

## **APPROVAL PAGE**

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## **DEDICATION**

This research work is dedicated to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Duru for their unending love and financial investment into my Education.

I also dedicate this research project to my siblings 'Kingsley Duru, Collins Duru and Mercy Duru for their moral support. Above all, I dedicate this research programme to Almighty God the giver for his everlasting mercies upon me.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Over the years, Nigeria was experienced series of attacks, agitations, restiveness and blests ranging from diverse regions and localities. References are; hostage thing in the south-south region, the Niger Delta militancy crisis, the Boko Haram crisis in Northern Nigeria (which is the case study of this research work) etc. most restiveness of youths has often been done under the guise of a ring or body, this makes their operational activities fast and broader. All these group exist in the diverse regions of the country, and this includes. The 'OPC' popularly known as the 'Oduduwa peoples congress' called the Afenifere group. We can also find the 'MASSOB' known as the 'movement for the actualization of sovereign state of biafra', in the south-east region. In the south-south, we can find 'MEND' known as 'the movement for emancipation of Niger Delta', while the 'Boko Haram lays siege of the Northern part of the country to mention a few.

Despite the fact that June 10,2000 marked 50 years of oil exploration and production, and over \$400billion

accrued to the Nigerian state in terms of revenue, Nigeria is still referred to as one of the poorest countries in the world. This often makes us to wonder how much of this revenue actually found its way into the region where this oil is produced as the areas of investment in infrastructure or the development of human capital such economic growth is yet to translate to economic development and an appreciable increase in the standard of living of the Nigerian masses. Notably, the economic, social and cultural rights of the people in the Niger-Delta which is the main oil producing region in the country continues to be unfulfilled, therefore, increasing and escalating the level of frustration and tension both within and between communities. This increasing marginalization environmental degradation, discontentment with the multinational companies, pervasive poverty, perceived insensitivity on the part of the state and failure of the state to ameliorate the sufferings of the people, have pushed or rather forced the inhabitants of the region, specifically the youths to the edge, hence: frustration aggression emerged. These amongst other perceived

injustice such as low earnings, have made youths to become very hostile and violent, therefore creating an atmosphere of fear, chaos and restiveness. This drift to violence has unleashed a monster that is now a predator to everyone irrespective of personality. The attacks are so indiscriminate that even babies, the aged, oil companies and asset pipelines are frequently targeted for attacks and vandalization.

Having established a relationship between poverty and youth restiveness, we shall now take a look at the Boko Haram crisis for a comprehensive understanding of the research work. Boko Haram as the name connotes, does not have one particular meanings, it means different this (to different people though it is a religious cum political sect that aims at imposing sharia law in Nigeria. Most people though believe that the name Boko Haram", means that western education is evil or a sin".

Since its formation in 2002 in Maiduguri by the leader of the sect; Mohammed Yusuf, Boko Haram has been a thorn in the flesh of the Nigerian masses particularly in the Northern part of the country, it has also

made the Nigerian security agencies restless and vulnerable, particularly the police force, this, some people believe is because of the murder of the leader of the sect; Mohammed Yusuf who had been in police custody, thus, the birth of jungle justice.

To this end, this research no doubt, will critically analyze, study, explain and research on the three concepts, i.e. poverty, youth restiveness and Boko Haram in order to create a better understanding in the minds of this reader on how poverty can..... lead or tea tool for restiveness of youth in Nigeria, using the Boko Haram sect as a case study. Finally, this research work contemporaneous and timely, hence it will contribute to executing knowledge and also help in increasing the frontiers of knowledge.

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Over the years, Nigeria has experienced series of attacks and blests in most parts of the country. The violent agitations by militants in the Niger Delta" (MEND). So many splinter groups hide under this body to carry out their nefarious acts of rebellion against the Nigerian state to express their grievances over the degradations of their environment through the operation of the multinational oil companies.

Similar groups exist in other parts of the country and they include; the "oduduwa people congress (OPC) which is located in the south-west. They are often called the Afeinifere group. There exists also the "movement for the actualization of sovereign state of Biafra" in the south-East while the 'Boko Haram" uses the Northern part of the country as their operational base.

This research study will critically scrutinize and evaluate the activities of the latter amongst the afore mentioned political and religious sects, because that is the thrust of this research. It can be deduced that poverty

and youth restiveness are instrumental to the incessant crisis that has bedeviled our beloved country 'Nigeria'. People are said to be poor when they experience lack of sufficient income to purchase material needs which often excludes individuals from partaking in generally accepted activities of daily life in the society at large. According to ALI MASRUI in his 'paradox of retardation', Africa is not the poorest of the regions of the world but it is the most retarded. He argued that Africans are richly endowed and as such, they have no reason to be poor.

Despite the fact that June 10,2006 marked 50 years of oil exploration and production, and over \$400billion accrued to the Nigerian state in terms of revenue, Nigeria is still referred to as one of the poorest countries in the world. This often makes one to wonder how much of this revenue actually found its way into the region where this oil is produced in the way of investment in infrastructure or the development of human capital. Such economic growth is yet to be translated to economic development and an appreciable increase in the standard of living of the Nigerian masses. The economic, social and cultural

rights of the people in the Niger Delta which is the main oil producing region in the country, continuous to be unrealized thereby increasing and escalating the level of frustration and tension both within and between communities. This increasing marginalization, environmental degradation and the attendant with the multinational oil companies, preserve poverty, perceived insensitivity on the part of the state and failure of the state to ameliorate the sufferings of the people, have pushed or rather forced the inhabitants of the region specifically the youths to the edge.

These amongst other perceived injustice have made the youths to become very hostile and restless therefore creating an atmosphere of fear, chaos and tension. This drift to violence has unleashed a monster that is now a nuisance to everyone irrespective of personality. The attacks are so indiscriminate that even babies, the aged, oil companies and assets to pipelines are frequently targeted for attacks and sabotage.

Having established a relationship between poverty and youth restiveness, we shall now take a look at the

Boko Haram crisis for a comprehensive understanding of the research study. Boko Haram as the name denotes, does not have one particular meaning. The name more or less connotes different meanings to different people. The group is a Nigerian Islamic group that seeks the imposition of Shariah group belief (Shariah law) throughout the whole of Nigeria. Figuratively, members of this group believe that "western education is a sin". Presently, the group has an undefined structure and chain of command. It is of a paramount importance to note that the official name of the group is 'Jama' Atu Ablis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad', which means or rather is tantamount to "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching and Jihad.

Since its formation in 2002 in Maiduguri by the leader of the group Mohammed Yusuf, the Boko Haram has been a thorn the flesh of Nigeria's security agencies, precisely the police force, over its opposition to western education that it believes is a sin. In the year 2004, the Islamic fundamentalists group relocated its base to Ranamma, Yobe state. The new location was named'

Afghanistan”, and from there the group set about attacking and leaving members of the Nigerian police lifeless.

In an interview with BBC in the year 2004, Yusuf the leader of the group was quoted as saying that “this war that is yet to start would continue for a very long time. Five years later i.e. in the year 2009, Yusuf was killed under the police custody in a violent clash between the Boko Haram and the security forces. Nevertheless, his demise did not quell the activities of the group he founded, it rather made them grow more in aggression.

Amongst the various crises due to bombings carried out by Boko Haram are;

The Nigeria sectarian violence in the year 2009.

The Bauchi prison break 1<sup>st</sup> Abuja – 2<sup>nd</sup> Abuja the northern Nigeria bombings in the year 2011.

The attack on the police headquarters on June 16, 2011.

The attack on the .....Madala Catholic Church (St Theresa) on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 2011 just to mention but a few.

In conclusion, at this juncture, this research work will critically analyze the three concepts i.e. poverty, youth restiveness and Boko Haram in order to create a better understanding in the minds of the readers and more so to contribute to existing knowledge of literature.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

It is no longer news that the activities of the Boko Haram and other similar politically religious sects have often led to loss of property, lives and even the breakdown of law and order, peace and security in the Nigerian society at large. From the foregoing, it has been observed that a lot of attacks have been made on so many states which includes even the state capital (F.C.I)

What puzzles most observers is that most of these attacks appears not be executed by suicide bombers, yet the culprits often get away unharmed. This leaves a big question mark in our security agencies as regards their duty in the protection of lives and properties, and the procurement of weapons of mass destruction to combat this menace which is eating deep into the Nigerian society today.

Opinions are however divided over the propelling force of this group, for instance while some argue fact. It is in a bid to eradicate these incessant chaos and destruction which has often led to loss of assets, that we pose a few research questions in a view of obtaining reasonable and positive answers. Thus:

- i. What is the relationship between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria.
- ii. Does the Boko Haram crisis pose a threat development and Nigeria's corporate existence?
- iii. Is military option capable of lacking the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria?

### **1.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY**

The main thrust of this study, is to establish the following significance:

- i. To ascertain the relationship between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria
- ii. To find out if Boko Haram crisis poses it threat to development and Nigeria's corporate existence.

- iii. To explore whether military option is capable of lacking the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria.

#### **1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study will definitely put the 1cmp on the cake to already exuding literatures of poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria. Its importance lies in the fact that it is currently a prevailing cancaworm and it is very spontaneous and topical.

Moreso, it will act as a guide to the government in their quest the problems associated with poverty in Nigeria.

#### **1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This review is precisely concerned with pre existing views and perceptions of various scholars and academicians as regards their contributions to the subject matter, which is the research study. It is as a result of this, that we will take two major variable into review/ these related variables are poverty and youth restiveness.

When talking about poverty, organizations often use different definitions. According to the World Bank organization; it

Poverty is defined relative to the standards of living in a society at a specific time. People live in poverty when they are denied an income sufficient for their material needs and when these circumstances exclude them from taking part in activities which are an accepted part of daily life in the society (UKCAP, 1997; Galloway, 2002).

What the world bank organization is saying in essence is that poverty cannot be defined separately without talking the economic situation into keen consideration. When individuals or a given greater number of citizens in a country cannot purchase their insatiable needs (both material and non-material), then they can be referred to as wallowing in abject poverty. This, according to the world bank organization, is as a result of the denial of their income as a result of the fact that the principles of 'PAYE' i.e. pay as you earn, is not always applicable to

every society; therefore, individuals tend to pay higher taxes than they earn, and this leaves the bourgeoisies richer while the peasants and proletariat keep on getting poorer.

According to the House of Commons Scottish affairs committee: "These are basically three current definitions of poverty in common usage", these included: absolute poverty, relative poverty and social exclusion. They not only mentioned the afore listed, but also went ahead to elucidate on them.

Absolute poverty is defined as the lack of sufficient resources with which to keep the body and soul together. Relative poverty on the other hand, defines income or resources in relation to the average. It is concerned with the absence of the material needs to participate fully in accepted daily life. Social exclusion as the third division of poverty, is a new term often used by the government.

According to the prime minister, social exclusion can be defined as ..... a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low

incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. From the afore mentioned, we can see that the former i.e. WBO, condensed the absolute and relative poverty definitions of the latter into a single meaning. Nevertheless, the definition given by the House of Commons Scottish affairs committee is more comprehensive because it encompasses all facets of human existence. We must note that definitions differ according to their narrowness or breadth that is in terms of whether they are confined to the material core.

The nature of that material core and whether they embrace also rational/symbolic factors associated with poverty.

