A Practical Approach: Integrated Country Planning using Critical Factors Analysis

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Abstract

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This paper proposes a threat-based approach to utilizing the Critical Factors Analysis as a tool to see threat networks and systems in order to facilitate the synchronization of U.S. whole-of-government efforts as part the development of the Integrated Country Strategy at the Country Team level. Furthermore, it applies the model to Nigeria's internal security threats, using the analysis of the terrorist group Boko Haram in northern Nigeria as an example. Based on this analysis and application an integral tool for the development the Integrated Country Strategy facilitating a whole-of-government synchronization at the country level is proposed.

A Practical Approach: Integrated Country Planning using Critical Factors Analysis

It is thus more potent, as well as more economical to disarm the enemy than to attempt his destruction by hard fighting ... A strategist should think in terms of paralyzing, not of killing.

—B.H. Liddell Hart

As many irregular threats proliferate in the ungoverned spaces in failing and failed states, it is imperative to understand these threats, their capabilities and the root causes of instability. During the development of each U.S. Government Country Team's Integrated Country Strategy, an understanding of threats to stability and the country environment is essential. The Critical Factors Analysis is an effective tool to assist the team in analyzing the capabilities threats require to thrive and will simultaneously highlight their vulnerabilities. This capabilities-based threat decomposition coupled with an understanding of the root causes of instability can effectively guide the development of a focused, synchronized regional diplomatic, development and defense strategy.

Threats and Challenges

In the post-Afghanistan security environment, the U.S. Government faces a future of uncertainty, complexity and increasing challenges to U.S. national interests. The U.S. Joint Forces Command Joint Operating Environment (JOE) states that "the next quarter century will challenge the joint forces with threats and opportunities ranging from regular and irregular wars in remote lands, to relief and reconstruction in crisis zones, to cooperative engagement in the global commons. Our enemy's capabilities will range from explosive vests worn by suicide bombers to long range precision-guided cyber, space and missile attacks."[1] The military as an extension of policy will no longer be the primary tool of national power to solve every problem. Therefore, it is imperative

that the focus of effort shifts to preventing conflict through addressing root causes of instability. The effort to address these causes and prevent the rise of threats to U.S. interests requires the integrated use of diplomacy, development and defense, along with intelligence, law enforcement and economic tools of statecraft to help build the capacity of partners to maintain and promote stability.[2]

Failed or Failing States

Regional and local instability across the international system often manifests itself in failing or failed states. Nation states fail because they are convulsed by internal violence and can no longer effectively govern their inhabitants. Their governments lose legitimacy and the very nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes illegitimate in the eyes and in the hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens.[3] A growing body of scholars and policy makers have raised concerns that failing and failed states pose a danger to international security because they produce conditions under which transnational terrorist groups can thrive.[4] Kenneth Menkhaus in his article, *State Fragility as a Wicked Problem* highlights the most commonly cited threats which emanate from failed states as; terrorist bases, safe havens, targets, terrorist financing, recruiting, transnational criminal bases, spillover threats, humanitarian crisis, refugee flows, health threats, environmental threats and piracy threats.[5] Understanding why states fail is critical and is the first step in addressing the current and future threats to U.S. national interests. This exploitation occurs because failed and failing states are easier for terrorist and insurgent movements to penetrate, recruit from and operate within.[6] This phenomenon is also referred to the exploitation of "stateless areas" or the use of actual, spatial regions of a country that are beyond policing control within which non-state actors can set up autonomous political, economic and social institutions.[7]

Many terrorist organizations increase their networks in regions with porous borders, lax border control, fragile economies, fragmented political and social culture, corrupt political officials and subpar law enforcement.[8] A 2003 report by the U.S. Agency for International Development, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, declared, "When development and governance fail in a country, the consequences engulf entire regions and leap across the world. Terrorism, political violence, civil wars, organized crime, drug trafficking, infectious diseases, environmental crisis, refugee flows and mass migration cascade across the borders of weak states more destructively than before."[9] If people perceive themselves to be irrevocably disenfranchised by their government or oppressed within their country, then violence is almost bound to occur.[10] Our adversaries actively pursue these environments, in which the conditions are favorable for survival and operational success.

