, and political activities and structures in Borno state as "destruction of those structures and activities." She further stated that "Boko Haram insurgency had made it impossible for millions of Borno residents to take part in the routine electoral process because they have been forced to flee their homes. The compromised political system has little or nothing to offer a person like me. The state economy has nosedived, and Borno people live in abject poverty because the insurgency has destroyed our farmlands and our businesses. Several markets have been looted and subsequently burnt or forced to close. Foods have become scarce, and nutritional deficiencies are high, particularly among children, old and sick people. Diseases such as severe malnutrition, malaria, acute respiratory infections, and diarrheal diseases have become common. Frustrated youths have taken to use of dangerous and illegal drugs and substances to escape or reduce the trauma and pains they experience. Many women and young girls have been forced into prostitution as a way of surviving the harsh circumstances insurgency has brought about in Borno State. There were many settlers and non-indigenous residents in the State, but many of them have fled. In Borno, social and economic activities are dead."

Yakubu, who was a local government council employee (p04) expressed similar views and asserted that "the Boko Haram insurgency had wiped out all the social, economic, and political structures that were in place in Borno before the criminals

embarked on their insurgency. In particular, Boko Haram has brought disintegration, discrimination, and lack of trust among people of the same family members. There is a religious divide; Muslims and Christians look at each other suspiciously these days because the Boko Haram insurgency has built hatred and fear in the minds of people who had lived in peace and harmony for decades. Businesses have been destroyed, and even in Maiduguri, considered relatively safe compared to other towns and villages in the state, commercial activities have been reduced to the barest minimum. All physical development projects or infrastructures under construction before the insurgency reared its ugly head have remained uncompleted because contractors handling these projects have abandoned the construction sites for fear of being attacked, abducted, maimed, or killed by the insurgents. There has been a sharp rise in the cost of transportation because of constant attacks Boko Haram insurgents carry out on travelers and inter-state drivers, and basic infrastructures have been destroyed, making a living very challenging in Borno state. Again, there is a palpable sense of insecurity among the people as Boko Haram elements kill, abduct and kidnap ordinary people indiscriminately, carry out burglaries, particularly of banks and other financial houses, as well as attacks on military and police formations across the state to steal money and military hard-wares to prosecute their course. Traditional and cultural values have been jettisoned and replaced by lawlessness, arrogance, impunity, and selfishness of the terrorists who see themselves as better than others."

Bashir (p09), an accountant, was an employee of a private company before he experienced a Boko Haram attack. In his opinion, "The Boko Haram insurgency has led

to what can best be described as a catastrophic collapse of Borno's social, economic, and political processes and structures." Bashir asserted that "What Boko Haram insurgency had wrought on Borno and its people cannot be measured. The value of economic losses must be in billions of dollars. It is beyond imagination, and it has led to massive relocation of non-indigenes from Borno to other States, and that has brought down the state economy because these people were majorly in control of trading and commercial activities before the insurgency. Most of these people were owners and operators of small-scale manufacturing and trading businesses. Their businesses were destroyed by Boko Haram terrorists, and the majority of them have fled to their states. Several people have also deserted their abodes in the state's hinterland and sought refuge in Maiduguri, and this has put severe pressure on commercial and social facilities in the city as it now has to cope with many more people than ever before. In the camp here, we have to contend with shortages of basic amenities and make do with substandard materials. We are confronted daily by the sad reality that our survival isn't guaranteed. There is also a heightened sense of helplessness as chaos and lawlessness have replaced order in the way things are done in Borno. People stream into IDP camps regularly because attacks by the insurgents are ceaseless. If you are not careful, you can be kidnapped or killed at any time because the state is now filled with suicide bombers who have no regard whatsoever for human lives. People are suspicious and afraid of each other, and relationships between people are at best casual except those between family members or relations or long-term friends before the insurgency drove us into camps as destitute and refugees in our land. It is an unfortunate sad development."

Isa, an unemployed college graduate (p10), noted that one of the impacts of the Boko Haram insurgency was that those living outside of Borno do not want to have anything to do with the state. He said, "Nobody wants to come here again. They are afraid of being caught up in terrorist attacks, and that has isolated the people of Borno as outcasts in Nigeria." Isa mentioned as an example, the refusal of college graduates in Nigeria to accept posting to Borno for the mandatory one-year National Youth Service (NYSC) scheme because of insecurity prevailing in the state due to Boko Haram activities. Is noted that "In the past, Boko Haram insurgents had kidnapped and killed some Youth Service Corps members who were serving in the state and those unfortunate incidents have discouraged other members from accepting posting to the state. I remember that when those Corps members were abducted and murdered by the terrorists, several other corps members abandoned their places of primary assignments across the state, and fled the state. Before the insurgency, the State of Borno depended largely on the youth service scheme to provide a substantial portion of trained professionals required to run its post-primary schools and primary medical/health centers. Therefore, the refusal of corps members to accept postings to the state had created a horrible shortage of qualified personnel, and that has made provision of essential social services even more difficult to run in the state. Schools, offices, and hospitals suffer from Boko Haram attacks every time. So, why should young college graduates risk coming to Borno and be slaughtered like sacrificial lambs?." Isa also said, "Destructions of towns and villages by Boko Haram insurgents had led to the total collapse of social relationships and economic structures that had existed for many years before those towns and villages were attacked

and destroyed by the terrorist organization. Borno state has become one huge disaster of chaos, disorderliness, and lawlessness; most of its residents survive from day to day by Devine intervention. Suicide bombings and kidnappings have discouraged any form of gathering by people for relaxation or social activities, and commercial activities are simply non-existent, particularly in places outside Maiduguri, the capital city, and the only functional city in the entire Borno." Isa was also concerned that "Boko Haram has worsened the unemployment situation in Borno, with several new university graduates like myself unable to get jobs because potential employers have either deserted or refuse to come anywhere near the state and other states in our immediate region in Nigeria."

Idris (p08) was also a local government council staff before insurgency sacked him. He was angry that "the Boko Haram insurgency has led to the closure of business activities within Borno, and this has worsened the poverty level in the state. All economic and social/physical structures and bases have irredeemably collapsed and may take many years to rebuild after insurgency is defeated. Political structures have been decimated, and political activities are limited to the bourgeois who, in my opinion, are those who encouraged the insurgents to become what they are now. The politicians used the Boko Haram members to gain political powers in the beginning or to remain in power. Still, they have lost control of the Boko Haram insurgents who wanted legislative powers for themselves now. As far as I know, all political mechanisms in Borno are paralyzed and unserviceable. Only a few local government councils are functioning in the State – Boko Haram has rendered local government administrators redundant as the councils have become favorite targets of attacks by the insurgents. "

For Kyari, who was an entrepreneur (p05), Boko Haram insurgency had led to "Total wipeout of economic, political and social structures and activities in Borno state. Economically, the state economy has been destroyed and is now dependent largely on handouts from others. The situation is now the worst, and the security of lives and properties in Borno has become a mirage. Social structures and relationships have suffered severely, and people do not trust each other anymore because the Boko Haram insurgency has made people wary and bitter. The social fabric has been shredded into pieces and destroyed. People find it difficult to freely express their political opinions and views because they are much more concerned about survival than care about participating in any election or the political process. Political freedom has become a mirage. Internally displaced persons, like me, can only vote in our dreams as we are looked down on as unregistered voters because we cannot produce evidence of registration with the Independent National Electoral Commission as registered voters. And when people in other parts of Nigeria were casting their votes in 2009 general elections, elections couldn't hold here in Borno state because of the insurgency. Security is non-existent, and all forms of respect for life have disappeared into the air. Boko Haram insurgency has brought nothing but sorrow and calamity."

Similarly, participants were asked, "What sort of personal losses have you suffered economically, politically, and socially because of your exposure to Boko Haram attacks?" All the participants reported the loss of relations, friends and acquaintances, means of livelihood, and have been deprived of exercising their political franchise. They all expressed a deep sense of sadness, anger, shock, and helplessness. Ahmadu (p01) said, "I cannot quantify my losses because I lost everything, I mean everything I had struggled to build or achieve in more than 50 years before the terrorists invaded our community and destroyed my life. I am despondent, and to start again looks like a huge task. Apart from losing my wife and children who were killed, my house was burnt by Boko Haram, and I also miss the retail business I owned, which was the primary source of livelihood to sustain my family. All relationships I had were brutally brought to an abrupt end, and the goods in my retail business were either looted or set ablaze by the insurgents. I don't know what they did with the products and money I had in the house when they staged their attack. I was on a business trip when they attacked my town only to hear from those who managed to escape from the attack what had happened. The loss of my wife, children, and business created a deep agony in my heart, and I am now destitute in my land. I have lost my political voice; after all, I am a refugee who has no political weight or standing."

Kyari (p05), responding to the question, expressed a sense of grief, stating that, "My losses are too much for me to recount. I was interested in becoming a counselor in my local government area, and I was looking forward to contesting in the local election. Still, that aspiration was cut short by the insurgents who kidnapped and tortured me for several days before I managed to escape. My business was ruined; gone with the wind because the bandits took over our local government and proclaimed it as part of an Islamic caliphate. So, I lost my means of livelihood. I also lost valued friends and relationships I had built over the years as many people living in my town when Boko Haram invaded were killed, maimed, or kidnapped or fled to safety. Even in camp here, people look at each other suspiciously because those who are Christians believe Boko Haram insurgents are Muslim extremists who are bent on wiping out Christianity in Borno state and are thus wary of Muslims in the camp. However, all of us had suffered from Boko Haram attacks. The Christians among us see those of us who are Muslims as potential threats to their safety and limit their association with us to the barest minimum. In that sense, I feel a terrible loss of potential friendships and social interactions, and I am angry at the forced division Boko Haram had caused among the various groups of people who were living in peace before these criminal elements started their unwholesome campaign."