Nolan and Whelan (1996:193) are among those who argue for a definition towards the narrower end of the scale on the grounds that too broad a definition runs the danger of losing sight of the distinctive 'core notion of poverty'.

Following Townsend (1996:188), they define poverty in terms of the inability to participate in society (which is

broader than more absolute' definitions confirmed to subsistence needs), but emphasize that what is distinctive is the inability to participate owing to lack of resources. This confines their definition to those areas of life where consumption or participation are determined primarily by command over financial resources (1996:93) Veit-Wilson, 1998,2004). By implication they exclude non-material elements found in broad UN definitions, for example, 'lack of participation in decision making", "a violation of human dignity', 'powerlessness' and 'susceptibility to violence' (cited in Langmore, 2000:37) similarly, they exclude some of the non-material aspects emphasized by people in poverty themselves, such as lack of voice, respect and self-esteem, isolation and humiliation (UKCAP,1997, Galloway, 2002).

At this juncture, we must note that it makes sense to pitch the definition of poverty towards the narrower end of the spectrum of non poverty. Another source of variation in definitions of poverty reflected in the literature on measurement, lies in whether they are rooted in conceptualizations that are concerned with; on the one

hand, a person's material resources especially income, and on the other, with actual outcomes in terms of living standards and activities (Nolan and Whealan,1996).

Stein Ringer (1996) defined poverty from two dimensions namely; the first case and the second case. In the first case poverty is defined indirectly through the determinants of ways of life, while in the second case, he defined poverty directly by way of life (1987:146). Practically, these two approaches are often treated as complementary (as in Nolan and Whelan's definition above).

Ringers own definition is not unusual in combing the two: "a low standard of living, meaning deprivation in way of life because of insufficient resources to avoid such deprivation' (1987:146). Put simply, someone is "poor" when they have both a low standard of living and a low income' (Gordon etal, 2000:91). A.B. Atkinson in his definition of poverty, make a related, but more fundamental distinction between a concern with standard of living and a concern with a citizen's right to minimum level of resources (1989:12). He also added in 1990, that

poverty is increasingly being conceptualized as a denial of human and citizenship rights. This conceptualization of poverty is also helpful from the perspective of understanding and combating written poverty.

Millar and Glendinning (1991:464), propounded the feminist definition of poverty, saying that the feminist concept of poverty can be described in terms of an individual right to a minimum degree of potential economic independence. This view, focuses on the individuals capacity to be self-supporting on the grounds that people who are financially dependent upon others must be considered vulnerable to poverty (1992:9). We must note that the notion of vulnerability is helpful to understanding the situation of women without an independent income who nevertheless enjoy a comfortable standard of living. From these, we can now gather information that poverty is the inability to participate in society involving both a low income and a low standard of living.

Sen. takes a step backwards from both income and living standards to ask why they matter. His answer is

that they don't matter in their right, for they are simply instrumental to what really matters, namely the kind of life that a person is able to lead and the choices and opportunities open to her in leading that life. At the heart of this approach is an understanding of living as involving 'being and doing'. Sen uses two key words to express this idea. 'functionings' and 'capabilities'. The former refers to what a person actually manages to do or be; they range from elementary nourishment to more sophisticated levels such as participation in the life of the community and the achievement of self-respect. The latter, on the other hand, denote what a person can do or be, that is, the freedom people enjoy to choose between different ways of living that they can have reason to value (1990). He argues that money is just a means to an end and that the goods and services or 'commodities' it buys are simply particular ways of achieving functionings.

According to Karl Marx, money may be instrumental but it is also inseparable from the power that it confers: I can carry (money) around with me in my pocket as the universal thing into the hands of the private person, who

as such uses this power (1987). Therefore he of the view that one danger of downplaying income when defining poverty is that it can be used to justify a policy stance opposed to raising the incomes of those in poverty.

The European commissions definition of poverty which was adopted in 1984 goes thus: the poor shall be taken to mean persons, families and groups of persons whose resources (material and cultural, social) are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable ways of life in the member state in which they live. Poverty is a crisis that is habitual and it conveys message of hardship which is difficult to deny. It speaks publicly through visible misery, persisting destitution, endemic hunger and visible malnutrition (Akanmidu, 2004).

Due to its nature, the endemic poverty afflicting the people of the Niger-Delta amidst plenty, has led to a state of hopelessness and the recourse to violence against the state and multinational oil companies operating in the region. Although poverty is central to the concept of social quality, its reduction represent an indicator of social quality, it is only one of a number of conditions that serve

to diminish social quality and cannot serve as the sole measuring rod (Beck et al; 1997:11:2001).

Relative poverty places poverty in the context of inequality within societies. The act of comparison between those on lower and inphering ethnic groups, inevitably highlights any inequalities of material resources that may exist between the groups being compared.

At this juncture, we must note that relative poverty and inequality are not necessarily synonymous as they are sometimes juxtaposed. Inequality is concerned solely with the comparison between groups, while relative poverty adds to that comparison, the notion of the incapacity to meet certain needs, broadly defined to include participation in society. Thrust of these findings is that it directly leads to restiveness of youths all over the country (Nigeria).

Moreso, failure to give quality attention to the review of the meaning of youth restiveness as propounded by scholars, will render this review incomprehensive. This is because by so doing by reviewing the concept of "youth restiveness", we will be able to establish a relationship

between the two variables (poverty and youth restiveness).

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2010, the former inspector of police Mr. Mike Okiro identified; marginalization, unemployment, youth exuberance and above all poverty as a major attribute of youth restiveness in the country. Okiro said this in a lecture which was titled "youth restiveness and electoral process in Nigeria".

In the past, youths were perceived as heroes of nationalist movement. As students, they were the militant wing of the anti-colonial struggle. The Sikist movement, popularized the anti-imperialist consciousness theorized by the earlier elder nationalist (onoge) in the year 2004. the famous political bureau report of 1986 also affirmed linkages of youth and national destinies without recourse to philistine, pejorative slander. In the context of Nigeria's historical experience, youths and students have rendered very valuable and vital contributions to the struggle for liberation and national development. They can constitute a reservoir of energy and dynamism. For any national struggle or campaign if they are correctly guided,

mobilized and fully integrated into the social fabrics of the nation. They may also, constitute a threat to national survival and stability if they are allowed to drift, are unemployed, if they are undisciplined and morally bankrupt. We must note that there is no nation aspiring to major national greatness and success that can afford to ignore the youths and allow them to often constitute a major social problem in the society. This is because of the fact that they i.e. the youths happen to be or rather constitute a very vital source of manpower and they have in their possessions the existence of availability of leadership potential.

The youths can also acquire knowledge and are so full of future promises and positive expectations. It is often believed that once these innate potentials in them are fully exploited and properly channeled, only then can their contributions to national development be immense. The youths can also be referred to as the most committed group in the organization of voluntary social work or community development (CD) projects in their various localities. They often engage in these acts of nation

building during their service years in the (NYSC) that is "national youth service corps that is "National youth service corps".

As student, they are always in the fore front as regards the struggle against injustice oppression, subjection, subjugation and exploitation. They therefore constitute a militant force in any political system. Many of these activities have been recognized and acknowledged in Nigeria. Unfortunately, however, their positive contributions have tended to be drowned by rather frequent and sometimes violent protest actions. These incessant protest actions are promptly suppressed by authorities and sometimes by ruthless means.

So far, it has deduced that the youths still remain one of the greatest asserts that any community can posses. Potentially, they are the greatest investments for a society's sustainable development and future. This among others is the reason why it is universally acknowledged that positive fundamental and meaningful changes ineered, ofostered and or shaped by the generation of youths in the society.

Therefore we can now say that any culture or community, whether macro community or a micro community i.e. big or small community, that allows a good percentage of her youth to be misdirected or misled, risk her future viability and survival into jeopardy. The activities of the youth is now perceived as a social problem or menace. This is because they have been alleged defilement of traditional "core values" and have rather stooped or resorted to carrying out public or societal vices.

In Nigeria today, economic problems have provided a platform for expression of violence and conflict be it political, ethics or religious. Most significant of such conflict is the crisis in the Niger Delta, which at the onset was economic but has become a hydra-headed monster that threatens the political and economic security of the nation-youth restiveness is a despicable act being perpetrated by a significant proportion of the youth in various communities that can no longer be ignored. As the name denotes, it is a combination of any action or conduct that constitutes unwholesome socially unacceptable and

unworthwhile activities engaged in by the youths in any community. It is a phenomenon which in practice, has led to a near breakdown of law and order, low productivity due to disruption of production activities, increasing crime rate, intra-ethnic hostilities, and other criminal tendencies. In the oil producing areas in Nigeria, the communities still lack basic social infrastructures or infrastructural facilities culminating largely into high levels of poverty, mass unemployment, environmental degradation and other social vices.

The resultant future of this today, is that we have a near dicey situation in our hands as far as youths population now abounds and there is now a national crisis on the youth front. When considering youths questions, they are often grouped into categories. These include the following:

The national dimension is reflected in formal bodies such as the OPC, Arewa youth, Massob, Egbesu boys of Africa etc. These are publicly acknowledged bearers of structured political and economic agendas of geo-ethnic divisions.

There is also a rise in organized youth delinquencies in Nigeria cities today popularly known as "area boys" resident mostly in Lagos. They often operate under the umbrella of a specific city turf.

There are a number of smaller youth association in the states, local governments and towns across the country today.

There is emergence of cult gangs on computers which has facilitated the assimilation and sub assumption of students in the inclusive category of the youth.

There is an increase in the number of youth and flee the country through illegitimate means in order to make a living in other countries, facilitated by global network.

It is often perceived that these restiveness in youth is usually caused by certain factors which can be individual or societal. These include: marginalization – youths often stoop to restiveness or rather tend to be restive when they perceive marginalization by selfish government personnel.

Unemployment: they contribute a large army of the unemployed, therefore they tend to look at their plought

as the making of a cruel society that does not seem to care for them.

Exuberance: They often channel their raw energy into wholesome and socially unacceptable vices. Having said this, we can see that it is only a thin that separates poverty from youth restiveness.

## **1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The relative deprivation frustration aggression theory will stand as the theoretical framework of this study. Dollard (1939) submits that the primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be frustration aggression mechanism. According to him, anger induced by frustration as a motivating force that disposes main to aggression. Frustration as an interference with goal directed behaviours.

According to Gurr, he defined relative deprivation as "a perceived discrepancy between relative deprivation and their value capabilities". Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value think they are capable of attaining and maintaining given the social means available

to them. He also suggests some variables that affect the intensity of emotional response to the perception of deprivation.

The first proposition is that the greater the extent of discrepancy the man sees between what they seek and what seems to be attainable, the greater their anger and consequent disposition to aggression.

A second proposition relates to "opportunities". Men who feel they have many ways to attain their goals are less likely to become angry when one's blocked than those who have few alternatives.

A third general proposition is that the greater the intensity of men's expectations, the greater their anger when they meet unexpected or increased resistance. Gurr further states four intervening variables thus: the legitimacy of the political regime in which violence occurs, coercive potential, institutionalization and social structures which they condition the perception of deprivation.

In a related manner, James Davies attributed violent outbreaks to the frustration that result from short term

decline in achievement following a long term increase that generate expectation about continuing increase.