<center>Gaining the Legitimacy of the People</center>

Al Qaida's insurgency doctrine states "That any movement or group that wants to wage a successful guerilla war must pay attention to the situation of the ordinary people and address their rights and needs and it is necessary to live with [the ordinary people] and to share in their sorrows and joys."[11] The insurgent, guerilla or terrorist's ability to address the issues and concerns of the people will over time gain them sanctuary, freedom of movement and a support base. The constant reiteration of the need for popular support, in one form or another, in the written and spoken commentaries of countless insurgent leaders demonstrates the centrality to insurgent thinking in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[12] David Kilcullen's Theory of Competitive Control states that "non-state armed groups draw their strength and freedom of action primarily from their ability to manipulate and mobilize populations and that they do this using a

<center>3</center>

spectrum of methods from coercion to persuasion, by creating a normative system that makes people feel safe through the predictability and order that it generates." [13] Essentially, these threats have become legitimate in the eyes of the people as they are often more successful in addressing their needs than the local, regional or national government.

Pursuing Resilient Threat Organizations

To develop the resiliency required for their survival, these irregular threats operate very decentralized. The rise of their threat capabilities indicates that power is migrating to non-state actors, because they are able to organize into sprawling multi-organizational networks more readily than can traditional, hierarchical state actors.[14] These "networked" threats operate decentralized in a compartmentalized manner. They require specific capabilities to survive and succeed. These organizations often require money, the ability to resource, train and equip, recruit, build support, establish and maintain local social networks as well as their ability to accomplish their goals and objectives. These threats acquire and maintain requisite capabilities by with and through the populations that provide them sanctuary, support and freedom of movement.

Comprehensive Approach

To mitigate these threats, the U.S. in conjunction with partner nation governments must focus efforts to eliminate the conditions in the environment that allow for threat existence and livelihood. David Kilcullen emphasizes that "we will need to recognize that even when there is an identifiable adversary-usually, but not always, a non-state armed group-there are still no *purely* military solutions to many of the challenges we will encounter, meaning that disciplines such as law enforcement, urban planning, city administration, systems design, public health and international

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development are likely to play a key part in any future theory of conflict."[15] As a guiding framework for the creation of a comprehensive whole-of-government approach, the 2010 National Security Strategy directs that "Our diplomacy and development capabilities must help prevent conflict, spur economic growth, strengthen weak and failing states, lift people out of poverty, combat climate change and epidemic disease and strengthen institutions of democratic governance. Our military will continue strengthening its capacity to partner with foreign counterparts, train and assist security forces and pursue military-to-military ties with a broad range of governments."[16] Specifically, the military as one of the three pillars, according to the 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review is directed to balance its resources and risk in order to *Build Security Globally* to *Deter and Prevent Conflict* through global engagement. The execution of these missions occurs during Phase 0 (Shape) or Phase 1 (Deter) of the joint phasing construct. However, as Phase 0 operations are codified in Joint Publications 3-0 and 5-0, these are military-centric approaches. The comprehensive integration of diplomacy and development is missing in this doctrine and it falls short of guiding the development of a synchronized, integrated whole-of-government approach.

Understanding the existing root causes of instability and required threat capabilities can guide the creation of a synchronized approach across diplomatic, development and defense capability areas at the country level. The use of a common threat visualization tool will focus this effort.

Critical Factors Analysis

A proper analysis of an adversary must be based on the best available knowledge of how adversaries organize, fight, think, make decisions and an understanding of their physical and psychological strengths and weaknesses.[17] It is

these conditions in the environment that facilitate the existence of irregular threats. Comprehending this symbiotic relationship between instability and threat proliferation requires an understanding of the threat organization and the capabilities they require to be successful. The Center of Gravity analysis or more appropriately named, the Critical Factors Analysis (CFA) can be used to analyze the adversary organization and gain an appreciation for the capabilities it requires for success. Carl von Clausewitz emphasized that a Center of Gravity (COG) must be identified when understanding one's adversary. This COG, "the hub of all power and movement, upon which everything depends", is the point against which all energy is to be directed to bring about an enemy's defeat.[18] According to Dr. Joe Strange, the COG, as derived from the Clausewitz definition is the primary source of moral and physical strength, power and resistance.[19] To apply a utilitarian approach, Dr. Strange subdivides the COG model into subordinate analytical elements; Critical Capabilities, Critical Requirements and Critical Vulnerabilities, these are collectively known as Critical Factors.

These subordinate analytical elements are defined as:[20]

- Critical Capabilities (CC): Primary abilities which merits a center of gravity to be identified as such in the context of a given scenario, situation or mission.

- Critical Requirements (CR): Essential conditions, resources and means for a critical capability to be fully operational.

- Critical Vulnerabilities (CV): Critical requirements or components thereof which are deficient or vulnerable to neutralization, interdiction or attack in a manner achieving decisive results – the smaller the resources and effort applied and the smaller cost and risk the better.

