

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOKO
HARAM INSURGENCE IN NIGERIA: 2009-2013**

BY

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Approval Page

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the Blessed memory of my Daddy Chief Ezema Clatus. For his love and effort towards my academic when he was alive. I am here today is based on his efforts and struggles. Daddy am grateful for the love you shown me while you were alive, your memory still lives in us, still love you Daddy

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Abstract

Book Haram figuratively implies that western for non-Islamic education is a sin, is a very controversial Nigeria militant group that seeks for the imposition of sharia law in the entire northern states of Nigeria. The hierarchical structure of the group is not presently well defined. The official name of the group is Jama'atu Ahlis sunna lidda "awai waljihad, which in Arabic translates to "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching and jihad" literally therefore the group means "Association of sunn's for the propagation of Islamic and for Holy war (jihad) and Islamized northern states of Nigeria and probably conquer the entire country through jihad. So far, the group has been waging the war successfully in its area of stronghold. Book Haram made its presence known in 2004, in Yobe states, and by 2011, it made its presence known to the global community by bombing the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja, especially in the last two years, it has willfully attacked hundreds of buildings and killing many innocent Nigerians. In spite of the calamity the group has caused the government seems not to know how to clip the group's wings. In this research work, therefore, effort will be made to philosophically and legally appraise the group activities and its implications on Nigerian National integration. We will look at the socio-economic implication of the group in Nigeria economic development also the drive of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and possible suggest solutions that will assist in curtailing their activities in Nigeria

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Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Nigeria as a nation-state is under a sever internal socio-economic and security threat. As a more general level, the threat has social, economic, political and environmental dimensions. Each of these dimensions has greatly affected the nation's stability, and can be traced to the ethnic militia armies, ethnic and religious conflicts, poverty, terrorism, armed robbery, corruption, economic sabotage, and environmental degradation (Ilufoye, 2009).

Boko Haram insurgence becomes the major problem facing Nigerians in the recent time. These groups have perpetrated several bombing that have killed millions of

innocent citizens of this country Nigeria and also caused the destruction of both private and public properties worth of billion of naira. This derives from their bid to make people in the north east geo-political zone of Nigeria to embrace their view on Islamic Nigeria code and western education.

The predominant threat and security challenges in the area are emendating from un-abating attacks on Nigerian citizens, individuals, public and governmental installations, kidnapping and destruction of properties. All these effect of Boko Haram activities are serious crime against the Nigeria state, which has threatened its national security and socio-economic activities. This has posed a great challenges to the ground strategy for national security of which the primary aim is “to strengthen the federal republic of Nigeria to advance her interest and objectives, to contain instability, control

crime, quality of life of every citizens, improve the well fare and the eliminate corruption” (Damba-zau 2007:51)

Boko Haram activities, has destabilized socio-economic activities. Increased crime and destruction of both life and property of Nigerian citizens. This can be attested to by the mass movement of people living in northern part of the country most especially maiduguri, which is the capital of Borno State. This situation has made it impossible for the citizens in that part “Northren” of Nigeria to carry on their legitimate businesses. It is also scaring foreign investors out of the country. Students have been forced to flee their schools. The gravity of the crisis has made some government to vow never to allow Nigerians students from their state to go to the Northern part of Nigeria for anything. Boko Haram activities also effected the posting of students of southern and eastern extradition on national youth service corps (NYSC) to the north, to the extent that parents are

strongly resisting the posting of their children as copper to the north.

Boko Haram itself, is a fatal blow to the noble objective of the scheme as a unifying strategy, the unity of Nigerian is seriously threatened by Boko Haram fundamentalist sect and therefore, considered to be a major potential terrorist threat affecting Nigerian mostly on the part of socio-economic activities of the country.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Boko Haram activities was described by us intelligence agents in November 2011 “as a local salafist group attacking Christians and local police stations with matchet and poison tipped arrows in Nigeria’s northeastern Borno state. According to him:

Boko Haram is a way of thinking, it is politically driven, they are loosely organized grassroots insurrection against not only the Abuja government but the traditional

Muslim establishment as well.
(Campbell, 2011).

After nearly a decade of violence, Nigeria government still does not have an effective strategy for dismantling the group. The terrorist organization preys on the disillusioned Muslims of the north, who are fed up with corruption. And have few economic opportunities, Nigeria is a heterogeneous country divided by two religious beliefs aside traditional religion. The northern half of the country is almost completely Muslim (50 per cent of the total Nigerians population) and the southern half is mostly dominated by Christians (40 per cent of the total Nigerians population). Originating in the Muslim dominated northern region of the country, the movement other rejected everything deemed western. The activities of these groups “Boko Haram” grew its ranks by taking advantages of the widespread anger in the north over the country’s gap. In the north, 72 percent of the population

live below the poverty line, compared to only 22 percent in the southern part Christopher (Bartolta, 2011)

The political goal of Boko Haram sect is to create an Islamic nation in the twelve northern states of Nigerians, eventually, spreading to the rest of the country. From its inception Boko Haram viewed Nigeria as a state or a country running by non-believers and made the government its main target, ever when the country had a Muslim president.

Therefore, this research work seeks to find the following:

1. Is poverty inducing the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria?
2. Does the “Boko Haram” insurgence have any socio-economic implication on Nigerians development?
3. Is dialogue a desideration to the Boko Haram menace in Nigeria?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objectives of the study are to examine the activities of the Boko Haram and its socio- economic implication on Nigeria's development. Using Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria as a case study. To achieve this, specifically, this research work is designed to examine the following:

1. To determine if poverty is inducing the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria
2. To assess the socio-economic implication of Boko Haram insurgence on the nation.(Nigeria)
3. To determine if dialogue is a desideration to the Boko Haram menace in Nigeria

1.4 Literature Review

Literature review has to do with what other scholars and authors have contributed to this study so far. The

term “terrorism” refers to the systematic use of threat of violence to communicate to political message rather than defeat an opponent, military force. Thus, the targets of terrorism are symbolic and the victims of terrorism represent a wider audience. To achieve a maximum shock effective, terrorist violence is usually dramatic and provocative.

Typically, small number of extremists who otherwise lack the capacity to challenge those in power resort to terrorism. A defining characteristics of terrorism is that its users expects rewards that are of proportionate to both the resources. They posses and the risk they assume:

Terrorism is furthermore strategies that are not restricted to any particular ideology (smlter and Beltes, 2001).