Basically, a person thwarted in the attempt to reach a goal is made angry and likely to protest against the imputed source of frustration. This, Dowse and Hughes observe in social life, men come to value many things, status, power, security, equality, freedom, wealth etc. when they cannot achieve those value means loosing another, angry, dissatisfactions and in the cases aggression occur, Mayer (1976), argue in support that the normal tendency towards violence aggression or dispute is increasingly frustration desires. To him, when a goal presumably attractive two or more individuals is made available in such a way that it can be obtained looser. Those frustrate actors in political system can become sponsors of things, kidnappers.

Davies (1973) observes that aggressive action required four (4) main steps namely activation of demand, frustration of demand, mental processes of deciding how to overcome the frustration and action. It is important to note that various individuals or groups involved in political

and or religious sects such as the Boko Haram, engage in such violent activities because they perceive a sense of disloyalty and injustice on the part of the government. This is often due to the fact that their needs are not properly met, and as a result of this, they stoop to violent means in form of rebellion against the government that has lost their popular support and legitimacy hence this leads to restiveness among youths and invariably there is loss of lives and property.

According to Kerlinger (1977) a theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts) and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena. Having said these, among all the paradigms drafted by various schools over the years, the focus therefore, so on the Boko Haram crisis and its effect on 'property and youth restiveness in Nigeria.

## **1.7 HYPOTHESIS**

In accordance with the research questions and founded on empirical verifications deduced from the research study, I hypothesize this:

- i. There is a relationship between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria.
- ii. The Boko Haram crisis seems to pose a threat to development and Nigeria's corporate existence.
- iii. Military option appears to be capable of tackling the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria.

## **1.8 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS**

The method of data collection used in this research study is the secondary source which is also known as documentation. Due to the spontaneous nature of the issue under investigation, we gathered information from magazines, journals, newspapers, textbooks, internet materials which are relevant to the study.

Method of data analysis

The framework of content analysis is what will be adopted due to the fact that it will aid us in giving better

appreciable acknowledgement to the study and make us knowledgeably acquainted to the subject under analysis.

### **1.9 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The scope of this research work is quite broad that it encompasses the investigation of "poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria", a case study of the Boko Haram crisis" from the year 2002 till date. This is because of its spontaneous nature.

In view of the limitations of this study various factors contributed in affect no the researchers comprehensiveness and totality in carrying out the study. Among these factors are scarcity of relevant materials on the issue due to its continuous evolving nature and virginity, financial constraints and other taxing campus engagements and the fact that the crisis experienced its apex in the course of the research interval.

Despite, the afore mentioned shortcomings and hindrances, the research study no doubt turned out to be successful.

## **1.10 DEFINITION OF TERMS**

This entails stating the meaning of various concepts used earlier, so as to give a better understanding of the meaning and also give a vivid picture of these concepts in the minds of the readers.

Poverty..... this can be defined as the lack of sufficient resources with which to keep the body and soul together, which often leads to disparity and inequality within societies. It can also be defined as the state of being financially unbalanced which makes the individual unable to associate fully in economic activities.

**Youth restiveness:** this can be defined as a combination of any action or conduct that constitutes unwholesome socially unacceptable and unworthwhile activities engaged in by the youths in any community. It can also be referred to as a despicable act which is being perpetrated by a significant proportion of youths whose activities have led to a near breakdown of law and order, low productivity due to disruption of production activities.

**Marginalization:** This can be seen as an unfair discrimination of a group of people, making them feel unimportant and powerless.

**Subjugation:** As the name implies, this can simply be referred to as the act of defeating a person thereby making the victim to obey the oppressor. It is similar to the term oppressor.

**Conflict:** This can simply be put thus; a state of disagreement or argument between people groups, countries e.t.c. it can further lead to war, loss of lives and properties or even outright death if not properly controlled and resolved.

## **CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO POVERTY AND YOUTH RESTIVENESS IN NIGERIA.**

Poverty and youth restiveness are two interrelated concepts because one cannot exist without the other, it is as a result of poverty that most youth often stoop to association with various political groups which makes them become restive in the society. Poverty can be traced as far back as human existence itself, this is because human wants are insatiable in relation to the available resources at their disposal.

Most third world countries and under developed nations often suffer from this endemic problem which is vast becoming a disease, this is as a result of the fact that they lack the necessary science technology needed to enhance or rather ensure coordinated growth of their economy when compared to the giant or developed countries. Poverty could mean different things to different people, to the layman, it could mean a state of being poor, to the economist it could mean the availability of limited or little resources needed for everyday life while the politician could see poverty as the lack of necessary

wherewithal with which to acquire political power in its highest order.

As earlier stated, poverty can be seen in terms of; absolute poverty, relative poverty and or social exclusion. Absolute poverty in this sense is referred to as the lack of sufficient resources with which to keep body and soul together. Relative poverty on the other hand, as that which defines income or resources in relation can be seen as a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems.

This chapter aims at portraying a clearer picture of the emergence of poverty and youth restiveness abinitio Nigeria's existence. In view of this, we shall be taking a look at three basic periods of the transformation of the Nigeria state and how poverty and youth restiveness became visible during these periods.

## **2.1 THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA**

Although Nigeria officially became a republic in the year 1963, the period between the year 1960 and 1965 can be referred to as the First Republic which is often viewed as the post independence era. The post

independence era created room for three major dominant political parties among others, and these include; the National Council for Nigerian citizens (NCNC), the Northern peoples congress (NPC) and the action action group (AG) which were formed or rather came into existence in the year 1944, 1951 and 1948 respectively.

Put briefly, the conflict between UPGA and the NNA that is the united progressive grand alliance and the Nigeria national alliance, can be seen as an offshoot of the predominant poverty and restiveness that has bedeviled the society today. This is because the conflict was to be presented as the antithesis between the forces of enlightenment and those of reaction, represented in this instance, by the south and the north respectively. Ordinarily, given the variation of societal behaviour, people tend to be incited to violence when such highly emotive terms are wed.

The politically sensitive atmosphere of 1964 made violence become more pronounced. More especially when it became all too easy to cast members of the NNDP, for instance, in the role of traitor's to the cause of progress',

traitors who had 'sold out' to a reactionary NPC and a tradition bound north violence did break out in the west, which had become the main area of political controversy and political competition. The persistence of this violence led to subsequent party politics for party politicians who went about campaigning with the protection of paid personal bodyguards usually armed with a variety of offensive weapons. Electoral officers were terrorized into absconding from their offices once they had received the nomination papers of governing party candidates, leaving opposition candidates with no opportunity of registering their nomination papers, that as to say that this period experienced a lot of corruption characterized by federal character.

The political elites during the post colonial era largely contributed to the restiveness of youths because they often viewed power as an end-in-itself rather than a means to the realization of some greater good for the community, and whatever the instrumentalities employed in the pursuit of power, such instrumentalities were legitimate. Since power has been seen as an end in itself,

obviously, there can be no such end as attainment of the good life and political development because the political leaders aimed at attaining political power for the sole aim of controlling the material endowment of the country rather than wing the resources at their disposals to provide for the needs of the general public. These embezzlement of public funds often left a good number of citizens in abject poverty and as such, they were left with no other option other than to engage in political violence as a means of challenge any government which they felt lacked legitimacy.

In march 1965 the 'suspended' elections in the eastern region were held to complete the farce which had begun three months earlier. The result of this was an extended federal executive which was to bring the holders of executive office to a total of 80. in other words, only about one in four of the members of the federal legislature held executive appointments of one type or the other. There could be no clearer demonstration of the judgment of Frantz Fanon that in the African state, once independence has been won, government becomes no

more than a holding company of the national bourgeoisie intent only on sharing out the national booty.

More so, one major factor that contributed a great deal to poverty in the post colonial Era, as the fact that the government exploited one sure source of income, open to it; that is skimming off the 'surplus' which accrued to the cocoa farmers, the producers of the region's main export crop due to the fact that it wanted to rescue itself from bankruptcy. Violence therefore started in the rural areas with farm labourers setting cocoa farms on fire in protest against not being paid their wages by farmers who now found they could not meet their costs at the new prices declared by the government. This invariably led to an uprising of restiveness among the youths during the Post Colonial Era.

## **2.2 THE MILITARY ERA**

Military rule is not peculiar to Nigeria; it is continental phenomenon in Africa. Fred R. Von der Mehden (1964:97) contends that when the military takes political action in developing societies. They presume themselves as "constitutional caretakers". At

independence, Nigeria was a federation on a tripod arrangement for regional governance. However, after 1967, when the military had taken over government, the country adopted a 'federal system' with a strong centre, what Elaigwu (1980:157) calls "military federalism".

Basically, he argues, military federalism in Nigeria has two conspicuous features. The first is the military superstructure: a military regime in which institutions of popular participation are suspended. In the military hierarchy of authority, the head of state appoints all state governors who are responsible to him. This negates David Apter's model of mobilization with a hierarchical chain of command and "minimum accountability to the people. Secondly, he argued that other institutions of federalism exist and are mainly civilian, in terms of their incumbents.

During military rule, there is suspension of the constitution, a highly centralized system of government rule with decrees absence of all forms of opposition dictatorial form of government and absence of election. The military often intervenes in politics in order to control the federal government and to correct the mistakes

caused by the civilian government. The military government of Nigeria is mainly divided into two levels of the federal military government and the state military government. The head of state, supreme military council, the council of states, national council of ministers, the state ministry governors and state executive council are all organs of the military.

In Nigeria, military rule can be categorized into four military regimes. For a better understanding of the emergence of poverty and youth restiveness we shall take a look at these regimes.

### **The First Military Regime (1966)**

It is very necessary to note that the chain of command in all military organizations is hierarchically arranged. Command, obedience and respect are based not on character or place of primary assignment but on seniority in rank. Consequently, this process impinges ultimately in the character of military regimes and this was reflected in the first military administration in Nigeria which was headed by General Ironsi.

General Aguiyi Ironsi, on becoming the Head of state and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, in his pattern of power arrangements, enacted decrees on different subjects, including his first decree on constitution suspension and amendment – decree No.1 under that, General Ironsi suspended the legislative and transferred full executive power of the state to himself for which he could not be held accountable by any one. He appointed regional military governor who were vested furthermore with legislative powers for their regions, which they discharged via edicts while Federal Laws came in the form of decrees. In addition, it was provided that any section of the constitution or any law which was inconsistent with a Decree was void.

The Ironsi administration also promulgated Decree No.34 of 1966 which made Nigeria a unitary state. By the provision of the public order decree (Decree No.33) of May 24, 1966, all political parties, tribal unions and cultural organizations with political leanings were proscribed. As contained in Decree 34 of May 24, 1966, the former regions of Nigeria were to become groups of

provinces and for the purpose of administration, each group of province was subject to the authority of the Head of the National Military Government (Ukpabi, 1986).

To assist his administration, General Ironsi created two councils, viz a supreme military council (SMC) composed of himself and the four military governors, and a Federal Executive Council (FEC) made up of federal permanent secretaries. In the regions, regional Executive councils were also instituted and composed of regional permanent secretaries. The supreme military council was the highest in the power hierarchy of the three segments of power arrangement based on the military pattern of power. It was followed by the Federal Executive council there after the Regional Executive Council.