Portrayed below is a visually symmetric representation of this model.
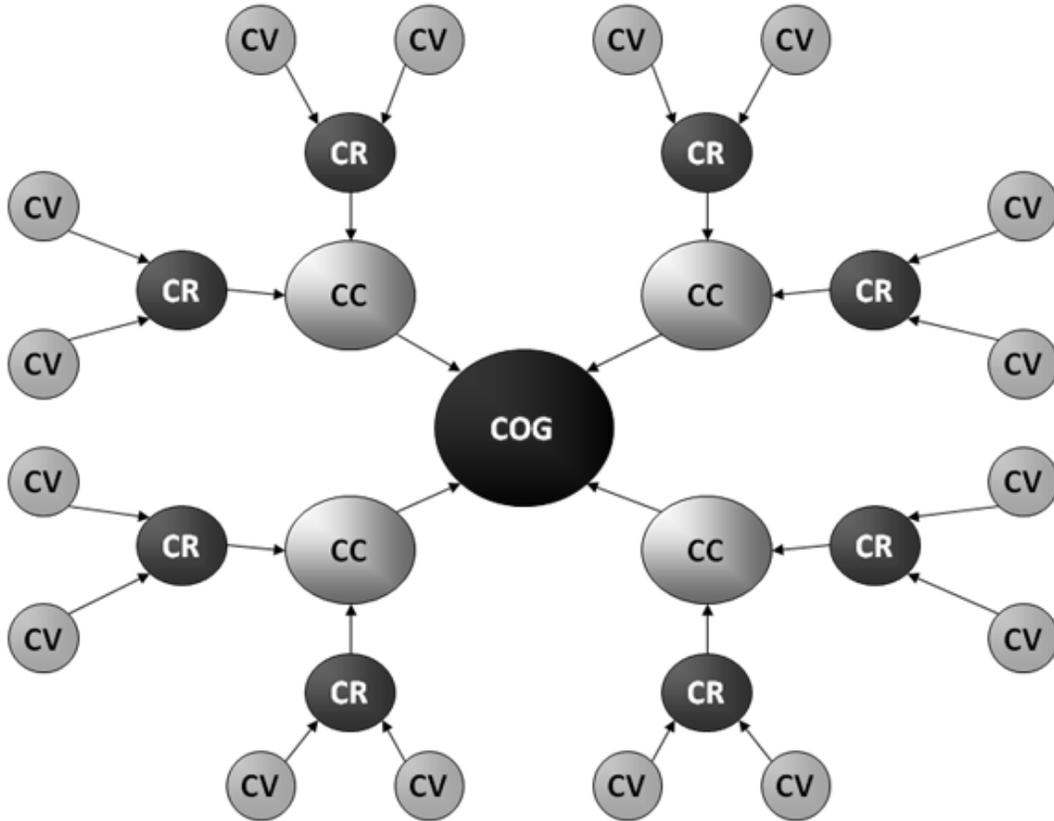

Figure 1: Graphic Representation of the COG Model[21]

Applying the Critical Factors Analysis (CFA), the COG of an insurgency is the people, therefore the CC-CR-CV portrayed as:

Figure 2: Graphic Representation of an Insurgent CC-CR-CV[22]

In a narrative form, this CC-CR-CV would read as: a critical capability of insurgency x is their ability to resource, train and equip their members and a critical requirement to maintain this CC is their ability to recruit new members to their organization. Subsequently, their recruitment effort is critically vulnerable if the local population turns against this effort.

Up to this point, planners will have gained an understanding of the operating environment and decomposed the network using the Critical Factors Analysis. As a result of this effort, they begin to understand the capabilities that the threat requires to exist and inherent vulnerabilities the threat must guard. The fundamental question at this stage in the analysis is how can the organization be disrupted and ultimately defeated. While no one tool of national power is suited to affect all critical vulnerabilities nor can all vulnerabilities be effected with the capabilities on hand, it is important to identify actions across the whole-of-government or specifically, DIMEFIL (Diplomatic, Information, Military, Economic, Financial, Intelligence and Law Enforcement). It is critical that these actions are synchronized under a comprehensive planning effort that is designed to integrate all DIMEFIL elements under a diplomatic, development and defense, or 3D approach.

In the previous example, insurgency x's recruitment efforts are vulnerable if the local population turns against their efforts. From across the DIMEFIL spectrum, some approaches that might affect this vulnerability may be:

- The partner nation government develops a jobs program for military aged males focusing on infrastructure improvements (USAID Development assistance).

- The partner nation increases its ability through local revitalization efforts to address the conditions of poverty by empowering local populations to fix their own problems (Diplomatic focus on increasing resiliency in democratic systems and development assistance in dealing with water and sewer issues at the local level).