According to Reich 1998, as a strategy of resistance to the modem state, terrorism emerged some half century

after the French revolution, when the term originated as a description of the state regime of terror. Russia revolutionaries and anarchist in French, Spain, Italy and German established terrorism as a central mechanism in attempt to over throw the established regimes, most of which were autocratic in the submission of Lain mclean terrorism as a pejorative term, also applies to the deeds of government of sovereign state. According to Lain Mclean, an term “state sponsored terrorism”, is often used to described the conduct of various government indirectly organizing or indirectly assisting perpetration of violence acts in other state. Lain Mclean argued that in recent time, many countries of divergent ideological persuasion have engaged in this kind of activities while in some cases strictly condemning others forms practices (Lain Mclean, 1996). Meanwhile, terrorism is a contested concept that resist precise definition. Since the term is both elastic and emotionally powerful, it lend itself to

subjective interpretation driven by political rather than analytical purposes, it is also difficult to distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence. Such as, for example guerilla warfare or criminal activities, if terrorism is defined in terms of the intention behind the action, is it possible to know those intentions? What is the relationship between religion and terrorism, be non-combatants for example?. If so are attacks on security target acts of terrorism?

Though, there is no official definition of terrorism agreed on throughout the world, and definitions tend to rely heavily on who is doing the definition and for what purpose. Some definitions focus on terrorist tactics to define the term, while others focus on the actor. Ethnic separatist violence in the 1930s provoked the League of Nations formed after World War 1 to encourage world stability and peace to define terrorism for the first time as:

All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the mind of particular persons or group of persons or the general public. (League of Nation convection definition of terrorism, 1937).

Therefore, bringing to our understanding that Boko Haram sect is pre-occupied with carrying out various degree of attacks on civilians, usually used by the powerless against powerful;

International terrorism interludes terrorists attacking a foreign targets other than within own country or abroad (Rurke 2008:316).

This means that September 11, 2011 attack was an international terrorism while one of the attacks by the Boko Haram sect such as the police stations attacks is a domestic terrorism. But it becomes complicated if the Boko Haram sect is still a domestic terrorism group despites it seeming connection with other international sect such as Hamas and Alqueda.

According to Claver (2002:302), he stated that terrorism is the use of force to impact fear with a view to bring about political, economic or social change” Recently, terrorism has been endemic in all parts of the countries in the world. Cleavert went on to explain that:

It is true, as is often repeated that man’s terrorist is another is an extreme example of an essential contested concept and its preacher’s finds to polarize at extent that renders it extremely difficult to return to normal politics (Claver, 2002:303).

Drawing from the above assertion, indicated how terrorism can lead to socio-economic underdevelopment of a country, though he was not elaborate, but it is worthy to appreciate his view that the practice of terrorism group makes the society difficult to return to normal politics. This can be deduced from the activities of the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria which has been

destabilizing socio-economic activities in the northern part of the country.

Also terrorism are viewed from a complete different angle by many authors among also includes Heywood. In his own view, he explained three (3) dimensions of terrorism. According to him:

The term is highly controversial first the distinction or warfare is blurred by the fact that the later may also aim to stake fear in to wider population, secondly, as the term is highly prerogative, it stands to be used selectively (one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter) thirdly, although terrorism is usually conceived as an anti-governmental activities, government can employ terror against their own or other population, as in the case of terrorism in the state (Heywood, 2007:382)

This assertion of Heywood brings to out mind that interregional terrorism can take different and many forms whatever means these activities are perpetrated, the contention of this research is that it directly leads to

underdevelopment. This is especially in the areas of these states still battling with the problem of development.

Remarkable a very distant variant of terrorism is that of Mbah (2008:139) stated that:

Terrorism as a dealedt necessity as well as the product of globalization and the expression of it, and because this relations is a class relation, the relevant division is an antagonistic one, which creates contradictory class intersection.

This is a very sharp contribution to the issue of terrorism. But the fact is still that none of this authors have been able to point out or suggest that terrorism either domestic or international, direct or indirectly lead to underdevelopment:

Goldia et al 92005:201) stated that:

Government appeals hind to portray terrorism simply as criminal violence assaults on society that can not be justified as serving a political cause.

Terrorism, typically, it has a political objective that makes it a pervasive form of political conflict partied by indefinable modes of political leadership and participation. The above assertion tries to example the structures of the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria. This is because, if it is believed that the group shuns the politics of the northern part of Nigeria and agitating for imposition of sharia law. Hence, while this version partly discuss the common modes of terrorist operation that occurs in democratic politics, we should be aware of the violence that can occur when democratic system breaks down

1.5 Significance of the Study

All individual lives in a world prone to crisis. No nation is free from crisis. Violence is now endemic in human relations. The global threat of terrorism respect no boundaries or borders. Nigeria is not free from these

threat, emanating from Boko Haram activities. Therefore, the debating questions are:

1. What is the nature of this threat?
2. Have the security agencies handled the situation well?
3. What have gone wrong with the strategy employed
4. How should government respond responding to these recent terrorist bombing?
5. Can militaristic approach without more work, work?
6. Are there lessons to be learnt in the ways of other countries handles such threat”

This research work will attempt to answer these questions, and build up relevant literatures on Islamist fundamental, and contributes to academic, professional and security at large as it enlightens, develops and inform citizens and government of the reoccurring

activities of domestic terrorists and making of possible for policy makers to strategize measures to handle the conflict in Nigeria.

Beyond serving as an addition to already existing literature, it will serve as a practical guide for those in the field of criminal investigation departments, anti-terrorism or counter insurgency.

This study is thereby motivated by strong desire to contribute to the ranging dissolution its socio-economic implication on Nigeria's development. It is therefore, hoped that this study will be relevant and of benefits to the students and scholars of political science, history, intelligent and security studies and the society at large.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

According to Ohara (2003:63), knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. In every descriptive, there is a body of theories that provides the explanation for observable

phenomena in that field. This section attempt to draw analogy between established theories and the problem being investigated where such analogies drawn even support the importance of the study. The theoretical requirement of this work is draw from frustration-aggression theory which I believe provided a detailed explanation for the emergence of “Boko Haram” insurgence in Nigeria. The theory was propounded and developed by John Dollard and his research associates initially developed in 1939 and has been expanded and modified by school like Leonard Berlowitz (1962) and Audrey Yales (1962). The theory properly created the analogy used within this research to explain the dynamics in Boko Haram terrorism.

According to John Dollard (1939) he explained that it seems to be that most common explanation for violent behaviour stemmed from inability to fulfill needs. In attempts to explain aggression, scholars points to the

difference between what people feel they want or deserve to what they actually gets the “want get-ratio” (teocrabends 1969) and difference between “expected need satisfaction” and actual need satisfaction (Davies, 1960). When expectation does not meet attainment the tendency is for people to confront those hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. Therefore, frustration aggression provides that aggression is not just undertaking as a natural reaction or instinct as realist and biological theorist assumes but that is the outcome of frustration and that is in a situation where the desire of an individual is denied either directly or by the indirectly consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirect related to them (Akwen, 2011:52-53).

