2017

Amnesty as a Public Policy Tool for Countering Insurgence in Nigeria

Ayodeji A. Dada
Walden University

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Ayodeji Dada

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee
Dr. Karel Kurst-Swanger, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Lisa Bryan, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Lynn Wilson, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
2017

Abstract

Amnesty as a Public Policy Tool for Countering Insurgence in Nigeria

by

Ayodeji A Dada

MS, City University of New York, Brooklyn College, NY, 2011

BS, Kean University, Union, NJ, 2007

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy & Administration

Walden University

December 2017

Abstract

Although research has been done on amnesty, little is known about amnesty as a public policy tool toward countering insurgence in Nigeria. The purpose of the study was to examine the role of amnesty as a public policy tool. The research questions are: Is there a difference in people's view of amnesty that explain the relevance of infrastructural facilities to stimulate economic growth and development in Nigeria? And, are there specific citizen characteristics that explain the differences in the way citizens perceive amnesty as a public policy choice? The theoretical framework was based on Marx's ideology of conflict theory. This study employed convenience and purposive sampling methods in selecting participant and employed a cross-sectional ex-post facto quantitative research design. Data were collected through a researcher developed survey administered to 100 randomly-selected participants at the Gwagwalada shopping mall, located in the capital city of Abuja. Descriptive statistics and analyses of variances showed a significant mean difference in the perceptions of participants who believed that amnesty would play a viable role in countering insurgency, based on age, income, education, sex, employment status and type of work performed, and the regions in which they reside. However, findings indicate that there is no statistical significance between religious differences or views on economic growth and development and amnesty as a public policy choice. The awareness will provide a framework for better understanding of amnesty as a public policy choice. The positive social change implications include advocacy for amnesty as a public policy tool toward countering insurgence. Implementation of the recommendation of this study lends support to amnesty policies in Nigeria by providing a greater awareness of citizen preferences in policy development.

Amnesty as a Public Policy Tool for Countering Insurgency in Nigeria

by

Ayodeji A Dada

MS, City University of New York, Brooklyn College, 2010

BS, Kean University, 2007

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy & Administration

Walden University

December 2017

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Dr. Joan Oleforo, and my children, for their love, understanding, and sacrifice.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria. I used conflict theory to ascertain if the continuing conflict could end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. The conflict theory was tested and evaluated critically to determine the best possible solution to the violence occurring all across Nigeria. The conflict theory enabled me to understand the dynamics of conflict management and transformation in reuniting the country. In this study, I examined the Boko Haram insurgency, the attacks in Nigeria, mostly in Northern Nigeria and the Northeast zones, that shaped discussion in the analysis of the country's contending issues. I investigated some critical factors affecting the emergence of the insurgency, including social justice, poverty, corruption, economic deprivation, inequality, access to government, natural resources allocation, and other salient causative factors. The results of this violence are tragic, leading to deaths, homelessness, disease and political instability within the Nigerian region.

Before 1914, there was no country called "Nigeria." Rivers surround the country. the reason why Nigeria is referred to as "Niger area." The people living around the area are called Nigerians. Nigeria is divided into various ethnic regions (Falola & Heaton, 2008). Gaining independence on October 1st, 1960, and becoming a republic in 1963, Nigeria has been ruled by military dictators, specifically from the northern part of the country. In 1999, however, the country returned to democracy after years of military rule that was only altered by democratic governance, which lasted from 1979 to 1983 (Falola

& Heaton, 2008). Since 1999, the country has been governed under democracy. With a population of 167 million, Nigeria alone accounts for 2.4% of the world's population (Falola & Heaton, 2008). According to the United Nations (UN) statistical projection, Nigeria is one of eight countries expected to account collectively for half of the world's total population increase from 2005 to 2050 (United Nations, 2017). It is estimated that by 2100, the Nigerian population will be between 505 million and 1.03 billion people (United Nations, 2017).

Nigeria is undoubtedly home to a variety of religions that tend to vary regionally. According to Osaghae, Suberu and The University of Oxford (2005), the three religious identities in Nigeria are Muslim, Christian and nonbelievers. The latter are the least politically active, numbering several hundreds of ethnic groups and subgroups, kin groups, clans, and villages and, involving the worship of several gods and goddesses alike (Osaghae, Suberu & The University of Oxford, 2005).

The survey conducted by the Nigerian Demographic and Health examined a sample of 7,620 women (aged between 15 and 59) and 2,346 men (aged 15 and 49.) and found that 50.4% of Nigeria's populations is Muslim, 48.2% is Christian, and 1.4% adheres to other religions (as cited in Nigeria & ORC Macro, 2003).

In 2009, the National Religious Survey on Nigerian Christians reported 15% Protestants, 13.7% Catholics, and 19.6% other Christian denominations. The majority of Nigerian Muslims are Sunni, though a significant Shia minority, primarily located in the north-western state of Sokoto (Alhaji & Daud, 2015).

With regard to religious affiliations, Nigeria is divided along the lines of region and ethnicity. While, for instance, the Hausa ethnic group in the North is 95% Muslims and 5% Christians, the West, which is the Yoruba tribe, is 60% Christian and 30% Muslim with 10% adhering to other traditional African religions. The Igbos in the South-east and the Ijaws in the South are 98% Christians (mostly Catholics) and 2% African traditional religions. The subject of religion has always been an important issue of Nigeria and her politics (Enwerem, 1995; Mokube, 2017; Vaughan, 2016). In effect, Christian and Muslim identities have been the mainstay of religious differentiation and conflict, with Muslims in Nigeria much more likely to evince or articulate a religious identity than Christians (Bratton, & Mattes, 2001; Lewis, 2007; Mokube, 2017; Vaughan, 2016).

Perhaps an examination of the roles of these religious identities illuminates the deep distrust between the Muslims and Christians. Similarly, religion is reflected in the Nigerian legal and judicial system, which contains three codes of law: customary law, Nigerian statute law (following English law), and Shari'ah Islamic law; (Liolio, 2013). The role of ethnicity and religion is very significant in understanding the country's fundamental problems that paved the way for unity, peace, and economic prosperity within the Nigerian system. The conflict happening in the region is attributed to religious differences, specifically tensions between blocks of Muslim and Christian inhabitants. Lederach (1997) emphasizes the nature of the contemporary conflict as one that requires a set of concepts and approaches going above traditional statist diplomacy.

In this study, I attempt to provide much-needed answers to whether amnesty is an appropriate public policy tool to address a much wider audience. The potential contributions of this study are to further new insights into the application of conflict management in aiding policy issues about peacebuilding and development in Nigeria. Another positive social change aspect to this study's findings will be the ability to convey to militants and radical groups the significance of negotiation in resolving conflict. The results and findings of this study will interest students, policy activists, scholars, and researchers in the multidisciplinary field of peacebuilding in Nigeria.

In the major sections of this chapter, I briefly describe Nigeria as a whole, religious affiliation between various ethnic groups, and critical factors that have led to the emergence of insurgency such as poverty, corruption, economic deprivation, inequality, access to government and natural resources allocation and other salient causative factors. I also explain the theoretical framework that defined the study.

Background of the Study

Abimbola (2010) attributed one uprising factor that led to the insurgent crisis as "the failure of the Nigerian political leaders to deal with past and future occurrences." (p.103). The militant groups have destroyed schools, churches, and mosques; kidnapped women and children, and assassinated politicians and religious leaders. 100 schoolgirls were abducted in the town of Chibok in northeastern Nigeria (Oyewole, 2016; Shea, 2014). On April 8, 2014, 150 people were killed during the weekend in separate attacks in the northeast and northwest regions of Nigeria (Clodfelter, (2017). This led the Nigerian government to spark search soldiers to track down the attackers. This violence is

defoliating the Nigeria economic system, and it is generating contention in the Nigeria political parlance among the three ethnic groups that dominate the country. Abimbola (2010) referenced the Kala Kato riot that occurred in December 2009 as a pertinent illustration and continuance of Boko Haram riots, which she mentioned as a repetitive nature of religion-related crises in Nigeria. A narrative of the issues and a timeline of occurrences between 2014 and 2015 as reported by the Amnesty International 2014 can be found in Appendix B of this study.

Boko Haram, according to Liolio (2013), was a local radical Salafist group, which transformed itself into a Salafi-Jihadist terrorist organization in 2009 (Aguwa, 2017; Liolio, 2013). The radical groups are based and camped in the northeast of Nigeria. This was a resurgence of the Maitatsine movement within the period that promoted a circle of violence and mass killing of innocent citizens. According to a free summary on sectarian violence in Northern Nigeria, about 12,000 people had been killed by the radical Islamic sect, Boko Haram. The statistics were compiled in August 2013 by the United States Commission for International Religious Freedom, a non-partisan national group that revealed that the attacks claimed by the Boko Haram have been higher than the reported estimates (Aguwa, 2017; Mbah, Nwangwu, & Edeh, 2017). The report was traced to an incident that happened in August of 2013, in which 45 innocent citizens were killed during a bomb blast in Maiduguri, the deadliest in the region (Mbah et al., 2017). On September 2, 2013, about 792 people lost their lives in a bomb blast that occurred hundreds of miles away from the nearest oil reservoir in Nigeria (Clodfelter, (2017).

Aro (2013) lamented that businesses run by non-northerners in the northern part of the country had been shut down. Food supplies from the north part of the country to the southern regions have been cut short by half. As stated by Aro, Nigeria, despite the fact that it is endowed with lots of natural gifts, is still far behind in economic and social progress that is required to impact the well-being of the average Nigerian; as a result, one half of the population live on less than one dollar per day. The Country has a large population of poor people who find it difficult to meet their daily and individual needs. This has led to a tremendous increase in the unemployment rate among Nigerian youths (Akanni, 2014). Some employers of the available jobs are stressing the importance of working experience as a yardstick for securing a job, which has resulted in abject poverty among Nigerians. Poverty is one of the fundamental causes of conflict, which has stemmed from the failure of economic growth and development (Akanni, 2014). Poverty and unemployment are the cause of bitterness and violence among the Nigerian youths in aiding militancy and other groups to launch their operations.

Metz (2007) highlighted the strategic context that constituted the contemporary insurgency structure and dynamics to its forebears. The moral needs of counterinsurgency can be overcome with "finely crafted policies and procedures based on the virtues of character" (Levine, 2009, p. 89). My study focused on people opinions on various ways of restoring peace to Nigeria and put violence to an end. A recommended solution in eradicating violence among Nigerians will be in the form of negotiation and dialogue. Insurgents can be granted amnesty once they renounce their membership in the sect act. This study is needed to ascertain measures to be adopted to achieve important objectives

of the amnesty program by eradicating violence in the Republic of Nigeria. The questions

of amnesty cannot be undermined because the amnesty program is a mechanism that the

government can use in resolving disagreements, conflicts and stimulating widespread

economic, social and political growth for the country. Given this, it is highly significant

that the amnesty program should be adequately examined in such a way that it will aid in

delivering the best results among Nigerians. My goal, therefore, is not only to anticipate

possible development in understanding conflicts but also to look at various measures of

countering insurgence through asking people their opinions about proffering amnesty as a

tool of public policy in addressing conflict. From a research perspective about resources

allocation among the people of Nigeria, resources are mismanaged and poorly allocated,

which results in armed forces killing and kidnapping people for the government to

understand their frustrations. This dissertation study fills a significant gap in the literature

by proffering amnesty as a tool of public policy in countering insurgency and in

understanding the significance of peacebuilding among the people. The study sheds light

on the micro and macro dynamics of conflict management and explains citizen views.

This study is exploratory in making conceptual decisions that will aid to formulate a more

precise possible approach to overcome the problem. Participants' views will help to gain

familiarity on acquiring insights on the precise issue affecting the Nigerian political

system.

Statement of the Problem

This study focused on the broad range of problems that tend to harm Nigerian

economic growth and development since unemployment and poverty are the central

thrust of the conflict happening in Nigeria. Nigeria has been hovering around the pestilential waters of the insurgents' crisis, which has economic and ethnoreligious coloration since they gained independence in 1960 from Great Britain. Insurgent groups have taken the front seat in any contemporary discourse on Nigeria and its emerging democracy. Amnesty is a legal action that majorly comprises disarmament (surrender of arms by ex-combatants) and demobilization (transition conversion from militarized to civilian life). Amnesty is an adopted principle of proffering solutions to the Nigerian political and economic dilemma, which can aid to counter insurgents. Liolio (2013) stated the Nigerian government promise to institute programs that would disarm demobilize and counter insurgence. Liolio articulated the framework of disarmament and demobilization as the return of arms among insurgents. One of the current limitations in the previous studies, and as noted by Tobor, (2016), was that Liolio (2013) failed to address how the amnesty program would help restructure the Nigerian socio-political problem, and did not emphasize the various ways in which the program would be implemented in sustaining peace and unity.

The significance of amnesty as a public policy tool will aid to reduce unemployment and to help understand the allocation of resources within local areas which happens to be a significant issue among Nigerians. Introducing the amnesty program for the citizens will aid in promoting transitional justice within Nigeria. The amnesty program will help in addressing past episodes of violations of human rights. The Nigerian president tried various measures that pertain to amnesty in the past but failed due to the corrupt system. Liolio asserted about the present facts of the possible

counterproductive outcome of countering an insurgency, which he pinpointed that governments of all countries should invest heavily in human development and eradicate societal vices such as poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment as measures to help avert insurgency and terrorism (2013).

My study shed light about adopting amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgence in Nigeria. The significance of amnesty was discussed in the literature review in chapter two of this study. In this study, I elaborated on how various scholars have described amnesty. Olamilekan (2012) contends that the majority of Nigerians are living with the fear of the unknown, following relentless bomb attacks by members of the Boko Haram sect (Aguwa, 2017; Olamilekan, 2012). Olamilekan further attributed conflict to the existence of an oppressive social system of power that reinforces the difference between groups (2012).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to look into the ambiguity that the previous study failed to address concerning conflict and insurgency and to ascertain measures to be developed such as proffering amnesty as a tool for public policy in sustaining peace and unity among Nigerians. Metz (2007) highlighted amnesty as the best way of countering and overcoming insurgence within Nigeria and its allies. The research questions were informed by perhaps some of the issues that had been overlooked and underestimated in the previous research, which leads to the dilemma happening in Nigeria. Questions about proffering amnesty as a public policy choice were asked during the survey in understanding long-lasting peace. This was a significant step in determining whether the

amnesty program implementation would be capable of bringing long-term peace among Nigerians. Some of the studies that were conducted in the past by different researchers on amnesty and its roles lack some critical information of making amnesty workable for the people when there is a change of government or when there is a new government ruling the people.

My goal in this study was not only to anticipate possible measures and solutions but for the people to understand the significance of proffering amnesty as a public tool to counter insurgence in Nigeria. Amnesty is a concept that is used by the government at all times in meeting the needs of the citizens, but the citizens believed that corruption and deception fuel the amnesty program that was introduced by Nigeria government from 1990 to 2015. According to Ajayi and Adesote (2013), the provision of the amnesty program to insurgents will have a tremendous productive outcome towards resolving the political and economic conflict among the radical movement.

Ajayi and Adesote (2013) highlighted that for peace and unity to reign in Nigeria, it has to have the support of the people regardless of the situation. Liolio (2013) asserted "the government becomes very much aware that the prevalence of insurgents and terrorisms in various part of the world is profoundly connected to government failure, lapses, and bad governance" (p. 10). Henry emphasized that the citizens of Nigeria need to gain a proper understanding of the concept of amnesty and how it was used in the past, which was not entirely implemented to suit people's needs (2006). Having an appropriate method of implementing and enforcing the amnesty program will help in addressing the problems and filling the loopholes within the regions of Nigeria. Citizens and

government are at crossroads, and Nigeria is in limbo; it is significant to pause and focus on the best way of dealing with the challenges of the insurgence within the regions. The government should consult with countries that had similar problems during the time of crisis to compare various remedies that can aid in addressing the dilemma. The goal of this study is to discover the effect of the amnesty program as a public policy tool in countering insurgence, how it will be structured to reduce violence among Nigerians.

This study helps to fill a critical gap in the literature by understanding the significance of peacebuilding through disengagement, disbarment, and demobilization among the radical groups. On the word of Lederach (1997), conflict theory transformation as a means of developing a set of concepts and approaches is needed to transform conflict into a peaceful relationship by potentially preventing conflict from escalating into war and turning war into peace. Lederach's theory focused on peacebuilding by avoiding any form of human disaster that could lead to socio-political instability. In the literature review, I was able to discuss amnesty as a public policy choice and its significance in alignment with scholars' contributions and ideology about insurgence. I believed that the best way to proffer solutions to the identified problems facing Nigeria will be determined by the perception and the input of the participants who would be participating in the survey.

Statistically, the prevalence of insurgencies and terrorism is profoundly connected to the failure and lapses of the government in meeting the needs of the citizens (Liolio, 2013, p. 11-13). The word "amnesty" was derived from the Greek word *amnesia*, signifying 'cast into oblivion or forgetfulness' (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013, p. 508). Ajayi

and Adesote posited once an offender is granted amnesty, it indicates that the accusation, trial, conviction, and imprisonment are cast into oblivion, and the person is considered an innocent citizen. During the Nigeria Yar' Adua/Jonathan administration, this policy was implemented to ensure a peaceful relationship within the Niger Delta region in meeting their needs but later stopped after some time because it was fueled with politics and corruption. Conflict resolution strategies would be suggested to strengthen a workable amnesty program. In this study, I focused dialectically on social, political and personal changes that are strictly critical to a post-conflict resolution about peacebuilding. It is very significant for Nigerians to gain insight and understanding on how to address all the grievances that fueled the violence.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions enable me to explore citizens' interest in explaining the differences in citizens' opinions and preferences in regard to proffering amnesty as a choice of public policy among Nigerians. From the given discussion in this study, in limbo, it is worthwhile for Nigerians to pause and suggest the best way of dealing with this challenge of the terrorist attacks in cities in Nigeria. According to Bennett (2008), the challenges that influence the course of nations and addressing global issues which inspire creative solutions from the generations of young citizens in making contributions to the government was their ability to involve the people in critical decision-making processes. Citizens should be allowed to participate in the community decision-making process to avoid social injustice within local and global arenas. Bennett explained further about the natural and creative forms of collective expression, which is more appealing than the

options typically offered by the government (2008). The empowerment of the citizens, most especially the adults, is an expressive and symbolic way to enable citizens to make their own choices by recognizing their expression. Citizens should not be disengaged from participating in the decision-making process. The Nigerian government has been handicapped by declining citizen confidence and involvement in various decision-making processes that could aid in strengthening unity among the people.