The CFA, as a tool allows us to understand various capabilities required for irregular threats to exist, survive, and succeed. In the effort to address the critical vulnerabilities of these organizations and subsequently the root causes of instability, a synchronized whole-of-government approach is imperative.

CFA as Part of the Integrated Country Strategy

Currently, the CFA (COG model), according to JP 5-0 is one of 13 tools available for the U.S. military's joint planner when conducting planning efforts. As highlighted in JP 5-0, "the COG construct is useful as an analytical tool to help Joint Force Commanders and staffs analyze friendly and adversary sources of strength as well as weaknesses and vulnerabilities."[23] Joint doctrine provides a defense-centric approach to utilizing the COG model as an analytical framework to develop the operational approach. However, it falls short of proposing a process to align actions or efforts against critical vulnerabilities that incorporate a synchronized whole-of-government approach.

According to the 2010 National Security Strategy, "Our diplomacy and development capabilities must help prevent conflict, spur economic growth, strengthen weak and failing states, lift people out of poverty, combat climate change and epidemic disease and strengthen institutions of democratic governance. Our military will continue strengthening its capacity to partner with foreign counterparts, train and assist security

forces and pursue military-to-military ties with a broad range of governments.[24] The

integration of the three national security pillars, diplomacy, development and defense is

further expounded upon in the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) and

Department of State's (DOS) Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review

(QDDR). The 2010 QDDR states, "We will seek to improve DOS and USAID linkages to

Department of Defense Planning efforts, especially where beneficial to ensuring

harmonization with our integrated country strategies."[25] This same document directed

the establishment of the Diplomacy, Development and Defense Planning Group (3DPG)

to develop products and processes to improve collaboration in planning between DOS,

USAID and DOD. The 3DPG designed the 3D planning guide as a reference tool to

assist planners in understanding the purpose of each agency's plans, the process that

generates them and, most importantly to help identify opportunities for coordination

among the three.[26] This planning guide was published as a pre-decisional working draft

in July 2012 and is yet to be used in the field.[27] Further highlighting these challenges,

the 2012 Congressional Research Service's (CRS) report found that the three common

problems with the current interagency cooperation system throughout the U.S.

government are (1) A lack of strategic planning and interagency operational planning,

particularly between civilian and military agencies; (2) Structural deficiencies in the U.S.

Government ability to conduct missions abroad, which result in agencies (civilian and

military) operating independently, reluctant to divert resources and personnel from their

core missions; and (3) Assignment of U.S. Government personnel untrained in

interagency collaboration and unfamiliar with other agency's authorities, missions,

bureaucratic procedures, capabilities and corporate cultures.[28] While the 3DPG is

currently not in wide use, it has the potential to effectively guide the country team through the development of the Integrated Country Strategy as well as assist in the application of the Critical Factors Analysis to country-specific security challenges.

Country Plan Strategies

DOD Geographic Combatant Commanders are required to develop campaign plans that integrate and synchronize peace time or Phase Zero activities to achieve desired endstates from the Secretary of Defense's Guidance for the Employment of Force (GEF) document. Perhaps the most critical guidance in the GEF regarding security cooperation planning and activities is the listing of global core partners, critical partners, key supporting partners and actors of concern for each endstate.[29] The GEF drives the Geographic Combatant Command (GCC) Theater Campaign Plan (TCP), which then directs the creation of a Country Campaign Plan (CCP) for each country in the GCC area of responsibility. As the CCP is a DOD product, it is not an effective tool to synchronize a whole-of-government approach in dealing with the root causes of instability in specified countries. Conversely, Department of State (DOS), as directed in the 2010 QDDR utilizes the Integrated Country Strategy (ICS) as the multi-year plan that describes the U.S. priorities in a given country. The ICS sets mission goals and mission objectives through a coordinated and collaborative planning effort among DOS, USAID and other U.S. Government agencies operating overseas under Chief of Mission authority.[30] The ICS as a synchronizing effort to create a country-level comprehensive whole-of-government strategy can address the root causes of instability through the development of an indirect approach. According to USSOCOM, "The indirect approach comprises those actions taken to attack the roots of terrorism and eliminating its further

growth, including everything from deterring support for terrorism to addressing governmental corruption, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and basic human needs.[31]