In reality, the FEC carried greater weight than the supreme military council (SMC) because the SMC met too infrequently being preoccupied with regional matters to give adequate attention to issues (Ukpabi, 1986). Having said these, we can now conclude that the suspension of the legislature was an aberration of the principle of democracy because legislative powers were not delegated

both rather transferred to the executive organ of the government.

Moreso, the public order decree (Decree No.33) of May 24,1966 which made provision for the abolishment of all political parties, tribal unions and cultural organizations made it impossible for youths to make effective use of their manpower. Political parties were seen as a medium for people of the same ideology, belief and ideas to unite for the sole arm of pursuing a particular goal. The youths were left with no other option that to become restive since they were made to believe that their input did not really matters.

Finally, they often used tribal union as a medium to help their members by providing for their basic socio-economic needs. Since every form of tribal union were not allowed during this military regime, the poor only became poorer and poverty was brought to light.

### **The Second Military Regime (1966-1975)**

The second military administration in Nigeria was headed by General Yakubu Gowon. After succeeding General Ironsi, he maintained the same pattern of power

structure and framework of decision-making as put together by General Ironsi but with significant differences. The Federal Executive Council was now composed of civilians and military personnel. No civil servant sat any more at the FEC as a member.

In reality, their influence suffered hardly any decline, if anything their relative importance grew as they became in effect, the powers behind the throne as they continued as chief Accounting officers of their ministries. The use to which General Gowon put the supreme military council is another area of difference. Prior to this regime, General Ironsi had made little use of the SMC but under General Gowon that body became the final decision-making organ.

The supreme military council was a ratification body which gave the seal of approval to Federal Executive Council decisions. The impression was created and sustained of greater military involvement in the decision making process. All the members of the SMC with the exception of the Administration of the East Central state, Mr. Ukpabi Asika who was a civilian and former lecturer at the University of Ibadan were either military men or

members of the police force. Given the command hierarchy of the military they were under an obligation to accept the ruling of their military superiors. Gowon, as head of the military government insisted on personally presenting all federal memoranda that went before the SMC, thereby presenting other SMC members with a dilemma, for to question a federal memorandum amounted to in questioning a military superior.

Inevitably, therefore Gowon invariably hesitate way and established an intrinsically authoritarian military administration. This also meant that in the event of a disagreement between a permanent secretary and his commissioner a situation normally most permanent secretaries would try to avoid the permanent secretary could persuade General Gowon to accept his views and this could be brought before, the SMC in the form of a federal memorandum consequently, such views would receive the approval of the supreme military council.

Although this regime had its achievement, its shortcomings cannot be over emphasized because it established an intrinsically authoritarian military

administration which is a violation or rather an infringement on the fundamental human rights of the citizens.

### **The Third Military Regime**

The third military administration was headed by General Murtala Mohammed (1975-1976). However, he was assassinated in an abortive coup attempt resulting in General Olusegun Obasanjo continuing from where he stopped. Power arrangement under General Mohammed was continued by General Obasanjo with certain peculiar features and flexibility which enabled administration engage the national pulse on crucial issues Obasanjo ruled from 1976-1979.

The supreme military council (SMC) which was the highest organ of government consisted of the Head of state, service chiefs, inspector general of police and his deputy, the army divisional commanders, the commandment Nigeria defence academy (NDA), the attorney general of the federation and some other senior members of the armed forces and the police. Thus, the SMC has been substantially expanded for the first time.

There was also the national council of state which was presided over by the chief of staff of the Nigerian army. The National council of state included the military Governors of the various states, the Armed Force Service chiefs, and the Inspector-General of Police and the Attorney General of the Federation (Gutteridge, 1966:151-2)

There was also the Federal Executive Council (FEC) which was made up of civil and military commissioners of the Federal Ministry Government of Nigeria. In addition and unlike what obtained in the previous military regimes, the military governors were non indigenes of the states which they administered (Wilson 1977, Cohen, 1974).

During this era, Nigeria played more active mediatory and financial role in the continent. In 1977, Nigeria even hosted an international cultural extravaganza, tagged FESTAC 77.

So unlike other regimes, this particular regime allowed for more political participation and also saw the invigorating of the OAU.

## **The Fourth Military Regime (1984-1985)**

The fourth military administration was headed by General Muhammadu Buhari. On assumption of office, the government of General Buhari met a battered economy and a society riddled with corruption and indiscipline. The regime progressed a commitment to sensitizing the Nigerians society and thereby revitalizing her economy. Thus, when General Buhari took over the leadership of the country, his main concern was not with patterns of power or power structure. He therefore retained the existing power structures of the previous regimes. He can be said to have maintained a status quo of military patterns of power where superiority is based on rank rather than or anything else. (Ejimofor 1987).

It is very important to note that Abacha regime (1993-1998) was despised by both Nigerians and the international community. This is as a result of the fact that the regime saw the killing of so many prominent personnels like the Ogoni environmentalist Ken Saro Wiwa which further led to the suspension of Nigeria from the commonwealth.

The complete lack of finesse and bully diplomacy of the juncta was unprecedented and brought Nigeria's international standing to an all time low level because Nigeria's image abroad had never had it so bad than in Abacha era.

At this juncture, it is worthy to note that the military governments in Nigeria had made use of substantially peculiar patterns of government. Each military regime had different political objectives and enunciated political structures with which the objectives were pursued. The political objectives were the determining factors that explained the level and type of structures used.

Finally, no matter the achievements of any of these regimes, we cannot dispute the fact that military governments often breeds youth restiveness and poverty because of the fact that there is a total absence of the rue of equality, guarantees of fundamental human rights and supremacy of the constitution. The federal character is more visible here and youths therefore tend to form groups in order to revolt against such illegitimate government. The process of this revolution often leads to

loss of property which renders the people poor because the government in a military regime would stop at nothing to eradicate any form of opposition.

More so, the leadership of Gowon was resented by the military governor of the east, Lt. Col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. All peace moves to reconcile the East and the rest of the federation proved abortive and eventually a civil war broke out which lasted for thirty months.

Therefore we can say that the failure of the First Transition, promises by Gowon contributed ugly to the rate of poverty and restiveness of youths in Nigeria. Having said this, it is necessary to note that the military also tried to combat these problems.

The indigenization policy attempted to put the control of the economy in the hands of Nigerians. The idea behind the policy, among other things, being to encourage indigenous entrepreneurship. Similarly, the import substitution policy was intended to establish local industries to produce some of the manufactured goods that were hitherto imported. This attempt at

industrialization gave rise to Peugeot Automobile Nigeria at Kaduna, ANAMCO at Enugu, Voxwagens at Lagos, Styr at Bauchi to name some of them. The Ajaokuta steel complex is also military conceived efforts to employ Nigerian youths.

The military also adopted the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in order to diversify, restructure and build a self-reliant economy.

In agriculture, the military tried to modernize peasant agrarian practice through policies such as (OFN) that is operation feed the nation, (ADP) which means Agricultural Development Programme both aimed at achieving the objective of food self-sufficiency.

In the social service sector, the military has also recorded some achievements. An example is education sector where, in order to raise the literacy level, the military in 1976 adopted the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme. It is also on record that it was under military regimes that the number of Federal Universities rose from four to more than thirty one today. Despite all

these, the flaws of the military regime as earlier said, cannot be over emphasized.

The advent of military rule, supported with increased revenue from one led to the Agricultural sector suffering a near total neglect (Duddley 1982,115). Consequently upon this neglect, Nigeria moved from being a major exporters of cocoa, palm produce, groundnut, cotton and rubber” to an importer of some of these items. Furthermore Dudley observed that the impact of military rule on the quality of life in the rural areas can only be described as catastrophic”.

Secondly, corruption which is usually one of the reasons the military often quotas to justify its intervention, has defied military solution but has rather been aggravated by the military itself. As Dudley (1782:116) observes:

Under military rule, with no constitutions to conciliate and no electorate to be accountable to in however weak a sense the interprets the notion of accountability. The effect of the oil boom was to convert the military decision-

makers and their bureaucratic aids into a new property-owning, rentier class working in close and direct collaboration with foreign business interests with the sole aim of expropriating the surpluses derived from oil for their private and personal benefits.

While the oil-boom aggravated corruption, SAP commanded it and the military who themselves have become culpable", has not been able to deal decisively with corruption". (Ojiakor, 1997;122).

Thirdly, the problem of unemployment still persists in Nigeria even after the military had promised to tackle this: one of the causes of that is that of low level of industrialization.

Finally, social services appear to be the worst bit under the military. The educational sector has virtually collapsed. Pipe-borne water, regular electricity supply, good roads and housing appear to be mere dreams in spite of the policy of privatization and commercialization. All these among others have contributed in the level at which youths engage in restiveness in the Nigeria state.

## **2.3 THE POST MILITARY ERA**

The 1979 constitution as amended by the highest military ruling body known as the provisional ruling council which became operational on May 29, 1999 ushered in the post military era. The constitution also maintained the Executive Presidential system of government in which the president is the Head of state, the Head of Government and the commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Under the 1999 constitution, the executive powers of a state shall be vested in the Governor of that state and may be exercised by him either directly or through the Deputy Governor and commissioners of the government of that state or officers in the public service of the state, while the judicial powers of the federation and the state are vested in the courts established for the federation and the states and the supreme court of Nigeria remains the Highest court of appeal for Nigeria.

Obasanjo was a total failure in office the second time around from May 29, 1999 and did not deserve to come back in 2003, so he embarked on the greatest electoral

fraud experienced. The rigging was monumental, audacious vicious and unprecedented and yet it was uncalled for and totally unnecessary because he would still have won the election anyway, he had no competition in the field. As a ruler, he punished us with lack of electricity, pot-hole insisted unmotorable highways, worthless currency, dry water taps, hunger, massive unemployment regularly closed schools, criminally charged environment and primitive living conditions.

He made a lot of palaver about anti-corruption but there was the issue of the endless estacodes he garnered from travels around the world virtually every week, in a self approved N9.3 billion jet, to enjoy civilized quality of life abroad, brought about in those countries by conscientious dedicated caring and focused leaderships. Yes, Obasanjo shelled out N9.3billion (US\$72million), for new power toy, a Boeing business jet 737-800 series for exclusive use, bringing to six, at the last count, the number of aircraft in the presidential fleet.

President Obasanjo loved chasing after shadows and he was too pre-occupied with day to day partisan party

issues. He did not know when to separate being a statesman from being a party man. Obasanjo thought he was a PDP president. He did not know that once he had been elected into office, the PDP became a discrete issue in his portfolio and he became president of Nigeria and father for all. He rather boasted all the time about being a PDP, and attended their mundane activities, as if he was an ordinary rank and file member.

Obasanjo was so involved in his party affairs that he succeeded in turning his party into a personal instrument of vendetta and single-handedly took all its major decisions, as he tried to do in the government level for the entire country. He jettisoned his party's constitution; settled for non-elective rather than elective congresses and appointments into party positions, and alienated all the elders and founders of the party, and drove them into opposition parties. His ministers also boasted about being party ministers.