Rukiat, a former secondary school teacher, trader, and farmer (p03), was emotional and angry as she recalled her experience in answering the question. "My village was predominantly Christian, and the insurgents surrounded the village at night and shot sporadically in all directions. As they were doing that, they were also setting our houses on fire and taking able-body men and young women as hostages. They beheaded those who resisted them and killed the older people. They took away the men and women as hostages after they had burnt down all the houses in the village. I escaped miraculously, but I lost everything – people, relationships, material possessions, everything. I almost lost it mentally after realizing the extent of my loss, and to this day, I wondered if I will ever recoup my enormous losses. I wasn't interested in politics before the attack. Still, now, looking back, I think I have suffered a grave political loss because, as an internally displaced refugee, I cannot take part in any election. The situation is pathetic and looks hopeless. Trying to quantify my losses to the terrible experience I have had with Boko Haram will only reopen wounds, somehow God has helped me to heal, but the losses were enormous."

Another participant, Idris (p08), lamented: "One thing about my experience with Boko Haram is that my life is shattered. My parents were murdered, my siblings are missing, and my social relationships have been wiped out. Here in the camp, I feel like an outcast. I have lost my sense of self-esteem, and my economic situation is terrible – my savings have perished along with other things I lost, including my job with the sacked local government. For me, relationships have been completely destroyed, and as for politics, any chance of my participating in elections or any other political activity is simply zero because I am a refugee. That summarizes the terrible losses I had experienced politically, economically, and socially as a result of being a victim of Boko Haram insurgency."

Participants were further asked, "In what ways do you think Boko Haram attacks have affected your perspectives on social, economic, and political issues or practices?" According to Yakubu, who owned a flourishing small business before becoming a displaced person (p04), "The greatest impact of Boko Haram attack in my perspectives on social, economic, and political issues or activities is a sense of helplessness and hopelessness that has enveloped my heart. From the way things are going on, the Boko Haram insurgency may continue for a long time to come because the insurgents continue to operate even in the face of sustained military onslaught against them. They remain active, and that bothers me a lot. I see no hope for a quick resolution of the war, and therefore, I have little or no hope for quick economic recovery or political equilibrium in Borno State. What is paramount for me is for the military to overcome the terrorists so that I can return to a normal life. Boko Haram insurgency has created a big gulf between different groups of people, especially between Christians and Muslims. However, I think cordial and beneficial relationships between Christians and Muslims, as well as between indigenes and non-indigenes can be restored and nurtured over a period of time because whether we like it or not, we as people of Borno must work together in unity to overcome the forces of evil which Boko Haram represents. If and when the military forces manage to get rid of Boko Haram, I may start to worry about the economy and political activities again. For now, I am helpless economically, and my greatest desire is to survive and outlive the insurgency."

Bashir (p09) expressed the same feelings, stating that "I suffered immense economic loss from the Boko Haram attacks, and I am less bothered by politics. My view on Borno's economy has been affected negatively way because the insurgency, rather than abate, seems to be growing. The economy will remain in doldrums as long as the insurgency goes on. Since I lost my job and source of income, I now depend on the goodwill of other people and organizations to meet my basic needs, and that is heartbreaking. As a Christian, I believe Boko Haram means evil, and God will turn it around for good because I think interactions between the various groups of people in Borno state cannot be permanently damaged despite current challenges. We need to have robust interactions so we can all help each other outlive the evil Boko Haram insurgency has fostered on us collectively."

Serah, a trader and farmer before becoming a victim of insurgency (p07), said, "My perspectives on social, economic and political issues in Borno have changed I suffered from an attack by the insurgents. I see myself much more vulnerable as a woman because Boko Haram terrorists see women largely as tools for sexual gratification and suicide bombings. That is what numerous cases of rapes and forced marriages to insurgents proved to me. And the terrorists now brainwash teenage girls and young women to wear suicide jackets and bomb themselves and others to death. Because of Boko Haram terrorists, and their inflated ego, women have been further relegated and dehumanized even here in this camp where officials and security personnel who should ordinarily protect vulnerable women and girls are the ones abusing them sexually, demanding sex as gratifications from girls and women in exchange for basic relief products. I am pained and embittered that women are now the scourge of the Borno society, particularly widows, orphans, and young girls. Women had always been treated as inconsequential, even before the insurgency started and grew, but now, my opinion is that the sad situation has become worse. Women are isolated and ostracized politically. Women have also suffered more economically than men as a consequence of Boko Haram's terrorism. A lot of Borno women were engaged in farming and agriculturerelated economic activities before the insurgency broke out, but since a lot of women are either held as hostages in Boko Haram's captivity as sex slaves or wasting away in IDPs camps, they have become economic destitute, and quite a lot of them have resorted to prostitution just to make ends meet. I had a grocery store before Boko Haram terrorists attacked my town, killed my husband, and looted my shop. All my investments went

down with that attack. Now, I am poor, helpless, and frustrated economically. Boko Haram insurgency has turned my perspectives upside down, and honestly speaking, I am not bothered about these things anymore."

Ibrahim, who was an entrepreneur (p02), said, "My economy collapsed as a result of the insurgency. I lost the small food-processing factory I have been operating for more than 30 years before the insurgents struck. They set the factory ablaze, kidnapped some of the young men and women working with me, and stole a large amount of money. Boko Haram incapacitated me economically – I am as poor as a church rat now. The situation for me looks beyond redemption. Boko Haram has also made life difficult for me and has disrupted and destroyed relationships I built over the years. I don't know how such relationships can come back to life again. I have always seen politics as a dirty game, only liars and hypocrites play, and that is still my opinion. Boko Haram insurgency has strengthened my belief that politicians are selfish and uncaring because it was politicians that surreptitiously encouraged the transformation of an otherwise peaceful religious group to a terrorist one that Boko Haram is today."

Kyari (p05) retorted, "The beginning and escalation of Boko Haram violent activities had numbed any feeling of political interest in my mind because I believe the sect was financed and sponsored by some politicians who wanted to use the insurgents as political thugs for elections. In my opinion, Boko Haram has succeeded in destroying the relatively predictable political atmosphere in Borno state, and that was evident in the inability of many people in the state to participate in elections because they were either incarcerated by Boko Haram or have been forced to flee their homes and become refugees within or outside of Nigeria. Politics is now a dilapidated structure, and participation in the political process is restricted to those individuals who have been fortunate so far and had not experienced attacks by the insurgents. Borno state economic outlook is bleak, and social interactions are nearly dead, because of Boko Haram insurgency."

Isa (p10) had a similar opinion. He contended that "Boko Haram has made politics an endangered activity because the insurgents are against the conventional political arrangement in the state and want to establish a system of government based on Sharia Law, and that in my opinion, is unacceptable. I am a Christian, and it would be unfair to subject me to the Islamic way of politics and governance. What the insurgents have succeeded in doing is that they have pulled down the flawed but generally accepted political process and structure and enthrone political chaos and confusion instead. As far as I am concerned, politics in Borno state is now crooked and benefits only those who subscribe to the so-called sharia laws. Of course, the economy is in shambles, and socially, people are strangers to themselves. Boko Haram insurgency has made my perspectives on social, economic, and political issues very cynical."

Mariam (p07) agreed with the view that politics was under severe attack courtesy of Boko Haram insurgency. She stated, "I have lost confidence in the ability of the government to guarantee citizens' right to vote or be voted for. My opinion is that the structure that allows citizens express divergent political views have collapsed because of Boko Haram insurgency, and may be difficult to rebuild unless the terrorist group is completely wiped off, The collapse of political freedom has inevitably lead to destruction of inter-group relationships which may make it difficult to rebuild the shattered economy unless all reasonable and God-fearing Borno people have the opportunity to exercise their rights to choose freely the way of life they prefer to live. Since Boko Haram attacked my community and sacked the people who had lived together in peace for years, I have become disheartened, frustrated, angry, and helpless. All relationships that I have built over the years were destroyed in a matter of hours by the insurgents. Because of the sad fact that the insurgents have been advocating the setting up of an Islamic caliphate, non-Muslims view Muslims with a level of suspicion, assuming that all Muslims share the insurgent's mad desire to turn our state into an Islamic caliphate. That has put a considerable strain on social relationships among the people of Borno, and that is unfortunate. For me, it does not matter what religion an individual subscribes to; religion should not be a basis for relationships neither should it affect our social outlook. This is why I can never support Boko Haram. People should have the freedom to worship God in any way they desire. Boko Haram has created a division in relationships in the state and has bastardized the social and cultural values of our people."

Rukiat (p03) stated, "My sad experience with insurgency had made me wary of Muslims, and I am not sure I will be able to trust any Muslim again, particularly those fundamentalists. Boko Haram wiped out my village and my people because we were predominantly Christians. Why should I trust any Muslim again? I am really disheartened and very frustrated that all my relations and friends were killed, maimed, raped, or kidnapped by the insurgents. It will take the grace of God for me to have any endearing relationship with Muslims. It is a pity, but that's the reality for me."

The participants' responses to these questions demonstrated their views that the Boko Haram insurgency has led to the collapse of economic, social, and political processes and structures in Borno and have caused a level of social disaffection and distrust among the different groups of people in the state. This finding is in tandem with results and observations in other studies on the economic, social, and political effects of insurgency and terrorism on people who had experienced exposures to such violent acts. Titus, Fadeyi and Aminu (2017), argue that the impact of Boko Haram insurgency on contemporary political economy have left behind inestimable damages to every facet of life in Nigeria mostly in the northern region, and has had a significant negative impact on the regional economy, worsening unemployment in the region which includes Borno and leading to youth restiveness and making crime (such as voluntary enlisting in Boko Haram organization) a profitable and attractive venture. According to Mbaya, Waksha, and Wakawa (2017), the activities of the insurgents have definitely retarded Borno state government's initiatives to boost Maiduguri's physical development as works on various developmental projects such as roads, bridges and residential houses remain uncompleted because contractors handling those projects have abandoned them and fled from the state to protect themselves from the insurgents' incessant harassments and vicious attacks. Mbaya, Waksha, and Wakawa's findings further showed that the social activities of Maiduguri's residents had been impaired, and there have been unprecedented inflow of refugees from other parts of Borno state into Maiduguri and this have led to overstretching of available facilities and social services in the metropolis. Amalu (2015), argues that the Boko Haram insurgency had not only destroyed lots of lives but had also

aggravated the food and nutritional insecurity, further damaged health and educational facilities and services, and caused general fear and anxiety amongst the populace. According to Ewetan (2014), the insurgency has retarded socio- economic development in Nigeria in various ways some of which he listed as social dislocation and population displacement, social tensions and a new pattern of settlements which encourages Muslims/Christians or members of an ethnic group moving to Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves, heightens citizenship question which encourages hostility between 'indigenes' and 'settlers', dislocation and disruption of family and communal life, dehumanization of women, children and men especially in areas where rape, child abuse, and neglect are used as instruments of attrition, deepening of hunger and poverty, discourages local and foreign investments as it made investment unattractive to businesses, halts business operations and outright closure of many enterprises and creation of a general atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety, and frenzy. According to Odita and Akan (2014), The Boko Haram insurgency has created a systemic distortion of existing economic patterns and structure in northern Nigeria, while Adebayo (2014), argues that the costs of terrorism goes beyond financial, and monetary losses but also have social and psychological damages. According to Adebayo (2014), terrorism erodes inter-communal trust. It destroys the reservoir of social capital that is so vital to building harmonious societies and pooling together the community for crucial national development. The findings also authenticated Toole and Waldman's (1997) observations that insurgency causes a reduction in population and household resources because funds are diverted away from social services, which leads to rises in prices of food and other

commodities. The finding also aligns with Dunn's (2018) argument that insurgency damages (or make inaccessible) infrastructures such as health facilities, markets, water supply, sewage systems and roads, disrupts supply chains for food and essential medicines, and compel populations to leave conflict zones which could expose them to inadequate shelter, water, sanitation, food and deprived them of livelihoods.