To apply the indirect approach, the country team, based on Chief of Mission priorities, develops long term (five years or beyond) mission goals which can include political, economic, health, social, environmental or security outcomes.[32] Each mission goal is to include one or more mission objectives, which can significantly influence in the medium term (three to five years).[33] Both the mission goals and the mission objectives are informed and influenced by the country context. This provides the analytic overview of the countries' geopolitical context and identifies key planning assumptions, challenges, opportunities, and risks for the U.S. planning horizon.[34] As the country context section of the ICS portrays the country team's understanding of their operating environment, the CFA can augment this effort and provide clarity concerning challenges to the host country security sector and the root causes of instability. The CFA will improve the country team's understanding of threat critical capabilities, critical requirements and critical vulnerabilities. The critical capabilities, as identified through this process can be addressed through actions identified and documented as part of the mission objectives. These actions would include the identification of the appropriate executive agent that would be responsible for the implementation of each effort. To support the ICS and assist in synchronizing the efforts to address these CVs, in accordance with guidance in the GEF, DOD and the U.S. Army developed the Regionally Aligned Force concept and the application as a Phase Zero approach in an effort to shape and prevent conflict.

Synchronized and nested Phase Zero operations are a vital component in preventing the requirement for later phases of Deter and Defeat.[35] Phase Zero operations occur during the shape phase and JP 3-0 defines shape phase missions, tasks and actions as "those that are designed to dissuade or deter adversaries and assure friends as well as set conditions for the contingency plan and are generally conducted through security cooperation activities.[36] Highlighted in the 2012 Army Strategic Planning Guidance (ASPG), the U.S. Army, in conjunction with its Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental and Multinational (JIIM) partners helps to prevent the emergence of threats and reduce the potential need for large military operations principally through its contributions to deterrence.[37] The ASPG also directed the regional alignment of forces to provide modernized and ready, tailored land force capabilities to meet the Combatant Commander's requirements across the range of military operations. These regionally aligned forces, in addition to other available joint forces can be used to address the CVs identified as part of the Critical Factors Analysis during the ICS planning process. To facilitate the synchronization of assets identified in the ICS, integration of key DOD planners, particular the resident Defense Attaché, as a member of the Country Team is essential.

Nigeria is an example to demonstrate the application of the Critical Factors Analysis as a tool to augment the country context of the ICS.

<div align="center">Nigeria</div>

As Africa's most populous country with nearly 175 million people from 250 separate ethno-linguistic groups, Nigeria will soon be established as the continent's largest economic power.[38] In 2014, with GDP growth of 6.8 percent, its economy continues to remain robust and with the drop in inflation may overtake South Africa as

the continent's largest economy.[39] Subsequently, Nigeria offers the largest potential market on the continent for U.S. imports. In 2011, Nigeria was the 23rd largest trading partner for the U.S. and the second largest in Africa with a total of $4 billion USD.[40] Imports from Nigeria include cocoa, beans and rubber, with the vast majority being crude oil.[41] As a member of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Nigeria is the world's 13th largest oil producer, with exports topping 2 million barrels per day.[42] With continued improvements since its independence, the country possesses many positive attributes for carefully targeted investment and will expand as both a regional and international market player.[43]

Not only is the stability of Nigeria a vital U.S. national interest for the prosperity of the U.S., Nigeria also plays a critical role in regional security and stability through its influence in Africa. Nigeria, a member of the African Union and the African Development Bank is also one of the founding members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Additionally, the Nigerian military has deployed in support of numerous peacekeeping operations and currently has about 6,000 peacekeepers deployed in 12 United Nations (UN) missions worldwide.[44]

While Nigeria has huge potential to emerge as Africa's number one market economy as well as continue to maintain its critical leadership role in Africa, it is plagued with numerous challenges that persistently degrade its position. Poor governance and the zero-sum nature of Nigerian politics remain the countries most important catalysts of instability.[45] This government continues to struggle with insecurity across the country that is deeply rooted in poverty and unemployment at a rate of 23.9 percent as well as the marginalization of the greater population.[46] The economic deprivation, frustration

and desperation experienced by the greater population of Nigerians are the underlying cause of insurgency and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria.[47] Ranked 144 out of 177 countries with a score of 25 according to the Corruption Perceptions Index 2013, Nigeria has a very high corruption rate and a widespread corruption problem.[48] In response to these conditions and capitalizing on the perceptions of a corrupt central government coupled with 68 percent of the population living below the income poverty line, Boko Haram developed in the north to overthrow the Nigerian Government and create a caliphate ruled under Sharia law.[49] In the south, local grievances based on environmental degradation and poverty coupled with the government capitalizing on crude oil extraction caused the emergence of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), who is the umbrella organization of over 100 political and criminal militant entities that vary in size and structure.[50] Socially, Nigeria has the second worst HIV / AIDs related death rate in the world, having experienced 220,000 deaths with a population of over 3.3 million living with the disease, according to 2009 data.[51] Nigeria is also a transit point for heroin and cocaine intended for European, East Asian and North American markets, a consumer of meth amphetamines and a safe haven for Nigerian narco-traffickers operating world-wide and a major money laundering center.[52]