The research questions addressed in this study include the following:

The Research Questions

My goal for this study was to understand citizens' differences in opinion about amnesty between the adults 18 years and older by focusing on amnesty as my dependent variable and examining it with the independent variables that consisted of income, educational attainment, occupation and the region where they live.

Research Question 1: Is there a distinct difference in people's view of amnesty among 18 years and older that explain the relevance of infrastructural facilities to stimulate economic growth and development in Nigeria?

Research Question 2: Are there specific citizen characteristics that explain the differences in the way citizens perceive amnesty as a public policy choice?

The Hypotheses

Hypotheses were developed to test some of the questions asked during the survey and to understand people's perception on amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgence.

The two hypotheses and null hypotheses are listed below.

H1a: As Citizens' support for economic growth and development increases, support for the amnesty program also increases.

Ho1a: Citizen's increased support for economic growth and development does not affect their support for the amnesty program.

H1b: Religious differences play a significant role towards proffering amnesty as a public policy choice.

Ho1b: Religious differences have no impact on amnesty as a public policy choice.

I checked the accuracy of my data by focusing on the descriptive statistics to determine the percentage of the participants involved in the study. The perceptions of the participants who participated in the survey about amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency were tested using analysis of variance (ANOVA). The F-test ANOVA was used in determining whether the explained variance in the dataset is significantly more significant than the unexplained variance by testing the variance equality of the mean. I included a MANOVA test to compare participants' perceptions in relations to some of the questions asked during the survey such as issues relating to poverty, unemployment, resources allocation, and equality within the Nigerian regions. I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for all the statistical analyses.

The survey focused on cross-sectional and ex-post facto method. An ex-post factor design is a quasi-experimental study that examines how an independent variable affects the dependent variable. According to Tuckman (1999), ex-post facto is a study in which the researcher is unable to cause a variable to occur by creating a treatment and

must examine the effects of a naturalistically occurring treatment once it has occurred. The ex-post facto design does not allow for manipulation of the independent variable. The significance of using a survey is to gain further insights regarding the research questions. The primary focus of this study was to be able to gather information from the adults in the affected areas. The survey was distributed to the participants in the shopping mall at the SAFE office. The questions were developed in the form of a Likert-type scale format that enabled the participants to contribute their opinions on the best method of proffering amnesty as a viable tool in ensuring social hegemony among Nigerians and a way of restoring peace to the country. By using the Likert scale format, the participants were able to choose from 1 to 5 using the criteria. 1-strongly agree, 2- agree 3- disagree, 4- strongly disagree, 5- undecided. All the questions were developed in the form of self-administered questionnaires that were distributed to the participants'. I elaborated further on the role of Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment in chapter three of this study.

Yukubousky (1998) posited that government decisions are useful when the citizens are connected with the government, which aid to streamline the decision-making process. Social connections between the citizens and the government help in building trust among the people. Citizens' engagement in public policy paves the way for cooperation and understanding. I was able to report my findings based on citizens' perception on whether amnesty can be proffered as a public policy tool for reducing and countering insurgency among Nigerians. During the collation and testing of data, I focused on the significant role that amnesty will play in stabilizing the Nigerian political situation and it will be discussed in chapter three of this study. The results and findings of

this study in regard to the violence happening in Nigeria will aid to determine the level of support that the citizen have on amnesty as a public policy tool to counter insurgence in Nigerian.

Table 1 (below), displays some of the dependent variables and independent variables that aid in developing and framing my research questions based on what constitutes the problems and looking into possible remedies on how the problems can be overcome. Some of the variables that I analyze within the Table consisted of the following: Income level, educational attainment, religious affiliation, occupation and infrastructural facilities such as the number of hospitals and schools that are available in different regions of the country.

Table 1.
Dependent Variables and Independent Variables

Control Variables	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
Age over (18 and above)	Income Level	Amnesty for adults
Gender (Male/Female)	Educational Level	Amnesty for youths
Race (Blacks)	Infrastructural facilities(Schools, hospitals)	
Region (Southsouth, Southeast, Northwest, Northcentral, Northeast)	Religious affiliation (Muslims, Christian, traditional, other	
	Occupation	

In this study, participants were able to select from the list of options that best describe the level of infrastructural and social amenities that were provided in different

regions of the country. For instance, providing infrastructural facilities in various areas of the country will help solve economic problems. Participants were asked to choose from "strongly agree" to "undecided."

Theoretical Basis for the Study

I decided to focus this study on a theoretical work which describes the violence in Nigeria through the theoretical lens of conflict theory. The theory draws attention to the formation of violence happening all over the regions of Nigeria. Previous studies have been carried out about the crisis happening all over Nigeria. Earlier studies were able to conclude that proffering amnesty to the insurgents will be a viable tool in meeting the needs of the insurgence and curb the violence in the country (Liolio, 2013). Some of the conflicts that is happening around the globe are attributed to the existence of an oppressive social system of power that reinforces between groups and allows one group to have power over another group (Olamilekan, 2012).

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory, according to Intriligator (1982), is the studies that pertain to conflict or war using formal reasoning or mathematical approaches. Intrilligator was able to mention some of the analytic methods which entail differential equations, decision theory/control theory, game theory, bargaining theory, uncertainty, stability theory, action-reaction models, and organization theory. Some of the areas of application, according to Intrilligator include arms races, war initiation/war termination/timing of conflict, military strategy/conduct of war, threats/crises/escalation, qualitative arms race/arms control, alliances, nuclear proliferation, and defense bureaucracy/budgets.

Conflict theory played a significant role in this study because the theory emphasizes on the social and political inequality among different groups that have been deprived of their rights and privileges. Conflict theory informed this study to ascertain if the continuing conflict can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. Conflict theory helps in maintaining and understanding the main reason for societal violence by voicing grievances. Conflict theory is inherent and constant. According to Chukwura, Nwokolo and Nwachukwu (2005), the argument about conflict theory is found in human society when people typically seek to improve their outcome concerning the things they desire as worthwhile and desirable.

Conflict theory management is a fundamental factor to conflict transformation in curbing the intensity of destruction that is associated with violent conflicts. Conflict theory management involves all actors, stakeholders, and allies in the conflict in a dialoguing process to achieve a sustainable peace transformation. Conflict management enable the actors, stakeholders, and insurgent groups to have a constructive dialogue, negotiations, culture practice, and rebalancing of interests in changing the process nature of conflict intensity. The significance of conflict theory in this study is to help understand and explain the social phenomena about wars, revolutions, poverty, discrimination and domestic violence. It is a theory that aids in explaining the cause of the violence and mobilization of radical groups in Nigeria. Lederach's (1997) conflict theory aids towards resolving and addressing peacebuilding and the processes it entails for great conflict transformation in the world. Conflict theory can be viewed as a dynamic entity that is continually undergoing changes, which result in competition over resources. Conflict is

best resolved by problem-solving techniques using the opinions of the citizens who will be participating in the survey as a way of proffering solutions to the dilemma.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study focused on a quantitative research method and design. Quantitative research is used to investigate the specific aspect of the problem by way of analyzing statistical data. It is used to quantify attitudes, opinions, behaviors and other defined variables and produce results from a larger sample population. A survey was administered in collecting the participant responses. A questionnaire was designed to elicit information from adults within the shopping mall in Maitama, Abuja. The flyer to partake in the study was distributed to the participants at the Gwagwalada shopping mall located in the capital city of Abuja. I collected data by surveying 100 participants at the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment Office allocated to me by the organization. The SAFE office is located in the mall where the survey took place. The city where the mall is located is named as Maitama, Abuja. The participants' consisted of adults within Maitama Abuja, Nigeria. I concluded this study on April 18th, 2017. The flyers were distributed to 110 participants, but only 100 participants participated in the study. The independent variables were used to predict changes in dependent variables.

Operational Definitions

Amnesty: The word amnesty is derived from the Greek word "amnesia." It is a guarantee of exemption from prosecution and pardons from punishment for certain criminal offenses. Amnesty is said to promote reconciliation and social cohesion (Ubhenin, 2013). Weiner (2009) elaborated on amnesty as a pardon extended by the

government to a group or class of persons, usually for a political offense, the act of a sovereign power officially forgiving certain classes of persons who are subject to trial but not yet been convicted. The Nigerian government adopted a similar program in 2009 during the late president's administration, but the policy was not implemented so it was considered a failed policy shortly after the death of president Ya' Adua. Amnesty is a public policy choice to give exemption from prosecution and pardon from punishment for certain criminal offenders who are engaging in violence in the region. In my study, two types of amnesty would be adopted, which are amnesty for the youths and amnesty for the adults that will enable the study participants to contribute their opinions about proffering amnesty as a public policy choice in countering insurgency. Amnesty for the youths is defined as the relief and opportunities that would aid Nigerian youths between the ages of 18 and older who are subjected to all forms of abuses and economic injustice in living up to their dreams and expectations. For instance, providing opportunities to youths who are unemployed also allows them to have access to quality care and equips them with programs that would help to improve their skills. Amnesty is defined as the relief and benefits that would enable adults who have or had been victimized, abused, and discriminated upon by political and radical organizations to have access to economic opportunities provided that they renounced their membership from participating in the revolutionary movement. Study participants were asked to choose from the list of options that helps to describe amnesty to empower the youths and adults towards quelling the insurgency in Nigeria from "strongly agree" to "undecided." The two types of amnesty

would be easier to differentiate between the youths and adults based on their age that explains the level of categories when completing the questionnaires.

Conflict: Conflict is a serious disagreement or clash between opposing forces, interests which lead to controversy, fighting, battle, and discord of action between people of different sexes. Resource allocation is one of the factors that tend to contribute to the dilemma facing Nigeria's political and economic system. I was able to include a region in my survey that will enable the participants to select the areas they live and then run a test that will aid in determining if resources are equally distributed among citizens of different regions based on the responses gathered from the survey.

Education level: Nigerian education is divided into sub-sectors which consist of basic/ primary (6years), senior secondary (three years), and tertiary (four years to six years) which depends on the course of study. The Nigeria Federal Ministry of Education plays a significant role in overseeing, regulating and engaging in policies that aid to strengthen student achievements. Presently, there are 117 universities in Nigeria, 36 federal, 36 state-owned and 45 private. In my study, the participants will be given different options to choose from that best describe their level of education that has been completed. 0=grammar school, 1. High school, 2. Vocational/technical school, 3. Some college, 4. Bachelor's degree, 5. Master degree, 6. Doctoral degree

Income: The revenue and wealth of the country seem to be unevenly distributed. There are some wealthy Nigerians whose standard of living is relatively high compared to the ones living from hand to mouth. The wealthy Nigerians have access to the basic needs of life while others who are less privileged are struggling to survive with less than

$400 U.S. dollars a year. The gap between the wealthy and the poor is very wide. The north-east that tends to have the highest poverty rates is mostly affected by the five-year bloody rebellion by Boko Haram. Participants will be able to choose from the list of options that best describe their income level in a year.

1 Under #20,000 per year, 2. #20,000-#30,000 per year, 3.#30,000- #40,000 per year 4, Over #40,000 per year.

Occupation: Nigeria happens to be a middle-income mixed country that is expanding in finance, services, and entertainment. It is the largest emerging economy in Africa according to the World Bank. Mismanagement hinders Nigeria's economy due to its corrupt system that leaves the citizens living in abject poverty. Nigeria is blessed with natural resources, but corruption is a hindrance that prevents the country from pursuing its dream. In my study, I was able to ask people to select their occupation based on the list of occupational categories that will be provided in the proposal that best describes their profession. 0=education/training, 1=Farming/fishing and forestry, 2=Healthcare, 3=Management, 4=Production/manufacturing, 5=Installation/maintenance, 6=Construction, 7=Food preparation, 8=Legal/government, 9=Sales/marketing, 10=Arts/designs and entertainment, 11=Transportation, 12= other

Region: Nigeria is divided into six geographical zones that consist of South-west, South-south, South-east, Northwest, North Central and Northeast. All these zones mentioned seem to be having problems with the government when it comes to the allocation of economic resources. Resources are not equally distributed among the regions, which led to the violence that is hindering economic prosperity in Nigeria. For

instance, the Niger-Delta oil is considered to be a major problem in Nigerian political parlance. Some believed that the revenue from the Niger-Delta oil seems to be poorly mismanaged by the government. In my study, I was able to ask people to select from the list of categories that describes the region of the country they live. These categories will be provided in the proposal and the survey. When it comes to Education, about 40% of Nigerian primary, secondary and tertiary institutions are located in the southwest, 30% in south-south, 20% in the southeast and 10% in the northwest. The distribution level of manufacturing industries is highly concentrated in the southwest as a result of the colonization era. Other locations with a high concentration of manufacturing are the North and Southeast. These statistics are reported by the Federal Office of Statistics, National Accounts of Nigeria.

Religious Affiliation: Nigeria is characterized by different religious beliefs from Christians, Muslims, traditional, and non-believers. The World Fact book by CIA reported that 50% of the Nigerian population is Muslim, while 40% are Christians and 10% happens to adhere to local traditions. Religious differences contributed to the problems arising in Nigeria. The conflict going on in the region is attributed to religious differences and tensions between blocks of Muslim and Christian inhabitants. I was able to include this variable in my study so that my participants can choose the religion that they are most closely affiliated with.

Infrastructural facilities: Nigeria's poor or inadequate infrastructural amenities have held back its economic prosperity and development. Weak infrastructures create an enormous economic burden on local and foreign businesses. The shortage of facilities

tends to lower the quality of life for millions of people in Nigeria. It also hampers job

creation and poverty reduction. I believe that if Nigeria's government can invest heavily

in infrastructural facilities like building roads, hospitals, industries, and manufacturing,

these will aid in creating opportunities for the people and to live a good quality life. In

my study, I was able to ask participants to select from the list of options that best

describes the level of infrastructural and social amenities provided in their region and to

see if they meet the needs of the people. For instance, providing infrastructural facilities

in different parts of the country help to solve social, economic problems. 1=strongly

agree, 2=agree, 3=disagree, 4=strongly disagree, 5=undecided.

Assumptions

My first assumption lies in the fact that the research outputs and people's

ideology may be a significant indicator of testing reliability of the relevance of amnesty

as a tool of public policy towards countering insurgency in Nigeria. Another assumption

will be that people's responses towards answering the questions can be used to compare

the relevance of the study regarding proffering possible solutions to the research. In

addition to the assumptions highlighted, participants' involvement during the completion

of the questionnaires might consist of biased information, which can affect the validity

and accuracy of the study. The assumptions are very significant because it helped to limit

any bias that might affect the study accuracy and validity.

Scope of the Study

The extent of the study was focused on the opinions that were gathered from the

citizens of Nigeria towards amnesty as a viable tool of public policy in countering

insurgency. Past researchers failed to address the problem by proffering amnesty as a measure to deal with the problem. My study filled out the gaps that were left behind by various researchers in overcoming the dilemma facing the Nigerian region. I was able to examine the critical issues associated with crime and violence within Nigeria's political system. I believed that the respondents' perception concerning conflict would have a significant role in understanding the reason for forming a radical group that happens to be a threat to the people and the government.

Limitations and Delimitations of This Study

The central delineation for this research may lie in my inability to have real and first-hand interviews with current or even former members of Boko Haram. The limitations of this study lie and rest on the following methodologies:

- The sample size in the study might impact the study validity. I used a reasonable sample size to address validity and ethical issues in the research. If the sample size is too small, it may pose a threat to the study's validity and reliability. A small sample size makes it difficult to find significant relationships between the data, and it may negatively affect the statistical tests.

- Lack of available or reliable data can pose a threat to the study by limiting the scope of the analysis. Data will be evaluated and critically examined before adopting it. Data will be collected in such a way that meets the Institutional Review Board Standards.

- Personal access to people might be a dilemma regarding reaching people to gather their opinions, but necessary accommodation has been reserved with the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment Organization in conducting the survey.

- Accuracy, validity, and reliability of the data will be based on the research design, sampling strategies, and timing to gather responses.

- Access might be another challenge because some of the sites to collect information are sometimes blocked like the United Nations website and all other International Organization sites. It might be difficult to locate and find the ones that are appropriate for the study of interest.

Significance of the Study for Social Change

This research is significant for social change in varieties of ways. The importance of peacebuilding cannot be overstated. This study provides the answers to the questions that lead to the violence in Nigeria. The study helps to understand the opinions of the citizens towards proffering amnesty as a tool for public policy in the Nigeria region. Based on the damaging effect of Boko Haram and its movement, the timeline of bombing and attacks, and the danger that it has caused, the opinions and preferences of the citizens can be documented based on the citizens' perceptions about addressing the problem. Most of these groups fall out as the radical wing of Islamic adherence who firmly believes in Islamic education and fundamentalist ideology. This research leads to a better understanding of tackling the challenges facing the people of Nigeria through negotiating peace and conflict management. The goal of this study and significance enables the government and the citizens of Nigeria to understand the concept of amnesty among

youths and adults. The violence is becoming worse and worse since no remedy has been adopted by the Nigerian government that helps meet their needs. The radical groups are launching attacks every day, which resulted in citizens losing their families and loved ones.

The data that was collected in the study have a predominant role in Nigeria's civil society in understanding how to meet the needs of the people who have been deprived of their rights and privileges, which resulted in violence. During the analysis of the findings, I was able to compute the percentages of the participants who believed that amnesty as a choice of public policy would aid in solving the problem by running a descriptive statistics analysis.