One of the most serious problems that plague us as a people during Obasanjo's second time in power was his disdain for the rule of law and in particular, the laws of

the land. A president who would not obey his own laws, forfeits moral grounds to enforce such laws? That was the main reason for the general increase in lawlessness in our society during Obasanjo's civilian leadership. He introduced a vicious criminal streak that destroyed the moral fabric of our society. He actually worshiped criminality in a most unbecoming and disturbing manner. Court decisions taken against him or his regime were ignored. For instance, his holding on to huge funds legally due to Lagos state councils was against the advice of two courts of the land, including the Supreme Court. His disrespect for court decisions became so frustrating that lawyers in the country had to go on strike by boycotting court sessions for a couple of days in March 2006, 10 protest against Obasanjo's high-handedness.

In a speech on May 31, 2006 the retiring Chief Justice of the Federation, Justice Muhammed Uwais, described governments disregard of inner judgment as "evidence of bad government". The president told the world in late 2003 that Chris Uba and Governor Ngige confessed before him that elections in Anambra state in 2003 were rigged.

He said this without a sting of conscience or moral qualm. In fact, with his connivance and support, Chris Uba used the Federal police to abduct Governor Ngige because Ngige reneged on his promise to deliver substantial amount regularly from the state coffers to his political godfather, Chris Uba. Obasanjo replicated the Anambra state Saga in Oyo state where an illiterate political godfather to Rashidi Ladoja, the governor of the state, was insisting on sharing the purported states security vote of N65 million monthly with the governor. The governor was playing fotsie on the matter so, the national chairman of the governor's political party, the PDP, Dr. Ahmed AG, advised the governor to respect the wish of his godfather, and play the politics of his state, (or Ibadan politics as he put it). The party chairman, who himself was an aberration, because the president short-circuited his party's constitutional provisions to plant him in the chairmanship position, was actually telling the governor play and not be a fool.

Impeachment of the governor required two-thirds of the 32 members of the state, house of assembly to

succeed, so the godfather's 18 members in the house suspended their 14 members supporting the governor, and with the open backing of the federal government, the federal police prevented the 14 suspended members from attending the Kangaroo assembly at which the 18 claimed to have impeached the governor. Obasanjo did not have sleepless nights over the matter. If anything he and his party felt fulfilled that the new governor they had installed was dancing to the tune of the godfathers.

The close subordinates used by Obasanjo as corruption scapegoats were people he planted in the system himself and discarded when they were no longer useful to his long-term Inspector General of police, who stole N17 billion in office, N4.5 billion of which was from the police welfare fund, was appointed to the office and used to rip the 2003 elections from which Balogun garnered some of his loot.

Obasanjo planted Chief Adolphus Wabara on the senate as president and buffeted him with sumptuous contracts and oil bloc deals until Wabara started getting big headed and craving some independence. Obasanjo

influenced this sack over a N55million seem to teach Wabara and others thinking of defying the president, a lesson he said that much himself about the disgrace former president of the senate, who upset him for chasing after crumbs after being favoured with mouth-watering contracts. It made one wonder if the other well known corrupt lieutenants not given the Prof. Fabian Osuji's sact treatment as corrupt minister, were not dropping pecks on Obasanjo's table. Obasanjo often regulated his personal feelings enemies to death or was nonchalant over issues affecting those who had offended him. The circumstance surrounding the deaths of Bola Ipe, A.K. Dikibo, Harry marshal and Chuba Okadigbo promoted the poisoned atmosphere for further political assassinations including that of Funsho Williams in Lagos, and Ayo Daramola in Ekiti state, between mid July and early August 2006. An atmosphere which when taken along with the vicious and inhuman sacking of Odi and Zaki-Biam earlier, left a bad taste in the mouth about a possible sadist party, regime or despot, intolerant of opposition in the mould of the killer of Dele Giwa.

The economic blue print of Obasanjo's government was that the power output which was put at 3.5 mega watts at the beginning of his regime in 1999, would jump to 6.5 mega watts by 2001 so, the government invested colossal public funds to bring this to reality.

The power holding company of Nigeria, PHCN came into being on May 31,2005 to replace national electric power authority, NEPA. PHCN's Chief Executive, Joseph Makoju, said in an interview published in the Guardian of May 14,2006, that the government had invested over N275billion in the sector in the past six years N55billion in 2000, N25billion in 2001; N35billion in 2002 N12billion in 2003; N60billion in 2004; N56billion in 2005; and N50billion was projected for 2006.

After these heavy investments Nigeria was distributing on average, less than 2.00 mega watts of electricity in mid 2006. The minister of power said in May 2006. The minister of power said in May 2006 that, "Nigerians should not expect to enjoy regular power supply until 2056". Obviously, that was too optimistic because the more we spent on power generation, the less

power we got, thanks to the crooks surrounding the enterprise. Billions of naira was spent on the National Poverty Alleviation Programme (NAPEP), of Obasanjo's government. A Dr. Magnus Kpakol wore the portfolio around his neck like a medal of honour. The only poverty alleviation we saw was on the boss faces that were getting rounder and fresher, and in some cases, with stomachs getting bigger to bursting point by the day.

In addition to Obasanjo's two billion naira library project scandal, he was alleged to bare acquired by means that are not above quarries, kilometers of beach land for his Bell university business, on the left hand side of the road immediately after the Badagry took roundabout, on the expressway to seme, Benin Republic border. Those dispossessed of their land were threatening and wasting to fight for their rights and due compensation, at least, after his presidency has ended which probably was another reason he required to remain in power indefinitely by corruptly amending the constitution by fiat.

Having said all these, we can now draw a conclusion that Obasanjo's worst crime among others include,

massacre of TV civilians in Zaki Biam Benue state, looting and closing our National Airline Nigeria Airways, massacre of thousands of villagers in Odi in Niger state, devaluation of Naira 500% & raising full prices 500%, embezzling an estimated N30trillion (\$180bn) etc.

These contributed a great deal to the poverty level in the country and the restiveness of the youths.

Closely following Obasanjo's administration was that of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua prior to his regime, Nigeria was experiencing a lot of difficulties in agriculture, education, health, transport and communication including security. On assumption of office, President Yar'adua set up a 7point agenda aimed at boosting these afore mentioned areas or rather sector's of the economy which have deprivation but the administration failed to implement sound proposals on the agenda from Nigerians that are willing to help to reposition Nigeria towards the accomplishment of vision 2020. his administration more or less placed Nigeria in a state of Comatos.

After his demise, Vice President Goodluck Jonathan assumed the leadership responsibility of the country in the

year 2010, setting the agenda of Hope and fulfillment. In his inaugural speech, he declared that:

We cannot achieve much under these 12 months...but one basic thing is that we must set a clear road map that everybody should know where we are going so that we can set targets and time tine for you to achieve your targets.

(May 20, 2010).

President Goodluck has spent a larger part of his regime asking questions rather than solving problems. His regime has experienced a lot of national crisis ad disasters of which the Boko Haram crisis happens to be the latest of them all.

According to Shehu Sani (2012:14) poverty alleviation programme is a mirage. Speaking to Newswatch on April 23, 2012 he said that the poverty level in the northern part of Nigeria is as a result of a number of factors. The national factor has to do with the fact that we are operating a neo-colonialist capitalist economic system that institutionalizes the existence of class and also glorifies the widening gap between the rich

and the poor. He sees a common man in the north as a victim who is a hostage of an insensitive government at the centre; insensitive government at the state level and insensitive government at the local level. He is of the opinion that the northern man is also being chained by cultural and religious factors that make it impossible for him to free himself from such bondage and poverty. In the northern part of Nigeria poverty is institutionalized and could be located from the fatalistic concept that wealth and poverty comes from God, and that the oppressed class should accept their oppressed status and pay allegiance and respect to the oppressor class.

Going by history, the northern part of the country in the very beginning was opposed to western education and this opposition was led by the emirs. It took the late Sarduana of Sokoto some form of compulsion force and threats before parents started sending their children to school. The emirs at that time sent the children of the poor to western schools because to them, western education is bad. Therefore, the educational disparity between the north has remained economically backward,

not really that the southern nominally backward, not really that the southern part is richer. He is of the opinion that religious cleric have played a role in encouraging people to simply remain docile and inactive and simply accept their fate as poor and will not be able to challenge the socio-economic system and the leaders that have consistently oppressed, exploited and impoverished them.

More so, high birth rate and the polygamous marriages in the north contributes to compounding their problems, this is because family planning is not a popular programme in this part of the country. When one produces more children than he can cater for, at the end of the day many of them will end up as misereants and many simply as a liability to the country.

Tobs Agbaegby still speaking to Newswatch, pointed out that the US \$1.5 per day is the current benchmark adopted by the World Bank for measuring poverty levels in the world. From the report given by Yemi Kale the statistician general of the federation and chief executive officer of the national bureau of statistics, it was clear that poverty in Nigeria is both absolute and relative terms, has

been on the increase since the year 2004. He says that 54.7 percent of Nigerians were found to be living in poverty in 2004. The figure was found to have increased to 60.9 percent (or 99,284,512 Nigerians) in 2010.

Among the geo-political zones, the north-west and north-east recorded the highest rates of 70 percent respectively, while the south-west had the least at 49.8 percent. The south-east recorded 58.7 percent in the NBS survey. At the level of the state, Sokoto had the highest rate of 81.2percent while Niger had the least at 33.8percent during the review period (see Newswatch April 23,2012).

The 2008-2009 United Nations human development, UNNP, report, also confirmed the high poverty level in Northern Nigeria in particular. Using a member of other indicators, the UN report said child mortality rate in the North remains the highest in the country. On July 19, 2008, the respected professor of econometrics Charles Soludo, former governor of central bank of Nigeria said that "poverty is unacceptably high in Nigeria but the

alarming and persisting level of poverty in Nigeria is a phenomenon in the North.

A number of concerned elites and youths from the North are among, and have variously impressed shock that the region has remained poor, despite the fact that leaders from the area were in control of power and resources of the country. For 34 out of the country's 51 years of independence. They blamed the high level of poverty and insecurity in the North on leaders from the region who have ruled the country before and vowed to oppose any one of them who wants to contest the precisely in the 2015 election. One factor which seemed to have forced Northern youth groups to take a hard-line posture against their leaders as the revelation made by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC during the trial of a number of the former governors, Balerabe Musa, one of the youth, leaders, cited as an example, the revelations on Saminu Turaki former governor of Jigawa state. Turaki embezzled more than N12 billion of the states funds in a single day. This is part of a total of about N30 billion that he was alleged to have

stolen during the eight years he was the governor of a state. "How can we have development and fight poverty with this kind of leaders?"

Otive Tobuzor, a director of Action AID, and NGO in a recent interview newswatch further stretched the row over the problem of leadership in the North, in a recent interview. He blamed the poverty in the North to corruption and mismanagement of resources by the leaders. According to him, we must deal with corruption if at all we are to reverse the poverty situation.

Babangida Aliyu (ACF) chairman of the forum and governor of Niger state acknowledged poverty in the north said that steps have been taken to integrate the almajirai's (child beggars) into the educational system Shehu Sani also suggested to the government a number of ways to curb these incessant crisis, amongst which are; ending or putting a stop to inter-religious violence between Muslims and Christians, exploring solid mineral resources in the north, ending dependency on fuel and patronage from FG, governors of the region should end

pilfering and commit more to the growth and development of the region.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE IMPLICATION OF THE BOKO HARAM CRISIS ON NIGERIA'S CORPORATE EXISTENCE**

Prior to the infestation of the society with series of attacks and Bomblasts master minded in members of the religious cum political sect known as the Boko Haram, Nigeria existed as a nation free from chaos, internal wars, political unrest and many other social vices which is now very much visible in our present day society. These attacks range from; the Nigerian sectarian violence in the year 2009, down to the bombast which occurred in Bauchi on June third (3<sup>rd</sup>), 2012. So many other attacks and bombings were visible between this interval and they include, the northern Nigerian bombing in the year 2011, the attack on the police head quarters on June 16, 2011, the attack in the Madala Catholic church that is the St Theresa Catholic Church on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 2011 just to mention but a few.