Governance

Nigeria is a federal republic with the president as the chief of the state and the head of the executive branch. The bicameral legislature, the National Assembly consists of the Senate (109 seats) and the House of Representatives (360 seats) and the Supreme Court consists of the Chief Justice and 15 justices.[53] Nigeria's current government is a result of the country's tumultuous political evolution. Designed to be representative of the countries 250 ethno-linguistic groups, the most politically influential

are the Halsa and Fulani (29 percent), Yoruba (21 percent), Igbo (18 percent) and Ijaw

(10 percent).[54] For centuries each ethnic group had their own separate and independent

history, however the arrival of the Europeans initiated the era of regionalism. In 1914,

the British governor to Nigeria laid the groundwork for modern day Nigeria through the

merging of the northern and southern protectorates. According to the constitution of

1946, Nigeria was divided into 3 regions and through a series of ratifications evolved

into 36 states as outlined in the constitution of 1999 and continues today. This state

structure is a reflection of the demands by ethnic minorities for the more popular

autonomy to protect their interests from larger majority ethnicities in the regions.[55]

However, while the three major ethnic groups are duly represented, the minority groups

are not effectively integrated and are therefore rarely influence the federal government.

Muslims make up 50 percent of the population and are predominately Sunni, while 40

percent is Christian and 10 percent claims to be other. There is an important overlap

between ethnicity and religion in Nigeria: the Hausa/Fulani and Kanuri groups are

predominately Muslims, the Igbo and southern minorities predominately Christians and

the Yoruba and Northern minorities have almost equal number of adherents in both

religions.[56]

　　Upon gaining independence from British rule in 1960, the country, after a period

of instability was thrust into a civil war over the secession of the Biafran state in the

Southeastern region. After two and a half years of fighting and the death of more than a

million Nigerians, the federal forces ended the war in 1970. A series of successive

autocratic governments eventually replaced the established regional structure,

transitioning from 3 regions at independence to the current 36 state structure codified by

the new constitution of 1999.[57] Throughout the evolution of the constitutions and soon

after Nigeria became an independent nation, the differences among the three regions

became clear and were amplified by the emergence of three regionally-based and

tribally/ethnically sustained political parties; the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the

National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG).[58]

In 1999, with the adoption of a new constitution, Nigeria transitioned from 16

years of military rule, overshadowed with 4 coup-de-etats to a peaceful transition to

civilian governance.[59] Since 1999 and the restoration of multi-party democracy,

corruption, political violence and electoral fraud continue to undermine the legitimacy of

the central government. With petroleum production expanding quickly in the wake of the

1967-70 civil war and petroleum price increases, more than 75 percent of government

revenues were derived from crude oil. Today, the government continues to exercise

broad discretion in the distribution of export proceeds. The government retains 52

percent of the oil revenues with 27 percent going to the states and 21 percent to the

local authorities. Corruption at all levels has left the country with 68 percent of its

population living below the income poverty line and the average citizen making $1.25

USD per day, with an unemployment rate of 23.9 percent.[60] As very few revenues

actually make it to the people, revenue allocations are the centerpiece for political

debate.[61] This corruption continues to plague the country and is an impediment to

progress, highlighted by Transparency International's ranking of Nigeria at 144 of 177

countries and a score of 25 out of a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is the highest level of

corruption and 100 is the most clean.[62] The political consequences of oil wealth have

caused an excessive centralization of power, authoritarianism, the avoidance of internal

taxation and a rent-seeking culture. A political class has captured the rents generated

from oil, spent them on personal consumption and reinvested them in their own power

preservation.[63] Inequality between the people and the social elite is manifested

throughout the country. As the oil revenues have lined the pockets of these elites, the

infrastructure lacks the necessary development. Evident by the 28,900 km of the

193,200 km of roads which are paved and pose access challenges to remote regions

across the country, only 40 percent of Nigerians are connected to the electric grid and

over 70 million people in Nigeria do not have access to improved drinking water.