As described by John Dollard, that most common explanation for violence behaviour is instability to fulfill needs. According to Bishop Mathew Hassan Kukah, states that “Boko Haram terrorism is a product of bad government and corruption and therefore, fueled by politics (Mayor 2011). In Nigeria, approximately 76 percent of northern on less than one dollar per day. School are un- finance and the standard of education is so poor that graduate are often unfit for employment. The worst of it all is the Nigerian government poor responses to the northern desire on economic and security conditions which has fueled resentment, making many young men vulnerable to Boko Haram recruiters. People in the north are significantly marginalized and are not provided the same economic opportunities and benefits that the rest of the country enjoy (Ibid). The founder and also the leader of the group, Mohammad Yusuf argued that “Western education or “Boko” had brought nothing

but poverty and suffering to the region and was therefore, “forbidden or Haram” in Islam (Reutrs, 2012).

This is the central government argument that led Robert Gurr’s (1970) relative deprivation these addressed in saying that:

The greater the discrepancy, however marginal between what is sought and what seems attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result (Ted, 1970).

A part from Nigeria government being corrupt in the year 1999, the police claimed down on Boko Haram members who were ignoring a law requiring motorcyclist to wear helmets. That sparked a furious back lash. Police stations and government offices in Borno state were burned to ground hundreds of citizens released in prison break, innocent citizens died on bomb explosion, public and private properties destroyed etc. as the violence spread across northern Nigeria.

The last stroke that broke the camel's back was the government and its army reacting with force, the leader of the Boko Haram group 'Mohammed Yusuf' was captured and shot dead in police custody. Five days of fighting left more than 800 people dead (Morgan, 2011). In other words, the group remains fiercely anti-government and anti-authority, and resentful of the decades of corrupt, poor government that have improvise it home region (Ibid).

1.7 Hypotheses

For the purpose of this study, this hypotheses were formulated:

1. Poverty and unemployment seem to be the driving force of the Boko Haram insurgence
2. Boko Haram insurgence has led to lose of revenue and seeming disunity in Nigeria

3. Dialogue appears to be desideration to the Boko Haram Menace in Nigeria.

1.8 Method of Data Collection

By method of data collection, we are referring to the various means through which appropriate information needed for this study was sourced, for the purpose of this work. The method used in the gathering of the data collection is mainly secondary source of data collection

This research is a topical issue, the secondary method of sourcing was adequate, this include gathering materials or information from text books journals, magazines, newspapers, internet material seminars, debates and seminars publications. Etc.

1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this research work is quite broad that it encompasses the investigation “the effect of Boko

Haram insurgence on the socio-economic development of Nigerian”.

The limitation of this study, various factors contributed in affecting in 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 experienced its apex in the course of the research interval.

Despite, the financial problem, hindrance and shortcoming the research work will defiantly come to accomplished.

1.10 Definition of Terms

According to Janct (2004:107), definition of terms used in a research is operation. Works are defined as they are used by the researcher. This means that researcher uses certain words in the way they fit to the

study, which may be different from the ordinary dictionary meaning. For an operational understanding of the term used within this study, the definitions are as follows:

Boko Haram:- The term Boko Haram is a derivation of Hausa word “Boko” meaning “Animist” western or otherwise non-Islamic education”, while Haram is a word with Arabic origin that figuratively means “sin” but literally, forbidden’. In other words, Boko Haram means “western education is forbidden or is a sin” (Wikipedia, Boko Haram”, 21/03/2013:1) Boko Haram is very controversial Nigeria militant Islamic group that seeks for the imposition of sharia law in the entire northern states of Nigeria. The name officially of the group is jama’atu Alis-sunna Lidda’awth wal jihad”, which in Arabic translated to people committed to the propagation of the teaching of prophet and jihad” literally therefore, the

group means “Association of sunnis for the propagation of Islam and for Holy war.

Insurgence:- This is defined as a political battle waged among a cooperative or acquiescence populace in order for a group of outsiders to take over (or at least undermine) the government of a nation.

Crime:- On the definition of crime, the united Nation Research institution. Observed that

Crime in the sense of branch of a legal prohibition, is a universal concepts, out what actually constitutes a crime and how seriously it should be regarded, varies enormously from one society to another perception of crime are not determined by any objective indictor of the degree of injury or damage, but by culture values and power relations (UN Research institute for social development, (1995).

In a strict legal definition, however, a crime is a violation of the criminal law, which is subsequently followed by legal punishment (Dambazau, 2007).

Violence:- Violence is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as the international use of physical force of power, threatened or actual against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injuries, death psychological harm, mal development or deprivation. (Wikipedia, WHO).

Sect:- Sect can be seen as a body of persons distinguished by peculiarities of faith and practice from other bodies adhering to the same general system. Specially, the adherents collectively of a particular creed or confession a demonation or older form of faith or believe (Britanic world language dictionary).

Peace:- Peace is generally defined as the absence of war, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence and absolute peaceful co-existence. However, peace connotes more than a mere absence of war hostilities because an absence of conflict is inevitable. Therefore, peace could be

defined as a political condition that ensure justice and social stability through formal or informal institutions, practices and norms (Howard, 1987).

Security:- Security can be defined to mean “ the total sum of action and measures, including legislative and operational procedures, adopted to ensure peace, stability and the general well being of a nation and its citizens (Shinikaiye, 2004:2).

Terrorism:- Terrorism is perhaps the most controversial problematic concept to define in the world to day. This is made more problematic blurred distinction between legitimate act of resistance and criminal act of terrorism. Despite these difficulties, however, terrorism could conceptualized as the politically motivated acts of violation perpetrated against civilian targets with the aim of inflicting mass casualties, instilling fear and a sense of insecurity and affecting a change in the policies and action of the victims (Nolan, 1998).

National Security:- National security is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well being (Maier (2000:5).

Islamic Fundamentalism:- Islamic Fundamentalism is a term used to describe religious ideologies seen as advocating a return to the fundamentals of Islam, the Quran and the Sunnah, it is deemed problematic by those who suggest that Islamic belief requires all Muslims to be fundamentalists (Bernard, 1993). Islamic fundamentalist oppose the infiltration of secular and westernizing influences and seek to institute Islamic law including in Muslim and strict code of behaviour.

Domestic Terrorism:- Domestic Terrorism is the commission of terrorist attacks in a state by forces inside or originating from the state, as opposed to terrorist attacks by forces external to the state. In other words,

domestic terrorism is a terrorist act practice in one's own country against her own people (online dictionary).

Chapter Two: The Driving Forces of the Boko Haram Insurgency

Boko Haram activities in the northern part of Nigeria, which have effected Nigeria's socio-economic activities greatly have three major forces that caused the Boko Haram Menace in Nigeria, which are political, religious and ethnic forces.

The religious, political and ethnic factor of the Boko Haram Islamic sect is not clearly defined judging by the activities of the group. This is notwithstanding that the groups have being described as one of the Islamic terrorist operating in the globe. The fact still remains that

one cannot actually say if the group are for personal vendetta or religious zealotry.

However, the only parameter for judging the political, ethnic and religious factor of the Boko Haram Islamic sect is only by a proper evaluation of its activities. The activities are stipulated from its violent attacks, ideologies mode of recruitment, membership, funding etc. Abonyi (2006:27).