The amnesty program was already in existence but not fully implemented successfully towards meeting the needs of the society due to a change in government. If the amnesty program is enforced amicably, it will aid in fighting injustice, corruption, nepotism, unemployment, and any form of malpractice. Education is another positive and social change in overcoming the insurgence. People will be enlightened, informed, and inspired to transform into better beings. Negotiations, grace, humility, and intelligence will pave the way for a positive social change. The government will be able to confront the citizens' by addressing, resolving, and addressing immoralities. This study will inform public policymakers about citizens' preferences on amnesty as a public policy tool to counter insurgence in Nigeria. The contributions of this study are based on the perceptions of the citizens during the collection of data which aid in understanding how amnesty was a viable tool as a choice of public policy in countering insurgency.

Another form of social change that the study entails is through a "direct action," which aids in addressing conflicts and injustice. Social change is dynamic by communicating useful information to the people. Reconciliation is a form of defeating evil forces and wrongful acts. It is considered as a kind of understanding of grievances. The study can address a much more comprehensive audience, and the outcome of the results will motivate students, researchers, activists, and scholar-practitioners in understanding the significance of peacebuilding and conflict resolution using a comparative analysis model in my data analysis. The results developed in the study generate critical thinking and the mechanism of understanding peacebuilding. The results will be published, and it will be available anytime for researchers who need clarity on the role of amnesty as public policy tool towards countering insurgence to reference in supporting future studies.

Chapter 1 Summary

Chapter 1 focused on the pedestal critical examination of the Boko Haram insurgence, their attacks in Nigeria, mostly in the Northern Nigeria and the Northeast zones that propagated the discussion in the analysis of the country's contending issues. This chapter focus on elaborating the problem statement, the background of the problem, the significance of the study, definitions of terms, limitations of the study, research questions and hypotheses, social change and expected results of the study. This chapter provides an overview of a better understanding of tackling the challenges facing the people of Nigeria and sheds light on the possible remedies about the problems discussed.

Chapter 2 focuses on the review of past and existing literature that consists of scholars' viewpoints on the relevancy of amnesty in countering insurgence. Chapter 2 begins with a brief introduction of the study, a theoretical framework for the study, and the method that was used in researching the articles.

Chapters 3 addresses the methodology, the research design, sampling size, and strategy, and sampling population. It focuses on the type of instrumentation used in the study, the study's reliability, validity, and the study limitations. Ethical concerns and standards will be maintained throughout the study.

Chapter 4 focuses on the results of the study, including a discussion of the variable sand hypotheses that were stated in understanding the relevance of amnesty as a viable tool in countering insurgency. Chapter 5 will discuss the interpretation of the such findings, shortcomings, limitations of the study, recommendations for future studies, implications for positive social change, as well as the conclusion of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This study sheds light on amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria. This chapter reviews the literature concerning violence, conflict theory and the role of amnesty towards sustaining peace and unity in Nigeria. Previous research on this study primarily discussed the significance of peacebuilding and conflict management (Lederach, 1997; Newsom, 2011). Per Amnesty International USA (2008), it was reported and documented by the amnesty organization that the majority of human rights abuses are linked to guns, which led to the climate of fear and intensity of violence. The agency further reported it involves countless numbers of people who have been tortured, killed, injured, raped, and forced to flee their homes. Different scholars have conducted similar studies about poverty, terrorists, collective bargaining on peace and economic justice and the role of politics in the Nigerian governance, but not much has been researched on the significance of amnesty as a tool to counterinsurgency in Nigeria, which will justify this study. This literature is a replete study supported with evidence-based studies on the Niger-Delta conflict and peace-building.

This chapter features a comprehensive review of the literature that is related to amnesty. The literature review mainly elaborated on the introduction and background information that was discussed in chapter one. This study is to explore and examine amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria. This study was informed by conflict theory in order to ascertain if the continuing conflict can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. The study provides much-

needed answers to whether amnesty is an appropriate public policy tool to address a much more comprehensive audience. The moral needs of counterinsurgency can be overcome with finely crafted policies and procedures based on the virtues of character (Levine, 2009). This study is needed to ascertain measures to be adopted to achieve significant objectives of the amnesty program by eradicating violence in the Republic of Nigeria. The questions of amnesty cannot be undermined because the amnesty program is a mechanism that the government can use in resolving disagreements, conflicts and stimulating widespread economic, social, and political growth for the country. The chapter is divided into sections that include the literature search strategy, theoretical framework for conflict theory, amnesty and its relevance, and implications of past research and a summary.

Literature Search Strategy

Research Output

Most of what is included in the research output are peer-reviewed journal articles, which consisted of seminal research work that was developed in explaining the theory. Other helpful information in gathering information was derived from textbooks and databases.

The Walden University research database and other databases such as Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe, Social Sciences Abstract, Academic Search Complete Database, Google Scholar and Political Science Sage Website were used in gathering and searching information related to my study as well as the Sage publication website that features amnesty. Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe is useful for searching for the latest

information about public policy that is related to violence and conflict management. The database consists of thousands of documents around the globe. The Social Sciences Abstract database entails indexed journals that are related to social sciences, political science, and all other related fields. The Sage website comprises of comprehensive scholarly full-text articles that have more than 5,000 periodical journals. All the review about this study was explored using the above databases' websites. Some of the keywords that I used searching for the articles were attributed to terrorism, violence, amnesty, peacebuilding, conflicts, the Niger Delta, validity, public policy, justice, political parties, public opinions, economic injustice, and radical groups.

Research output is defined as a measure of the contributions that consists of scholars' existing body of knowledge. Research outputs are in the form of publications that supports the study that a researcher is trying to accomplish. For instance, existing information can be gathered through books, journal articles, presentations, and media that aid in researching this topic. Some of the articles are peer-reviewed articles that have validity based on the contents of the information. Some of these articles from the search engines are numbered in hundreds, while some are in the thousands. Some of the literature reviewed for this study is published ten years ago or less. Research outputs are significant to the study because they help in increasing the body of knowledge. Some journal publications were produced in the past that address some of the contributing factors of the relevance of amnesty as a tool for countering insurgency in Nigeria and all over the globe.

One of the problems that are facing the developing countries from advancing is not having the right information as compared to the developed world that encouraged and invested in research and technology. Research and technology play a significant role in a country. In developed countries, research and development aid to facilitate and sustain economic growth and development. In African, the reality is that African lags behind in innovating modern technology that can help to facilitate growth and development and to solve scientific problems. African relies heavily on western technologies. The dependency on western technology has enormous challenges on African cultural values and that is the reason why African has the highest unemployment rate. Lumun (2013) elaborated how Africa children are losing their ability in competing with their other colleagues in the developed world because they have limited access to research and technology. I was able to review some of the author's scholarly work and realized that their studies were supported with valid information and sources that help contributed to my study. The significance of the literature review in a study is to enable the researcher to understand the intellectual heritage and genealogy that are embedded in the study (Laureate Education, Inc., 2010).

Theoretical Framework for Conflict Theory

This study sheds light on the importance of conflict theory in assessing amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency. Conflict theory focuses on the tension between resources, politics and civil rights. Conflict theory plays a significant role in this study because the theory emphasizes the social and political inequalities among different groups who have been deprived and those who are in power. Marx attributed conflict

theory as a state of perpetual conflict which leads to the understanding of the competition for limited resources among the people. Conflict theory helped in maintaining and understanding the main reason for societal violence by voicing grievances. People rebel not because of the existence of grievance but because of the abundance of opportunities available to do well through war (Collier & Hoeffler, 2005). Keen (2005), as cited in Okonofua (2011), states that the objective of warfare is not to win, but to create conditions and opportunities for the plundering of vital resources without the requirement of accountability. Conflict theory is immensely significant in relating to the situation in the Niger Delta. The conflict theory ascertains if the continuing conflict can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. Koopmans & Olzak (2004) highlighted conflict as something that occurs in waves, which rise precipitously until an agreement is reached. Conflict results from differences in values and interests embedded within society, which aids the citizens on how to manage and prevent it from escalating into violence that can disrupt peace and unity. Nigeria's conflict is deeply rooted in the historical context of corruption, political injustice, racism, nepotism, and poverty.

The framework of the conflict theory is comprised of the paradigms, opinions, and assumptions that were developed by researchers who have a better understanding of the dilemma. Critical theory is crucial in understanding the researcher's views and perceptions concerning the study. It is an avenue of engaging in a discussion that pertains to one's belief towards their feelings concerning the problem, which requires immediate resolution and interventions.

Ubhenin (2013) elaborated on a theory of relative deprivation. He referred to it as a primer in debates regarding "greed versus grievance." (p. 187). Ubhenin further highlighted the principal motive behind conflict is greed, not grievance; either profit or political power may be a growing motivation for violence. He mentioned violence as a result of a response to a range of grievances that place leadership at the center of stoking the embers of conflict. Ubhenin stated the absence of needs satisfaction could lead to a feeling of relative deprivation, which builds up to the grievance (2013). This theory promotes the proclamation of amnesty as a conflict resolution mechanism.

Sandler's (2011) article elaborated on empirical studies that are attributed to the theoretical literature on "terrorism." This theory contributed to my research study about terrorism in Nigeria. The argument that was used by the author in this article is the work of other researchers who shared similar experiences, views, and opinions concerning the word "terrorism." In the article, Sandler focused on "game theory" in understanding the interactions of terrorists and the governments towards funding the extremist movement. In the study, the researcher was able to discuss the impact of social grievances that were used by different scholars in shaping his study. He combined an empirical and theoretical framework of game theory as an interactive choice of adopting the best policies of curbing terrorism. Counterterrorism entails the gathering of intelligence and specific information to prevent terrorist events through the use of signal interception, group infiltration, and imagery. Sandler elaborated on axiology assumption theory, which helps to illustrate the role of value in research. Axiology assumption theory is a theory that comprises of past and present ideologies of scholar-practitioners who have a better

understanding of terrorism and its consequences. The principle helped support and validates the entire study based on the researcher's findings based on the existence of the theories. The empirical analysis presented in the study aids in addressing the trends of research with relevant solutions to the dilemma.

From the viewpoint of conflict theory, the idea of a universal Muslim *Ummah*, the political categories known as 'The North' or 'The Middle Belts' is socially constructed concepts in the Nigerian system. While remaining conceptual myths, their potency as an idea and rallying banner cannot be under-estimated. The contestations shaping the structure of politics in contemporary Nigeria have to do, in part, with the constructed concepts and symbols of ethnicity, religion, and community. Addressing them will require returning to the fundamentals of nationhood and reinventing the grammar and syntax of political discourse.

Amnesty and Its Relevance in the Nigerian Regions

Amnesty is derived from the Greek word *"amnesia."* Amnesty is a legal term that comprises disarmament, (surrender of arms by ex-combatants) and demobilization (transition conversion from militarized to civilian life). It is reintegration (the absorption of converted militants into productive, economic life) (Ubhenin, 2013, p. 190). Ubhenin further defined "amnesty" as a method instituted by the government that promotes reconciliation and social cohesion among policymakers. Amnesty is also referred to as guarantee from the exemption, prosecution, and punishment for the criminal. Amnesty played a tremendous role in the battle of insurgency by choosing one of the best

approaches and policies of addressing the situation that is facing the Nigeria Political

Parlance.

Ajayi and Adesote (2013) pinpointed amnesty as a concept derived from the word

amnesia, meaning cast into oblivion or forgetfulness. From the author's perspective,

"amnesty is a strategic state policy which takes a form of executive or legislative

clemency in which offenders or those involved in illegal actions are pardoned formally. It

indicates when a person or group is granted amnesty; all records of the person's

accusation, trial, conviction, and imprisonment are cast into oblivion. The process of

amnesty is conditional because it requires the recipients to perform specific tasks like

providing information, admitting the truth about their actions, showing remorse or

surrendering weapons (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013). One of the philosophies behind the

design of amnesty is to alleviate internal pressure, protect state agents from prosecution,

and promote peace and reconciliation. The Niger Delta amnesty was structured in a form

that will ensure peace and reconciliation to facilitate uninterrupted oil exploration. The

introduction of the amnesty program to the militants in the Niger Delta region by the late

President Yar' Adua's administration was assumed to be a remarkable program in

building peace within the Niger Delta region before political leaders corrupted it after the

death of the President. This program was initiated in 2009 by the late President Musa

Yar' Adua towards the willingness and readiness of the militants to give up all illegal

arms in their possession, completely renouncing militancy. This amnesty initiative was

intended to restore peace and human environmental security in the Niger Delta and to

create an enabling environment for accelerated and sustainable development according to

Ikelegbe, Olarinmoye and Okhonmina (2011) as stated in Ajayi and Adesote (2013). The use of amnesty in the management of oil-driven militancy is the belief that peace rather than violence is a necessary condition for sustainable development.

According to Henry (2006), "some of the roles of countering the insurgent are through negotiation and strategy" (p. 106). He further stated that "negotiations have been one of the mechanisms of do de-link the networked world of fighting the rebel" (p. 106). Another scholar named Henry highlighted that "good faith negotiation" effort would outlast violence by noncompliant actors. He stressed that a negotiation between two actors takes effect in a "step by step fashion" (Henry, 2006, p. 53).

Winer (2008) highlighted the possible measures that were used by the United States of America in alliance with the International community in resolving terrorism. He mentioned the strategy that will aid in countering the insurgence shortly after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. Winer's ideology is similar to that of Henry's, who suggested the possible ways to counter the extremists are through peaceful negotiations and dialogue (Winer, 2008; Henry, 2006). Winer was able to link talks as one of the mechanisms of combating and delinking the insurgence network. Winer identified seven things in addressing terrorist finance: He argued to implement country-specific strategies to ensure global cooperation with the state sponsors, undermine terrorist- affiliated charities by replacing the social services they provide, regulate financial institutions, make nations law a global entity, address smuggling of currency and weapons, reinvigorate the United Nation's support for countering terrorist, and improve the communication gap between global world (2008).

Henry had similar thoughts concerning the role of a "good faith negotiation" that took place between multiple actors that does not happen all the time (Henry, 2006). The systematic approach that Henry highlighted in his article is a method of countering insurgency through a negotiation approach that explains various strategies on how to sustain peace and unity in the country (Henry, 2006). Hassan (2010) pinpointed on the role of peace-building as a slippery and complicated concept. He identified peace-building as a means of preventing an outbreak, recurrence, or continuation of armed conflicts.

As stated by Metz (2007), the contemporary insurgency is tied to different strategic contexts, dynamics, and structures, which are nested with complex conflicts that consisted of the third forces. The forces are referred to as militias; forth forces and unarmed groups which tend to affect the outcome of the international dynamics strategy of countering the insurgent.

Amnesty International (2011) made some recommendations on the measure that was initiated by the Thai government in the Deep South that tend to go beyond the scope of countering insurgence security forces. The government of Thai agreed to add measures that help in protecting and promoting economic, social, and cultural rights by addressing many of the ethnic Malay Muslims grievances.

According to Enright, Freedman, and Rique (1998), as cited in Jeffery (2011), forgiveness is not about cold indifference, but overcoming resentment and substituting compassion. He further highlighted true forgiveness as more than "accepting or tolerating the injustice" as and more than "ceasing anger toward the injured" (Enright et al., 1998,

p. 80). Enright et al. highlighted further by referring to forgiveness as the willingness to abandon one's right to resentment, judgement, and indifference behavior toward one who unjustly injured while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity (1998).

Jeffery (2011) cited Akhavan (2005) concerning the amnesty act that was implemented by the Ugandan government in providing "amnesty" for anyone who engaged in armed rebellion against the government and agreed to renounce his membership and surrender his arms (Akhavan, 2005, p. 409). Jeffery argued that forgiveness manifested in the granting of amnesties and application of traditional justice constituted the most reliable way to end violence (2011). Forgiveness was ruled out and characterized as circumventing justice through the institutionalized process of forgetting associated with amnesties, but as a tool of restorative justice that aids to bring peace. Forgiveness, at the most extreme, is an act of re-establishment of right relationships between victims and perpetrators of wrongs as cited in Jeffery (2011) by Roberts (1995). Griswold (2007) highlighted in Jeffery (2011), argued mutual forgiveness is a social or political procedure in which someone is released from the threat of punishment in return for abjuring violence. He referred to it as a "process akin to pardon or amnesty" (p. 81). The rightful place of forgiveness in the process of conflict resolution and post-conflict justice is a matter of considerable tension in contemporary thought and practice (Jeffery, 2011).

Bosniak (2012) argued amnesty as a pardon of an illegal action that signifies benevolence or mercy by a supreme power. He referred to an act committed by the U.S

government in pardoning the immigrants and rewarding of past offenders. Bosniak further stated it is wrong to treat people who live and work in this country as perpetual outsiders-outsiders to social rights and benefits and outsiders in the sense that they are always subject to expulsion and vulnerability that the threat of expulsion represents. He referred to amnesty as "moral argument and the pragmatic argument." (p. 5). He emphasized justice as a way of recognizing the *de facto* membership of individuals who have lived and contributed to economic success to now suffer from what they do not know. The significance of proffering amnesty for the people will aid in reducing and eradicating violence among the people. It helped in opening up new directions in political thought and practice, according to Bosniak, (2012).

Desta (2006) identifies strategies in fighting anti-corruption when he referred to the policies that were adopted in Eritrea. He supported the policies that aid in restoring peace back to the country after several failed policies in Eritrea. Some of the policies he mentioned are economic/ market reforms, administrative/bureaucratic reforms, accountability/transparency reforms and political accountability reforms. He made reference to Mbaku (1998) about the practical issue involving "outright theft, embezzlement of funds and misappropriation of state property" (p. 89).