Security

      Nigeria is facing critical security concerns in the northeast, north central and the

Niger Delta regions. Boko Haram in the northeast and moving into the north central

region continues to target the state, Army, and civilians who are not supporting their

cause. Boko Haram (meaning western education is forbidden), seeks to overthrow the

current Nigerian government, restore the caliphate and govern the northern region with

Sharia law.[64] Boko Haram's attacks continue to increase in magnitude and target

military, police, universities, banks, markets as well as churches and preachers. They

draw their membership from clerics, university students and the unemployed youth in

the north, where 75% of the people live below the poverty line.[65] The federal

government's response, the Joint Task Force deployed to counter Islamist militants in

the northeast have been implicated in the extrajudicial killings of militants and in civilian

deaths.[66] Their heavy-handed tactics directly contribute to the further radicalization of

Boko Haram and the Muslim population in the northeast.

      The Niger Delta region has become prone to political violence in recent years.

Years of neglect from central authorities and economic underdevelopment have made

competition for economic resources and social benefits particularly fierce.[67] The result of this activity has caused a 25 percent decrease in oil production.[68] MEND, the umbrella organization and the most prominent of over 100 different entities continues to intensify attacks on oil installations. Economically motivated, these insurgents aim to increase local participation in regional economic and political life, demanding ownership and management rights, profit-shares, compensation for environmental degradation and political amnesty. Their targets are generally limited to the government and energy sectors, using tactics such as ambushes, bombings, kidnappings, raids, sabotage and seizures. The impact of these attacks coupled with oil theft directly impact oil production, which not only effect Nigeria's economy, but also have a direct impact on the cost per barrel of oil across the world energy markets.

<u>Analysis</u>

While Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa, poor governance and economic mismanagement fuels a disenfranchised population that is plagued with widespread poverty and inequality. Perceptions of a corrupt government with disproportionate revenue allocations continue to fuel discontent and threaten the stability of the country. Nigeria's social elites, since the oil boom, have been lining their pockets with oil revenues and while these funds get distributed at the federal, state and local levels, very little is actually used to address the sources of instability affecting the people. This poor governance coupled with the misappropriation of funds creates a disenfranchised population that is looking for help. The high unemployment, low education opportunities, high poverty rate and extremely low quality of life create Nigeria's key sources of instability, lead to increased social violence and foster a very high risk of social unrest. Additionally, the deteriorating infrastructure is a constant reminder to the people that

their government is not concerned with their well-being or quality of life. While government projects and programs are designed to address these issues, tribal favoritism leads to the perception of inequality and subsequently foments increased social violence. The programs and systems designed to address the instability consistently experience challenges as a result of fund mismanagement driven by corruption at the local, state and federal levels.

The government's inability to address regional and local issues, coupled with insufficient solutions to the causes of instability creates a population frustrated and disenfranchised with the government. Additionally, security force abuses foment the population's discontent and hatred of the federal government. Support to the population manifests itself from organizations such as Boko Haram who is pursuing Sharia law and the creation of a caliphate as well as the MEND conglomeration in the south who, while economically motivated assists in the provision for the needs of the people. As a result, the people provide sanctuary, support, freedom of movement and a recruiting base for these irregular threats operating across Nigeria. These conditions create the environment for exploitation by violent extremist organizations, drug trafficking organizations, human traffickers and organized crime, all of which are prevalent and are directly impacting the stability and security of Nigeria.

Understanding that the root causes of instability create opportunities for Boko Haram and MEND, the CFA will begin to deconstruct these organizations in an effort to develop actions, which will assist the government of Nigeria in addressing these challenges. As identified, two of Nigeria's root causes of instability are poverty and

corruption. Each of these causes directly produced the conditions for Boko Haram to develop and prosper in northern Nigeria. Therefore, Boko Haram as the example.
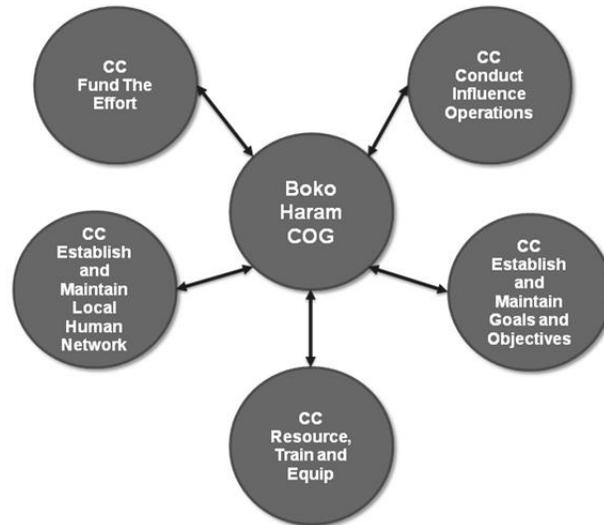

Figure 3: Graphic Representation of Boko Haram's COG and CC.[69]

People as the center of gravity for Boko Haram is subject to debate, however the CFA still highlights some of the critical capabilities required by the organization to succeed. In this example, Boko Haram may have five critical capabilities:

- Fund the Effort – To meet it's financial requirements, Boko Haram requires support and money.