This is the only yardstick that can juxtapose the religious, political and ethnic factor of the Boko Haram sect. Deducing from the discussion so far, it is glaring that the issue of Boko Haram Islamic sect is purely based on its own teaching, belief and doctrine. unlike what may be referred to as ethnic based militia. It is evidently seen that its activities are not in anyway in time with the other groups of ethnic militia abound in the country. For instance the movement for the emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MAND) which is a militia group from Niger Delta or

south-south region, which in purely on ethnic factor militia with no religious affiliations. The group was only fighting and agitating for equitable distribution of the mineral resources in their land, that their land have been destroyed by the oil in their land and they cannot feed themselves properly because of the effect of oil spillage and that government have properly abounded them to die and from the product of their land that sustains the whole federation. Hence its basis was puely outstanding. Sequel to this is the Oduawa peoples congress (OPC) which was based on the Yoruba region with the sole aim of providing security and other activities as it may concern to operation. There was also the Bakasi Boys, which was an ethnic militia based in the south-eastern state. Some state governors in these parts of the country even went an extra mile to legalize its activities through the state legislature.

Based on the foregoing, it became difficult but imperative to establish the ethnic basis of the Boko Haram Islamic sect as such as its political and religious factors. “The Boko Haram judging from its activities cannot be described as an ethnic militia neither will it be described as a religious or political sectarian group”. The only attribute to it, it is based in the northern part of the country Shehu Sani(2007).

1. Ethnic Factor

Viewing from the activities and its modus operadi, it becomes confusing for one to adequately position its ethnic together, they carryout violent activities in the northern part of the country, it has a greater extents compromise the effort of security activities in the part of the country. If the ethnic loyalty is not questionable, the group just as any other ethnic militia in the country should be concerned about the provision of security in its host ethnic origin. This clearly establishes the fact that

ethnic identity is not the prerequisite of the Boko Haram Islamic sect. what the Boko Haram sect want is for a certain law (Sharia Law) to be adopted in the twelve (12) northern states including the federal capital territory (FCT).

This request has brought about mixed interpretation of the ethnic factors of the Boko Haram sect. it can be said that apart from the struggle for the implementation of the sharia law, the activities and the group have been ambiguous and this make its ethnic loyalty questionable. Shehu Sani (2007).

2. Religious Factor

The Boko Haram though an Islamic terrorist sect has assumed a very radical pasture. The group considers whether Christian or Muslim an infidel if such a person does not adhere strictly to its principles. It cannot be actually said if the member of this group belong to the Muslim religion. This is because they pray in a separate

mosque, dress differently, have many rules guiding its activities which are not the same with the widely accepted Muslim teaching globally.

According to Imam (2004) at no time did the (Muslim) jurist approve of terrorism, nor indeed is there any evidence of the use of terrorism in Islamic tradition, Muslims are commanded not to kill women, children or the aged, not to torture or otherwise ill. The above caption sum up the religious factor and the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria. The group has its own ideology which its members adhere to anything outside from it, is contrary to its belief.

3. Political Factor

The dispute over 2011 election result which left over eight hundred dead, also has played a role in Boko Haram's escalating violence. Many northern Nigerians view the presidency of Goodluck Jonathan, a Christian as illegitimate, arguing that he ignored an informal

power-rational agreement that should have kept a Muslim as president this. (Muslim president Umar Musa ya'dua died in 2120, two years into his four years term). Leadership Newspaper 2012). Voting irregularities during the election as well as effort to change presidential term limits further alienated the north from Jonathan. The Boko Haram sect also wants political power in the nation, thereby making a northern or Muslim as the president. They don't want to see Christian or southern as the president because they belief that the west is a corrupting influence in governance. Some Jonathan supporters argue Boko Haram attacks as an attempt possibly funded by northern elites to make the country ungovernable and uncomfortable for the federal government and the society at large.

2.1 Historical Analysis of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Book Haram figuratively implies that western or non-Islamic education is a sin. They are a very controversial Nigerian militant Islamic group that seeks for the imposition of Sharia Law in the entire Northern state of Nigeria. The official name of the group is “Jamaiatu Ahis Sunna Lidda awatiwal-jihad” which in Arabic translates to people committed to the propagation of the prophet teaching and Jihad” (Wikipedia, Boko Haram 17/07/2013) from this, it is clear that Boko Haram,” is a group of Islamic fundamentalist that are committed to carry out holy war (Jihad) and Islamized Northern state of Nigeria and probably conquer the entire country through Jihad. (International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, vol.21. No 5 March (2012).

The religious sect, Boko Haram, appears to have lead a siege to the northern part of Nigeria, especially the North-East geopolitical zone of the region. Aside mindless

killings of innocent Nigerians, the sect's members also carry out wanton destruction of property in a bid to make people in the zone to embrace their views on Islamic religious code and western education. The fear of Boko Haram is, to state of fact, the beginning of wisdom in some states of northern part of Nigeria. The group, which parade religious extremism pushing for the enthrone of sharia and abandonment of western education in the region, has often sent jitters down the spines of old and young in the Northeastern states of Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe and Taraba. Whenever the group operates, it often leaves behind sad stories and scary scenes of destruction, maiming and death. (Jams Bwala, 30th January 2011). In Borno, the stronghold of the group, many lives and property have been lost to guerrilla-like attacks unleashed on the residents of the ancient town of Maiduguri by the sect since it began its operations a few years ago. On the 28th January 2011,

the governorship candidate on the platform of All Nigerian people party (ANPP), Engineer modu Fannami Gubio and six other persons, including the brother of the Borno state governor, Alhaji Goni Modu sheriff, were killed by people suspected to be Boko Haram members. The deceased had just finished performing their Friday juma'at prayer when the leaders struck, this throwing residents of maiduguri, the Borno state capital into confusion (ibid). So far, the group has been waging their way successfully in its area of stronghold.

Historical Sketch of Boko Haram

Book Haram is not the official name of the group. The official name of the sect is “Lama’atu Ahlis sunna lidda’awati wal-jihad”, meaning people committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teaching and Jihad” (Wikipedia, Boko Haram”, 07/07/2011:1). However, Boko Haram is the local dubbing of The sect by resident of maiduguri, when it was formed in 2002. Boko Haram

according to the local Hausa language simply translated to “western education is forbidden or is a sin (ibid). The resident gave the group this name because of its strong aversion to western education, which is viewed as corrupting Muslims. The term “Boko Haram” is a derivative of the Hausa word “boko” meaning Anamist’ haram” is word with Arabic origin meaning “sin” but literally, forbidden” (Ibid).