Theme 2: Undesirable/Negative Implications of the Insurgency on Borno State's Corporate Well-Being

The constant attacks by Boko Haram insurgents on the people of Borno in various parts of the State elicited fears and worries from the participants on the prospects of the State as an economically-viable, socially- stable, and politically- indivisible entity. Theme two captures the implications of Boko Haram insurgency on the economic, social, and political viability, stability, and sustainability of Borno State as a corporate entity. When asked the questions, "What are your views of prevailing economic and political situations in Borno state?" "In your opinion, how has the Boko Haram insurgency affected relationships between the different groups of people in Borno state?" and "What danger does terrorism pose to the continued wellbeing of Borno as a corporate entity?" Rukiat (p03) stated, "What is happening in Borno state now is very sad; while on the surface, it appears as if all is well with government and politics, deep down, the fear of Boko Haram has destroyed the state's political foundation because of insecurity and unrelenting violence which has made it much difficult for people to take part in the already flawed political process. As an internally displaced person, I cannot vote, and that means only very few people determine who manages government affairs in Borno state.

Also, the insurgency has prevented the government from organizing elections into various local governments, and as such, those managing local governments' affairs are handpicked by the governor. I think the prevailing political situation in Borno is precarious, subject to the whims of the insurgents. Borno's economy is in turbulence, and it will take a miracle to make the economy viable unless the insurgency is brought to an end. Investors have fled from the state; I don't see them coming back as long as Boko Haram operates freely in the state. Whatever economic activities going on in Maiduguri or any other part of the state are just a scratch on the surface, compared to the state's economic potentials. Social relationships have been battered and shattered by Boko Haram attacks, and social activities are bare and minimal now. Truly, terrorism has dealt Borno a terrible blow, which may spell doom for the State wellbeing and existence as a corporate entity. My view is that Borno is a shadow of what it used to be before the insurgency."

Idris (p08) shared the same sentiments with Rukiat, stating that, "The state of economic, political and social circumstances in Borno is appalling, chaotic and discouraging. Borno is in a deep slumber and may not awake unless Boko Haram insurgents are defeated and flushed out. However, I am afraid, and in light of what is going on, I doubt if the Nigerian military has the capacity to defeat the Boko Haram terrorists, and that means Borno will continue to be in shackles and remains unprofitable to its people politically and economically for a long time to come. Relationships between different groups of people, particularly between Christians and Muslims, have been seriously damaged by the insurgents who have been abducting, raping, maiming, and

killing Christians due to their religious preference. I fear that even if Boko Haram is eliminated today, it will take years for trust to be rebuilt and restored between Christians and Muslims in the State of Borno. It is disheartening, but the Boko Haram insurgency has completely damaged political, economic, and social structures and paralyzed meaningful efforts in those directions. The survival and wellbeing of Borno is in serious doubt."

Bashir (p09) described the prevailing economic, social and political situations in Borno state as "chaotic and unpalatable" and said that "Borno is like an orphan and is standing on the shaky political and economic foundation. Borno's economic and political infrastructures have been decimated, and the State cannot guarantee citizens' security and welfare any longer. Borno is in very terrible shape politically and economically, all because of Boko Haram's activities. People don't trust each other anymore because Boko Haram has sown the seed of hatred and anger between indigenes and non-indigenes, between Muslims and Christians, and between different communities and also among family members. Unfortunately, Boko Haram has destroyed relationships among the people in Borno state. I am afraid for the wellbeing of the state now and in the future."

Serah (p06) felt that "the Boko Haram insurgency has paralyzed all forms of economic and political activities in Borno and has also caused deep divisions among the people. The insurgents are a big threat to any hope of the corporate wellbeing of the state". At the same time Ibrahim (p02) declared, "Borno state is groping in the dark because of Boko Haram insurgency which has collapsed all but few economic activities and has made involvement in political activities dangerous and unattractive. Trust has become an elusive commodity in Borno – people don't trust the government or the military, and neither do people trust each other. Everyone is suspicious of each other because you don't know who is a suicide bomber or terrorist pretending to be a normal human being. This mistrust has minimized social interactions and makes social gatherings and activities outside of IDPs camps very unpopular. If this lawlessness and chaos continue unabatedly, Bornu's continual well-being is very doubtful."

In Ahmadu's (p01) view, the prevailing economic, social, and political situations in Borno state borders on confusion, lawlessness, helplessness, and insecurity. Ahmadu pointed out that "All forms of civil order and justice have gone out of politics in Borno and the economy has hit rock bottom and have collapsed woefully. Efforts to revive the economy by the government will remain unsuccessful as long as Boko Haram terrorists can still operate in any part of the state. The heavy presence of military and security personnel hasn't made any noticeable impact on silencing the insurgents permanently. The military presence has made political and economic activities inconsequential and unfruitful. Relationships between different groups of people have been limited by the insurgency and are more or less trivial. Boko Haram has turned people against each other, especially along religious and ethnic lines. Unity and peace have deserted Borno, and may not return until Boko Haram becomes history, not just in Borno but in other states where the group carry out acts of terrorism and insurgency. This situation portends negative, grave, and unprofitable future for Borno's wellbeing as a corporate entity."

Adam Klein (2007), argues that in addition to the casualties and physical destruction directly caused by their attacks, terrorists aim to inflict wider psychological,

social, political and economic damage upon the societies they target in various indirect ways such as reducing peoples' and businesses' expectations for the future, forcing governments and the private businesses to invest in security measures which redirect investment away from more productive economic uses, altering behaviors by inducing economic actors (consumers, investors, businesses) to avoid areas of perceived risks, and, triggering wider geopolitical conflict, which may cause further economic disruptions. This observation seats well with the participants' responses to the questions. The participants' responses show clearly that they considered the economic and political circumstances, as well as the level of social relationships that are prevailing in Borno state as unpalatable and undesirable implications of Boko Haram insurgency and these, may not augur well for the well-being and future of the state as a corporate entity. This finding is also in tandem with Odita and Akan's (2014), argument that Boko Haram's activities in the northern states of Nigeria have disrupted economic activities to no small extent, a disruption evidenced by fast-changing indices (in form of changing migration patterns, cost of insurance in the north, mass repatriation of funds, dearth in skilled labor, etc) and which speaks volumes. Ugwu and Eme (2012), argue that one critical implication of Boko Haram bombings and killings was the fear that the feeling of hatred it had generated may ultimately endanger the polity and the very existence of the Nigerian nation. According to Ewetan (2014), the security crises in different parts of Nigeria is destroying existing infrastructures and preventing a peaceful environment for the development of further support, and a safe environment for economic activities by individuals to give them economic empowerment that will enable households not only to

cater for their present generations, create wealth, but also to provide for future generations, and the finding affirms that warning , just as it aligns with Titus, Fadeyi and Aminu's (2017) insistence that many Nigerians faced the risk of being exterminated as a result of Boko Haram insurgency which also threatens the viability of the Nigerian state, promotes economic crises, and remains the most virulent (of all sectarian violence) with the potential to not only destabilize the country but also the rest of the (West African) region. Like the finding, other studies also showed that Boko Haram poses severe dangers to Nigeria's nascent democracy and economic development (Isyaku, 2013; & Oviasogie, 2013). And Nigeria's Chief of Defense Staff, Abayomi Olonisakin, who seats at the apex of the country' military, has warned that the level of insecurity in Nigeria was a threat to the nation's existence (*Daily Post*, 2019).