Aghedo (2012) mapped out strategies for winning the war and losing the peace in Nigeria. He highlighted the progress and challenges of contemporary post-conflict peace-building in the country focusing on using the amnesty program as a case study. He further concluded that some people seek to be amnestied, and amnesty is granted to others. He shared briefly a program that was implemented by President Musa Yar'Adua on (June 25,

2009) when insurgents are granted unconditional amnesty. The policies were applauded by extreme segments of people, groups and ethnic backgrounds including the International community that aids to pledge support to the program. The ex-combatants must be integrated in a way that will ensure economic independence and justice. Aghedo (2012) cited Ropers (2004) about a DDR program that was successful years back through embracing dialogue of all concerned before, during, and after negotiation. He stated a favorite saying to buttress the crucial role of dialogue in peace-building, "you cannot be shooting" (p. 4). In 1997 and 1999, the Delta State government initiated a disarmament program aimed at ensuring peaceful co-existence amongst the warring Ijaw, Itsekiri and Urhobo ethnic groups. The militants of the region were offered cash, short-term loans, employment, training and employment opportunities. The government of Bayelsa initiated a similar program in 2007 by granting amnesty to the militants, which later broke down and was hijacked by politicians, triggering an escalation of the conflict. Securing peace in the Niger-Delta has been a Herculean task. Various peacebuilding efforts aimed at resolving order in the Niger-Delta have failed.

Buchanan (2002) supported armistice as a single worldwide opening of the prison doors for the imprisoned citizen. He highlighted the significance of amnesty as a way of conveying the sense of an epochal event. He referred to amnesty as attractive components that are distinct from traditional politics. Amnesty was envisaged as a fixed-term project, which might well achieve its objectives within its allotted time. Buchanan referred to Baker's viewpoint in his article focusing on amnesty to support any person who is physically restrained (by imprisonment or otherwise) from expressing (in any form of

words or symbols) any opinion which he honestly holds and which does not advocate or condone personal violence. Amnesty is distinct from traditional politics in Great Britain when it was founded in 1958 as a conventional weapon of rising prosperity and consumerism. Amnesty has been very successful in establishing itself as an actor on the international stage.

Buchanan (2002) stated amnesty for the prisoner would lead to remarkable success in the years ahead, which would encourage membership in growing worldwide, and many prisoners would be released. Amnesty would be integrated into the international legal and non-governmental machinery for protecting human rights. Buchanan (2002) stated amnesty as no exception that helps country to understand their current needs and purposes. Buchanan further relates the increasing prominence of political imprisonment and the abuse of human rights as an issue during the 1950s (2002).

Braithwaite (2009) identified amnesty as an ancient practice of peacemaking that was neglected by the scholar-practitioners. Amnesties are designed in securing peace while attending to the needs of victims, enabling society in realizing the truth and sustaining accountable government (Braithwaite, 2009). Contemporary amnesties are granted to a variety of state actors beyond soldiers, including political leaders, torturers, police, and civil servants. He stated the Mallinder Amnesty Law Database signifies a power-sharing government as the most common add-on to amnesty in return for laying down their guns. Combatants are given a say in the government they have been seeking to overthrow for seats in parliament. Amnesties can be designed to help secure peace

while responding to the needs of victims and the society to know the truth and to establish government accountability (Braithwaite, 2009). He further stated that amnesties can be denied to perpetrators who refuse to tell the truth or engage in restorative justice for victims/ and those most responsible in a command sense for war crimes.

Ubhenin (2013) highlighted amnesty as an incentive given to warlords who surrender, come out of their hiding places and renounce their membership from any act of violence. He referred amnesty as a legitimizing force in the Delta struggle when the leaders and members of militant groups came out of the creeks to embrace amnesty which was in the form of incentives that were given to insurgence. One of the benefits of amnesty entails the opportunity to know the truth and save the victims from the trauma of trials.

Countering insurgency involves a combination of steps, measures, and procedures that are undertaken by the legitimate government of a country to curb or suppress an uprising insurgency. Per Liolio (2013), counterinsurgency is defined as a "military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency" (p. 43). Liolio revealed that counterinsurgency integrates and synchronizes political, security, legal, economic development, and psychological activities in creating a holistic approach aimed at weakening the insurgents (2013).

Feldman (2007) highlighted amnesty for an individual or individuals as a way of resolving conflict and ending the war by the governments. He questioned the sincerity of amnesty by the Iraq government wishing to stop future occurrences. He further elaborated on the Iraq government proffering amnesty to the insurgents as a tool to

encourage insurgents to forego violence and to participate in the democratic process by using peace to address their grievances. Amnesty would help in solving the further killing. Amnesty should be offered to all members no matter the offense they might have committed. In July 2006, the Ugandan government made an offer in the form of amnesty to Kony to allow peace to reign in Uganda. The people in northern Uganda had been utterly devastated by a prolonged low-intensity conflict in which the people of Uganda can offer almost anything in exchange for having the prospect of peace.

The Sultan of Sokoto called for an extremist amnesty on September 5, 2013 in Kaduna (McGregor, 2017). The top spiritual leaders representing the Muslim religion in Nigeria suggested to President Goodluck Jonathan to grant a total amnesty for Islamic extremists who are now launching attacks in the country to halt the violence. In a brief interview conducted by Attah and Gambrell on March 5, 2013, the Sultan of Sokoto, Mohammed Abubakar commented about how a small village in northeast Nigeria awoke to discover eight people found dead. The killings are suspected of being carried out by the radical Islamic extremist network Boko Haram. Abubakar advised the President to offer amnesty in alignment with the one previously provided in 2009 to the militants of the oil-rich southern delta without thinking twice. The deal provided cash payments and job training to fighters to surrender their weapons and halting attacks on foreign oil companies. The Islamic spiritual leader was one of the highest-ranking leaders to endorse such a plan for the Islamic extremists (Attah & Gambrell, 2013).

Mellars, Gori, Carr, Soares, & Richards, (2013) stated insurgency is voluminous when the radical movement threatens a country. The scholars assumed that the amnesty

strategy and approach are the best remedies to curb violence. Advice on countering

insurgency needs to be based on little more than common sense, a general understanding

of history, or a handful of specific historical cases, instead of a robust and systematically

collected body of historical evidence according to a 2010 RAND report, *Victory have a*

Thousand Fathers: Sources of Success in Counterinsurgency. The authors emphasized a

recent study that was conducted by RAND in 2013. It highlighted the approaches and

questions that led counterinsurgency (COIN) to prevail when another nation is supporting

them. This led to the questions about timing which are associated with the duration of

insurgencies and the length of post-conflict peace intervals. Consistent with the study

analysis, three good points were mentioned concerning defeating the insurgency. The

three points are commitment, reward and motivation. All the three points were identified

as factors of countering insurgence. Based on the study results of the government and the

COIN forces, commitment and motivation were assessed as lacking in defeating

insurgence. Flexibility and adaptability were mentioned to enable COIN forces to adjust

to changes in insurgent strategies.

From the above scholar's theories and opinions, it is assumed that

multidimensional approaches and procedure are strictly adhered to when dealing with

insurgence. The ideas contributed significantly to the strategies of countering insurgence

by winning the support of the people as well as protecting the people and reassuring and

confiding in them to maintain peace and economic stability. Liolio (2013) highlighted

preventing insurgency is better than curing one. Peacebuilding in the Niger-Delta is vital

for many other nations, including the United States, which depends on a high deal on

Nigeria for its energy supply (Aghedo, 2012). The death of Yah' Adua is a big blow to Nigeria as it adversely affected the success of the post-amnesty program of which politicians turned the program to a private business of enriching their pockets Amaize (2010), as cited in Aghedo (2012).

Implications of Past Research

The relevance of amnesty as a tool in countering insurgence was conducted in the past and documented by researchers to gain knowledge of the problem and how it can be addressed. Various studies about violence, corruption, terrorism and all other challenges that constitute the dilemma facing Nigeria have significance in proffering solutions to the problem.

Chapter 2 Summary and Conclusion

Based on what is going on in Nigeria, it is highly recommended that the government develop a public policy measure in the form of amnesty to reduce violence and to aid economic development. This chapter explained the roles and significant steps of policies adopted by various scholars as a way to end violence in the Niger region of Nigeria. The goal of this study would be attributed to the means of proffering, recommending, and using appropriate measures in meeting the needs of the people, which will be in the form of amnesty provision to quench violence and threats.

This study helps fill a significant gap in the literature by contributing to the understanding of the significance of peacebuilding through disengagement, disbarment, and demobilization among the radical groups and aids in bringing long-term economic development. This chapter sheds light on the theoretical framework of conflict theory in

examining violence within different regions and how to tackle violence, focusing on various measures of conflict resolution such as attributing amnesty as a public policy. Aghedo (2012) emphasized the composition of the Presidential Amnesty Committee be broadened for optimal effectiveness.

The gradual restoration of peace in the Niger-Delta and the attendant boost in oil production seem to suggest the efficacy of the strategy. Good solution should be streamlined and developed in rapid forms of creating job opportunities for the rapidly multiplying tribe of jobless youths who were not captured in the amnesty program (Ajayi & Adesote, 2013). The study, therefore, is significant because it compares scholar's viewpoints that explain emerging issues about amnesty and its contributions in overcoming violence. The study compares and contrasts the success of the amnesty program and how it is proffered as a viable tool in countering insurgence. The literature review compares various trends about the introduction of the amnesty program by various researchers who have a deep understanding of conflict resolution and peace-building. The literature sheds light on conflict theory that aids to understand the study and was designed to complement the post-conflict war by enticing combatants who surrender their weapons with the amnesty program.

Chapter 3 of this study explains the methodology, procedures, data collection method, research design method, survey questions, sample size and sampling strategy, validity and instrumentation that are used to gather information for this study.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

This study was developed to explore and examine amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria. The data collected during the study helps people in the community to understand the participants' perceptions on how the government can meet their needs. I focused this study on conflict theory to ascertain if the continuing conflicts can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. This study examines the Boko Haram insurgency, the attacks in Nigeria, mostly in Northern Nigeria and the Northeast zones, that shaped the discussion in the analysis of the country's contending issues. This study's proposal presents facts about the possible counterproductive outcome of countering Boko Haram and its allies. The government should invest heavily in human development and eradicate societal problems that might hinder people from exercising their rights and privileges because the citizens of Nigeria are connected to government failure, lapses, and bad governance.

This chapter discusses the data collection method and strategy. It elaborates on how data was analyzed, the sampling population, the sampling strategy, the population sample size, and validity. Some of the things to focus on in this chapter are the instrumentation and the materials that were suitable in understanding this study. It also sheds light on the ethical procedures that are involved in the study.

Research Design and Rationale

A research design is the "blueprint" that enables the researcher to come up with solutions to the challenges faced and serves as a guide in various stages of the research

(Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008, p. 88). The author further stated, "A research

design enables the researcher in structuring the collection, analysis, and interpretation of

data" (p. 89). I was able to draw inferences concerning casual relationships among the

variables that I used in the study. Research designs guide the researcher on what needs to

study how to study, whom to study, what to observe and when to analyze data (Frankfort-

Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). In a study, variables play a tremendous role by accepting

numerals and values for testing and measurement (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). The

survey method was cross-sectional, with data on relevant variables collected at one point

in time from various people in Abuja, Nigeria. I used the ex-post facto design for this

study. An ex-post design is a quasi-experimental study that examines how an independent

variable affects the dependent variable. According to Tuckman (1999), ex-post facto is a

study in which the researcher is unable to cause a variable to occur by creating a

treatment and must examine the effects of a naturalistically occurring treatment once it

has occurred. The ex-post design does not allow for manipulation of the independent

variable (Tuckman, 1999). The rate of violence happens to be a major catastrophe within

Nigeria and some of the African countries towards advancing to the next level of

economic growth and development. The response of the participants from the self-

administered questionnaires was used as my primary data.

Population

The targeted population was 110 participants who received the flyer, but the

response rate was 100 participants out of the 110 who participated in the survey. The

survey comprised of adults with relevant experience and information about the problems

that are affecting economic stability within Nigeria. The participants were from different regions of Nigeria, which comprises of the eastern, southern, northern and western. The sample size was drawn from the population. I used power analysis to calculate the appropriate minimum sample size required for the study. G* power is a statistical power analysis program that is designed to analyze different types of power with computed sample size. According to (Balkin & Sheperis, 2011), a power analysis is used in the study because it enables the researcher to be able to determine and accept the alpha, beta and the effect size expected in the study. The power analysis aids the researcher in determining the accurate sample size using appropriate statistical significance to avoid the chances of having a Type I or Type II error (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). In my study, a five percent chance of error in the analysis was accepted, while my alpha was 0.05, and I was able to accept a 60 percent chance of statistical significance difference.

The participants were surveyed individually by me with the aid of the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment Organization members who assisted in the distribution of flyers to the participants in the Gwagwalada shopping Mall. The process commenced at exactly 12.00pm. The questionnaire was used to gather responses from adults to elicit their opinions on the violence affecting the Nigerian political parlance.

<div align="center">

Sampling and Sample Size

</div>

Sampling Strategy

The sampling strategy is very crucial in conducting a quantitative research study. Some of the underlying ideology of sampling is selecting the best variable in a population

to draw conclusions about the whole population (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). I used a survey design for the study. I was able to employ both the convenience and purposive sampling methods of the non-probability sampling plan in selecting the adults within the Mall. Questionnaires were distributed to the adults in the allocated room that was provided to me by the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment organization. I was able to use the nonprofit organization in distributing my flyers to the people to facilitate the process of data collection and to avoid any form of bias. The participants were conveniently selected from the population, in which N sample size of the participants was chosen using a stratified random method. The stratified random method enables the participants to have adequate knowledge of the issues surrounding Nigerian political and economic parlance. I ensured that the participants understood the objective of the questionnaires before making any elections to avoid any hindrance that can affect the study goals and objectives.

Researchers always consider elements that make a sample compelling for particular research problem which can be attributed to the accuracy of results. Sampling enables better testing to take place through the process of investigating information. Sampling strategy and sample size have a substantial impact in a study if the targeted population size measures the accuracy and the validity of the study. The population entails individuals, families, and so on. The population can be used to measure income. Sampling frame comprised of the complete list of all the members of the population that the researcher intends to study. Sample elements are drawn from the population (Cooper & Schindler, 2008).

In conducting the survey, different factors can hinder some of the procedures of having factual findings and results. The factors that are identified with the sampling method are that elements selected from the sampling method are only included. Also, the interviewers might encounter difficulty in trying to modify the different selections. Other aspects are that participants might not respond appropriately to the questions asked, which can make it harder for researchers to have accurate results about the study.

Sample Size

The sample size was drawn from a targeted population. My sample size was moderate to aid in analyzing the standard error of the estimate. Some of the challenges encountered using a large or small sample size in a study can lead to inaccurate and unreliable assumptions. The data collected from the survey questionnaire was analyzed using F-test ANOVA, which explained whether the variance in the dataset was significantly greater than the unexplained variation. I used the G- power analysis to determine the appropriate sample size for my study. G-power is a statistical way of detecting a real effect. The sample size is very significant in enabling the researcher to determine result significance without an increased chance of the Type error. I was able to accept alpha five percent error with a 60 percent chance of finding a statistical significance difference. (In the research that was carried out by Kickham and Ford (2009), the researchers use a current population strategy that is used in predicting the measurement scales adopted). Measurement scales are reasonable to predict the variables used in a research study.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection Method

The method of inquiry for this study was quantitative research. A questionnaire was designed to elicit information from adults within the troubled regions that have the most occurrences of child kidnappings and bombings. This section focuses on the design that was used in collecting data. A survey instrument was administered in collecting the participant responses. The data analysis plan, study reliability, validity and the content of the validity were examined. I was able to employ both the convenience and purposive sampling methods of the non-probability sampling plan in selecting the adults within the Mall. Flyers were distributed to the participants from different places in the Gwagwalada Mall to elicit their support in participating in a paper survey that consisted of 30 questions. Gwagwalada shopping mall is located in the capital city of Abuja. Abuja is a planned city that became the Nigerian capital on December 12, 1991, replacing Lagos. It is a shopping retail center that is built purposely for the transaction of goods and services.

The survey flyers were administered with the assistance of the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment Organization. The Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment organization is a nonprofit organization that was founded to alleviate poverty and to improve the lives of the citizens by providing them with skills, training, and opportunities that will enable them to be successful. A consent letter from the organization stating their interest and collaboration in working with me during the process of flyers distribution was attached in the appendix and was sent to the Institutional Review Board. Questionnaires were designed to create a data set that was used for the study. The primary focus and concerns were attributed to amnesty as a public

policy tool towards countering Boko Haram and radical movements that hinder economic progress and prosperity in Nigeria.

Instrumentation and Operationalization of Constructs

Researchers and scholars used tests and scales as a tool, instruments that focus on measuring people's attitudes, behaviors, and objects. Different types of measuring levels were used in determining, assigning, classifying, and grouping variables together. The significance of using measurement is to focus on the idea of assigning numbers to objects, events that correspond to a set of rules and principles that a study generates. The general principle of measurement is referred to the concept that researchers discuss with peers to indicate if the instrument measured what it intends to measure. Test and scales make a significant difference in any research study. Researchers make use of test and scales to touch base on any aspect of the research questions that need clarifications (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008).

Some of the characteristics of determining an appropriate measurement are to evaluate its validity, reliability, and practicability on the study. Reliability applies to a study if the degree of its validity provides consistent results. In any research study, the goal of using a test and scales is to have a standard measurement of the content that the researcher is trying to measure. Applying these two concepts into a research study enables a researcher to test for the validity and reliability of the importance of what needs to be measured. A given population or a target group aids the study's reliability and validity based on the instrument that was used by the researchers. Tests can be used to determine the overall performance of the students in a classroom based on their scores or

the overall accumulated average. One of the measurement scales that enable a researcher

to determine the progress of the students is "Likert Scale." The Likert scale was used to

support my study in gathering information that explained why amnesty could be a viable

public policy tool in countering insurgence in Nigeria.

In my study, validity was taken seriously by ensuring that the instruments

measured what they purported to measure. I ensured that the measuring instruments are

accurate and understandable to help the participants when selecting the best choices in

addressing the problems facing Nigeria. Both the continuous scales (strongly agree to

strongly disagree) and categorical scales (yes/no) from highest to lowest importance were

incorporated in measuring the items on the questionnaire. The perceptions of the

respondents aid in determining the relationship of amnesty in countering insurgency.