Historically, the group according to Wikipedia, is said to have been in existence right from the 1960’s but only started to draw attention in the year 2002 (Wikipedia, origin of Boko Haram 2/4/2012). Ustaz Muhammed Yusuf is said to have assume the leadership of the group in the year 2002. In 2004, the group moved to Kanamma in Yobe state where a base was established and named “Afghanistan” from which attacks were launched at nearly police outposts and several police officer were killed. Its leader Yusuf Mohammed, was very

hostile to democracy and the secular education system. He moved and vowed then that the war, which is yet to start, would continue for a long time if the political and education system and not altered or changed (Wikipedia, Boko Haram 17/07/2011:3).

The followers of the sects are said to be influenced and indoctrinated by the koranic phrase says “Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors (Wikipedia, Boko Haram 12/7/2011) Boko Haram promotes the version of Islam that makes it “Haram” or forbidden” for Muslims to participate in any political or social activities that are forbidden including voting in elections, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving secular education. To Boko Haram, the Nigeria state is run by non-believers even when the country has a Muslim as a president. Since the Sokoto caliphate that ruled parts of the country, what is now northern Nigeria, Niger and southern Cameroon, fell under British control

in 1903, there has been a strong resistance among the Muslims in the area of western education. Several Muslim still refuse to send their children to government run western school and the problem is compounded by the ruling elites which does not see education as a priority.

It is as a result of this that the Muslim cleric muhammed yusuf, formed Boko Haram in maiduguri in the year 2002 (ibid:3-4). He established a religious complex that included a mosque and an Islamic school. Many poor Muslim families from across Nigeria and neighbouring countries enrolled their children in the school. Boko Haram is not only interested in western education, but also their political goal is to create an Islamic state while the school has been a resulting ground and center for jihads to fight the state (the Nation, 2011:6).

Boko Haram's Ideology

Book Haram is an indigenous salafist group which only turned itself into a salafist jihadist group in 2001 (wikipedia “Boko Haram in Nigeria, 12/01/2012). It propagates itself that not only interaction with the western is forbidden but it is also against the Muslim establishment and the government of Nigeria. (Bartolatta, Christopher (23/09/2011). “Terrorism in Nigeria”. Terrorism in Nigeria”) The group publicly extols its ideology despite the fact that its founder and former leader Muhammed Yusuf was himself a highly educated man who lived a lavish life and drove a Mercedes Benz. (<http://.news:bbc.co.uk/2/low/Africa/28/07/2009>).

The members of the group do not interact with the local population and have carried out association in the part of any one who criticized it including in the Muslim clerics ([Http://bbc.co.uk/news/world Africa, 25/07/2012](http://bbc.co.uk/news/world Africa, 25/07/2012)).

Ideologically, Boko Haram opposes not only western education but also western culture and modern science. This according to wikipedia, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 29:06:2008. In the British Broadcasting Corporation interview granted by Yusuf Mohammed who is believed to be the leader of the group Boko Haram in the said interview, Yusuf declared that the belief that the world is spherical is in sharp contradiction to Islamic thought and therefore should be rejected along with darism and the theory that rain comes from water evaporated by sun (wikipedia Boko Haram, 17/7/2012:2)

A psycho-analysis of the adherent of the sect shows that other major belief is in the full implementation of sharia law in their respective states. With sharia fully implemented there will be social justice, economic prosperity equality fairness and a room big enough for all to live in the long run. Western education is not really

their problem. They wrongly assumed that their leaders are improvising them through the instrumentality of western education. Mal administration is the remote cause. Those who are entrusted with our common wealth are fiddling with it yet, poverty continued to ravage the land like a big affliction. Having realized this massive penary, the proponents of the Boko Haram insurgency were able to brain wash a couple of young men into believing that they wope out the current infidel in their midst for them to live (Temmidayo) “A Boko Haram” the way out, the nation, July 10,2013:13).

The Activities and Attacks of Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria

In order to appreciate the enormity of the challenges posed on the socio-economic development of Nigeria by the activities of the Boko Haram, its proposed to briefly draw attention carried to some of the attacks which the

sect has carried out in Nigeria, in order words undermine the strength of the socio-economic activities of the state.

The activities of Boko Haram started with the clash with the Nigeria police in July, 2009. This was when the Nigeria police sarterd investigating the group, which was engineered by reports that the group was arming itself. Several leaders were arrested in Bauchi and led to deadly clashes with security agencies in Nigeria that resulted in the death of about 800 people (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/new/world> Africa.

In Yobe state, the fighters (Boko Haram organization) employed fuel laden motorcycles and bows with poison arrows to attack police station. On July 30th 2009 there was the allegation that muhammed Yusuf the leader of the group was killed by Nigeria security force after he was arrested (the Nation 31st July, 2009:6).

In January 2010, the sect struck again in Brorno state killing four people in Dada Alemuderi ward in

maiduguri (The Nation, February 2nd 2010:8) To demonstrate their disdain for the Nigerians state and undermine its criminal justice system on September 7th, 2010 Boko Haram set free over 700 inmate from the prison in Bauchi state (the Sun, September 8 2010:12)

In December 2010, Boko Haram was said to have bombed a market leading to the arrest of 92 of its member Boko Haram by the Nigeria police (The Nation, December 28th 2010)

On Friday January 28, 2011 a gubernatorial candidate was assassinated along with his brother and four other police officer by the group (The nation, January 29th, 2011:12)

On March 29th 2011, the police foiled a plot to bomb an All Nigerians people's Party (ANPP) election rally in maiduguri, Brono state and this was linked with Boko Haram. On April 1st 2011, a day before the legislative election in Nigeria, Boko Haram members attacked a

police station in Bauchi. In April 9th, 2011 a polling boot was bombed in Maiduguri. Again on 15th April 2011, the Maiduguri office of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was bombed and several people were shot in a separate incident that the same day Boko Haram killed a Muslim cleric and ambushed several police officers in Maiduguri on April 20th, 2011. Also in April 22nd Boko Haram freed 14 prisoners in a jail break in Yola Adamawa state (The Nation April 25th 2011:14-16).

On Tuesday, February 8th 2011 Boko Haram gave conditions for peace. The radical sect demanded that the Borno state Governor, Senator Ali Modi Sheriff, should step down from office with immediate effect and also allow its members to reclaim their mosque in Maiduguri, the Borno state capital (The Guardian 10th 2011:6).

On 9th May, 2011 Boko Haram rejected an offer for amnesty made by the governor elect of Borno state Kashin Shettina (The Nation May 10, 2011:7).

On May 29th 2011 Boko Haram carried out series of bombing in northern Nigeria that left 15 people dead (The nation, May 30th 2011:6).

Before the bombing of the united Nation building in Abuja on August 16th 2011 which not less than 25 people dead and many others wounded, the most daring activities of the fundamentalist group was on June 17th 2012 when it bombed the police headquarter in Abuja. This attack which was the first suicide bombing in the history of Nigeria appeared to be specifically targeted at the former inspector General of Police(IG) Hafiz Ringim (the Nation 18th June 2011:4).