Theme 3: Adapting to Reality: Coping with Available Relief Services and Programs

People who experienced attacks by Boko Haram insurgency and escaped with their lives intact are often left broken and depleted emotionally, physically, and economically. In all refugee camps for those who had experienced and escaped the terrorists' attacks, some forms of material relief, religious, and or psychological counseling are provided by the government and non-government agencies and individuals to help victims recover from, and cope with mental and physical pains and agonies suffered as a result of exposures as a result of the insurgency. Participants reported the availability of programs and support services that helped them cope with short- and longterm trauma of being exposed to Boko Haram insurgency. When asked these questions, "Of all the relief support and services you have received since you came to the camp,

which of them has been the most beneficial to you? "Are you satisfied with the relief support and services that have been made available to you, or do you have concerns about those services and support you have received or receiving? "Is there any way in which you think the relief services and assistance you have received or receiving can be improved, and would you like to receive additional support besides those already available to you?", all the participants confirmed that they received, and still receive support from individuals (mostly philanthropists, friends, and family members), nongovernment organizations such as World Food Program (WFP), and several Nigerian business organizations and charities, religious institutions (Churches and mosques) and temporary shelter and food from the government (through NEMA and the Borno State Emergency Management Agency) in the IDP camp. This support ranged from the provision of food, clothing, clean drinkable water, health/medical care to temporary shelter, religious/faith-based, and psychological counseling. This support partly helped them cope with their trauma and gave them a measure of emotional stability in the aftermath of their exposure to the Boko Haram insurgency. Most of the participants pointed to religious exhortations and prayers as one support they find as most beneficial and important to their recovery from emotional trauma and agonies they had to deal with as victims of Boko Haram insurgency. Rukiat (p03), a 52-year old Christian from Guatamwarwa town, which is about 19km away from Chibok town, said, "I received counseling and prayer support from Churches and Christian missions, and these prayers and counseling helped me overcome the trauma and lessened the pains I had in my heart because of the horrible experience as a result of the insurgency. Through the

encouragement of Christian organizations and individuals, I have been able to shift my attention from the horrible memories of the experience I had in the hands of the terrorists and focus on the hope of returning to my village and normal life very soon. I read my Bible and pray with fellow Christian refugees in the camp. That fellowship has been a source of great mental and spiritual strength for me as it facilitates speedy recovery and boosts my resilience against relapsing into emotional pains. I also received, and still receive foods, clothes, household items, and sometimes, money from these individuals and non-government organizations that come to the camp from time to time to encourage us and give us material support. The government has continued to provide shelter, feeding, limited medical services, and security around the camp." Serah (p06) expressed a similar feeling saying, "The most important support I have received and still receive is from Churches and Christian aid workers who visit the camp regularly to offer us words of encouragement, material, and monetary gifts. Those appeals, gifts, and prayers helped me in no small measure to overcome the anxiety, fear, and mental trauma experienced by the Boko Haram attacks brought upon us. I had become better mentally now than when I first got to the camp in 2017. The government and several non-government agencies and individuals have also provided me with a variety of support, including money, clothing, blankets, medicines, temporary shelter, and the belief that one day, I will get out of the camp and return to a normal life. I ready to leave Maiduguri, at any given opportunity." Equally, Mariam (p07), a 36 -year-old female Muslim from Bwalakia stated, "To overcome the shock, pain, and anger as a result of Boko Haram insurgency, I drew closer to Allah through the support I got from fellow Muslims and the mosque where we pray

here in the camp. For me, spiritual support has been the most beneficial, although I had also received other material support from government and non-government organizations and individuals. I have received and still receiving food, temporary shelter, books to read, clothes, and other items from time to time." For Yakubu (p04), the most beneficial assistance he had received as a resident of the camp is the counseling he gets from a particular Pastor who had helped him to overcome the emptiness Boko Haram insurgency left in his heart following the barbaric manner the insurgents killed his parents, wife and two children when their town was attacked at night and all houses razed by fire. Yakubu said, "I was lucky to escape, but I lost my entire family. That left me with a sense of emptiness and guilt in my heart; I had thought I would never be able to remain sane. However, with the counseling, prayers, and support that I received and still receive from that pastor, I have been able to sleep much better at night as the nightmares I used to have are gradually disappearing as the days go by. Although I doubt if the sad memories Boko Haram insurgency etched in my heart can be erased. However, I am much better emotionally. I use Bible reading and prayers to steady myself every day. I pray regularly with other Christians in camp, and that brings a lot of relief and encouragement to me. I have shelter, food, clothes, and other materials, including cash I get from time to time from government and non-government agencies as well as individuals."

Responding to the question on the level of satisfaction they have derived from relief support and services they have been provided or are still receiving, all the participants expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction at the quantity and or quality of some relief support and services available to them, although in different degrees. While

Ahmadu (p01) expressed total dissatisfaction with the support and relief services, particularly the quality of shelter and feeding provided by the government for residents of the camp, Isa (p10) was a bit more accommodating, describing the same services as "somehow manageable and a little bit satisfactory." Ahmadu (p01) said, "I am completely disappointed by the type of shelter we have in the camp. To say our shelter is deplorable is a lack of better word. We are treated as if we are not human beings, and that is unfortunate. Arrangements for our feeding and quality of food we are fed is also unsatisfactory." Isa (p10) said, "The services available to us as displaced persons at the camp are somehow manageable and a little bit satisfactory although I am worried about our security. The level of security around and within the camp is not satisfactory at all in my opinion, and the authorities concerned must do something to improve the security of people in the camp. With the way Boko Haram insurgents are going about operating as suicide bombers, I am afraid they may infiltrate the camp to cause death and destruction. That's my main concern. I also agree that other services and support we receive could do with some improvements than what we get right now." Kyari (p05) was not happy with the relief services and support he had received thus far, saying, "Most of the relief services we have received and are receiving are below satisfactory standard, particularly those coming from government agencies. There is a big need for improvements in these services and support." Bashir (p09) said, "The relief services and support I have gotten were less than satisfactory and most of them can be improved upon, especially those offered by the government." Ibrahim (p02) echoed the same view, describing most of the services and support as below acceptable standard. Ibrahim said, "Although I recognized

that it is not easy for those supplying these services and support because of chaos, disorder, and lawlessness prevalent in Borno but I think these services and support can be improved on to make camp residents cope much more easily." Idris (p08) decried the relief services and support as well by describing "the quality as poor and the quantities as inadequate."

In answer to the question "Is there any way in which you think the relief services and assistance you have received or receiving can be improved, and would you like to receive additional support besides those already available to you? ", all the participants believed the relief support and assistance available to them presently could be improved on, and nearly all of them also indicated their desire to receive more support and relief services than what is available to them.

Mariam (p07) wanted the government to put more effort into improving the quality of shelter and bedding materials available to them at the IDP camp. Mariam stated, "The quality of mattress that has been given to me inferior is very poor and makes my body ache all day long. I want the Borno State Emergency Management Agency officials to get us better mattresses so we can have less stressful time when sleeping. I would also like to see the establishment of schools for children within the camp so they can be engaged meaningfully while waiting for the insurgency to be reined in. It would be nice as well if the quality of medical care available in the camp becomes much better. As a paramedic, I am not satisfied with available medical services. I wish I can start doing something to make money, maybe a small business like buying and selling items people need daily. If I get a grant or a soft loan to start a business, it will help me put my

life back in better shape than what it is now.' Ahmadu (p01) stated, "Government officials should show those of us unfortunate to be displaced persons in our own country much empathy, especially in the quality of shelter, feeding, health and sanitation facilities we have in the camp. There is a shortage of clean, drinkable water; and the sanitary condition in the camp is appalling. Let those managing the camp do something urgently to rectify these inadequacies. Let them also improve the security and protection of camp residents – that is also very important. If I have the financial support, I will like to start a small business so I can generate income for myself, reduce my dependence on charity, and provide employment for fellow refugees here in the camp. There are opportunities for small businesses to thrive in the camp, especially production, distribution, and selling of basic items critical to human survival. It would be nice if the government or NGOs, or kind-hearted individuals can set up a scheme to render financial and technical support to camp residents who have the capacity and experience to start and run small business enterprises within the camp, or near the camp. If such assistance is available, I will take advantage of it to get my life back on the road to normalcy.' Rukiat (p03) expressed similar thoughts, stating that, "Two areas need immediate attention and improvement – sanitary and health services, and educational facilities for children forced out of school and living in the camp. I appeal to everyone in government and humanitarian organizations to help us improve the sanitary condition within the camp. The present condition is terrible, and if action is not taken quickly, there may be an outbreak of diseases in the camp, and that may claim more victims than the insurgency. Some of the children in the camp are orphans who have nobody to take care of them and therefore are

vulnerable to vices such as drug addiction, prostitution, stealing, and other criminal tendencies. If there are educational facilities within the camp for these children, it would help them acquire valuable knowledge, and prevent them from getting into criminal activities. I will also appeal to those running the camp to arrange for skills acquisition programs for us in different crafts, which may become useful to us whenever we leave the camp. Some of us will like to engage in farming activities. Still, because we can't go too far from the camp as a result of insecurity and fear of being attacked again by Boko Haram terrorists, we are seriously constrained. I plead to the government and the military to strengthen the security in Maiduguri and the surrounding farmlands so that some of us interested in farming or rearing sheep and goats can start doing that." Kyari (p05) believed many of the relief services and support available to the camp inhabitants could be improved upon, especially those rendered by government agencies. He further stated that "Some of the materials and items we get from the government are mostly inferior in quality, and some items outdated or expired. However, since we are in a desperate and dire situation, we have no choice other than to accept the sub-standard and expired items. This is an area where improvement could be made. Camp residents are prone to illnesses as a result of poor sanitary conditions; clean water is scarce, and the nutritional quality of our foods is deficient. More often than not, we don't have sufficient medical personnel or drugs to treat the camp residents when they fall ill. Those responsible should please make improvements to our sanitation, clean water supply, and better health care facilities and provisions. Security around the camp is lax. We need additional security personnel to improve the prevailing security condition in and around the camp." Bashir (p09) stated

that "Improvements in all areas are required particularly in the quality of food, drinking water, sanitation, health services, security, and other social services." He added that "my greatest desire is to leave the camp and go back home. Any assistance I can get to see my dream come true will be welcomed."