These incessant crisis has led to sustained injuries, ill health, loss of property and even loss of human lives in their uncountable numbers. It is sacrosanct at this

juncture to note that this unhealthy upsurge that has bedeviled the society has over the years, thrown Nigeria's corporate existence to a state of Comatos and quag-mira.

Having said these therefore, we shall be looking at some of the consequences of the Boko Haram crisis as regard Nigeria's existence.

### **3.1 THE IMPLICATION ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION**

According to the Longman Dictionary of contemporary English integration can simply be defined as "the combining of two or more things so that the work together effectively". Integration involves the process of getting or uniting people of different tribes or ethnic groups so that they can work together in hegemony and not have separately.

National Integration therefore can be referred to as a purposeful strategy which is directed towards incorporating various groups in the country towards to enhance peaceful coexistence, harmony and cooperation at various levels of administration. National integration is usually adopted by the federal government (FG) in order

to unify and regulate all political economic and social activities in the state so as to eradicate any feeling of inferiority complex and ensure equitable distribution of the nations income so that every group will have a fair share of the national cake. By so doing, a society free from oppression, suppression, subjugation, arson, dehumanization, war and other forms of political and socio-economic vices will be effectively controlled.

The big question which now faces most Nigerians today is "what implications does the Boko Haram crisis have on the National in integration of the country?"

Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wai;Jihad as the group is often called, are of the belief that western education is a sin. This people are committed to the propagation of the prophets teaching and Jihad. Since its formation in the year 2002, their activities have been a thorn in the flesh of Nigeria's corporate existence. Nigeria was categorized into three basic regions by the 1946 RICHARDS constitution and these regions include the Northern region, the Eastern region and the western-region. By virtue of this development, the country has

continued to operate like a system just as spencer stated which uses its part to represent the whole. That is to say that the various regions are inhabited by people of different ethnic groups who interact with each other in their various regions or departments as regards organization, in order to achieve a collective goal of the society.

The activities of this Boko Haram sect has over the years appeared to be a negation on the principles of harmonious organization and peaceful co-existence of the country because it appears the group are trying to secede the northern part of the country from its eastern, western and southern counterparts.

The criticism which the Boko Haram has leveled against western education, has contributed to the disintegration of the state that as the Nigeria state. It is no longer news that Nigeria is a country which has so much flare for education. Just as the world is going globalize and computerized, the Nigerian citizens are fact catching up with the standard of literacy on the world scene. The people of the east that is, the eastern part or

region of the country is dominated by Igbo people who have a serious passion and affiliation for education. These people often visit other regions of the country in search or rather in a bid to obtain advanced western education.

Since there is an obvious disparity between the opinion of these various ethnic groups, there is also a different approach adopted by the various groups to either curb or promote western education as the case may be. The aftermath of this dispute will be a conscious strategy by the east to liberate its people from the shackles of the north so as to have an enabling environment for carrying out educational activities in order to broaden the horizon of the easterners.

This automatically divides the society into different blocks seeking to be independent in a democratically dependent nation, and this invariably leads to disintegration which makes it impossible for National Integration to take place.

Also, several attacks on churches among which is the attack on the St. Theresa Catholic Church in Madala, Abuja on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 2011, seen as a sign of the

northern people to uphold Islam ahead of Christianity. Therefore in a bid to combat the Muslims, the Christians seek to distinguish themselves and differentiate their religion thereby officially declaring a state of independence of the Christians from the Muslims. This makes the society to be divided into two like poles which are constantly repelling and of course national integration as hindered while national disintegration becomes the order of the day.

We must also bear in mind that the continuous attack on strategic buildings, organizations and groups by the Boko Haram in the northern part of the country, could also lead to a series of counter attacks by the Oduduwa peoples congress in the west, the movement for actualization of the sovereign state of biafra in the east and the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta in the south.

This will further dampen the development of the country because political instability, political unrest and political interference will be the order of the day.

### **3.2 THE IMPLICATION ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

Amidst crisis that is, in the middle of crisis it is often almost possible for growth to be obtained. This is because the atmosphere of war is not always conducive for proper and adequate economic activities to take place. During a period of crisis, Nigeria often experiences a lot of economic problems ranging from food famine, deflation, over population due to the fact that the surviving few people are relatively scarce when compared to the available resources and production does not meet its apex but rather as at its minimal stage.

If the Boko Haram crisis is not well controlled, Nigeria will experience withdrawal and denial of social securities accrued to the nation from imperialist capitalist nations such as the United States and this will create a situation of despondency in the country because it will compel them to leave their troubles in the hand of God. As a result of this, they will now stoop to religious means to solving political problem instead of adopting a political approach.

This according to Nwakanma (2007:16) creates a frenzy of Holy Ghost and Jihadist fire as faith, now becomes the biggest industry. Since it is only religion that promises light at the end of the tunnel of every ugly situation and gives hope to the hopeless, religious faithful always become restless in the face of a rival religion threatening to eclipse theirs.

Therefore, the Boko Haram menace could be understood from the argument that Islam which gives hope to the poor Moslems is being threatened out of extinction by Christianity and the Moslem youths who derive hope of a brighter future from the teachings of Islam are fighting to defend the survival of the hope of the hopeless Moslems.

Poverty at this juncture, is not only a cause of the Boko Haram bombing but also becomes an effect of their nefarious activities. This is because a lot of properties are lost, people are rendered homeless and worthless in time of crises and they tend to experience hardship in their quest to regain economic balance in the society. Generally, Nigeria has experienced a high death rate at

the expense of mortality rate which has been accompanied by a general fall in the level or standard of living of the people in the country over the years.

### **3.3 THE IMPLICATION ON NIGERIA'S FOREIGN RELATION**

We cannot really ascertain the effects of the Boko Haram crises on Nigeria's foreign relation without clearly understanding the meaning of foreign policy. Therefore it is of a paramount importance at this juncture to take a look at the meaning of foreign policy.

According to Wolfran Handrilder foreign policy is a "co-ordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers in a country seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives". He is of the view that through foreign policy, a country seeks to promote and protect its national interest in the course of its interaction with the outside world and with regard to relationship with specific countries in the international system. In the process, countries react to situations in the international

system in ways conducive to their interests and in accordance with their perception of the world order.

Mazrui says "there is indeed a cultural theme at the centre of the history of the international system complete with a moving frontier of cultural exclusivity" we must note here that one of the international costs of perestroika is that the quantity of aid from the north to the south would decrease.

K.J. Holsti: He defined foreign policy as "actions and ideas designed by policy makers to solve or promote changes in the international environment".

From Karl Deutsch's point of view (1954) foreign policy is defined as "the search for the preservation of a country's independence and security, the pursuit and protection of its economic interest.

According to Rodee (1957), foreign policy can be seen as "the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour pattern of a state while negotiating with others to protect its vital interest".

Joseph Frankel (1968), sees foreign policy as "that consisting of decision and actions which involves to some

appreciable extent, relationship between one state and another”.

According to Nnoli Okwudiba (1986), foreign policy can be defined as “a nation’s reaction to the external environment involving the organization of both domestic external relations.

At this juncture, we can now sum up the definition of foreign policy as the general principles which govern a state’s international behaviour. Again, Nigeria’s foreign policy is the rules and regulations guiding the behaviour of Nigeria in her dealings or interaction with other countries as a member of the world community. This brings us to Boko Haram crisis and its implications on Nigeria’s foreign relations.

Just as Joseph Frankel (1968), asserted that foreign policy consists of actions involving states relationship, it is very important to note here that the state or rather condition of the political, economic, social institutions of states can either make or mar their relations. This is because if Nigeria were to be without recent security problems, foreign countries will be encourage to maintain

a free flow of trade transactions and foreign investors will be attracted to invest in our local industries. On the other hand, foreign investors will be scared to invest in a war torn atmosphere which is the case of the present day Nigeria, due to fear of loosing their capital.

Furthermore, the crisis could lead to a withdrawal of the security pact which was entered into by Nigeria and the United States. This pact was signed by the Director General of the Nigeria civil aviation authority (NCAA) Marold Domaron as Nigeria's representative, while John .W. Halinski who was the assistant administrator of global strategies signed on behalf of the United States.

The anti-terrorism law which was signed by the Nigeria federal government as regards the support of international law on terrorism, declared Nigeria a terrorist nation recently. This is as a result of the incessant Boko Haram crisis coupled with past terrorist tendencies which the country has posed to the global world such as the attempt by Nigerian borh Abdul Murtala .L. Farouk to bomb a united states bound aircraft from England.

The success of so many bomb blasts and series of attacks which have been executed by the Boko Haram, has left a big question mark on the minds of not just only the entire Nigeria citizens, but also citizens of other states which have diplomatic relationship with Nigeria. These series of doubts as to Nigeria's security competence has made it almost impossible for the United Nations (UN) to grant Nigeria her appeal to be granted a permanent seat in the security council of the multinational organization.

Conclusively, these amongst others just to mention but a few, are some of the underlying effects of the Boko Haram crisis. Necessary measures need to be adopted in order to control or if possible quell this cankerworm which has eaten deep into over political system else Nigeria will to continue to record more security challenges which could be detrimental to her corporate existence.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: STRATEGIES TO MANAGE THE BOKO HARAM CRISIS**

In every state, there exists a sovereign body. This body is vested with all the power and maximum legal authority to make and enforce laws which will regulate the behaviour and activities of the people in the society in order to prevent the society from becoming or deteriorating into what Thomas Hobbes referred to a primitive society where life is short, solitary, poor, nasty brutish and short.

This sovereignty ordinarily resides on the electorates who often elect their leaders or representatives in order to represent their interest in higher governmental activities. These people that is, the elected representatives and accorded full legitimacy by the masses therefore the sovereignty of the state automatically rests on them. In Nigeria, the federal government is the highest law making authority and by virtue there is no group that is greater in strength than the government.

Therefore the federal government has to stand its grounds without any form of fear in order to combat the

activities of the Boko Haram sect and to prevent any trace of future occurrence of such religious cum political sects. It is in a bid to curb the activities of the Boko Haram sect that we therefore specify or rather suggest the following approaches to be adopted by the federal government.

#### **4.1 THE MILITARY APPROACH**

The former Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung, defined military power as "power which emanates from the barrel of gun". According to him, the might is always right that is to say, he who wields the instrument of coercion is the political sovereign. This view or rather opinion is true to a large extent because even if it were to be a little child of a teenager that possess the gun power in a situation of crisis, the adult being has no choice than to adhere to the whims and caprices of the teenager.