After the bombing of the police headquarter, the Islamic sect has carried out other attack in maiduguri on 27th June, the sect attacked a beer pallor according to an official and eye witness account militant on motorcycles threw explosive into the drinking sport, killing over 25 people. There was another bomb attack in maiduguri on

27th June 2011 that killed two girls and wounded three custom official (The Sun 28th June 2011:4).

A Christian fellowship church in Suleja Niger state was bombed on July 10th 2011. This culminated in the closure of the University of Maiduguri by the University Authority on July 11 2011 citing security council as the reason for the closure (The Nation 13th July 2011:16)

On the 25th December 2011, St Theresia's Catholic Church, Madalla in Niger state was bombed by Boko Haram members, which led to the death of more than 40 people with many others wounded. (The Vanguard, 30th December 2011:6)

On the 8th February 2012, Boko Haram claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at the army headquarter in Kaduna (BBC News, 08/02/2012).

On the 16th February 2012 Boko Haram claimed responsibility for another prison break stage in central

(Kogi) Nigeria, 119 prisoners were released and one warder on duty killed (www.aftonbladet.com)

On 20th march 2013, the Boko Haram sect attacked in Borno state and 2 people dead and 14 injured (The Nation 21 March 2013:3)

On the 8th of March, 1010, during a British hostage rescued attempt to free Italian engineer, Franco lamohara and Britain, Christopher MC mans, abducted in 2011 by a splinted group book Haram both hostage were killed (www.orland sentinel.com/news, :1).

2.2 The Drive of Poverty

Poverty is the deprivation of basic needs which commonly known as to food, clothing, shelter healthcare and education. Nigeria is an underdeveloped country and poverty is one of the problems bedeviling country.

Nigeria is very rich in term of natural resources. Nigeria is the sixth largest producer of oil in the world. The country is also blessed with vast arable land for agriculture and it is also rich in solid minerals. However, the country has been so bedeviled with bad leadership since independence that the country today despite her redness in natural resources, is one of the poorest country in the world in terms of per capital income (Omemma, 2012),

Poverty has become so endemic in the land that the latest National Bureau of statistics (NBS) put the national poverty rate at 67.1 per cent. Poverty has been on a steady increase in the nation. The endemic poverty level in the north is so enormous that the latest report from official statistics showed that poverty in north-west is 77.7%. North-East is 76.3% which is much higher than that of national poverty rate of 67.1%.

Poverty is so much that the former CBN governor Professor Chukwuma Soludo said poverty was an issue of the North. The present CBN governor Sanusi Lamido sanusi also said poverty is fueling Boko Haram and same vein, former president of US, Bill Clinton echoed the same view as Sanusi Lamido. On the contrary, poverty rate in the southern Nigeria is much lower, as poverty in southern part of Nigeria is below 49%.

Statistic appears to grossly under-estimate the immensity of poverty that defines Nigeria's paradox of "rich country with poor masses". More than 90 percent of Nigeria are poor and exist largely at the mercy of fate. These realities are much more obvious in rural areas and slums. In these places, people die because they cannot afford #500 to purchase needed medication or basic public health care. Worse still, people around may not be able to help as they two may not be able to collectively

raise that amount. It is a very obvious reality in today's Nigeria.

According to the NBS estimated that this trend may rise further if the potential positive impact of several anti-poverty and employment generations intervention programmes of government fall through. The report reveals that 112.47 million Nigerians live below US\$1.00 per day and as a result could barely afford the minimal standards of food, clothing, healthcare and shelter. Since poverty and unemployment in Africa strongly correlate, it will not be surprising to assume that the unemployment rate is in excess of 40 percent. The official figure. What is true is that we have a crisis which historically has been a platform for the creation of and dynamic sustenance of other crisis. We have issues that seek to emphasize our different more than our common destiny. We operate a system that exposes the weakness

in the foundation of our unity which the people's repetitive sly away from confronting. The fundamental imperfection in the macro—economic structure of Nigeria is unsustainable, and that our politics cannot crowd out the impending reaction to their unaddressed problem. Karl Marx is popularly known for a truism which emphasizes our current reality “religious is the opium of the poor, yet it is not only about religion but our historical cultural practices of deliberately putting people in a state of ignorance”.

Illiteracy is also both a product of and drive of poverty. Thus the greater the level of poverty, the higher the literacy rate and of course, more poverty. These dynamically reinforce each other. Accordingly, when a young man is poor, liberate and unemployed, he becomes a clean slate for any kind of brainwashing. (The Nation 21-2-2011 the poverty in North). The brainwashing given

to them provides a quasi-equivalent of employment and thus fed engaged in acting out what they have been brainwashes about. Is this not the kind of situation we find with Book Haram phenomenon?

However, for proper clarification, is to understand and closely examine the coordinates of Boko Haram and that of poverty in Nigeria. Book Haram at the outset appeared to have had its operational bases located in the poorest part of Northern Nigeria. It is in such place where people have been denied the opportunity to go to school as well have meaningful economic source of livelihood that recruitment is the easiest for Boko Haram leaders are aware of it and of course are maximizing the advantages of obvious truth. It is not any different from the situation that prevailed during the pre-amnesty militancy periods in the Niger delta. The long and short of it is that with entrenched poverty, illiteracy and

unemployment we cannot eliminate the menace of Boko haram or similar security hearts (The Nation April 5, 2012)

2.3 The Drive of Unemployment

In Nigeria democracy has been restored for a over decade ago, which no doubt, open so much hope and expectations by the people for instance, it is assumed that with democracy, people would be free to choose their leaders and representative and hold them accountable for the over all objective of fast tacking development and improving the general living conditions of the masses. This expectation is not misplaced considering that Nigeria has abandoned human and natural resources.

However, the reality on ground has shown that this expectation is yet to be realized. Hence, the growing sense of despondency among the masses.

In other countries in North African like Tunisia, Egypt and Libya where dictator have held sway for over three decade, people have revolted against the system. Though these countries can be said to be less democratic than Nigeria, yet the living condition of people in real economic terms is better than Nigeria (Abati, 2011). Adejumobi, 2011).

Furthermore, the unemployment rates in these countries are more or less like that of Nigeria (Ojenagbo, 2011). The major concern there therefore is, given the kind of violent agitations that pervaded the above mentioned countries with relatively better living conditions than Nigeria, it is expected that both individuals and government at all level should join hands

to build a Nigeria where everyone is resourceful and useful.

The problem of chronic youth unemployment is very evident in Nigeria. Every year thousands of graduates are turned out for where there are no jobs. Nigerian streets are littered with youth hawkers who ordinarily would have found gainful employment in some enterprises, or would have demonstrated their skill and resourcefulness if there is an enabling environment structure on ground. Instead, the youth have now shifted their attention to terrorism. (Adepebgo, 2011).