- Conduct Influence Operations – Boko Haram must conduct operations that influence local and regional perceptions and behavior.

- Establish and Maintain Local Human Networks – The establishment of relationships and social networks is critical to Boko Haram's success.

- Establish and Maintain Goals and Objectives – To see the successful manifestation of their strategy, Boko Haram must follow an established framework to achieve their goals and objectives based on political action.

- <u>Resource, Train and Equip</u> – Although decentralized, Boko Haram must resource train and equip its members.

Further decomposing the network, Boko Haram's critical capability of Conducting Influence Operations is highlighted. Based on this analysis, they may have the following critical requirements.

Figure 4: Graphic Representation of Boko Haram's Critical Capability to Conduct Influence Operations.[70]

For the next example, the critical requirement of Boko Haram to Gain Placement and Access to Persons of interest is used to highlight some of their critical vulnerabilities.
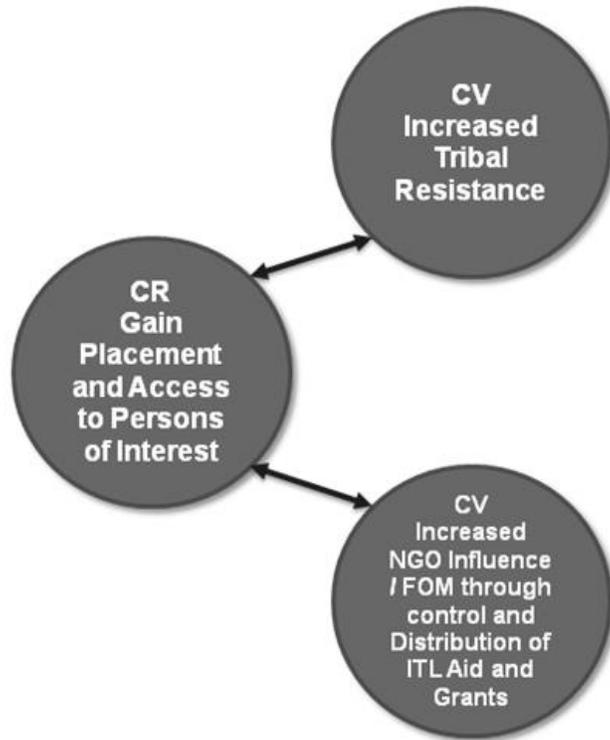
Figure 5: Graphic Representation of Boko Haram's Critical Requirement to Gain Placement and Access to Persons of Interest.[71]

Boko Haram is critically vulnerable if they face increased tribal resistance within their area of operations. Subsequently, during the development of the ICS, efforts must be identified to facilitate this increased resistance. Some possible actions include:

- Work with legitimate and not corrupt local and regional governments through the national government to increase support to the tribal elders in Boko Haram's area of responsibility.

- Through the Nigerian national and regional governments, assist in the development of a jobs program focused on infrastructure development in the region.

- Increase rule of law training for local and regional law enforcement and increase tribal integration.

These are only three of several possible actions that can be taken to address Boko Haram's critical vulnerability to increased tribal resistance to their actions in the region. These actions can directly support the mission objectives, highlighted in the ICS, to address a critical vulnerability of Boko Haram and begin to influence the root causes of instability in the country. This is but one example of three actions aligned to one critical vulnerability. The CFA process will highlight numerous critical vulnerabilities of which actions from across the whole-of-government can be aligned. It is crucial that as these actions are transformed into ICS mission objectives, their execution be synchronized and sustained over time. This approach will increase the Government of Nigeria's ability to address the root causes of instability – poverty, corruption, infrastructure and threats to their national security.

The CFA is only effective if the appropriate analytic effort is applied to its development. As actions are taken to address the CVs and the root causes of instability, the CFA must be updated and adjusted because the network will become more resilient and continue to evolve. Subsequently, the mission objectives must be assessed for their impact and effect on addressing the changing conditions of the threat and environment.

Conclusion

The CFA, can be an effective tool in understanding the threat, the environment and can assist in identifying the root causes of instability. Effective use of this process can lead to the identification of actions that can be taken using all elements of national power, which can be codified as mission objectives in the context of the Integrated Country Strategy. This process can also lead to a comprehensive whole-of-government

effort, facilitating the indirect approach and in doing so, address threats to country stability, ultimately reducing the trajectory of failed or failing states subsequently supporting U.S. national interests while preventing the spread of conflict.

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