Operationalization for Variables

The dependent variables in this study focused on amnesty for adults 18 years and

older and was examined over the independent variable of income, age, and education.

Perceptions of the participants were reported focusing on descriptive statistics that

highlighted the frequency based on the questions asked during the survey. The survey

was designed using a 5-scale interval of "strongly agree to undecided." Multiple linear

regressions help attempt to model the relationship between two or more explanatory

variables. Field (2009) referred to regression analysis as a technique used by statistical

researchers in predicting the value of other variables. It is the best way of examining the

regression line. Multiple linear regressions are similar to simple linear regression

analysis. The variable whose value is to be predicted is known as the dependent variable,

and the one whose value is used for prediction is the independent variable. The dependent variables of amnesty for adults and amnesty for youths were tested using the independent variables of income level, educational attainment, age, gender, religious affiliation, and occupation. Also, my independent variables aid in distinguishing people's views of amnesty among adults versus amnesty for youths in attributing resources as a viable tool of economic policy in stimulating growth and development in Nigeria.

For instance, will amnesty aid to quell insurgency among the citizens of Nigeria between the age of 18 and older? This question was part of the self-administered questionnaire that was distributed to the adults. Some of Nigeria's economic problems were traced to the insufficient and ineffective allocation of resources that are not proportionally distributed, also increasing the level of illiteracy among the people of Nigeria. All these are attributed as the causes of violence going on in the country. These measurements represent the responses of the participants on the relationship between amnesty for the youths and amnesty for the adults examined with some variables during the analysis of the survey.

Data Analysis Plan

The support for amnesty from the adults at the shopping mall in Maitama, Abuja was determined by the impacts of income level, educational attainment, access to infrastructural facilities like schools, hospitals, and access to social amenities and occupation level within citizens of different ages, genders, religious affiliations and regions. Also, the independent variables aid in distinguishing people's views of amnesty as a viable tool of economic policy to stimulate growth and development in Nigeria. The

dependent variables, amnesty for youths and amnesty for adults 18 years and older was determined by the impacts of income level, the independent variable in determining citizen's characteristics about their differences in proffering amnesty as a public policy choice towards countering insurgency.

I was able to test the significance level of how people's responses aid in proffering amnesty as a tool of public policy in combating radical groups. I tested how amnesty can contribute to quelling the insurgency by comparing the results generated from the descriptive statistics. Older adults' perceptions were compared to the number of younger adults' perceptions about amnesty as a public policy tool to counter radical groups. According to the Amnesty International USA, it was reported and documented by the agency that the majority of human rights abuses are linked to guns, which led to a climate of fear and intensifies violence. The Amnesty International USA (2011) further reported it involves countless numbers of people who have been tortured, killed, injured, raped and forced to flee their homes.

The statistical analysis that would be appropriate for conducting quantitative research data analysis has to do with the nature of the research questions, the number of dependent variables, which is referred to as the (outcome) and independent variables which are the (predictors) and the controlled variables that are present in the study. After the data collection process, I was able to check the accuracy of the data by focusing on descriptive statistics to determine the percentage of the participants involved in the study. The perceptions of the participants who participated in the survey on amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency were tested using analysis of variance (ANOVA).

The F-test ANOVA was used in determining whether the explained variance in the

dataset is significantly higher than the unexplained variance by testing the variance

equality of the mean. I included a MANOVA test to compare participants' perceptions in

relations to some of the questions asked during the survey such as issues relating to

poverty, unemployment, resources allocation, and equality within the Nigerian regions. I

used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for all the statistical analyses.

Survey Questions

The survey questions are available in the appendix. The survey questions were

written in English and will be administered to the adults between the aged 18 and older

who are citizens of Nigeria.

I was able to distribute my survey questionnaires to the participants in the SAFE

office located across from the Gwagwalada Mall, while the Strategic Alliance Foundation

Empowerment Organization (SAFE) aided in administering the flyers to the adults who

are over the age of 18 and older. I explained the criteria for participating in the survey to

the participants before commencing on the survey to avoid bias and to be able to answer

any questions that they might have. I was able to verify their age before allowing them to

participate in the survey in ensuring that they meet the criteria before administering the

questionnaires to the participants. The Flyers and the consent forms were distributed to

the participants which highlighted the requirements and eligibility that is required before

participants were allowed to take part in the survey. Before administering the

questionnaires at the office, it was preceded by a cover letter and a consent form that

explained the significance of the study. The participants met the criteria to participate in

the study. I communicated with the organization's director that helped me to distribute my flyers to the participants by phone and e-mail requesting for their approval, and they were glad to work with me during the process to distribute my flyers to the volunteers. I was allowed to use the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment office and resources to survey my participants. I followed up with them every week reminding them about the process. The program director was able to endorse the letter without any delay and was submitted to the Walden IRB Committee members.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study was focused on answering two hypotheses that were drawn from providing amnesty as a public policy choice for countering insurgency in Nigeria.

Research Question 1: Is there a distinct difference in people's view of amnesty among 18 years and older that explain the relevance of infrastructural facilities to stimulate economic growth and development in Nigeria?

Research Question 2: Are there specific citizen characteristics that explain the differences in the way citizens perceive amnesty as a public policy choice?

The two hypotheses and null hypotheses are listed below

H1a: As Citizens' support for economic growth and development increases, support for the amnesty program also increases.

Ho1a: Citizen's increased support for economic growth and development does not affect their support for the amnesty program.

H1b: Religious differences play a significant role towards proffering amnesty as a public policy choice.

Ho1b: Religious differences have no impact on amnesty as a public policy choice.

Threats to Validity

The validity of research measures what an instrument is supposed to measure in addressing some of the research questions and research topics (Hancock & Mueller, 2010). Some of the characteristics of determining an appropriate measurement are to evaluate its validity, reliability, and practicability in the study. For a test to be valid, it indicates that the test measures the actual thing that is supposed to measure (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). Reliability applies to a study if the degree of its validity provides consistent results. In any research study, the goal of using a test and scales was to have a standard measurement of the content that you are trying to measure. Applying these two concepts into a research study enables a researcher to test for the validity and reliability of the importance of what needs to be measured. A given population or a target group aid the study's reliability and validity based on the instrument that was used by the researchers. Tests can be used to determine the overall performance of the students in a classroom based on their scores, or the overall accumulated average. Validity and reliability consist of context-specific characteristics, which researchers assess periodically to ensure that they measure certain circumstances.

Instrument Description and Justification

In this study, data was collected and analyzed through a survey designed method. This process was followed by an assessment of the reliability and validity of the data that

address the purpose and the different types of measurement scales that will answer some

of the research questions (Hancock & Mueller, 2010). Mixed evidence was collected and

incorporated from current and past research studies. Some of the limitations are:

1. It will be difficult to predict if data are collected accurately to judge the

    "goodness" of how reliable data is.

2. The instrument used in the study might be appropriate in some areas, but not in

    others (Hancock & Mueller, 2010).

Reliability Indices: In using reliability indices, four strategies are described to

assess instruments' reliability. They are test-retest, parallel forms, and internal

consistency. The attitudes and behaviors of people from a diverse group were tested by

adopting the four levels of measurements to reflect some of the questions that need more

time to be answered. Other strengths of reliable indices are that reliable evidence can be

achieved when two variables are compared relatively (Hancock & Mueller, 2010).

The limitations of using reliability indices are:

1. It could impact the test validity if an interval is considered long; the time should

    be taken seriously.

2. It might have adverse effects in my data due to the cost involved.

Validity Evidence

Validity evidence has a tremendous impact on the study. It contributes to the

study by determining my judgment and analysis that occurs in the study. The evidence is

gathered to show that the researchers have the ability, skills, and knowledge in the field.

A validity instrument might be useful and valid in one circumstance, but have an adverse effect on the other (Hancock & Mueller, 2010).

Reporting and Interpreting Reliability and Validity Results

In my study, the interpretation of empirical findings and the results were judged based on particular phenomena that best address the research problems and research questions. The study results and findings in chapter four proved that the participants are in favor of proffering solutions to the problems presented in chapter one and their support for amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgence in Nigeria. Evidence-based on previous research and literatures were used in this study. The limitations are that it might be difficult to get a response from the author of the study; also, the information derived might be contradictory. The interpretation of results and findings should be able to attenuate the magnitudes of what the outcome ought to be, in the form of its context of reliability and validity. If evidence from a previous research study is provided, then researchers would be able to find the correlation between measures of the types of deviance (Brewer & Hunter, 2006).

Researchers use the test to generate multiple choice questions that help in understanding the rules, principles, and guidance of how things are accomplished. In public policy, researchers tend to use the various tests in determining how people respond to the situation that surrounds them. It is a way of assessing the performance of particular groups. It is used to test for the credibility when we use it in judging students' performances in a school system. It entails documentation of individual performance about a particular skill that is needed. Researchers proved that the criterion-referenced

measure ranges from analyzing various skills that pertain to behavior that states what they can do or what they cannot do.

The impact of internal validity explains the relationship between the variables. The researchers based the complexity and simplicity of the variables on a common-sense technique that aids in predicting what is measured and tested. Kickham and Ford (2009) adopted the best research design that suits the goal of the study. The causes and manipulation are observed by changes in the dependent variable that generalize the validity of the results. Validity and reliability consisted of context-specific characteristics, which researchers assess periodically to ensure that they measure certain circumstances. People with a psychological mindset within a particular population can be tested.

Experiments are studies involving intervention by the researcher beyond that required for measurement. The usual response is to manipulate some variable in a setting and observe how it affects the subjects being studied (Cooper & Schindler). In experimental design, there is at least an independent variable and one dependent variable that generate hypothesis testing and enable the researcher to be able to determine the correlation between the variables. The differences between a survey and experiments, according to Babbie (1990), are that "survey research provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population" (p. 56). It also includes cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, using questionnaires or structured interviews for data collection, while experimental research determines if a specific treatment influences the outcome.

Ethical Procedures

The proposed study involved collecting data from adults within Gwagwalada

shopping mall in Maitama, Abuja Nigeria. It is good for the researcher to maintain ethical

standards during and after the study. Maintaining ethical standards entails protection of

the participants' information, building trust, and confidence, guiding against any form of

misconduct, impropriety and promoting the integrity of the study (Creswell, 2009). One

of the ways to address inappropriate or ethical issues in this study is to have this proposal

be reviewed by the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB). During the

distribution of survey, I was able to include a separate cover letter which explained the

significance of the research to the public. This method guarantees confidentiality for my

participants, and a consent form was included in the cover letter as well as the results of

the study. I included an authorization letter from the Strategic Alliance Foundation

Empowerment organization since they aid in distributing my flyers to the participants.

After the collection of data, I ensured that it was stored and secured in a safe place that

cannot be tampered with people nor destroyed by rodents.

Chapter 3 Summary

This chapter dealt with the research designs, methodology, sample and sampling

strategy, instrumentation, reliability, validity, research questions and hypotheses and

ethical concerns associated with the study.

As previously noted, chapter 4 will focus on the results of the findings, the

variables and stated hypotheses, in understanding the relevance of amnesty as a viable

tool in countering insurgency. Chapter 4 begins with a brief introduction of the study. It

discusses the differences in personal opinions based on the statistical data collected from the people of Nigeria.

Chapter 5 examines the interpretation of the findings, any shortcomings or limitations of the study, recommendations for future studies, implications for positive social change and the conclusion of the study. It sheds light on amnesty policy to unveil why it is necessary to address the crisis and violence within the region that will help bring long lasting-peace in Nigeria.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore and examine amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria. I mentioned in chapter one of this study that this study will be focused on conflict theory. Conflict theory informed the study to ascertain if the continuing conflict can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace.

The F-test ANOVA was used in determining whether the explained variance in the dataset is significantly greater than the unexplained variation by examining the variance equality of the mean. I included a MANOVA analyses to compare participants' perceptions in relations to some of the questions asked during the survey such as issues relating to poverty, unemployment, resources allocation, and equality within the Nigerian regions. I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for all the statistical analyses.

The research is a survey-based quantitative research design. The research questions addressed in this research study include the following:

Research Question 1: Is there a distinct difference in people's view of amnesty among 18 years and older that explain the relevance of infrastructural facilities to stimulate economic growth and development in Nigeria?

Research Question 2: Are there specific citizen characteristics that explain the differences in the way citizens perceive amnesty as a public policy choice?

The two hypotheses and null hypotheses are listed below.

H1a: As Citizens' support for economic growth and development increases, support for the amnesty program also increases.

Ho1a: Citizen's increased support for economic growth and development does not affect their support for the amnesty program.

H1b: Religious differences play a significant role towards proffering amnesty as a public policy choice.

Ho1b: Religious differences have no impact on amnesty as a public policy choice.

The significance of the survey is to gain further insights regarding the research questions. Chapter 4 includes information regarding the data collection from the self-administered survey as well as the results and findings of the study. The results section reviews specific details on the test and the statistical analysis that was used to illustrate the study.

Data Collection

I collected the data for this study following the proposal approved by the Walden Institutional Review Board #03-28-17-0286241 from February 2017 to April 2017. I collected my data by surveying 100 participants at the Gwagwalada shopping mall in Maitama, Abuja. After the distribution of the flyers, I was able to meet with the participants individually at the SAFE office situated in the Gwagwalada shopping mall where the survey took place. They consisted of adults within Maitama Abuja, Nigeria. I concluded this study on April 18th, 2017. The flyers were distributed to 110 participants, but only 100 participants participated in the study. All the participants were advised that

participation in the research study was strictly voluntary and confidential. The participants were provided a copy of the survey and the implied consent form.

The survey and the implied consent letter were given to the participants before the survey commenced. The questionnaire administration was preceded by a cover letter that explained the significance of the research to the participants as shown in the Appendix. The purpose of the study, minimal risks and benefits for participating, voluntary nature of the survey, guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity of the participants, researcher information, participant's level and type of involvement were included in the informed consent form. Walden University IRB reviewed and approved the informed consent form. Members of the organization helped to distribute my flyers at the mall. I told the participants about accessing the results of the study and promised that the results of the research would be made available at the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment office for anyone to access once the study is completed.

Initial Data Analysis

The statistical analysis in this study enabled me to compare the level of significance by running an analysis to determine or explain the differences in opinion of citizens based on these factors which attributed to adults 18 years and older on gender and amnesty because older adults might have a different reasoning than younger adults about amnesty. Citizen opinions and preferences are the yardsticks of determining whether the amnesty program aids in strengthening and developing possible relationships within the insurgence. This helps fill a significant gap in the policy research literature by addressing the problem and to understanding the better approach that strengthens

Nigeria's political system. This process informs public policy makers to understand the wishes of the citizens and the correlates. Statistical significance tests are used in determining whether the outcome of the study would lead to rejection of the null hypothesis. The hypothesis in this study focused on explaining the differences in citizens' opinions regarding amnesty and if amnesty can be used as a public policy tool in countering insurgency among Nigerians. The differences in citizens' opinion were based on their age limit about the questions asked in the survey. I developed questionnaires that take into account the differences in age between the adults' 18 years and older.

Scales were used in determining the reliability of the test by selecting some questions from the dependent and independent variables. The Cronbach alpha coefficient was developed to ascertain the reliability of the coefficients. Cronbach's alpha was reported, and a score of .587 was derived from the six questions that I tested. All the independent variables and the dependent variables that were tested met the statistical requirements. The Cronbach Alpha results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.

The Cronbach Alpha (Reliability Test) That was Developed to Test the Reliability of The Coefficients

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.587	.582	6

Sample Description

The target population for this study was 110 but the response rate was 100 that participated in the study. This sample size was determined by power analysis with the G* Power software (Balkin & Sheperis, 2011). The participants include students, teachers, farmers, a production worker, a transporter, sales/marketers, construction worker, legal/government officials and healthcare professionals. A total of 100 survey questionnaires were administered at the research site to the participants who volunteered to participate in the survey. All the participants completed the questionnaire, which enabled my sample size to be reported as (N = 100). Thus, the response rate was 100%.

Descriptive characteristics of the participants were examined to aid the discussion and interpretation of the research findings. The detailed descriptive and inferential statistics are presented below. I use the frequencies and percentages in analyzing my data. All the participants completed the questionnaires on time without procrastination. I gave the participants adequate time to go over the Informed Consent form and the survey in case they need clarification or have any questions related to the study.

This chapter presents the descriptive statistics and quantitative analysis for relationships among the variables studied. ANOVA and MANOVA were used to model the relationship between the independent and dependent variables as described in Chapter three. According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2008), the analysis of variance or ANOVA test is a method that indicates whether there is significant variance between two or more independent variables regarding a specified dependent variable. The analysis

evaluates whether the three group means on the dependent variable differ significantly

from each other (Green & Salkind, 2011). The statistical results of this analysis are given

in this chapter, and where necessary, they are evaluated and validated against the

hypotheses.

The results of the descriptive statistics are presented below.

Descriptive Variables of Sample (Research Questions)

Out of the 100 participants who participated in the survey, respondents between

the ages of 18-24 have a frequency of 22 (22.0%), while participants between age 25-34

have a frequency of 16 (16%). The participants between the ages 35-44 have a frequency

of 25 with (25%), between the age 45-54 with a reported frequency of 18 (18.0%)

respondents, and between 55 and older respondents' frequency is 16 (16.0%). Three

percent of the participants prefer not to answer the questions about their age. The results

indicated that 25% of the respondents who participated in the survey fall between the

ages of 35-44, followed by 22% between the ages of 18-24 whom actively took part in

the survey. See Table 3, below.