The responses of participants to questions on the nature, sufficiency, and adequacy of relief support and services available to them in the camp reveal that all the participants considered these services and programs insufficient, inadequate, and therefore unsatisfactory. Participants were also asked the question, "Do you think relief materials and support services are made easily available to all victims without discrimination or biases?". The three female participants expressed their misgivings that some camp officials responsible for the distribution of relief materials and provision of support services were not always fair and equitable in discharging their responsibility. The recurring phrases in their responses are "stigmatization of women" and "demand for sex" by camp and security officials in exchange for relief materials and services. Five of the male participants aligned themselves with the claims made by the three female participants during the focus group discussion. In comparison, the remaining two male participants claimed they were not aware of such incidents surrounded distributions of relief materials and support services for camp residents. Rukiat (p03) fired the first shot: "Camp administration and security officials are often biased against women, particularly single and young women when it comes to the distribution of relief materials and administration of support programs for camp residents. While they attend promptly to men, children, married, and older women, they are often reluctant to do the same for

single and young women, even if you are a widow. We are stigmatized as single women, looked down as irrelevant, and bringers of ill-luck. Many of them look at us as if we were responsible for the deaths of our loved ones and family members, and demand sex with us before we are given those items and services. Several women have no choice but to give in to their demands in exchange for food and money for their survival in the camp. The above attitude could be the reason why there is alleged high level of prostitution in the camp. In some cases, it is alleged that women and young girls are forced against their will to sleep with these officials. This may be the case why many young and illiterate girls and young widows are allegedly abuse sexually by the officials. Except for a woman or a girl has a strong will, she may end up as a prostitute, having sex with several camp and security officials to have access to relief materials and support." Serah (p06) agreed with the sentiment expressed by Rukiat, and claimed she had been subjected to demands for sex from some camp officials, but she stood her ground and refused to give in to those demands. She said, "When I first came into the camp, a Security official told me I was beautiful, and if I play along with him, he will make my stay in the camp less stressful. I was shocked because the man was insensitive to my plight - the sad fact that I had just escaped death or abduction from the rampaging Boko Haram terrorist, and was still dealing with the trauma from that ugly experience. He was now compounding my agony by asking me to be his girlfriend. I was angry, but I reacted coolly and told him he should give me some time to overcome the grief of losing my husband before we could start anything like that. Fortunately, he left me alone. I am sure he probably went after other girls and women who might not have been as fortunate as I was. So, it is true, single

women and young girls are harassed and abused sexually by camp officials daily before they get food or other essential relief materials." Mariam (p07), the youngest of the female participant, also agreed that relief materials and support were not always distributed relative and efficiently to all participants. According to her, "Some camp officials are just wicked, and they take pleasure in increasing the trauma of victims of Boko Haram attacks by deliberately denying them necessary relief items. I have heard from many young women in the camp how they had to give in to camp officials' demands for intimacy exchange for food severally. Some women and girls have complied with some officials to get what they want. And it's not only women that have to deal with discrimination when it comes to getting relief services and programs. In essence, some men also suffered from discrimination, particularly because of their religion or ethnic background. It is a serious problem, and this is one of the reasons some refugees resort to stealing to make ends meet."

Ahmadu (p01) concurred that relief material distributions to camp residents were flawed with discriminations. His words, "Yes, indeed, camp officials are not always equitable in distributing relief materials, and it is also true that single girls and women suffer discrimination most in that regard. Life in the camp is not always fair." Ibrahim (p02) wasn't sure if camp officials were unfair in giving out relief materials to camp residents. He said, "I am not aware that such practice takes place although I have heard some women complained about the issue. I regard such complaints as a mere rumor since no one has been caught doing that to my knowledge. I don't know if some men are discriminated against in distribution of relief materials by camp officials because of their religion or ethnic origin." Yakubu (p04) towed the line of female participants, stating that "I even know a woman in the camp who was alleged to have been forced several times to sleep with camp officials to get essential relief items and services. We are from the same town; she has shared her sad experience about the advances but denied yielding to the pressure. I asked her to report the culprits to the camp coordinator. Still, she is skeptical that it may yield any positive result, and had instead opted to surrender to fate, hoping that one way or another, those men would get tired of their advances before making relief items available to her. I am a Christian but no camp official has discriminated against me in any manner on account of my religious faith."

Answering the same question, Kyari (p05) also supported the view that some form of biases often colors relief items distributions by camp officials. Kyari said he believed relief materials distribution often favor men than women, although it appears there are more female residents in the camp than male residents. Idris (p08) and Bashir (p09) were in agreement with Yakubu (p04) and lent their voices to claims that discrimination often marred relief materials distribution by camp official. However, Isa (p10) was the other male participant along with Ibrahim (p02), who couldn't say whether relief materials and support programs were distributed relatively efficiently to all residents of the camp. What the responses to the question revealed is that camp officials were not always fair, just and equitable in administering and distributing relief materials and support services to those who have sought refuge from the onslaught of Boko Haram insurgents in the camp.

In responding to the question "Who is providing or has provided the relief support service(s) and program(s), you consider the most beneficial that you have received since you arrived at the IDP camp? Is it state of federal government agencies, individuals or non-government organizations?" all the participants rated relief services and programs provided to them by private individuals and non-government organizations as more beneficial to them than those offered by government agencies and personnel. In answering the question, Kyari (p05) said, "Items and services provided by private individuals and non-government agencies are better than those provided by the government in quality and in giving me satisfaction." Rukiat (p03) described counseling services and prayers she received from Churches and Christian missions as the most beneficial to her and stated that "The quality and depth of support Christian organizations" have given me are excellent and have made me cope much easier with the losses and trauma I had experienced through my exposure to Boko Haram attacks. Materials provided to us by NGOs and private individuals are more durable and satisfactory than those provided by government bodies." Bashir (p09) said emphatically, "You cannot compare the quality of goods and services provided by private organizations and individuals to those provided by the government. In all areas, items and services from privates' sources have given me more satisfaction than those provided by the government." Ahmadu (p01) agreed that relief services and support from private donors were of better quality and satisfying than those provided by government agencies. Ahmadu went on to say that "I am sure relief items and services made available to us by government agencies in the camp are poor in quality probably because government

officials charged for procuring those items or supervising the provision of those services cut corners and get inferior rather than required quality. Corruption must be at the root of the difference in the quality of goods and services provided by the two different groups." Ibrahim (p02) concurred with that view, and stated that "But for the support given to camp residents by private donors, life in the camp would have been much more difficult than what it is for us." The same sentiment was expressed by Serah (p06), who attributed her quick recovery from the mental agonies and emptiness she had after the attacks by Boko Haram terrorists to the encouragement and mental/spiritual support Christian individuals gave to her. Serah said, "It is clear from my experience that the support and services philanthropists offered to camp inmates outweigh those offered by the government. If not for those prayers and support from my Christian brethren, I would probably have remained an emotional wreck. I just wish government provisions and services would also match those of private donors in quality." Participants' responses to the question show in their opinion that private donors gave them more beneficial and satisfactory relief support services and programs than those supplied by the government and its agencies.

Table 3:

Emergent Themes and Emergent Coded Phrases

Emergent Themes	Emergent Coded Phrases
Collapse of Borno's state social, economic and political structures and processes	Sadness/shock/grief/frustration/doubt/insecurity/destruc tion/collapse/total wipeout/catastrophic/grave consequences/irreversible/trepidation/dejection/immens e loss/ shattered/heart-breaking/chaotic/helpless
Undesirable/negative implications of insurgency on Borno state's corporate well- being.	Hatred/acrimony/confusion/lawlessness/worsened/diffi cult/unstable/shattered/terrible blow/appalling/negative/chaotic/discouraging/in shackles/unprofitable/unattractive/disheartening/unpala table/damaged/fearful/paralyzed/shaky/dangerous/turbu lence
Adapting to reality: Coping with available relief services and programs	Support/Church/Christian/Religion/Prayers/Couseling/ Unsatisfactory/Disappointed/Worried/Disappointed/Im provements/Inadequate/Poor/Stigmatization/Sexual Abuse/Unfair/Unjust/Equitable/Biases

Summary

In this chapter, I described the adverse economic, social, and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on ten Nigerians residents in Borno in the northeast region of Nigeria. Two research questions and eleven survey questions were used to determine the nature and depth of economic, social and political consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency on the study participants. From the responses of study participants, three themes emerged. The participants' experiences have given a fresh insight into a credible foundation to develop appropriate interventions and policies. The narratives given by participants can serve as a useful basis for future studies on the economic, social, and political effects of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno, or people of any other states in Nigeria's northeastern region where the terror group's destructive activities are rampant. Chapter 5 provides an interpretation of the research

findings, social change, recommendations, implications for social change and conclusions.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify and examine the economic, social, and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency based on the lived experience of people who live in Borno. I also conducted the study to examine the adequacy and effectiveness of relief services and support programs offered to the victims of terrorism and insurgency. I used the qualitative method to examine the lived experience of the participants exposed to Boko Haram terrorism in Borno State located in the Northeastern region of Nigeria. Study findings may provide possible solution options that policy makers may leverage to facilitate sustainable peace, security, economic development, and progress not only in Borno but in the entire Northeastern region of Nigeria.

According to my review of the literature, no scholarly research study had previously been conducted to identify and understand the adverse political, economic, and social consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno, which has the unenviable reputation of being the birthplace and the epicenter of Boko Haram's virulent activities. Prior researchers focused on Nigeria's Northeastern region as a whole but had examined how Boko Haram has impacted the economic, social, and political experience of people of Borno State or the quality and adequacy of services available to help victims cope with the agonies and trauma of terrorism and adjust to the reality of a new life as refugees living in camps for internally displaced persons in the state (Tan, 2014). In addition to sharing their grief and losses following their exposure to Boko Haram attacks, all participants in this study identified the economic, social, and political consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency on their personal lives and for Borno State. The study participants also identified the implications of these consequences on the wellbeing of the state and its survival as a corporate entity. They assessed the relief support services and programs that were provided to help them cope with their losses and pains following their exposure to Boko Haram insurgency (Tan, 2014). From my analysis of participants' responses to questions, I identified three themes that served as a framework to determine the economic, social, and political impacts of the Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno. The three themes were as follows:

- Collapse of Borno State's social, economic and political structures and processes
- Undesirable/negative implications of insurgency on Borno State's corporate well-being.

3. Adapting to reality: Coping with available relief services and programs. In this chapter, I provide interpretations of the data collected during face-to-face interviews, with emphasis on how literature supported the results and the study participants' experiences with Boko Haram insurgency. I also offer recommendations for possible further studies on related studies. The potential implications for positive social change of implementing study findings are also considered. The chapter also includes discussion of the study's limitations as well as a conclusion to the study.

Interpretation of the Findings

The underlying theoretical framework for this study was the relative deprivation theory (Bayertz, 1999; Bourgignon, 1999; Morrison, 1971; Runciman, 1999; Schaefer, 2008; Walker & Smith, 2012), which is associated with the resentment and despondency a person or group of persons feel due to the circumstance they find themselves in comparison to other persons and noticing that they have less than them, regardless of how marginal the difference might be. The discussions focused mostly on themes that emerged from content analysis of data collected as explained in Chapter 4. I used Openended questions during the face-to-face interviews. In this chapter, I present a detailed discussion and description of critical data analysis outcomes. I concluded that the State of Borno and its people had suffered grievous economic, social, and political damages from the activities of the insurgents.