Over the years, the most preferred option for combating or fighting such societal problems has been the armed confrontation population known as the military option or approach. To a great extent, this largely explains why president George Bush Jnr. Immediately or rather instantly declared war on terrorism in response to

the terrorist attacks on the United States on that memorable beach Tuesday of September 11, 2001. This meant that the United States adopted the military option to avenge the attack. Several other countries in the West have often employed this approach in solving their political problems in order to avoid political instability.

The British Army can boast today of moving achieved a truly impressive record in combating major terrorist outbreaks around the world. Specifically, its experience in countering terrorism placed it on the vantage position of the day decided to put the army into Northern Ireland to maintain public order (Callaghan, 1972).

In the same vein, the response of the Francoist regime to both Basque nationalism and the emergence of ETA were utilized to the extreme the coercive apparatus of the state (Pollack and Hunter, 1988:130). Anti-terrorist special forces are often erected to demonstrate their preference to armed confrontation in other countries which have been encroached by terrorism.

Nigeria just like every government that tries to exhibit or show its capability to protect the lives and property of

its citizen, has to encourage its successive governments to adopt military confrontation in tackling terrorism through the establishment of Joint Task Force (JTF) and declaration of state of emergency. Subsequently in the year 2000 the Olusegun Obasanjo government launched a military expedition at Odi in Bayelsa state to quell the menace of the militants.

In 2007, it then set up a joint military and police taskforce (JTF) to battle the militants in River state. The same military action has been at play in the Boko Haram crisis since 2009. it is of a paramount importance to note that the adoption of this option is not only derived on the fact that most governments and leaders of the world see or rather regard terrorists as criminals who must be brought to book and penalized but also because “the general principle of non negotiation” with terrorists state that:

The government should not engage in dialogue and negotiation with groups which are actively engaged in promoting, committing, or supporting terrorism. To do so only lends the

terrorists publicity, status and worst of all, a spurious respectability (Wilkison 1981).

The government therefore believe in the principle of tit-for-tat as a form of deterrent measure and that terrorism is not a matter subject to be negotiated and won. Nevertheless, experience has shown that military action can only provide ameliorate solution and often becomes counter productive hatching more terrorists in the process.

For example, the United States eleven years war on international terrorism has not been able to stem the tide of the phenomenon just as the Nigeria's military action could not deter the Niger Delta militants or succeed in containing the Boko Haram menace in the country. At this juncture, it is necessary to note that these military actions are often discharged by the judicial arm of the government in Nigeria.

#### **4.2 THE LEGAL OPTION**

Legal authority are often referred to as the authority backed by law as stipulated in the rules and regulations, principles and laws guiding a state that is, the

constitution. The high court are usually vested with this form. Abuja high court on the extra judicial killing of Yusuf on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 2009, to dismiss three junior officers and suspension of four senior officers indicted by a probe on the matter after finding the accused policemen culpable.

This approach involves the tackling of terrorism through the legal instrument. Various leaders who have adopted this option believe that peace achieved through Coercion or force has always often than not been exiting for a short time or illusory. According to them "sheer force including the building of a good military coalition to eliminate terrorists will perhaps at best succeed, but the scourge of terrorism is bound to fester or rather worsen ever after (Mbah, 2001:63).

That is to say that military option can be effective in stabilizing ethnic tensions and preserving the unity of a country but it has not been able to achieve permanent peace as the insurgents usually adopts new tactics to overcome the suppression and unleash further chaos on the society. Take for example, the regressive anti-Euzkadi

policies not only failed to undermine Basque nationalist aspirations but also served to nurture and act as a catalyst upon the very movement they were intended to crush (Pollack and Hunter, 1988:130).

Similarly, the America's war on terrorism has not been able to step the incidence in parts of the world. As a signatory to all legal instruments on international terrorism, Nigeria domesticated them by statutory adaptation not only to make them enforceable under domestic law but to offer the Nigeria. Government the chance of tackling their incessant internal terrorism posed by groups or religious and political sects such as the Boko Haram.

At this juncture, it is important to understand the role of the law court in controlling the Boko Haram crisis through its agencies. Such as the judiciary and the police force who help to implement the laws. We should also note that this approach as opted for because it encourage equality and fair hearing which eradicates any sense of injustice by the less privileged who often feel that their

human rights are being infringed upon the internal capitalist bourgeoisies.

Conclusively, of the principle of the rule of law which stipulates for; the supremacy of the constitution, equality before the law and safeguard of human rights is upheld as pounded by A.V. Dicey, then the attacks and series of bombasts by the Boko Haram will be effectively controlled and checkmated.

#### **4.3 THE DIALOGUE APPROACH**

In pursuing a stable economy free from all forms of social vices and to maintain a peaceful coexistence in the society, the dialogue approach often recommended to the federal government for adoption. This approach is also referred to as the diplomatic approach. At this juncture it is necessary to give a brief definition of the term diplomacy for a clearer understanding of this option as delving into its importance or necessity will be putting the cart before the horse and a negation on existing protocol.

The big question now is "what is diplomatic instrument".?

According to Ernest Satow, diplomacy can be defined as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states". This is seen as one of the most effective instrument of curbing societal problems. For peaceful interaction to take place, war, hostilities and tension must be avoided. However, in a world system, whose mechanism is deeply enmeshed in distrust, animosity and permanent rivalry, skirmish's, wars and other forms of hostile actions remain largely an acceptable mode of states' interaction with one another. Diplomacy aims at averting wars between different ethnic groups in the society.

Diplomacy in the modern world has become very fashionable as an effective means of pursuing national interest and achieving national goals in all spheres of international involvement. Diplomacy has come a long way from the credit and prettiness of the old order when great emphasis was placed on formal honours and prestige and an unseemly scramble for precedence and etiquette.

The second half of the twentieth century ushered in the era of high-tech diplomacy as interaction between states and non state entities became increasingly dynamics and highly sophisticated Alaba Ogunsawo (1993) believes that a diplomat must poses "extraordinary qualities" such as knowledge breath of character and personality to enable him function effectively in view of challenges facing him.

I am David west also noted that the diplomacy as different from the politician saying that:

A politician says what he does not mean and so often shuffles from one stratagem to the other, while a diplomat says less than what he means, but this is carefully calculated discretion (1983:196)

As a result of the failure of the military and legal approach to achieve success in tackling the menace of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan in 2011 declared that he would prefer the use of stick and carrot approach to resolve the Boko Haram threats (Ajaero etal, 2011:20). The implication is that since this

government has tried both the military and legal options to no avail, he was resorting to the option of dialogue.

Consequently, President Goodluck Jonathan has asked the sect for identify themselves and state their terms for unconditional talks. Other eminent Nigerians have also shared similar position on the ground that even the most violent conflicts are often revolved on a round table. In any case most Nigerians are strongly opposed to the dialogue option as they contend that negotiations with the Boko Haram sect amount to applauding them with talks for their numerous and uncountable killings. They therefore hold that:

Even if talks unavoidable then they must take place at a time when the Nigerian nations can negotiate from a position of strength; at a time when the sect has seen it cannot prevail through violence (Eriye, 2012:11).

The Boko Haram menace is very sporadic in nature and even as the debate is increasing, the sect has bluntly refused the offer for dialogue because the group has continued to carryout more attacks on the country. In an

interview with their spokesman, he made a statement thus: "we will consider negotiation only when we have brought the government to their knees". To buttress their point of view in affirmity, the Arewa youths congress recently suggested that Jonathan should lake a cue from Yar'adua's tactics in tackling the Niger Delta militants menace by offering general and unconditional amnesting to Boko Haram members to create an enabling environment for proper negotiation.

At this juncture, it is necessary to state that the major problem which Nigerian leaders are faced with is the fact that they are skeptical on whether to fight to fight it out or rather surrender their power by granting amnesty to the Boko Haram as was the case with the Niger-Delta militants despite the fact that the Boko Haram insurgents have not or rather are yet to present any reasonable grievance.

Conclusively, having said all these, the question still remains "what then is the way forward".

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

In this chapter we shall be looking at the entire structure of this research work both in a more condensed manner although comprehensively. Here, we will draw out obvious conclusions as to the effects of the Boko Haram crisis which is engendered by the escalating rate of poverty and youth restiveness in the country and proffer possible recommendations to tackle the menace in the society.

### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This research work centres around exhibiting the challenges posed by political vendetta, victimization, dehumanization, subjection, subjugation, oppression, suppression and other forms of political and socio-economic vices in the society. These uncountable societal problems often lead to the upsurge of different political and economic group in form of pressure groups but whose activities are carried out through coercion unlike the pressure groups who often than to make use of negotiation to influence governmental actors.

We went further to say that the main reason for the formation of these groups is to promote and protect the interest of their members who engaged or rather become restive as a result of the rate of poverty which prevails in the economy of the nation. The Boko Haram sect is a case study in this research work and it was earlier seen or referred to as a Nigerian Islamic group that seeks the imposition of Shariah law throughout the whole of the country. Figuratively, members of this group believe that "Western Education is a sin". The official name of the group is "Jama'atu Ables Sunna Lidda awari Wal-Jihad meaning people who are propagated to the prophet's teachings and Jihad.

It is necessary to note that the group has done nothing else other than posing a serious threat to Nigeria's security agencies since its inception in the year 2002. during the course of our study, we made mention of some series of attacks and bomb explosions which the group has effectively carried out over the years. These very from on Geo-political area to another and some of these attacks include; the Bauchi prison break – 1<sup>st</sup> Abuja

- 2<sup>nd</sup> Abuja, the Northern Nigerian Bombings in the year 2011, the attack on the police headquarter on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 2011, and the Bauchi bomblast which claimed about eleven lives on the third of June that is, June 3, 2012.

We then tried to analyze the concept of poverty and youth restiveness by defining youth restiveness as a deplicable act which is being perpetrated by a significant proportion or number of the youth in various communities that can no longer be ignored on the other hand, the concept of poverty was viewed from three basic dimensions at stipulated by the house of commons. Scottish Affairs Commission. These include; absolute poverty relative poverty and social exclusion.

Absolute poverty is defined as the availability of inadequate resource with which to keep body and soul together while relative poverty defines income in relation to the average. It is concerned with the absence of the material needs necessary to participate fully in accepted daily life social exclusion on the other hand, often seen as:

..... a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown (H.C. Scottish Affairs).

In chapter two, we tried to expansiate or rather buttress on the concept of youth restiveness and poverty in the country, illustrating their background from the Post Independence Era, the Military Era, down to the Post Military Era. This was in order to present a better clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the origin and genesis of these concepts which have led to series of problems in the Nigeria society in recent times.

Chapter three takes a look at the implication of the crisis caused by the Boko Haram sect on the corporate existence of Nigeria as a state. Here, we tried to point out the problems which these incessant crisis have posed to National Integration of the various regions in the country. Due to the fact that the people in the Northern region are strongly opposed to western education which they believe

as a sin, the people of the east and other regions of the country who have so much love for western education, will become a separate block since they differ in opinion, ideas and ideologies.

This will definitely throw the society into a state of gang-mire and instead of achieving national integration, national disintegration will be the dominant factor in the society. We also went ahead to say that it will be very difficult to record much success in economic development of a state during the time of crisis or wars. Nigeria has experienced a greater number of death rates when compared to mortality rate amidst crisis in recent times, inflation and deflation has been constantly uncontrollable, production of goods and services for human consumption has reduced drastically, and there has been a constant fall in the general standard of living. All these amongst others make it almost impossible for proper and faster economic development to be achieved during crisis.