Table 3.
Distribution of The Participants by Their Demographic

Age	Number of Participants	Percentage
8-24	22	22.0%
25-34	16	16.0%
35-44	25	25.0%
45-54	18	18.0%
55 and Older	16	16.0%
Prefer Not to Answer	33	33.0%

Table 3.
Distribution of The Participants by Their Demographic

Gender:		
Male	48	48.0%
Female	52	52.0%
Marital Status:		
Single	35	35.0%
Married	48	48.0%
Divorced	5	5.0%
Separated	5	5.0%
Widowed	7	7.0%
Geographical Region:		
South West	12	12.0%
South South	17	17.0%
South East	33	33.0%
North West	24	24.0%
North Central	11	11.0%
North East	3	3.0%

The gender of the participants who participated in the survey indicated out of 100 participants, 48% are male with a frequency of 48, while females have a frequency of 52 (52%). The percentage of the female is higher than the male participants during the survey. Out of the 100 participants who participated in the survey, respondents with grammar school have a reported frequency of 5 (5%), high school or equivalent reported

frequency is 10 (10%). The participants who only have vocational or technical school reported frequency is 25 (25%), while participants who graduated with bachelor's degree has a frequency of 48 (48%), participants with Master's degree reported frequency is 11 (11%). The results indicated that 48 % of the participants who participated in the survey graduated with a bachelor's degree, 1% have a college education, while 25% completed vocational or technical education compared to 11% who graduated with a master's degree.

Out of 100 participants that participated in the survey, Four percent of participants earned under $20,000, while 20% earned from $20,000-$30,000. Participants who earned $30,000-$40,000 have a frequency of 20 (20%), and participants who earned over $40,000 have a reported frequency of 39 (39%), while 17% of the participants prefer not to answer the questions about their income.

The distribution of the participants' income indicated out of 100 participants who participated in the survey, 12% of the people are from the southwest, and 17% from the south, 33% are from the southeast, 24% reside in the northwest, 11% from northcentral and 3% from the northeast. The results indicate that the majority of the participants who completed the survey are from the southeast with frequency of 33 (33%), followed by northeast with 24%. The distribution by their geographical region indicates that out of 100 participants who participated in the survey, 35% are reported as single, 48% are married, while 5% were reported to be divorced and 5% are separated. From the results reported above, 48% of the married couples have the highest percentage compared to

35% who are single with a frequency of 35%. The participants tend to have strong insight to the problems going on in Nigeria and how they can be resolved.

Out of the 100 participants who participated in the survey, the frequency for employed workers was 61 (61%), not employed or looking for work was 22 (22%), retired workers frequency is reported as 16 (16%), and 1% indicated as a disabled worker. The majority of the participants who participated in the survey are employed with the highest percentage of 61% compared to 22% who are not employed but looking for work.

Out of the 100 participants who participated in the survey, 13% are educational professionals, 13% are considered as farmers/fishing/forestry, 13% are healthcare professionals, 7% are in management. The statistics indicated that 6% are in production/manufacturing sector, 4% are considered working in maintenance, 2% as construction worker, 2% as food preparation, 11% are in legal/government sector, 3% in sales and marketing, 3% in arts/design/entertainment, 2% in transportation, 18% are students, and 1% reported as mechanic.

Descriptive Findings of Proffering Amnesty as a Public Policy Tool

Out of 100 participants who participated in the survey about offering amnesty as a public policy tool to counter insurgence, participants who choose "strongly agree" has a reported frequency of 43 (43%), participants who choose "I agree" to have a reported frequency of 53 (53%), participants with "I disagree" has a frequency of 1 (1%), strongly disagree is 1 (1%), and 1 (1%) is reported as "undecided". The majority of the

participants agreed that offering amnesty to empower the youths in various armed groups can help to quell the insurgency.

Table 4.

Distribution of Sample of The Participants About Offering Amnesty to Various Armed Groups to Quell Insurgency.

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	43	43.4%
I agree	53	53.5%
I disagree	1	1.0%
Strongly disagree	1	1.0%
Undecided	1	1.0%

Out of 100 participants surveyed, 38 (38%) strongly agreed and believed that offering and providing free education to the youths could bring them out of various armed groups. 43 (43%) chose "I agree" to the statement, 11 (11%) reported as "I disagree", while four (4%) "Strongly disagreed" and 4 (4%) reported as "undecided" participants. The results of the descriptive statistics indicated that participants supported the idea of offering and providing free education to the youths and adults so as to reduce violence and counter insurgence.

Out of 100 participants that I surveyed, 41 (41%) strongly agreed to the question about considering the provision of amnesty to include all sexes, especially females who

were involved in militancy, 55 (55%) agreed to the question, while 2 (2%) reported as I disagreed and 2 (2%) indicated as undecided.

Out of 100 participants survey for this study, regarding citizens likely to benefit most from the amnesty program if administered properly, the distribution reported that participants that choose "strongly agreed" to the statement have a frequency of 29 (29%), Participants with a "I agree" have a frequency of 54 (54%), participants that choose "I disagreed" were 12 (12%), while participants with "strongly disagreed" was 4 (4%) and for the participants that choose "Undecided" have a frequency of 1 (1%). The descriptive statistics indicate a tremendous support that the citizens are likely to benefit most from the amnesty program if administered properly.

Out of 100 participants who participated in the survey, 47 (47%) choose "strongly agree" to the questions asked during the survey that the majority of government assistance should focus on building infrastructural facilities for the people. Fifty-two percent choose "I agree", while only one (1%) reported "I disagreed." The results indicate that the majority of the participants are for rendering assistance in the form of building infrastructural facilities for the people.

Out of 100 participants that participated in the survey about the problems affecting Nigeria, thirty-three percent (33%) of the participants "strongly agreed," 62 (62%) indicated "I agree," two (2%) indicated "I disagreed," while three (3%) "Strongly disagreed" to the question asked. The descriptive statistics results reviewed that the participants are in support of the amnesty program in resolving the Nigeria violence.

There is a tremendous increase in the percentage of participants who agree to the statements.

Data Analysis by Hypotheses Question

Hypothesis 1

Ha: As citizens support for economic growth and development increases, support for the amnesty program also increases.

Ho: Citizens increased support for economic growth and development does not affect their support for the amnesty program.

The mean for economic growth and development, which is traced to building infrastructural facilities for the people, is reported as 1.54, while the standard deviation is .520 and the number of participants is 100. The mean value for the support of an amnesty program in empowering the youths of the various armed group to quell insurgency is 1.63 with a standard deviation of .664.

Another question about amnesty is if it should be offered on a long-term basis among the citizen? The result has a reported mean value of 1.67 and standard deviation of .577. In the descriptive statistic Table, the provision of amnesty for all sexes, especially females that involved in militancy have a reported mean of 1.67 with a standard deviation of .711.

Table 5.

Results of the Univariate ANOVA Test on the Relationship Between Offering Amnesty to Empower the Youths in Various Armed Groups and Offering Amnesty on A Short or Long-Term Basis, Also Considering Amnesty to Include All Sexes and How Amnesty Can Contribute to Economic Development

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
offering amnesty to empower the youths in various armed groups can help to quell insurgency	Between Groups	4.600	5	.920	2.218	.059
	Within Groups	38.571	93	.415		
	Total	43.172	98			
the amnesty program should be offered on a short term or long-term basis	Between Groups	.605	5	.121	.385	.858
	Within Groups	29.505	94	.314		
	Total	30.110	99			
considering the provision of amnesty to include all sexes, especially females that involved in militancy	Between Groups	1.864	5	.373	.727	.605
	Within Groups	48.246	94	.513		
	Total	50.110	99			
which of the following describes your religion	Between Groups	4.944	5	.989	2.580	.031
	Within Groups	36.016	94	.383		
	Total	40.960	99			
the majority of the government assistance should focus on building infrastructural facilities for the people	Between Groups	1.638	5	.328	1.222	.305
	Within Groups	25.202	94	.268		
	Total	26.840	99			
resources should be equally distributed among regions	Between Groups	3.202	5	.640	1.220	.306
	Within Groups	48.798	93	.525		
	Total	52.000	98			

In Table 5, ANOVA was used to determine if the means are statistically different or significant. I was able to compare the mean, identify the one with the highest score and compared it to the lowest score reported in the descriptive statistics in the Table above. The ANOVA test enables me to determine the level of significance between various variables that were tested. I was able to examine the relationship between the independent variable of economic growth and development to the dependent variable of amnesty. In this scenario, the significant value of economic growth and development is .305, while the significance value of amnesty among the youths to quell insurgency is reported as .059. The significance value of the amnesty program whether to be offered on a short term or long-term basis is reported as .858 and the significant value of amnesty to include all sexes, especially females involved in militancy is .605. From the analysis, the significant value for amnesty in empowering the youths in various armed groups to quell insurgency is .059. The result is considered to be statistically significant because our significant p-value is less than or equal to .05. The significant value of economic growth and development is .305 and is not statistically significant because the significant value is greater than the p-value and is reported as 0.05. From the analysis, I concluded by signifying that citizens' support for economic growth and development does not have an impact on their support for the amnesty program. In this scenario, the alternate hypothesis is rejected and the null hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis Two

Ha: Religious differences play a significant role towards proffering amnesty as a public policy choice.

Ho: Religious differences have no impact on amnesty as a public policy choice.

The mean difference for participants who participated in the survey about the role of religion over amnesty was 2.93 with a standard deviation of 1.15; also, the mean for participants about their religion is 2.52 with a standard deviation of .643.

Table 6.
Results of the One-Way ANOVAs on The Relationship That Describes Participants/ Religion and How Cooperation Between Different Religious Groups Can End Insurgency

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
co-operation between different religious groups end insurgency	Between Groups	5.261	5	1.052	.790	.560
	Within Groups	125.249	94	1.332		
	Total	130.510	99			
which of the following describes your religion	Between Groups	4.944	5	.989	2.580	.031
	Within Groups	36.016	94	.383		
	Total	40.960	99			

In Table 6, the significance value of religious differences among the participants is .560, while their religious belief has a significant value of .031. In this scenario, since our significant value concerning religious differences among the participants is greater than .560, it is considered statistically not significant. On the other hand, if I am to test only for the participants' religion who participated in the survey, I concluded by

indicating that religion of the participants is statistically significant because the significance value is less than .05. It is reported as .031. In conclusion, the result is statistically significant, so I have to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternate hypothesis that illustrated religious differences have no impact on amnesty as a public policy choice.

Multivariate Test by Research Questions

A MANOVA or multivariate analysis of variance is a way to verify the hypothesis of one or more independent variable factors with an effect on the dependent variables. A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine the impact of the status of the respondents about the research questions. I was able to examine whether there is a significant difference in the perceptions of the participants based on the research questions described in chapter 3. The following statistical assumptions applied in analyzing variance: the observations within each sample of the dependent and independent variables. The results of the overall MANOVA are shown in Table below. The multivariate test for homogeneity of dispersion matrices, Box's Test, evaluates whether the variances and covariance among the dependent variables are the same for all levels of the independent variable.

The Wilks's result is as follows: $\Lambda = 0.779$, $F (6, 178) = 3.96$, $p = 0.001$. The multivariate Partial Eta Squared $\eta2$ (Effect size) on the Wilks's is $\Lambda = 0.001$. The 0.001 indicated that 1% of the multivariate variance of the dependent variables were associated with the group factor. The means and standard deviations on the dependent variables for the three groups are shown in Table 7.

Table 7.

*The Results of The One-Way MANOVA on The Relationship Between Various Variables Tested About Amnesty (*Multivariate Tests[a])

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter
Pillai's Trace	.94	618.431b	3.000	89.000	.000	.954	1855.292
Intercept Wilks Lambda	.046	618.431b	3.000	89.000	.000	.954	1855.292
Hotelling Trace	20.846	618.431b	3.000	89.000	.000	.954	1855.292
Roy's Largest	20.846	618.431b	3.000	89.000	.000	.954	1855.292
Pillai's Trace	.226	3.822	6.000	180.00	.001	.113	22.934
Wilks Lambda Assistance	.779	3.956b	6.000	178.00	.001	.118	23.737
Hotelling Trace	.279	4.087	6.000	176.00	.001	.122	24.522
Roy's Largest	.256	7.676	3.000	90.000	.001	.204	23.027
Pillai's Trace	.279	3.114	9.000	273.00	.001	.093	28.025
Wilks Lambda	.723	3.426	9.000	216.75	.001	.102	24.698
Problems							
Hotelling Trace	.378	3.687	9.000	263.00	.001	.112	33.179
Roy's Largest	.368	11.168c	3.000	91.000	.000	.269	33.504
Pillai's Trace	.280	4.892	6.000	180.00	.000	.140	29.353
Wilks Lambda	.720	5.292b	6.000	178.00	.000	.151	31.752
Assistance* problems							
Hotelling Trace	.388	5.688	6.000	176.00	.000	.162	34.126
Roy's Largest	.386	11.572b	3.000	90.000	.000	.278	34.716

Computed using alpha = .05

Based on the reported results in the Table, all the rows for the independent variables are all significant based on the Wilks' Lambda test, so I concluded that the multivariate test is significant. For instance, in the case of an independent variable, "assistance," Wilks' Lambda is .779 and has an associated F of 3.96, which is significant at p. <001. My conclusion is that all the independent variables reported in the Tables are significant because of the p<001. See Table 8, below, for a display of the results of Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances.

Table 8.
Results of the Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances Test on How Amnesty to Empower the Youths in Various Armed Groups Can Help Quell Insurgency [a]

	F	df1	df2	Sig.
offering amnesty to empower the youths in various armed groups can help to quell insurgency	8.874	7	91	.000
the amnesty program should be offered on a short term or long-term basis	3.787	7	91	.001
the majority of the citizens are likely to benefit most from the amnesty program if administered properly	2.225	7	91	.039

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

a. Design: Intercept + assistance + problems + assistance * problems

d. Computed using alpha = .05

The Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances or the homogeneity explained the analysis of variances. It predicts the assumption in determining if the variation across samples or groups is equal. I fail to reject the null hypothesis at the 0.05 significance

level since the value of the Levene test is less than the critical value. My conclusion is that there is insufficient evidence to claim that the variances are not equal.

Chapter 4 Summary

This chapter focuses on the data collection instruments, procedures, and sample descriptions. The research findings were presented based on the research questions and hypotheses. From the two hypotheses tested, there is no significant difference in the perceptions of people about the hypothesis statement.

I realized that the support for amnesty among the participants who participated in the survey has a positive response to the variables. The two null hypotheses were rejected in favor of the alternative hypotheses at 99.6% and 99.3% confidence intervals and research outputs respectively.

In Chapter 5, I present an interpretation of the findings and limitations of the study. Recommendations for future studies and necessary action to be taken by policymakers in the Nigerian system are presented in the chapter. Implications for positive social change and research conclusions are also discussed in Chapter 5.

.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the results, findings of the research questions and the hypotheses. Chapter 5 elaborates on the interpretation of the findings, limitations of the study, recommendations for further research, implications of the study for positive social change and the conclusion of the study. This study examines amnesty as a public policy tool for countering insurgence in Nigeria based on citizen preferences. This chapter analyzes the impact that the amnesty program will play towards peacebuilding in Nigeria, which will aid in strengthening economic growth and development. This study was informed by conflict theory in order to ascertain if the continuing conflict can end the protracted violence in Nigeria and bring long-term peace. The conflict theory was tested and evaluated critically in determining the best possible solution to the violence occurring all over Nigeria. The conflict theory enabled me in understanding the dynamics of conflict management and transformation in reuniting the country. The literature review established the need for continuing research on this study because little research has been carried out by researchers about proffering amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgence in Nigeria. This study is needed to ascertain measures to be adopted in achieving important objectives of the amnesty program by eradicating violence in the Republic of Nigeria.

The following research questions are identified as follows in the analysis:

- Is there a distinct difference in people's view of amnesty among 18 years and older that explain the relevance of infrastructural facilities to stimulate economic growth and development in Nigeria?

- Are there particular citizen characteristics that explain the differences in the way citizens perceive amnesty as a public policy choice?

Data was collected through self-administered surveys from the participants who volunteered to participate in the study. The participants consisted of farmers, healthcare support, management, production worker, construction workers, installers, government officials, sales/marketing specialists, students, and educators. A total of 110 flyers were distributed to the participants, but only 100 participants were allowed to participate in the study, and they completed all the questions in the questionnaires without any delay.

Discussions and Interpretation of Findings

Based on the collected data and analysis in the descriptive statistics, there was a significant difference in the perceptions of the participants that believed that amnesty would play a viable role in countering insurgency. There is no significant difference in the perceptions of people who thought that religion would have an impact on amnesty as a public policy tool. There is no significant difference in the perception of people who believed that economic growth and development would affect the support of the amnesty program. The research question examined the relationship between citizens' view of amnesty among the adults versus amnesty for the youths by examining their income level, educational attainment, occupation, regions and infrastructural facilities.

Participants responded by indicating their level of agreement or disagreement with the questions asked in the questionnaires. Citizens' opinions and preferences have a substantial impact on the study. All these statistical results can be found in Table 3 and 4.

Limitations of the Study

The following limitations may affect the validity and reliability of the research

1. I noticed that during the collection of data, the temperature in the room allocated to me by the Strategic Alliance Foundation Organization was boiling, which makes the environment very uncomfortable for my participants on the first day of data collection. I was able to ask the SAFE representative to buy a portable standing fan to prevent complaints or bias that might affect my study. The problem was immediately resolved, and everyone was comfortable.

2. Only one shopping mall was sampled out of more than 500 shopping malls.

3. To protect the participants' anonymity, only survey questionnaires were used to collect information from the participants, and the participants might not be representative of the category listed in the survey.

Recommendations for Further Studies

Based on the limitations listed above, the following recommendations are proposed for future studies. I believed the use of mixed methods approach for future studies might yield a better result than limiting it on quantitative method about proffering amnesty as a public policy tool for countering insurgency in Nigeria. By incorporating mixed methods, there is positive and negative impact that mixed methods has on the study. Based on the findings in the study about proffering amnesty as a public policy tool

to counterinsurgency in Nigeria, about 96 percent of the participants agreed that offering amnesty to empower the youths in various armed groups can help to quell the insurgency. This study informs public policy actors to understand the wishes of the citizens. The amnesty program that would be implemented as a public policy tool for Nigerians towards countering insurgency should have various measures like pardoning the militants who voluntarily renounce violence. Training and workshops that can help the citizens to adjust to their normal civil life should be provided. The Nigerian government should ensure that the militants, ex-militants and convicted men and women undergo some training that will aid in improving their skill set and entrepreneurship. According to Ibeanu in Best (2006), he highlighted "peace as the absence of war" and war as the absence of peace." He further attributed peace been attractive as a means to an end (p.186).