The study showed that insurgency brings anarchy and destruction to communities and individuals it visits. The Boko Haram insurgency, as the review demonstrates, led to the collapse of economic, social, and political structures and truncated associated processes and activities in Borno State. The collapse of these structures and processes affected the personal lifestyles of the victims negatively as their means of livelihood, political dreams, and ambitions as well as the relationships on which their individual lives rested prior to Boko Haram attacks were destroyed, in most cases, irreversibly. The study also confirmed that the Boko Haram insurgency created a level of social disaffection that has led to deep divisions and mistrust among the different segments of people in Borno State, such that relationships that took several years to build and nurture were destroyed in a very short time. These findings from this study align with studies that show that one major effect of Boko Haram's operations is that it has left behind inestimable damages to every facet of life and constitutes a hindrance to the socioeconomic development of the Northeast where their operation is focused and Nigeria as a whole (Awojobi, 2014; Eme & Ibietan, 2012; Ogochuwku, 2013; Odita & Akan, 2014; Ovaga, n.d; Titus, Fadeyi, & Aminu, 2017).

From the responses of study participants to the questions, I identified four peculiar adverse economic, social, and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on people of Borno. First are the irreversible destructions of long-term relationships between different groups of people, as evidenced by the damaged relationships between Christians and Muslims, and between indigenes and non-indigenes. This is characterized by the shattering and battering of traditional cultural values, social interactions, and activities and has resulted in massive migrations of people from Borno hinterland to Maiduguri, the state capital or other parts of Nigeria. Several long-term non-indigene residents and Christians fled Borno as a result of constant harassments and attacks they were subjected to, with many of them, particularly Christians, deliberately and viciously attacked, killed, maimed, or kidnapped (Yitzahk, 1979). The study participants' opinions agreed with Adebayo's (2014) assertion that terrorism erodes intercommunal trust and destroys the reservoir of social capital that is necessary for building harmonious societies and pooling together community energies for national development. This finding also agrees with Mbaya, Waksha, and Wakawa's (2017) argument that the activities of the insurgents had impaired the social activities of Maiduguri residents as there have been an unprecedented inflow of refugees from other parts of Borno into Maiduguri and that this led to over-stretching of available facilities and social services in the metropolis. The participants' opinion also supported Titus, Fadeyi and Aminu's (2017) assertion that the contradictions caused by Boko Haram insurgency in the area of social relations of production and productive forces in Nigeria's political economy are very obvious, with commercial banks closing down their business outlets as a result of decreased economic activities in volatile areas and the employees of these banks increasingly demanding that they be posted to less volatile areas. The deliberate attacks by Boko Haram terrorists on Christians and other people who did not share the terror group's religious belief or ideologies was a demonstration of Sear's (2008) assertion on conflict that

Societies are defined by inequality that produces conflict, rather than which produces order and consensus. Consensus is a euphemism for ideology. Genuine consensus is not achieved, rather the more powerful in societies are able to impose their conceptions on others and have them accept their discourses. Consensus does not preserve social order, it entrenches stratification, a tool of the current social order. (p. 126)

Secondly, there is a heightened sense of helplessness, dejection and sorrow among the Borno people over the prevailing lawlessness, chaos and insecurity in the State which was evidenced by unstable political and economic environments, refusal or reluctance of people living outside of the State to visit or come to the State for any reason, summary executions of perceived political and religious opponents by Boko Haram insurgents, kidnappings, rapping and forced marriages of young girls and women

to the terrorists, armed robberies and burglaries of banks, and suicide bombings and incessant attacks of government and security services buildings. This feeling of dejection and helplessness has further fuelled economic and financial failure, eradicated entrepreneurial activities and encouraged an abnormal rise in level of poverty among the people of Borno, and has turned the State into a jungle where 'survival of the fittest' has become the mantra. At a point in late 2014, 20 out of 27 local government councils in the state were under the firm control of Boko Haram, and the group's activities were so intense that its negative impact was felt in states outside of the northeast, including the nation's capital Abuja. The view of helplessness and absolute dejection expressed by the participants tally with observations and findings in several studies and literature, for instance, Dunn (2018), observes in relation to Boko Haram's operations that "there is a sense of violence and lawlessness in the conflict areas. There are reports of indiscriminate executions of ordinary people, suicide attacks, and the destructions of schools and entire towns. Men were fleeing from forced conscription by Boko Haram, and civilian groups formed to fight the insurgents" (p. 56). Again, some study participants' opinion that politicians were responsible for the uprising and insurgency by Boko Haram terrorists substantiate Lister's (2012), view that Boko Haram's foot soldiers who are largely disgruntled youths have been recruited and financed by northern politicians to cause mayhem in the country in protest against shifting of political power to southern politicians (i.e. ex-presidents Obasanjo and Jonathan) who are also Christians. Musa, Akhaine and Abdulsalami (20120, also pointed out that Boko Haram insurgency threatens the existence of the National Youth Service Scheme (NYSC) and refusal of

corps members to accept postings to Borno severely impacted negatively on the state's health and education sectors as the corps members that have been serving in the state provided over 65% of the required healthcare delivery and education services at the grass root levels. Oviasogie (2013), argued that Boko Haram was blamed for a spate of attacks on local government officials in the State of Borno in 2011, the same year the terrorist group assassinated the Borno State governorship candidate of All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), Alhaji Modu Funnami Gubio. The terrorists claimed, in a statement, written in Hausa and pasted in strategic locations of Maiduguri metropolis, following the murder of Gubio that, "As we have been telling the world, the series of attacks we have been carrying out, comprising the Christmas ones in Maiduguri and Jos and the ones we did in Bauchi were actually perpetrated in order to propagate the name of Allah, to liberate ourselves and our religion, from the hands of infidels and the Nigerian government. We also call on the people not to sit close to where security agents or politicians are living because such people are behind the illegalities being meted on the Muslims. As you can see, security agents have been deployed to Churches to guard them, while the same security agents are the ones harassing and assaulting Muslims. We therefore call on you to rise against this tyrant leadership, so that Sharia legal system can be established in the country in order to guarantee justice and fairness. Finally, any one of you that assists them will face similar punishment like them, as shedding of his blood becomes legal" (p. 78). That statement by Boko Haram demonstrated the group's complete disregard for government authority and confirms Gene Sharp's perspective on conflict that all political power structures relies upon the subjects' obedience to the orders of the ruler or rulers. If subjects do not obey, leaders have no power.

The third adverse consequence identified related to destructions of markets, farmlands, businesses, public infrastructures and utilities which has aggravated poverty and worsened economic conditions of people in Borno. This finding supports findings and observations in other studies and literature. According to Odita and Akan (2014), in economic terms, what the Boko Haram insurrection created is a systemic distortion of existing economic patterns and structure in northern Nigeria. As Odita and Akan (2014) further noted, Nigeria's northern region which has 78% of the country's land mass is the backbone of Nigeria's agricultural production in food and cash crops as well as livestock. Amalu (2015), argued that Boko Haram insurgency has affected agriculture especially in some of the country's main food-growing areas (Yobe, Adamawa and Borno states) worst hit by the insurgency, farmers are afraid to go to their farms as a result of fear of being attacked. Titus, Fadeyi and Aminu (2017), argued that the people of Borno, living around Sambisa forest such as Maiduguri, Kondugba, Mafadika, Dambou, Kalabalge among others did not farm in the last farming season because the insurgency did not allow them to do so. A news report in the January 2nd edition of The Punch stated that a joint operation by Nigerian Army and the Air Force around the Lake Chad area of Borno led to the rescue of 700 farmers, fishermen and their families who had been held as hostages by Boko Haram terrorists. The report further stated that before they were rescued, the terror group forcibly engaged the abductees as farm workers on various islands around Lake Chad. According to Titus, Fadeyi and Aminu (2017), the level of

damages caused by insurgents in the northeast through burning of farmlands, looting of and setting ablaze of foodstuffs and domestic animals have caused food insecurity in the area which was capable of leading to famine in Borno State. Reports from the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (2015), illustrated growing food insecurity. The Network pointed out that security measures such as checkpoints, which reduced population movements and increased transportation costs, also limited traders activities and this, along with other factors, led to a nutrition crisis as food insecurity increased and childhood illnesses exacerbated by poor nutrition often went untreated. Nutritional deficiencies, a result of food shortages was cited as an underlying or primary cause of 10.9% of deaths in conflict areas and 8.1% of deaths in non-conflict areas in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Coghlan et al., 2006). A 2014 report by Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict blamed an exacerbation of childhood illnesses in Nigeria's northeast region on nutritional imbalances brought about by depleted food stock as a result of Boko Haram's activities. Amalu (2015), argued that Boko Haram insurgency has not only destroyed lots of lives but has also aggravated the food and nutritional insecurity, further damaged health and educational facilities and services, and caused general fear and anxiety amongst the populace. Nigeria's Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Tukur Buratai, in a news report in The Punch, had pointed out that as at 2017, the economic loss which had resulted from Boko Haram activities in Nigeria's northeast region was estimated at US\$9 billons (Nine billion dollars), out of which Borno state suffered an estimated loss of US\$5.4 billion or about 60% of the loss. The loss of agricultural production in the same region was at 2017 was put at US\$3.5 billion, with

Borno state bearing more than 70% of the loss (Sawalha, 2017). Boko Haram insurgency has worsened unemployment (Titus, Fadeyi & Aminu, 2017), and has hindered Borno state government's efforts to boost Maiduguri's physical development as works on various developmental projects such as roads, bridges and residential houses remained uncompleted. As at 2017, 57% of all schools in Borno state were shut down due to Boko Haram insurgency and that put a halt to the education of about three million children in the state.