Unemployment describes the conditions of people who are without jobs. The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines unemployment as the number of the economically active population who are without work but available for and seeking for work, (Adebayo, 1999). Government at all levels should strive to create

viable structure which will encourage the youth to think rationally towards job creation rather than job piferage and almost unending unemployment proliferation in vogue in Nigeria

Youth unemployment therefore could be described as the conglomerate of youths with diverse background, willing and able to work, but cannot find any type of job that they are trained to do and which they will be proud to do as there area of expertise. When the supply of labour outstrips the demand for labour, it causes joblessness and unemployment. (Echebiri, 2005).

It is a misplaced priority for any one to argue that one of the greatest threats to democratic stability and sustained in Nigeria is the large army of unemployment youths. Bubbling with energy and innovations, these youths could be used for destabilizing influence in Nigeria by the politicians. The presence of large army of

unemployment youth in Nigeria is a clear case of failure of leadership to utilize abundant human and natural resources in the country to create jobs that will engage the youths in production and meaningful economic activities (Adejumobi, 2011).

The unemployed youths have become political thugs and blood-thirsty hoodlums at the disposal of the politicians. The point here is that when large numbers of youths are unemployed, their quest to survive may make them become willing tools in the hands of mavericks and disgruntled politicians who may want to use them for anti-social and chindestine political activities. The utilization of the unemployed youths to perpetuate ethno religious clashes in the present democratic dispensation and well documented (Ibrahim, 2006; Okafor, 2007).

In Northern part of Nigeria unemployment has caused a lot of displacement of properties and loss of

lives in the northern part of Nigeria, killings in the north by the Boko Haram insurgency is been motivated by unemployment in the north. Over 900 people have been killed by Boko Haram. But the question is what has the government at all level and the security industry done to curb the ordeal? Federal government should adopt a more reliable means and unbiased regulatory frameworks to police the affair of the Nigerian populace. This well continues to encourage the principle of one indivisible state as enshrined in our National Anthem.

Unemployment is the motivating factor of the insurgency in north, because they were left unemployed and in the process of getting their selves what to do they learn it in the negative way, which is terrorism act, there have been increase in the involvement of youths in various anti-social activities and offences as a result of

unemployment. This has the potential to destabilize and truncate the democratic process in Nigeria.

Concussively, from all indication, youth unemployment is a menace in Nigeria and constitutes a real danger and a threat to Nigeria democracy. This is because these youths could be manipulate to undermine the stability of Nigeria's democracy at any point in time. Against this background, these is the need by government at all level, international community and other stakeholders to embark on massive job creation to take these youths of the street. Granted, there may not be a quick fix to this problem, all the stakeholders must as mater of fact do something urgently.

Finally, democracy is a journey not a destination. For Nigeria it is a learning process. As a matter of fact it may not be a perfect system of government, but it has several advantages over other systems. People including

the Nigeria youths must feel the positive impact of democracy in their lives. The situation whereby only a few privileged persons in positions of authority benefit from this system government at the expense of the impoverished masses portends a great and real danger that may incur the wrath of the unemployed youths in Nigeria if not addressed urgently. Nigeria leader should strive to promote good governance in other to engender youth empowerment, employment and socio-economic development in Nigeria (Alanana, 2003).

Chapter Three: Implication of the Boko Haram

Insurgency

The foregoing appearance of Boko Haram terrorism and many other incidents in Nigeria are signs to show that violent acts of terrorism are becoming frequent in Nigeria and they constitute a threat to national stability, socio-economic development in Nigeria and also to the national stability and security. These violent criminal acts have all the elements of crime (terror), except that

their perpetrators do not accept their fault even in the face of evidence. Example, Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf denying involvement in some of the attacks carried out in Nigeria (Wikipedia, Boko Haram).

In Nigeria today especially in the North-East geopolitical zone where the presence of the Boko Haram is growing exponentially nobody is safe. This is because the terrorist strikes anytime, targeting both children, women, leaders, investors travelers and installations.

One of the implications of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria's as a nation is on the aspect of socio-economic activities of the country, especially on the North-East part of Nigeria.

The activities of these insurgency have straining relations between Nigeria and other countries of the world especially United State. Example. After the attempt suicide bombing of American airline by Umar Audulmutallab Farouk on the 25th December 2010 and

the suicide bombing of the United Nation building in Abuja by Mohammed Abul Barra on the 26th of August, 2011. Most Nigerian citizens abroad when treated like criminal in the foreign land in terms of how the individual and their luggage's are being searched at the airport intruding individual privacy right, how Nigerian citizens were being denied US visa to travel abroad etc. (Wikipedia.n.d), and the believes that external assistance in-terms of training types of explosive used and financial support (from DL-QAEDA) has been made available to the group (Vanguard 3rd September, 201: 5) Yusifiya, movement also known as Boko Haram, "said at attacked on United State and the United Nation's building was because United Nation was supporting the federal government to persecute Muslims in Nigeria" (Daily Trust, 30th August, 2011).

A very vita effort of the Boko Haram terrorist scourge on Nigeria is in the economic sphere. Indeed, as

it becomes clear that no body is safe as the terrorists can strike anywhere, because activities have been on the decline and expansion plans are put on hold. For example, foreign investors, who use to flow at least 200 billion dollars a year into the Nigeria economy (Wikipedia.nd.) no longer view the Nigerian economy as the safe heaven of once was. For the underdeveloped countries of the world, foreign investment means a lot, infact the proliferation of terrorism by Boko Haram in Nigeria soil, investors have to think twice before moving out into other countries and region to invest.

It has also caused the military forces to take over the internal security of some states where the activities of Boko Haram terrorism were on high side, for example declaration of state of emergency in Yobe, Plateau and Bormo State. This on its own is another ignition point for another violent attack, either sporadic shooting with some identified Boko Haram members, thereby causing

collateral damage at the expense of security of the citizens. It also put the military professionalism in doubt with regard to the role of the military in a nation. In essence, the military force may not be at alert to notice external threats, losing the military combatant capability of battle field tactics, abuse of power by initiating military brutality in the civil society, engaging in an unprofessional activities either enticed by the social activities etc.

The Boko Haram terrorist scourge in contemporary national relations creates a public atmosphere of anxiety and it has undermined confidence in government. The terrorists' unpredictability and apparent randomness makes it virtually impossible for government to protect all potential victims. The public demand protections that the state cannot give frustrated and fearful, the people then usually demand the government to make concessions to stop the attacks or protect their citizens, automatically

has implications for citizens loyalty to their government and when citizen's loyalty to their government is in doubt, then national stability is threatened.

Furthermore, the greatest threat the Boko Haram terrorism poses in Nigeria is that it prevents national discussion or negotiation and force decision under pressure e.g. declaration of state of emergency in Boko State by the presidency (national mirror, 18/07/2011). It sways public affairs. Thus national and international agreements are altered, law are made or changed and the regulations on people, institutions and services are involved virtually at the command of small numbers of individuals holding guns or bombs. "The fear of Boko Haram is, to state the fact, the beginning of wisdom in some states of the northern part of Nigeria" (Bwala, 30th January, 2011).