Disagreements must be settled, not by force, not by deceit or trickery, but rather in the only manner which is worthy of the dignity of man (Pope John XXIII, Pacem in Terris). Addressing some of the challenges and replacing them with the amnesty program would bring about a genuine everlasting peace in Nigeria, and the militants should be rewarded with some form of giving and take method. Give and take implies I give; you take away any ammunitions or anything that can lead to violence and destruction among the people. Any form of violence that can lead to human destruction should be eradicated and abolished. The give and take away policy will require the Nigerian government in developing a bill that will be strictly enforced and monitored at all times and not only when there is violence or crisis. Proper amnesty policy that meets the needs of the people

should be put in place and strictly enforced at all times. Nigeria needs some social-political restructuring from the federal level down to the state and local levels. The form of restructuring should serve as an efficient way of protecting and alleviating poverty, corruption, and all other types of malpractice that tend to hinder economic growth and development. Any illegitimate control and abuses should be abolished and prevented. The Nigerian government should invest heavily in long-lasting opportunities like the guarantee of secured access to public goods, employment opportunities, and address any form of nepotism, which are significant concerns among the people. When there is no peace, there will be no growth and economic development.

Due to poor leadership, Nigeria has over the past 40 years been battling with economic, political, social religious crises which tend to hinder economic stability and development. I firmly believe that the issue of peace had not received enough attention from Nigerian policy makers/formulators towards implementing a sustainable amnesty program that can help checkmate violence. The government tends to have forgotten or avoided the policy of democratic rule with a military option for constructive dialogue.

In June 2009, the late Nigerian President Yar'Adua's agenda was to invest heavily in human capital development by providing security, food, infrastructural amenities, employment opportunities, shelter and access to modernized health services in Nigeria. It is quite unfortunate that the late president's agenda never came to reality before he gave up the ghost in February 2010. The late president's plan would have been one of the remarkable successes for creating an atmosphere of long-lasting peace in Nigeria if the program had been implemented before the death of the President. Investing

heavily in human development is necessary for peacebuilding in Nigeria. The late

President Yar' Adua in June 2009 consulted with the Council of State to solicit support

for the amnesty program, which was broadcasted nationwide on June 25, 2009. The

program was to encourage all militants to embrace the amnesty program by surrounding

and denouncing their memberships in preparation for career opportunities, workshop

training, vocational skills development and engaging in civil and political issues that will

help bring everlasting peace to the region.

According to Economic Confidential (2009), amnesty will result in cessation of

arms conflict, the wanton destruction of lives and properties and other forms of

criminality with record improvement in economic sectors, which would aid economic

growth and development. Collier and Hoeffler's (2005) case studies and country studies

revealed that countries with an abundance of natural resources are more prone to violent

conflict than countries with fewer natural resources. The authors further stated by

describing several countries with abundant resources and remarkable records of socio-

economic development as progressive. Among the countries that are resource-endowed

peaceful countries that were mentioned by the author are Canada, Norway, Denmark,

Australia, USA, UK, and Sweden. I believe that the amnesty program can be proffered to

as a public policy tool towards creating opportunities for the youths and adults to channel

their energies for a tremendously rewarding and peaceful future.

The government should increase revenue allocation to all states so that they can

invest in projects that will create better opportunities for the people in the communities,

most residents in the rural areas where there is no access to economic and social

amenities. The government should be able to negotiate and dialogue with ex-militants and their families on how to meet their needs and expectations. The government should ensure that the school system is working correctly for everybody and not just a minority. Students should be allowed to express their opinions and be able to participate in innovative discussions that will promote growth and development within their communities. No child should be left out or behind. The citizens should be granted equal access to public health, infrastructural facilities to social amenities at all time.

Corruption should be considered as things of the past by eradicating any form of malpractice and ensuring good governance. A checks and balances policy should be enforced at every arm of the government and the private sectors. There should be an amendment to the constitution to correct existing socio-economic imbalances. The government should invest in human development by empowering youth, women, men, and children who are willing and capable of succeeding.

Another form will be through political amnesty, which is a product of two contexts. The government should be able to negotiate a deal between political parties when one party loses an election. I firmly believe that the implementation of the amnesty program as a public policy tool would have some strings of success, which will enable a preponderant number of militants group to surrender their weapons and renounce their membership.

In addition to the amnesty program, there should be some form of allowance, financial assistance, and other programs available for the militants and the unemployed citizens towards meeting their daily needs and expectations. According to Akinwale

(2010), the money given to the militants in 2009 during the late President regime when militants were compensated for a total sum of 50,000 nairas supported the daily feeding of 1,500 ($350.00) as well as provision of training in an ongoing rehabilitation program. The system should be considered as a continuing process to help the less privileged, militants, and their families in overcoming poverty and corruption. Resources control is another aspect that needs to be properly considered towards the implementation of the amnesty program by the three levels of government. Every aspect relating to resources monitoring and allocation needs to be given the highest priority in the Nigerian political system. Resources have to be equally distributed among the regions.

Implications of the Study for Positive Social Change

Wedel, Shore, Feldman and Lathrop (2005) highlighted public policy as a system of government that drives social change issues, shapes society and imposes an ideal type of how a citizen should act (p. 31). Kerner and Wicker (1968) as cited in Etekpe (2012) made a similar point about a scenario that happened in the US during the tenure of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the 36th President of the US (1963 to 1969). They stated how social conflict received renewed emphasis in his Address to the Nation on 27 July 1967. Kerner and Wicker further mentioned "the only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack –mounted at every level-upon the conditions that breed despair and violence," which they claimed resulted in ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, unemployment and corruption. Kerner and Wicker elaborated not because conflict frightens us, but because conscience fires us, so we should attack them because there is no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America (1968). Given

this, a pro-active program, like the amnesty program, should be fully implemented at all levels of government to help meet societal and individual needs. The amnesty program has been described by various scholars in this dissertation as one of the pragmatic strategies and procedures for resolving conflict in an exchange with sustaining peace and unity, which will help boost economic growth and development. This study examines the role and importance of amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgence among the militants, government officials, people and foreign nationals in dealing with the terrorist acts. The findings in the descriptive analysis provided a better analysis and understanding of the amnesty program among the adults 18 years and older. These findings summarize that amnesty would be a viable tool in countering insurgence based on the analysis reported in chapters 4 and 5.

This study will enable the government to invest heavily in the communities by ensuring that communities and regions are provided with the necessary infrastructural facilities that will help to reduce unemployment and corruption and shield of innocent lives. The results of this study will be made available at the Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment office for participants and non-participants who are interested in the view. This study provides information for policymakers on areas that need improvement. The outcomes and recommendations of this study will help the government in formulating and developing necessary policies that will bring everlasting peace among the people of Nigeria. The limitation and transformation will not just be required but urgent because it will aid in fulfilling the aspirations of the people and also give legitimacy to Nigerian social and political institutions whose mantle of legitimacy lies in the realization and

protection of capabilities (Oliver, 2012). Nussbaum (2008) asserted skills are not social goals, but urgent entitlements grounded in justice (Brooks, 2008; Nussbaum, 2008).

Furthermore, the amnesty program should entail forgiving past occurrences committed by the Boko Haram militants and pardoning them for every act of injustice that had led to killings and bombings that took place between 2009 until the present. It will require freeing the imprisoned and train them in every area that can help them to adjust to their healthy life. The 60 -day amnesty program that was introduced by the Federal Government of Nigeria on June 25, 2009, to ease violence was not fully implemented during the regime of Late President Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. The policy is not about militants laying down their weapons, but about reintegrating and rehabilitating those that have already laid down their weapons into the society. The Late President's policy was intended to address the lacking capabilities of the militants and the people, also addressing the demand and aspirations of the people of Nigeria. The program peaked at one point but later lead to the new administration reversing the policy of counter-insurgence. The program that was introduced by the late President Shehu Musa Yar'Adua had been criticized as too slow and expensive, which could not work for the people or contribute to economic development in Nigeria. When the Federal Government made the announcement about militants renouncing their membership and replaced it with amnesty, several militants turned over their ammunitions of guns. Several people surrendered. Some militants viewed the policy with suspicion promised to cease fire, but the late President's plan has no room for dialogue or negotiation. The late president's policy does not address or resolve the cause that gave birth to the crisis. This study helps

to gather opinions from the surveyed participants on the change in policy that needs to be implemented by proffering amnesty as a public policy tool in countering and defeating the insurgence.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the relevance of proffering amnesty as a public policy tool will have a positive impact among Nigerian adults towards countering insurgence in Nigeria. The amnesty program can be achieved in a series of dialogues between the people, militants, policymakers, and stakeholders. Based on the discussion and findings in this study, the amnesty program, if implemented and appropriately monitored by the Nigeria policy maker/actors will have positive impacts on Nigerian economic, social and political development. Despite the enormous amount of money realized from oil revenue, Nigeria is wallowing in poverty, bribery, corruption, diseases, and unemployment. The amnesty program should be managed, not mismanaged. Also, the program should be supervised by lawmakers who have experience and exposure to public policies. The lawmakers in charge of the amnesty program should be knowledgeable and willing to dialogue with the people at all times. All Nigerians should stand up and support the amnesty program because if the amnesty program fails, we all fail, and the Nigeria region would not be able to control another episode of the insurgency. Active dialogue and bargaining should be the framework for the people and the policymakers. In addition to these points, there should be an amendment to the Nigerian constitution that will enable all Nigerians to show respect and dignity for one another regardless of their background, skin color, ethnicity, and religion. Nigerians

should embrace themselves; love one another and respect each other at all times. The amnesty program should be complemented with various innovative programs such as training all youths and adults in programs that will enable them to compete with their colleagues globally.

The needs of the people cannot be overlooked nor can they be ignored. It can be achieved if the standard of living of the people improves through the provision of various programs such as enforcing amnesty as a public policy tool towards countering insurgence. And while the amnesty program can serve a strategic purpose of increasing stability in Nigeria, the policy framework for amnesty must include consequences for individuals who fail to comply with the terms of amnesty. Optimistically, penalties for violations of amnesty would aid in maintaining public support for the program.

Another factor for a lasting solution for peacemaking in the region is improving infrastructural development and human capital. This would lead to massive investment in the lives of the people and will aid to reduce violence. The process and success of peacemaking initiatives can be guaranteed if the government and the people unanimously agree to work together by saying no to violence and corruption. There should be proper implementation and enforcement of policies between the public and private organizations. One more means of investing in the citizens is by building on human capital development, such as providing modern technological facilities and developing a social welfare programs for the people in the rural and urban communities. The government should open every hideout of ex-militants, and it should be replaced with attractive amenities, projects, and infrastructural facilities such as good roads, bridges,

school renovations, technologies, accommodation, regular street lights, modern hospitals and centers for information and research. The amnesty program, if appropriately monitored, will represent a victory for long-term crisis management over resolution and transformation in Nigeria.

References

Abimbola, A. (2010). The Boko Haram uprising and Islamic revivalism in Nigeria. *GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of African Affairs. 45*, (2) 95-108. Retrieved from www.africa-spectrum.org

Aghedo, I. (2012). Winning the war, Losing the peace: Amnesty and the challenges of post-conflict peace-building in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. Retrieved from http//jas.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/08/08/0021909612453987. doi:10.1177/0021909612453987

Aguwa, J. (2017). Boko Haram: History, Ideology, and Goal. *International Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Society*, *7*(2), 11-23.

Ajayi, A., & Adesote, A. (2013). The gains and pains of the amnesty program in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. *Journal of Asian and African Studies. 48*, (506) Retrieved from http://jas.sagepub.com/content/. doi:10.1177/0021909613493607

Akanni, A. (2014). History of terrorism, youth psychology and unemployment in Nigeria. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, (3), 65.

Akhavan, P. (2005). The Lord's resistance army Case: Uganda's submission of the first state referral to the International Criminal Court. *American Journal of International Law, 99*(403): 403-21.

Akinwale, A. F. (2010). Amnesty and Human Capital Development Agenda for the Niger Delta Journal of African Studies and Development Vol. 2(8), pp. 201-207. Retrieved from http://www.academicjournals.org/JASD

Alhaji, U. A., & Daud, K. A. (2015). The effects of colonialism on Shariah: The Malacca and Sokoto Experiences. *Journal Syariah*, *23*(1), 167-187.

Amaize, E. (2010). Militant leader stirs anger in Niger Delta. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, volume:4,*8 issue: 3, page(s): 267-280. 013. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909612453987

Amnesty International. (2008). *IRAN: Human rights abuses against the Kurdish minority*. Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved www.amnesty.org.

Amnesty International. (2011). *They took nothing but his life. An unlawful filling in Thailand's Southern insurgency*. Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved from https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa39/002/2011/en/

Amnesty International USA. (2008). *Putting human rights at the center of the UN's Millennium Development Goals*. Amnesty International Publications Retrieved from http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/campaigns/demand-dignity/millennium

Aro, O. (2013). Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria: Its implication and way forward toward avoidance of future insurgency. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, Volume 3*. Retrieved from http://www.ijsrp.org/research-paper-1113.php?rp=P231946.

Attah, G., & Gambrell, J. (2013) *Nigeria: Muslim leader calls for extremist amnesty*. Retrieved from http://news.yahoo.com/nigeria-muslim-leader-calls-xtremistamnesty175834844.html.

Babbie, E. (1990). *Survey research methods*. 2nd Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Balkin, R. S. & Sheperis, K. J. (2011). Evaluating and reporting statistical power in counseling research. *Journal of Counseling and Development: JCD*, *89*, 268-272

Bennett, W. L. (2008). Changing citizenship in the digital age. *University of Washington, Seattle, Center for Communication and Civic Engagement*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. doi:10.1162/dmal.9780262524827.001

Bosniak, L. (2012). *Arguing for Amnesty, Law, Culture and the Humanities*. Retrieved from:http://lch.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/01/06/1743872111423181. doi:10:1177/1743872111423181

Braithwaite, J. (2009). Book Review: Amnesty, human rights and political transitions: Bridging the peace and justice divide. Louise Mallinder. *Punishment & Society*. 11:269. Retrieved from http://pun.sagepub.com/content/11/2/269. doi:10:1177/1462474508101495

Bratton, M., & Mattes, R. (2001). Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or instrumental? *British Journal of Political Science, 31*(3). Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593285

Brewer, J., & Hunter, A. (2006). *Foundations of multimethod research: Synthesizing styles.* Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Brooks, T. (2008). Shame on you, shame on me? Nussbaum on shame and punishment. *Journal of Applied Philosophy 25:* 322 - 334. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5930.2008.00403.x

Buchanan, T. (2002). The truth will set you free: The making of Amnesty International. *Journal of Contemporary History.* 37:575. Retrieved from http://jch.sagepub.com/content/37/4/575. doi:10.1177/00220094020370040501

Chukwura, E. I., Nwokolo, C. I., & Nwachukwu, S. C. U. (2005). Bioremediation of crude oil-polluted Escravos River using Candida Utillis. *Nig. J. Microbial., 19*: 623-630.

Clodfelter, M. (2017). *Warfare and armed conflicts: A statistical encyclopedia of casualty and other figures, 1492/2015*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2005). Resource rents, governance and conflict source. *Journal of Conflict Resolution. 49*, (4) 625-633

Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. (2008).Business research methods (10th ed.). McGraw Hill edition Cornell University. Retrieved from http:// www.law.cornell.edu/wex/federalism.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed approaches*. (3rd ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Desta, Y. (2006). Designing anti-corruption strategies for developing countries: A country study of Eritrea. *Journal of Developing Societies*. 22: 421. Retrieved from http://jds.sagepub.com/content/22/4/421. doi:10.1177/0169796X06072568

Economic Confidential (2009). *Amnesty: Barrel of crude jump to 1.84 million as Koreans opt out-of-court settlement over oil license*. Retrieved from http://economicconfidential.com/dec09nationalbarrelamnesty.htm

Enright, R., Freedman, S., & Rique, J. (1998). The Psychological of interpersonal

    forgiveness. In Robert D. Enright and Joanna North (Eds.). *Exploring forgiveness.*

    Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press

Enwerem, I. (1995). A dangerous awakening: The politicization of religion in Nigeria.

    African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Retrieved from

    http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601745. doi: 10.2307/3601745

Etekpe, A. (2012). Peace and development in Nigeria: The amnesty experience in the

    Niger Delta of Nigeria. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, *Vol. 4*(6).

    doi:10.5897/JlCR-11-055

Falola, T., & Heaton, M. M. (2008). *A history of Nigeria. [electronic resource]*.

    Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press,

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible

    statistical power analysis for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences.

Feldman, R. M. (2007). A deal with the devil: Issues in offering Joseph Kony amnesty to

    resolve the conflict in Uganda. *Small Wars and Insurgencies.* 134:143.

    doi:10.1080/09592310601173279.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Frankfort-Nachmias, C., & Nachmias, D. (2008). *Research methods in the Social*

    Sciences. (7th ed). New York: Worth Publishers.

Green, S., & Salkind, N. J. (2011). *Using SPSS for Windows and Macintosh: Analyzing*

    and understanding data. (7th ed.). Hoboken: Pearson.

Griswold, C. L. (2007). *Forgiveness: A Philosophical exploration*: Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hancock, G. R., & Mueller, R. O. (2010). *The reviewer's guide to quantitative methods in the Social Sciences* (5th ed.). New York: Routledge Publications.

Hassan, H. (2010). Peace-building: Its conceptualization and relevance: *The Nigeria Army Quality Journal. 8*(2): 118-128.

Henry, L. W. (2006). What is the role of negotiation when countering an insurgency? *Naval Postgraduate School*. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10945/2838

Ibeanu, O. (2006). *Conceptualizing peace. Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa.* Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.

Intriligator, M. D. (1982). Research on conflict theory. Analytic approaches and areas of application. *Journal of Conflict Resolution. V.26* No 2. Sage Publications, Inc.