The fourth adverse consequence identified is the threat to democratic consolidation and corporate well-being and existence of the State of Borno, and by extension, of Nigeria. Study participants argued that Boko Haram insurgency posed a dangerous threat to the political stability, economic viability and social well-being of the State which may not augur well for the State's corporate existence. If the state remains in a volatile condition for a very long period, that may weaken its social, economic and political foundations and trigger its disintegration, which if occurs, may also affect Nigeria's corporate existence. This finding is supported by recent Global Peace Ranking which showed a significant decline in peace in Nigeria in terms of Peace Index and Rank mainly due to Boko Haram insurgency. For instance, the Peace Index declined from 2.898 in 2007 to 2.801 in 2012, and Nigeria's position on Global Peace Ranking dropped from 117th in 2007 to 146th position in 2012 (tan, 2014). The finding also resonated with Adagba, Ugwu and Eme's (2012), that one critical implication of Boko Haram bombings and killings was the fear that the feeling of hatred it had generated may ultimately endanger the polity and the very existence of the Nigerian nation. Titus, Fadeyi and

Aminu's (2017), argued that many Nigerians face the risk of being exterminated as a result of Boko Haram insurgency which also threatens the viability of the Nigerian state, and remains the most virulent (of all sectarian violence) with the potential to not only destabilize the country but also the rest of the (West African) region.

Besides identifying the adverse economic, social and political consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency, the study confirmed findings in other studies and literature that people exposed to insurgency experience pains and trauma (Pine et al., 2015, Adebayo, 2014 & Klein, 2007). An analysis of participants' answers to interview questions show that all of them confirmed their sorrow, frustration and grief and all were shocked, pained, angry, disappointed, sad, fearful, anxious, worried and had a feeling of insecurity concerning the maiming, killings or kidnapping of their spouses, children, relations, friends, colleagues and neighbors, and/or the destructions of their towns, villages, homes, businesses, workplaces, farmlands or infrastructures by the Boko Haram terrorists. All the participants acknowledged and praised the role of religion (prayers, counseling, and exhortations), religious organizations in minimizing the traumatic effect of their exposure to the Boko Haram insurgency.

From the study, it was evident that the nature, sufficiency, and adequacy of relief support and services provided for the victims of insurgency in Borno were below what the study participants considered sufficient, adequate and satisfactory. All the study participants were disappointed by the inferior nature and quality of most of the relief items they received, especially those offered by governmental agencies. The study participants were emphatic that the quality and durability of most of relief items and services supplied or offered by government agencies were below acceptable standards. All the participants, without exception, confirmed that materials and services private donors made available to them were far better in terms of quality and satisfaction in comparison to those made available to them by government agencies. The participants also frowned at the manner camp administrators, and security officials went about the task of sharing, distributing, and managing relief materials and support services to those who have sought refuge from the onslaught of Boko Haram insurgents in the camp. These officials were accused of applying parochial sentiments in distributing relief items or providing services, to the detriments of non-indigenes, Christians, and single women and young girls who were often subjected to unwanted sexual advances by the officials.

Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and examine the adverse economic, social and political impact of Boko Haram insurgency based on the lived experience of the people of Borno exposed to terrorism in Nigeria's northeastern region. It is also meant to examine the adequacy and effectiveness of relief services and programs available to help victims of insurgency cope with the agonies associated with exposure to terrorism. As I indicated in Chapter 1, one significant limitation that affected this study was the inherently subjective nature of qualitative studies (Willis, 2014). Studies have shown that researchers' subjectivity and bias in the process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation are among the limitations of qualitative research (Creswell, 2013; Nachmias &Nachmias, 2008; Yin, 2008; Patton, 2002).

Another critical limitation of a qualitative study is the challenge with generalization (Flyvberg, 2006; Willis, 2014). The findings of this study were generally limited to the views of only ten victims among several thousand who had been exposed to the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno state, Nigeria. The ten participants were selected from just one of the twenty camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Maiduguri. Since Boko Haram activities spill across several states in the northeast and north -central regions of Nigeria and other countries in the Lake Chad region and affect millions of people in those areas, it is not certain whether the experience of the study participants in the State of Borno reflects the lived experiences of other people affected by insurgency in Nigeria and in other countries (Chad, Cameroun, and Niger). It may, therefore, be impossible to generalize the lived experience of these study participants. In addition to the other limitations was that Boko Haram insurgency is not the only cause of violence in Borno State, or indeed in the northeast region. Other unobserved dynamics such as the ubiquitous AK-47 gun-wielding Fulani herdsmen could probably have affected the views expressed by study participants.

Recommendations

Based on participants' feedback and literature reviewed, it would appear that politicians played a significant role in the rise and sustenance of Boko Haram and its nefarious activities. There may be a need for a study on the nexus between politics, politicians, and Boko Haram, particularly on the manipulation of religion by politicians to influence power dynamics in a bipolar society like Nigeria. Borno State also faces the risk of fragmentation into smaller enclaves along the religious divide as a consequence of the adverse economic, social, and political impact of Boko Haram operations on the people of the State. There may be a need for a study to understand the current sociocultural dynamics of Borno State in order to fashion an acceptable means of restructuring shattered sociopolitical structures and thus reposition the state as a place where citizens, regardless of their residential status, may live and prosper in peace. Since the Boko Haram scourge does not look like something the Nigerian military may eliminate soon, there may also be a need to use the data provided by this study as a foundation for research to understand how victims of violent attacks can be assisted to recover from the associated trauma and negative consequences in a manner that is efficient and effective.

Implications

Findings from this study provided a credible basis for describing the adverse economic, social, and political consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on the lived experience of the people of Borno state. The research findings also suggested positive social change through the development and implementation of social programs, which will reduce the adverse socioeconomic and political effects of insurgency for those exposed to it. Several studies have detailed the nature of the impact of the rebellion on people exposed to it, and these consequences have been in existence for a long time (Klein, 2007; UNICEF, 2016). It is estimated that 1.9 million Nigerians are living in various camps for internally displaced persons across the country. Most of them have suffered from exposures to Boko Haram attacks and have been traumatized from their lived experience as a result of the insurgency. The findings from this study showed that study participants need support and care to address the emotional challenges that they encountered immediately following exposure to terrorism. The need for a constant and consistent support system for people exposed to terrorist attacks to help them cope with the trauma of violence cannot be over-emphasized. Where such a support system is not available, victims may suffer permanent mental illness or disorientation (Qouta et al., 2008). The Nigerian government has no clear policy or programs aimed at providing effective remedy to emotional and mental consequences suffered by victims of insurgency and other acts of violence. Although there is a Violence Against Person Prohibition Act (2015) which was enacted by the Federal Government to protect Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) from harassments and stigmatization, the provisions of the Act are limited to protection against physical harassments and stigmatization on gender, religion or ethnic considerations, the Act has proven to be ineffective, and does not address the psychological needs of victims of insurgency. The provision of immediate and comprehensive mental health diagnosis, treatment, and counseling will play an essential and critical role in helping people exposed to insurgency recover quickly from emotional pains and trauma that comes with such exposure.

Non-government organizations, as well as other organizations, can help provide (as some do presently, particularly religious organizations) the apparatuses, treatment, care, research, training, and capacity building for camp officials and care givers which may facilitate effective delivery of excellent mental health services to those who need it most – people exposed to the horrors of terrorism and insurgency. As Adepelumi (2018), argues that over the years, the Nigerian government has made some progress in developing relevant mechanisms to provide for mental health for Nigerians, nevertheless, the emergence of terrorism and different forms of violence necessitate a complete and quick overhaul of existing mechanisms to ensure that responses to mental health needs are not only prompt but also effective. This may require fresh perspectives on policies and planning, appropriate administration structures, provisions of resources, decentralization, training personnel, onward referral systems, and monitoring and evaluation. According to Adepelumi (2018), mental health policies that strive to promote the diagnosis and treatment of mental illnesses in needy people will be more sustainable if they reflect the results of a deliberative process that includes diverse points of view.

However, beyond making efforts to provide adequate and appropriate mechanisms for resounding mental health for victims of Boko Haram insurgency, the need to ensure they have a fruitful and constructive stay in camps while waiting for violence to abate before returning to their homes and normal life is also important and critical. The study showed that residents of IDP camps scattered over Maiduguri did not have access to facilities such as good and nutritional regular meals, clean drinking water, good sanitary conditions, good bedding materials, and conducive health care services amongst several necessities of life that are missing in the camps. It is vital that governments at all levels in Nigeria, primarily federal and state/local governments of violence-prone areas, pay closer attention to the variety of material items and resiliencypromoting services they provide for victims' relief. As the study participants have indicated, the variety of relief materials available to IDP camps inmates are at best manageable, and therefore fail to provide needed satisfaction to the victims. Some of the participants fingered corruption as the most probable cause of this anomaly. It is therefore critical that efforts must be intensified to eliminate or reduce to the barest minimum corrupt tendencies in the procurement and distribution processes associated with relief materials and items for victims of insurgency. Non- government organizations, as well as individuals, should also increase their level of involvements not just in providing quality relief items, but work collaboratively with government and camp officials to ensure all camp inmates have access to these materials irrespective of gender, religion or residential status. The alleged sexual abuse and stigmatization of vulnerable female camp residents must also be firmly and urgently resolved so that everyone who had suffered from exposure to insurgency and has sought refuge in the camps is not subjected to further emotional and mental stress and trauma in the camps.

Finally, internally displaced persons can be economically productive even as refugees. From the responses of the study participants, the camp inmates have the desire to contribute in whatever way they can, to the efforts to revamping Borno economic revival provided they receive trainings and financial resources to help them do so, even on a very minimal scale. There is an opportunity for non-government organizations and benefactors to provide the necessary support to qualified and willing camp inmates in this direction. Security in and around camps must be a priority so that roaming Boko Haram suicide bombers would not infiltrate the camps and cause mayhem among those who managed to escape previous attacks.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to identify and examine the adverse economic, social, and political impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno state in the northeast region of Nigeria. The study was also intended to examine the adequacy and sufficiency of relief services and programs available to help the victims of the Boko Haram insurgency cope with the trauma and losses they have suffered as a consequence of their exposure to the rebellion. The study was designed to answer two research questions. The findings of the study added to the body of knowledge on the Boko Haram phenomenon with emphasis on the economic, social and political consequences and implications of insurgency on the State of Borno and its people. Existing research studies have focused on the northeastern region of Nigeria as a whole, not on Borno state, which is the birthplace and epicenter of the terror group activities.

To establish the credibility of the collected data, I used open-ended questions to conduct face-to-face interviews. I paraphrased responses from participants during the interviews and requested they confirm that my understanding accurately reflects their perceptions, expressed viewpoints, and opinions. Participants were encouraged and allowed to express themselves fully, and I did not ask any leading follow-up questions. Following data analysis and interpretation, aspects of the results were found to be consistent with conclusions drawn from the literature review.