The impact of foreign relations as regards Nigeria's corporate existence is also threatened by the Boko Haram crisis due to the underlying and indisputable fact that a

state of war breed fear. Just like Carl Von Clausewitz stated that war is "a political intercourse, an act of violence intended to compel the enemy to fulfill our will", foreign relations are hindered in a war torn environment.

Foreign investors will be scared of investing in our local industries because of fear of losing their hard earned money in middle of unrest in the Nigeria state.

Moreover, they will be scared to maintain a free flow of trade transaction because they do not want to lose their lives. It is important to note that states which have foreign relations with Nigeria will have the tendency of withdrawing such relations due to the lapses in the Nigeria security agencies.

In chapter four, we tried to specify or rather suggest some approaches to help combat these crisis which has turned out to generate internal terrorism in the country, these approaches include, the military option, the legal option and the option of dialogue.

Military instrument is a continuation of the political action which a state could not resolve at the diplomatic and political levels. According to the former Chinese

leader “Man Tse Tung” this form of approach is the power which emanates from the barrel of gun. It has to do with tit-for-tat that is, oppression fire for fire or shoot at site. The holder of this form of power is seen as the political sovereign because the might as always right.

The legal option on the other hand involves the use of settlement means as stipulated in the constitution to resolve disputes. In the words of A.V. Dicey, nobody is above the law; everybody must be treated equally and given a fair hearing so as to dismiss any feeling of injustice and the minds of the people especially the inferior majority the law court is vested with the power to discharge this form of approach through its agencies such as the judiciary and the Nigeria Police Force founded in 1973.

Finally, we resorted to the option of dialogue as a means of combating the Boko Haram crisis on the failure of the military and the legal approach. Dialogue can also be referred to as diplomacy and this involves sitting on a round table to settle disputes.

The federal government can stoop as low as negotiating with the members of the Boko Haram in order to determine or rather ascertain their flight, and by so doing steps to grant them their demands will be adequately taken. They could as well grant the Boko Haram sect amnesty just as adopted with the case of the Niger-Delta militants who were agitating for resource control by their indigenes.

## **5.2 CONCLUSION**

Having said all these, we can now draw out possible conclusions that the application of any of the aforementioned approach will only serve as a means to control the crisis and not necessarily put a stop to it. Arguments have been made pertaining these various approaches with more reference to the dialogue.

The actions of the Boko Haram sect over the years have clearly illustrated that they do not want peace talks, even if the government were to give them or rather grant amnesty to the group, who will represent them: this question is very necessary because the members of this

group are yet to be known, they have rather preferred to remain anonymous.

Finally, it is now obvious truth that the Boko Haram sect only seeks to gain recognition by influencing governmental decisions, actions, policies and programmes. They also seek to overthrow the government in power in order to directly control the available resources to directly control the available resources endowed in the Nigeria state. The big question which has long troubled the minds of so many citizens now becomes "what then is the way out".

It is in a bid to answer this form of rhetoric question what we therefore make the following recommendations which if carefully adopted, will go a long way to stop or reduce the activities of the Boko Haram sect to its barest minimum.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATION**

The Boko Haram crisis has turned out to become a thorn in the flesh of the Nigeria government. Over the years, it has become a cog in the wheels of the operational existence of the political economic,

educational, social and total structure of the economy. In order to curb this unending crisis, we therefore advocate for the following measures to be adopted.

**Good governance:** According to Thomas Hobbes the need for a central government arose as a result of the lawlessness which existed in the early society. The primitive society was one where life was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. It was in a bid to control these man's inhumanity to his fellowman that a body known as the government was formed to maintain law and order in a lawless state, protect lives and properties in the face of war and to promote peace and progress, security and stability in a given state.

It is one thing to have a government and another to have a good government. In line with this, Aristotle asserted that the essence of government as:

The provision of the good life translated in the creation of job, the utilization of natural resources for sustainable development, equitable distribution of wealth, provision of basic services and infrastructure for the generality of the people, and the protection and

guaranteeing of the fundamental human rights of citizens (cited in terrorism & the challenges of leadership).

Before a government comes into power, it must be accorded the peoples legitimacy and if the government fails to provide the people with the good life, it automatically loses its legitimacy. A government that entails effective and efficient delivery of services is bound to guarantee the good life.

Government at all levels should be able to meet the needs of the citizens. In Nigeria for instance we have the Federal Government, the state government and the local government which together form the three tiers of government. These governments should be very innovative in the management of scarce resources in order to control the rate of poverty and other poverty related problems which include endemic disease. To Isawa Eliagwu (2009:18).

Good governance is supposed to be how those who have authority of the state make efforts to achieve the goals or ends of the state-the maintenance of law and order, the provision of

welfare for its citizens and the pursuit of national interest as in global arena.

As a mark of recognition of the imperative of good governance and the existence of good life, the Nigerian political leaders at independence declared that the country would have the proverbial "chicken in every pot". But in aberration to their promise, Nigerians have neither had chicken nor pot since independence. Rather citizens are like a false pregnancy with every symptom but no body (Ekpu, 2010:10). The reason for this motion without movement can be seen as what Chinua Achebe (1983) in his classic, *the trouble with Nigeria* identified as a leadership.

In other words, it is leadership or more appropriately, the lack of it, the abuse of it or the misuse of it that obstructed Nigeria from reaching her manifest destiny because the leaders is the moving spirit of every nation. Whatever the leader does deliver a domino effect on the rest of the country for good or for bad.

It is necessary to note that the failure of the past leaders to deliver the good life to the people prompted the

overthrow of the first and second republics. As exemplified by the leader of the January 15, 1966 military coup, major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu.

Our enemies are the political profiteers, the swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribe and demand ten percent: those that seek to keep the country dividend permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers or VIPs of waste, the tribalists, the nepotisms, those that makes the country looks big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds. (Cited in Obasanjo 1987:99).

The truth however is that every state in Nigeria recovers significant allocation enough to turn their fortunes around. Most importantly, if we sum up the federal allocations accruing to the 19 states and 413 local government councils in the northern Nigeria excluding the 6 municipal councils in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja and juxtapose it with the same federal allocations

accruing to the 17 states and 355 local government councils in southern Nigeria, it will be discovered that the north receives a lion's share of the current revenue allocation at the expense of the south.

Therefore, if the leaders, especially the northern leaders would use their allocations judiciously, exploit their own natural resources creatively and enthrone new social order in their states where equity, justice and fairness reign the current onslaught of the Boko Haram would be effectively combated in such a way as not to subject the entire country to destabilization and possibly disintegration.

**Diversification of the economy:** According to the Longman dictionary of contemporary English, to diversify means to change some thing or to make it change so that there is more variety. By diversification of the economy, we mean that the government should provide series of alternatives in the society. It could do this by investing money in various parts of the economy rather pumping or putting much funds in a particular project. This will enable even development to be made possible because all sectors

of the country's economy will be moving at the same pace of development.

More so, the distribution of income from the national budget should be based on the existing population of each region according to their size, and to each according to their needs. This fair share distribution of the national cake should not be done on quota system so as to avoid future upsurge of similar groups like the Boko Haram which Nigeria has had to contend with over the years.

**Job creation:** The government should ensure that employment opportunities are created to the young school leavers and the teeming population at large in order to enable them search of greener pastures. By so doing, they will shun engagements or membership of such groups which tend to engage in various social vices and disrupt governmental policies and programme.

If this is adopted by the government, then Nigeria will effectively fight against poverty which is on the rampage in the present day society. The government should also bear in mind that it should ensure advertisement programmes, gathering of applications,

interviews are to be conducted regularly in order to create awareness of available jobs.

More so, it should carry out in house training of workers to increase their skills and technical know how, proper remuneration should be given to workers based on their years of services and age, payment of wages should be done inform of motivating the workers incentives should be given to workers in form of gifts, on retirement workers should be applauded for a loyal service and finally gratuity and pension should be ensured.

This will go a long way in making the citizens to develop interest to work for the government and invariably it will help control the Boko Haram crisis and reduce the restiveness of youths and if possible eradicate entirely.

**Youth Empowerment Programmes:** Through the national youth service corps (NYSC) and the Nigeria labour congress (NLC), youth are often given a sense of belonging. The government should ensure that it creates more of these empowerment campaigns all over the nation especially the northern part of the country.

This is because the level of illiteracy is higher in the north when compared to other regions in the country. Programmes like this include the Northern people's congress (NPG), the Northern peoples association of the northern people to be headed by an educated elite and literate extension officers who will conduct regular workshop programmes for these youths so that they will acquire basic knowledge about the need to safeguard the government of their country.

**Carrot and stick:** This implies negotiation and coercion. It is no more a doubt that the Boko Haram sect is not ready for any form of diplomacy or compromise. If the government continues to meet with them or around table, then the government should be ready to sit on the receiving end of the crisis.

Since these people are out to overthrow the government, the government should spend more money on acquire more sophisticated weapons to mass destruction as a form of deterrent to the Boko Haram attack. If the government does this without fear, then the group will be subdued because no matter how strong they

are they cannot defeat the government of the nation due to the fact that the sovereign power of any independent state rests on the government.

**Amnesty is a gradual process:** If the government grants amnesty to the Boko Haram in the North, there is every tendency that Massob that is the movement for the actualization of sovereign state of Biafra will equally ask for the same in future.

If this is not experience controlled, the country might experience a division of the various regions into different power blocks. Therefore the government should not resort to granting amnesty but rather continue to make more military efforts to totally eradicate the situation.

**Infant mortality rate:** High birth rate and polygamous marriages are attributes of the northern part of the country, this is because family planning is not popular programme in this part of the country.

When people begin to produce children above the number which they can actually cater for, many of the children will end up as more or less a liability to the country. Therefore, birth rate ought to be properly

controlled and regulated so as to prevent the teeming population from taking to the streets and by so doing, the Boko Haram crisis will be affectively combated and poverty and youth restiveness will be adequately controlled.

**Agriculture:** The government should provide proper agricultural programmes at secondary and university levels, this will enable young school leavers to appreciate such activities as fishery, farming and so on.

If proper awareness is made by the government through agricultural extension service officers are regards the benefits of engaging in agricultural activities, then a lot of youths of Nigeria will tend to gain self employment by owning a farm land instead of moving from one place to the other in search of greener pastures.

This will go a long way in curbing the restiveness of the youths because they will be too busy to have time for such engagements as the Boko Haram sect.

**Enlightenment Programmes/Campaigns:** The increase in chaos and gang-mire in the Nigeria society today is as a result of the fact that the working population

who constitute a good number of the youths do not know the dangers they are bound to flee by engaging in such activities.

The religious faithfuls in the north especially the Moslems, are often made to believe that if they kill a good amount of people, they will stand a good chance of finding favour in the hand of Mohammed and the kingdom of Allah will be theirs forever. If only these people are made to understand how important their lives are to the Nigerian community and their families as a whole, then they will desist from such devilish acts.

Therefore, the government has to take extreme measures to awaken consciousness in the minds of the northern people of Nigeria because of this is done in accordance with other factors mentioned hitherto, then the level of poverty and youth restiveness will be effectively controlled and the activities of Boko Haram sect and every other similar group will be properly checkmated.

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