Jeffery, R. (2011). Forgiveness, amnesty, and justice: The case of the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda. *Cooperation and Conflict*. 46:78. Retrieved from http://cac.sagepub.com/content/46/1/78. doi:10.1177/0010836710396853

Keen, D. (2005). *Conflict and collusion in Sierra Leone*. Oxford, UK: James Currey/Palgrave.

Kerner, O., & Wicker, T. (1968). *Report of the National Advisory Commission on civil disorders*. New York: Dutton.

Kickham, K., & Ford, D. A. (2009). Are state marriage initiatives having an effect? An initial exploration of the impact on divorce and childhood poverty rates. *Public Administration Review, 69*: 846–854. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2009.02034.x

Koopmans, R., & Olzak, S. (2004). Discursive opportunities and the evolution of right-

    wing violence in Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 110, 1, 180-230.

    doi:10:1086/386271

Laureate Education, Inc. (2010). *Literature reviews with Dr. Michael Patton*. Retrieved

    from http://sylvan.live.ecollege.com/

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*.

    United States Institute of Peace. Washington, D.C. : Syracuse University Press.

Levine, D. (2009). Care and counterinsurgency. *School of Public Policy. Center for*

    International and security Studies at Maryland. Retrieved from

    levine_working_paper.pdf.

Lewis, L. K. (2007). An organizational stakeholder model of change implementation

    communication. *Communication Theory, 17*:176-204. doi: 10.1111/J.1468-

    2885.2007.00291.x

Liolio, S. E. (2013), Rethinking counterinsurgency: A case study of Boko Haram in

    Nigeria. *A Thesis at the European Peace University, Institute for Cultural*

    Diplomacy. Retrieved from www.culturaldiplomacy.org/Samson_Eyituoyo.

Lumun, A. N. (2013). The effects of western technology on African cultural values.

    Journal of Humanities and Social Science, *8*, 4. doi:10.9790/0837-0842628

Mbah, P., Nwangwu, C., & Edeh, H. C. (2017). Elite politics and the emergence of Boko

    Haram insurgency in Nigeria. *A Journal of The Humanities & Social*

    Sciences, *21*(2), 173-190.

Mbaku, J. M. (1998). *Corruption and the crisis of institutional reforms in Africa*. New

    York: The Edwin Melles Press/

McGregor, A. (2017). The Fulani crisis: Communal Violence and radicalization in the

    Sahel. *Combatting Terrorism Center*. Retrieved from

    https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-fulani-crisis-communal-violence-and-

    radicalization-in-the-sahel.

Mellars, P., Gori, K. C., Carr, M., Soares, P. A., & Richards, M. B. (2013). Genetic and

    archaeological perspectives on the initial modern human colonization of southern

    Asia. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of

    America, 110*(26), 10699–10704. http://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1306043110

Metz, S. (2007) Rethinking the insurgency. U.S. Government Publication. Retrieved from

    http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/

Mokube, E. (2017). *Religion and the making of Nigeria* by Olufemi Vaughan (review).

    Retrieved from https://muse.jhu.edu/article/664962

Newsom, C. (2011). *Conflict in the Niger Delta: More than a local Affair*. Washington,

    DC: United States Institute of Peace. Special Report, no. 271.

Nigeria & ORC Macro. (2003). *Nigeria demographic and health survey, 2003*. Abuja,

    Nigeria: Calverton, Md.

Nussbaum, M. (2008). *Women and human development*. Edinburg, Cambridge:

    Cambridge University Press.

Okonofua, F. (2011). Advocacy for free maternal and child healthcare in Nigeria.

Results and outcome. *Health Policy. Volume 99*, Issue 2,

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthpol.2010.07.013

Olamilekan, A. (2012). *A critical examination of the Boko Haram: Haram insurgence*

attack in Nigeria and possible solutions. Retrieved from

www.lekanspeaks.bravesites.com

Oliver, P. (2012). *Succeeding with your literature review: A handbook for students*:

Maidenhead, Berkshire: Open Univ. Press, MacGraw-Hill.

Osaghae, E., Suberu, R., & The University of Oxford. (2005). A history of identities,

violence and stability in Nigeria. *Center for Research on Inequality, Human*

Security and Ethnicity, CRISE Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 21

St Giles, OX1 3LA, Retrieved from http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/. doi:

10.4135/9780857020147

Oyewole, S. (2016). Kidnapping for rituals: article of faith and insecurity in

Nigeria. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, (9), 35.

Roberts, R. C. (1995). Forgiveness. *American Philosophical Quarterly, 32*: 289–306.

Ropers, N. (2004). From resolution to transformation: The role of dialogue projects. In

Austin Alex, Fischer Martina and Ropers Nobert (Eds.) Transforming

Ethnopolitical Conflict. Berlin: Alle Rechte Vurbehatton.

Sandler, T. (2011). The many faces of counterterrorism: An introduction. *Published*

Articles & Papers. Paper 151. Retrieved from

http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/151

Shea, N. (2014). Barbarism 2014. *World Affairs*, *177*(4), 34-46.

Tobor, J., (2016). Culture and the amnesty program in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences Vol. 4* , No. 3. Retrieved from http://www.idpublications.org/

Tuckman, B. W. (1999). *Constructing research designs. In conducting education research.* (5th ed.). Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace College Publishers.

Ubhenin, O. (2013). The Federal Government's Amnesty Program in the Niger-Delta: An Appraisal. Vol: 179-203

United Nations. (2017). *World population prospects.* DESA Population Division. Retrieved from https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/

Vaughan, O. (2016). *Religion and the making of Nigeria*. Duke University Press: Durham and London. Retrieved from https://www.dukeupress.edu/Assets/PubMaterials/978-0-8223-6227-2_601.pdf

Wedel, J. R., Shore, C., Feldman, G., & Lathrop, S. (2005). Toward an anthropology of public policy. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 600(1), 30–51

Weiner, B. (2009). A theory of organizational readiness for change. *Implementation Science, 4,* 1, 1-9. doi:10.1186/1748-5908-4-67

Winer, J. M. (2008). Countering terrorist finance: A work, mostly in progress. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 618:112. Retrieved fromhttp://ann.sagepub.com/content/618/1/112. doi:10.1177/0002716208317696

Yukubousky, R. (1998). Governments are from Saturn. Citizens are from Jupiter.

Strategies for Reconnecting citizens and governments. MRSC Publications

Appendices

Appendix A: The Questionnaire

Strategies to Peacebuilding: **Amnesty as a public policy tool to counter Insurgency within the Nigeria Political Parlance.**

This survey is developed towards fulfilling the doctoral dissertation research. The objective is to evaluate the implementation of the Amnesty program as a way to resolve socio-political economic conflict by collecting information on the citizens, their opinions regarding the uprising violence in the Niger Delta conflict and to seek their perceptions on the provision of Amnesty as a choice of public policy in Nigeria.

I was able to develop this questionnaire so as to cover the remote and immediate causes of violence and adhere to Amnesty as a tool to counter insurgency within the Nigeria political parlance.

I appreciate your time for completing the questionnaire. Your data as well as information provided will be treated with the utmost confidentiality.

Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study Entitled

The Opinions of Participants

Funding Source: None

IRB protocol #

Principal investigator

Ayodeji A Dada

4 Colby Court

Lawrenceville, NJ

08654

7328826828

For questions/concerns about your research rights, contact:

Institutional Review Board or IRB

Walden University

IRB@waldenu.edu

Introduction

You are invited to participate in this research study.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the opinions of people about the relevance of amnesty as a public policy tool in countering insurgency in Nigeria.

Your Involvement/Participation

I am inviting you to participate because you are selected as a possible participant who has clear understanding of the problem about insurgency and how it can be overcome within the Nigeria political parlance.

Description of the Study Procedures

You will answer a 30-question survey. The Strategic Alliance Foundation Empowerment Organization will administer the survey. It will involve 4 members within the organization that will be helping in facilitating the process of data collection. The survey should take you no more than 5-7 minutes to complete.

Is there any audio or video recording?

No such thing is allowed.

Risk/Discomforts of Being in the Study

There are no reasonable foreseeable or expected risks involved in this since there is no video recording or picture taking. We will not be retaining or collecting any information about your identity. If you have to discuss any issue about the research, your research rights, you can contact the IRB by e-mailing IRB@waldenu.edu about questions about your research rights.

Benefits of Being in the Study

There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in the study.

Confidentiality

The study is anonymous. We will not be collecting or retaining any information about your identity. The questionnaire will not ask you for any information that could be linked to you. The questionnaires will be kept in a locked cabinet and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected file. The questionnaires will be destroyed 60 months after the study ends. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless law requires disclosure. I will not include any information in any report that I may publish.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw
The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time without affecting you. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from participating in the study. You will not experience any penalty or loss of services if you opt to not complete the survey.

 Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

You have the right to ask questions about this research and to have those questions answered by me before, or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, (Ayodeji A Dada) at (ayodejidele4u@yahoo.com) or by telephone at (7328826828). If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any further concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the researcher, you may contact the Walden Institutional Review Board by e-mailing them IRB@waldenu.edu

Voluntary Consent by Participant:

By signing below, you indicate that:

This study has been explained to you. You have read this document or it has been read to you. Your questions about this research study have been answered. You have been told that you may ask the researchers any study related questions in the future. You have been told that you may ask Institutional Review Board (IRB) personnel questions about your study rights. You are entitled to a copy of this form after you have read and signed it voluntarily to participate in the study entitled The Relevance of Amnesty as a public policy choice in countering Insurgency in Nigeria.

Participant's
Signature_____Date:_____

Participant's Name_____Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining
Consent_____Date_____

Please take a few minutes to answer these questions. Your response will be kept confidential.

1. Which of the following describes your age?
   - **18-24**
   - **25-34**
   - **34-44**
   - **45-54**
   - **55 and older**
   - **Prefer not to Answer**

2. What is your gender?
   - **Male**
   - **Female**
   - **Transgender**
   - **Do not identify as female, male or transgender**

3. Which of the following best describe your marital status?
   - **Single**
   - **Married**
   - **Divorced**
   - **Separated**
   - **Widowed**

4. Which of the following best describes your religion?
    o **African Tradition**
    o **Christian**
    o **Muslim**
    o **None**
    o **Other (please specify)_____**

5. Which of the following describes the dependents living in your home?
    o **Biological children**
    o **Step children**
    o **Foster children**
    o **None**
    o **Other (please specify)**

6. Which of the following describes the geographical region that you live?
    o **South West**
    o **South South**
    o **South East**
    o **North West**
    o **North Central**
    o **North East**

7. Which of the following best describes the level of education you have completed?
    o **Grammar school**
    o **High school or equivalent**
    o **Vocational/technical school**
    o **Bachelor's degree**
    o **Master degree**
    o **Other (please specify)_____**

8. Which of the following best describe your employment status?
    o **Employed**
    o **Not employed, looking for work**
    o **Retired**
    o **Disabled, not able to work**
    o **Underemployed**

9. Which of the following best describe your occupation?
    o **Education/training**
    o **Farming/fishing and forestry**
    o **Healthcare Support**
    o **Management**
    o **Production/manufacturing**
    o **Installation/Maintenance and repair**
    o **Construction**
    o **Food preparation**
    o **Legal/government**
    o **Sales/marketing**
    o **Arts, design and entertainment**
    o **Transportation**
    o **Other (please specify)_____**

10. Which of the following best describe your income level?
    o **Under 20,000 Naira**
    o **20,000-30,000 Naira**
    o **30,000-40,000 Naira**
    o **Over 40,000 Naira**
    o **Prefer Not to Answer**

Please choose one option on why you think amnesty will be a viable tool of public policy in countering insurgency

Strongly Agree, Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree   Undecided

1. Offering amnesty to empower the youths in various armed groups can help to quell insurgency.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

2. Funding small scale businesses can help youths out of insurgency.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

3. Offering and providing free education to youths can bring them out of various armed groups.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

4. Equitable sharing of wealth endangers the termination of armed groups.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

5. Preparedness of the government in forgiving past crimes recompense for injury or loss.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

6. Co-operation between different religious groups end insurgency

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

7. The Amnesty program should be offered on a long term basis.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

8. Inclusion of the opposition in government aid in preventing insurgency from causing violence.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

9. The provision of Amnesty should include all sexes, especially females that involved in militancy.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

10. The majority of the citizens are likely to benefit most from the Amnesty program if administered properly.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

ECONOMIC RESOURCES /GROWTH

Choose from the list of options why Economic/Resources is very important to Nigeria Political system

1. The majority of the government assistance should focus on building infrastructural facilities for the people.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

2. Resources should be equally distributed among regions.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

3. The majority of people who joined the radical Islamic movement joined because they are unemployed.

Strongly Agree Agreed Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided
4. The majority of the programs should be focused on educating and training people in various skills.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

5. The majority of small scale businesses sprung armed groups.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

6. The eradications of the middle class bred militant groups.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

7. The luxurious lives of leaders and paucity of the masses angers people who formed armed groups.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

8. The lack of interest from foreign investors to build the economy resulted in insurgency.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagreed Undecided

9. The majority of the root cause of the problems is traced to religion, poverty, unemployment, resource control and corruption.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

10. Offering amnesty to the insurgents will enable them to acquire valuable skills and education that could aid in reducing unemployment in Nigeria.

Strongly Agree Agreed Disagree Strongly Disagree Undecided

COMMENTS: If there is anything that you will like me to know, please specify below

Appendix B: Narrative issues about the timelines and issues that happened in

Nigeria

June 20–23 2014 - June 2014 Borno State attacks, at 70 people are killed and 91 women and children kidnapped by Boko Haram militants in Borno State.

June 23–25 2014 - June 2014 central Nigeria attacks, around 171 people are killed in a series of attacks in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

June 26, 2014 - Over 100 militants are killed by the Nigerian military during a raid on two Boko Haram camps.

June 28, 2014 - 11 people are murdered by a bomb in Bauchi.

July 18, 2014 - At least 18 are killed by a Boko Haram attack in Damboa, leaving the town almost destroyed.

July 22, 2014 - Boko Haram kills 51 people in Chibok.

September 19, 2014 - Boko Haram militants kill 30 people at a busy market in Mainok, Borno State.

January 2, 2014 - Boko Haram militants attack a bus in Waza, Cameroon, killing eleven people and injuring six.

January 3–7 2014 - Boko Haram militants raze the entire town of Baga in north-east Nigeria. Bodies lay strewn on Baga's streets with as many as 2,000 people having been killed. Boko Haram now controls 70% of Borno State, which is the worst affected by the insurgency.

January 3, 2015 - Fleeing villagers from a remote part of the Borno State report that Boko Haram had three days prior kidnapped around 40 boys and young men.

January 5, 2015 - News emerges that two days prior hundreds of Boko Haram militants
had overrun several towns in northeast Nigeria and captured the military base in
Baga.

January 9, 2015 - Refugees flee Nigeria's Borno State following the Boko Haram
massacre in the city of Baga. 7,300 flee to neighboring Chad while over 1,000 are
trapped on the island of Kangala in Lake Chad. Nigeria's army vows to recapture
the town, while Niger and Chad withdraw their forces from a transnational force
tasked with combating militants.

January 10, 2015 - A female suicide bomber, believed to be aged around 10-years-old,
kills herself and 19 others, possibly against her will, at a market in the
northeastern city of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

January 11, 2015 - More female suicide bombers, this time two, and again each believed
to be around ten years old, kill themselves and three others at a market in the
northeastern city of Nigeria.

February 18, 2015 - The Nigerian Army claims to have killed 300 militants in northeast
Nigeria. A warplane bombs a funeral ceremony in Niger, killing 37 civilians. The
warplane remains unidentified, with the Nigerian government denying
responsibility.

February 20, 2015 - Boko Haram militants kill 34 people in attacks across Borno State,
21 from the town of Chibok.

February 21, 2015 - Nigerian army retakes Baga, which had fallen to Boko Haram on
January 3rd.

February 22, 2015 - A suicide bomber kills five and wounds dozens outside a market.

February 24, 2015 - Two suicide bombers kill at least 27 people at bus stations in Kano.

February 24, 2015 - Chadian soldiers kill over 200 Boko Haram fighters in a clash near the town of Garambu, close to Nigeria's border with Cameroon. One Chad Army soldier is killed, and nine are wounded.

February 26, 2015 - At least 35 people are killed in two attacks targeting the cities of Biu and Jos.

February 28, 2015 - Two female suicide bombers kill up to four civilians near Damaturu.

March 2, 2015 - A senior military officer claims that 73 Boko Haram militants disguised as herders were killed near Kondunga town in Borno State. Furthermore, the Chadian military recaptures the city of Dikwa, also in Borno State.

March 7, 2015 - Five suicide bomb blasts leave 54 dead and 143 wounded. After the explosions, Boko Haram formally declares allegiance to the Islamic State.

March 8, 2015 - Forces from Niger and Chad launch a ground and air offensive against Boko Haram Islamist militants in northeastern Nigeria.

March 9, 2015 - Chadian and Nigerien forces retake the towns of Malam Fatouri and Damasak in northeast Nigeria.

March 13, 2015 - The Nigerian government admits to using foreign mercenaries in the fight against Boko Haram.

March 16, 2015 - Nigeria, Chad, and Niger begin a battle to liberate from Boko Haram militants.

March 17, 2015 - The Nigerian military reclaims the small city of Bana from Boko

      Haram.

March 18, 2015 - Niger and Chad capture the city of Damasak following a successful

      battle. A mass grave of 90 people is discovered in the city.

March 21, 2015 - Chadian forces establish a presence in the border town of Gamboru

      following recent attacks there by Boko Haram gunmen that killed 11 people.

March 27, 2015 – The Nigeria military recaptures the town of Gwoza.

March 28, 2015 - Voters in Nigeria go to the polls for a general election. Gunmen kill at

      least 15 voters including an opposition house of assembly candidate for Gombe.

March 29, 2015 - Voting in the Nigerian general election is delayed for a second day due

      to delays and malfunctioning equipment. So far, 43 people have died in Boko

      Haram attacks