The research findings indicate that the State of Borno and its people have suffered grievous economic, social and political damages from the activities of the insurgents, with the catastrophic collapse of economic, social and political structures, and processes, and a likelihood of the State itself collapsing and breaking into fragments if the insurgency continues unabated for a more extended period. Finally, the research findings indicated several steps that can be taken to provide victims of insurgency adequate and effective mechanisms to help them cope with the trauma that comes with experiencing the level of violence terrorism has brought upon them and set them on the path of normalcy even as they live in camps with the hope of returning to their homes once insurgency is abated and rooted out by the Nigerian military. It is my hope and expectation that the various levels of government will embrace the several steps suggested as a tool to formulate, implement, monitor, and evaluate new policies with internally displaced persons. Doing this will help maximize the value from such public systems, as well as assist in limiting the unintended consequences of implementing such procedures to a minimum.

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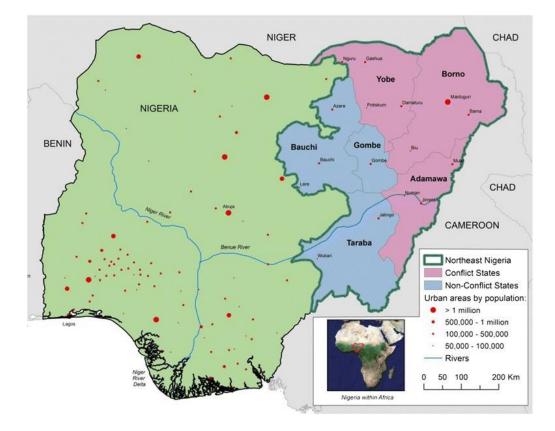
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Appendix A: Face-to-Face Interview Questions

Interview/ and Corresponding Research Question

- 1. How will you describe the impact of Boko Haram attacks on social, economic and political structures and activities in Borno state? (corresponds with research question
 - 1)
- What sort of personal losses have you suffered economically, politically and socially because of your exposures to Boko Haram attacks? (corresponds with research question 1)
- In what ways do you think Boko Haram's attacks have affected your perspectives on social, economic and political issues or practices? (corresponds with research question 1)
- What are your views of prevailing economic and political situations in Borno state? (corresponds with research question 1)
- 5. In your opinion, how has Boko Haram insurgency affected relationships between the different groups of people in Borno state? (corresponds with research question 1)
- 6. What danger does terrorism pose to continual well-being of Borno state as a corporate entity?(corresponds with research question 1)
- Of all the relief support and services you have received since you came to the camp, which of them has been the most beneficial to you? (corresponds with research question 2)

- 8. Are you satisfied with the relief support and services that have been made available to you, or do you have any concern about those services and support you have received or receiving? (corresponds with research question 2)
- 9. Is there any way in which you think the relief services and assistance you have received or receiving can be improved, and would you like to receive additional support beside those already available to you? (corresponds with research question 2)
- 10. Do you think relief materials and support services are made easily available to all victims without discrimination or biases? (corresponds with research question 2)
- 11. Who is providing or has provided the relief support service(s) and program(s) you consider the most beneficial you have received since you arrived at the IDP camp? Is it a government agency, an individual, or a non-government organization? (corresponds with research question 2)



Appendix B: Background on Borno State

The State of Borno was created on February 3, 1976 by the Late Gen. Muritala Mohammed government out of the then North-Eastern state. Until 1991, it included what is now Yobe state. Its capital is Maiduguri. Located in the northeastern corner of Nigeria, Borno occupies 70, 898 square kilometers of land. The state covers the greater part of the Lake Chad Basin and shares borders with Republics of Niger to the north, Chad to the northeast and Cameroun to the east. The state derives its name from the ancient Borno Empire and it is dominated by the Kanuri ethnic group. The state is subdivided into 27 local government councils and its economy is dependent on agriculture. Appendix C: Select Boko Haram Attacks in Borno State Since 2009

- July 26 29, 2009 Attacks by Boko Haram in five northern states of Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Katsina and Yobe led to the killings of several soldiers, 28 policemen, and 5 prison warders. 3, 500 people were internally displaced, 1, 264 children orphaned, and 992 women widowed.
- Sept. 21, 2009 Attacks on Bawa and Gworza police stations by Boko Haram terrorists led to killings of 7 policemen and stealing of arms and ammunitions.
- Oct. 11, 2010 Bomb attack on a Maiduguri's police station injured 3 people and destroyed the station.
- Jan. 21, 2011 The Borno state Governorship candidate of All Nigeria
 Peoples Party (ANPP) for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former governor of the state, Modu Sheriff, was attacked and killed by sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri.
- April 9, 2011 Bomb explosion occurred at a polling unit in Maiduguri killing the bomber.
- April 26, 2011 Three people killed and several injured by a bomb explosion in Maiduguri.
- May 30, 2011 Bomb exploded early morning killing 13 people and injuring 40 in Maiduguri.
- June 7, 2011 Series of bomb blasts in Maiduguri claimed five lives and left several others injured.

- June 16, 2011 A bomb blast in Damboua left four children dead.
- July 9, 2011 A clash between Boko Haram and the military in Maiduguri left about 31 people dead.
- July 12, 2011 Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military vehicle in Maiduguri which claimed five lives.
- July 15, 2011 An explosion in Maiduguri injured five people.
- July 23, 2011 An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno,
 Abubakar Garbai Elkanem, injured three soldiers.
- July 25, 2011 Another explosion near the palace of the traditional ruler claimed eight lives Maiduguri
- Aug. 25, 2011 Boko Haram killed 4 policemen, one soldier and 7 civilians and carted away an undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery.
- Sept. 13, 2011 Sect members shot and injured four soldiers in an attack in Maiduguri shortly after the arrest of 15 sect members during military raids on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi state.
- Sept. 17, 2011 Brother-in-law of Mohammed Yusuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakura Fugu, shot dead in front of his house by two members of the sect two days after he was visited by former President Olusegun Obasanjo.
- Oct. 3, 2011 Boko Haram attacked Baga Market, Maiduguri and killed three people.
- Dec. 18, 2011 Three members of Boko Haram were killed when their bomb detonated in Shuwari, Maiduguri.

- Dec. 22, 2011 Explosive and gun shots killed four people and left several others injured.
- Dec. 30, 2011 Seven people killed in an attack in Maiduguri
- Jan. 28, 2012 One person killed in an attack in Gambiru Ngala.
- Jan. 29, 2012. Two people killed in another attack in Gambiru Ngala.
- Jan. 30, 2012 Six people killed including two Air force officers in Maiduguri.
- Feb. 4, 2012 Two people killed in an attack in Damboa
- Feb. 10, 2012 Four people killed in Boko Haram, Soldier shot-out in Maiduguri.
- Feb. 12, 2012 -30 people killed as a result of a clash between soldiers and Boko Haram insurgents in Maiduguri.
- Feb. 12, 2012 Apr. 29, 2012 Boko Haram killed 5 Christian worshippers, including a Pastor during an attack on a Church in Maiduguri.
- Feb.17 2012 Five people killed in the Maiduguri metropolis.
- Dec. 25, 2012 Maiduguri and Potiskum Church shootings on Christmas day left 27 Christians killed.
- Apr. 16, 2013 Attack on Baga town by Boko Haram terrorists killed 187 people.
- Aug. 12, 2013 Boko Haram attacked a mosque in Maiduguri and killed 56 people.

- Sept. 12, 2013 Ambush by Boko Haram terrorists left 40 soldiers dead. This led to an offensive by the Nigerian Army against the terrorists which led to the death of 150 militants and 16 soldiers.
- Sept. 19, 2013 Benishek attacks by Boko Haram got 16 people killed.
- Oct. 29, 2013 Raids on Damaturu by the terrorists led to 128 people killed (95 militants, 23 soldiers, 8 policemen and 2 civilians).
- Feb, 14, 2014 Massacre in Konduga by Boko Haram insurgents led to killings of 121 Christians in the village.
- Feb. 15, 2014 Attack on Izghe town by Boko Haram militants killed 106 people.
- March 14, 2014 Boko Haram militants attacked Giwa Military Barracks, Maiduguri, freed terrorists detained in the barracks' detention facility.
 Recaptured detainees were executed by the military.
- Apr.15, 2014 Boko Haram kidnapped 276 students of Chibbok Girls School.
- May 5, 2014 Attack on Gamboru Ngala by the terrorists left about 300 people dead.
- June 2, 2014 Massacres in Gwoza and other villages by Boko Haram terrorists led to killings of at least 200 Christians.
- June 20 23, 2014 -76 people were killed, and 91 women and children were kidnapped by militants.
- Dec. 13, 2014 Boko Haram attacks on Gumsuri town left about 35 people killed and 185 people kidnapped.

- Jan. 3 -7, 2015 Boko Haram militants razed the entire town of Baga and killed at least 2000 people. This attack precipitated a flow of 7, 300 refugees from Baga to the Republic of Chad with another 1000 people trapped in Baga.
- Jan. 25, 2015 Offensive against Nigerian Armed forces in Baga by Boko Haram militants led to deaths of unknown number of soldiers, 8 civilians, and about 53 militants. The terrorists captured the nearby strategic town of Monguno
- Feb. 21, 2015 Nigerian forces recaptured Baga town from Boko Haram.
- June 22, 2015 Maiduguri mosque bombing by 2 female suicide bombers led to death of 30 people.
- July 1- 2, 2015 Multiple mosque massacres carried out by Boko Haram fighters killed 48 people and wounded 17 others during July 1 attack while 97 people were killed on July 2 attacks.
- Jan. 3, 2016 A boy suicide bomber attacked a mosque in Gamboru which left 10 people, including his dad dead.
- Sept. 2017 Boko Haram militants kidnapped about 40 young adults, women and children, and killed 18 people in Banki.
- Jan. 17, 2018 Four female suicide bombers attacked Maiduguri which killed 14 people, including the bombers and injured 65 people.
- Feb. 10, 2018 Boko Haram forces abducted University of Maiduguri lecturers and 10 women.

Dec. 27, 2018 – Boko Haram attacked a military base and killed a naval officer.