In spite of the threat Boko Haram terrorism possess to Nigerian peace, security and stability, this sect

terrorism had certain positive results in contemporary national relations. It is demonstrated in the area of improvement on the national security opinion in Nigeria especially on national critical infrastructure either installation of close circuit television CCTV to cover the federal capital city with the control room expected to be located at the force headquarters for central coordination (Vanguard, 3rd September, 2011, p. 5) training and retraining of security operation of modern equipment, having identify database of Nigerians, reactivation of the police forensics department and bring it up to date etc. which are headway to ensuring national security of the country. According to the former National Security Adviser, General Owoye Andrew Azazi told Reuters Officers that secret services were looking at broadening efforts beyond pure security measure, including addressing northern economic grievances, marking the

great coalition or co-operation of one Nigeria (Vanguard, 3rd December, 2011. p. 5).

On 28th September, 2002, the security council of the United Nations adopted resolution 1373, which requires all states to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts, including freezing funds and other financial asset. The resolution also obliges all states to improve border security, clamp down on the recruitment of terrorist intensity information sharing and law enforcement co-operation in both national and international campaign against terrorism and deny terrorist and their supporter any support or safe heaven. Again, the existing 12 United Nations convention against terrorist represent solid national and international foundations for nations to support this global struggle (United Nations Resolution, 2002).

3.1 The Implication on Economic Development

Nigeria is a country endowed with natural and material resources, all completed favourably with one another in securing a big chunk of foreign exchange earning for the country in the early 60's the discovery of oil, and the unprecedented wealth accrued from it in the 70's, soon emerged Nigeria as a major foreign exchange earner, in spite of the natural and mineral resources with which she is endowed with, coupled with numerous governmental policies and programmes to foster peaceful co-existence among multi-ethno-religious entities which makes up Nigeria, the country has virtually become a battle field where incessant ethno-religious and political crisis are staged the implication of the crisis on economic development, is that the instruments which is supposed to be used for sustainable development is conversely being used for destruction and vandalization purpose (Mohammed 2002).

In essence, it gulped the Nigerian government millions of Naira to put in place numerous amenities which are destroyed during crisis. Resources, which could have been used to improve these amenities and embark on other developmental projects, would have to be used on restructuring and replacing what have been damaged during crisis. In most cases government compensated victims of these crisis and this gulped millions of naira, which could have been used for economic development. Apart from the fact that many virile men of the nation are seriously affected in the crisis which consequently led to their death, the country's sources of revenue are equally affected. Since no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity becomes the order of the day. It therefore implies that Boko Haram menaces are bane to economic development. Looking at it internationally, Boko Haram crisis had added to the fear

of investors “foreign” that are in Nigeria (Abonyi, 2006). Cases of kidnapping of expatriates in Nigeria are no more news. One wonders how foreign investors could decide to establish in the war zone. Apart from the fact that image of Nigeria has been dented globally as a country which breeds social miscreant and criminals.

In Maiduguri, Borno State, where the seat originated, the frequent bombing and clashes between Boko Haram and security agents have weighed down seriously on commercial and business activities in the city as many business have reportedly grumbled while many people have fled the state., the Maiduguri Monday market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported have been seriously affected as hundred of shop owners, especially southerners have closed their business and left the troubled city for their dear lives. According to the Borno State Commissioner of information, Mr. Inuwa Bwala, “it will take the state 20

years to recover from this current predicament it has found itself". In an interview with ThisDay on 2009, September 10, said the security situation has taken of toll on the economy of the state as many people have fled. According to the commissioner, "it is only natural that when you have such a situation as we have now, it will affect the economic fortunes, especially where people go out to do business under the atmosphere of fear". So there is no doubt that the crisis has taken its toll on our resources, on our business and on our economy.

The state government has intervened in various business sectors, especially the revival of our industries, alleviation of poverty, granting of business loan, development of business and technical skills and so may other programmes that the government initiated for it to bring back the state on to stream and let people imbibe the spirit of self-sustenance (Thisday January 20, 2012).

The attack on Kano has been very devastating because the city has always been the commercial center of western Sudan for the past 500 years. The city had been commercial base of the North before even the neighbouring countries like Niger Republic, Chad and Northern Cameroon before the evolution of the Nigeria Nation. But today story is different as business and commercial activities has taken a turn for the worse in the city as a result of the security problems occasioned by frequent killings and bombings. Investors who have been doing business in the city for ages have relocated their businesses due to unending security challenges in the city. Kano, which is reputed to be the hub of business and commercial activities in the entire 19 Northern states and beyond, is gradually loosing steam. About 80 percent of the industries are said to have closed down due to power failure and the daunting security challenges. The security challenges have negatively

impacted on both private and public sectors of the economy as many business men and traders have relocated their businesses from the city.

At about 75 percent of the over three million Igbo businessmen and trader in the Kano city who engage in both small and medium scale businesses are reported have fled to Abuja and the South-East due to the growing insecurity posed by the activities of Boko Haram insurgence. The indigenous business community in the city especially the textile merchants are not fairing better as they count their losses as their customers who used to patronize them no longer go to Kano for the fear of the unknown. The Durbar festivals in Kano which use to attract local and international tourists have been canceled because of insecurity. Sun (30 August 2012). The story is not different in Jos, the Plateau state capital the unofficial headquarters of the middle Belt. Plateau has been in the news before the advent of Boko Haram as

a result of the persistent ethnic and religious crisis that has continued to engulf the state.

The cities have witnessed so much carnage that businesses are no longer thriving, as many business concerns have abandoned the city and moved out their investments. Though the city is not reputed as an industrial city, it is noted for tourism potentials which have contributed to the national economy. However, the once thriving tourism destination that was an attraction for local and international tourists is now history as the spate of violence in the state which hitherto prides it as the “Home of peace and tourism” seems to have been robbed off of its glory in the tourism industry.

Social and economic activities are on the lowest ebb as a result of the security situation. Northern region has not fared better as business activities in the city continued to nose dive as a result of the increasing level of insecurity in state. The understanding by many in the

northern part today is that kaduna the “heart beat” of the north is the next target of this group that is bent on this mission of self-destruction, all the states in the north is not different between people as living under the fear of unknown. Federal government, in February 9, 2013, (ThisDay Newspaper) raised the alarm over the devastating effect of Boko Haram insurgency on the region, warning that religious extremist will destroy the region if the activities of the Islamic sect are not curtailed.

The information minister, Mr. Labaran Maku, who spoke on behalf of the government said that the region needs peace and stability more than any other region in the country, particularly because the region is clearly lagging behind in term of infrastructure, education and other development indices, declaring that the North’s economy is on the verge of collapse. Sadly, the governors of the region appear to be helpless in containing the

situation as the Islamic sect continuous with its bombardment. For how long will this continue? If the region comes out of this, it will surely take some decades for it to recover from the effect of this madness.

The greatest of these scenarios is the amount of funds being diverted to security issues and related matters. The aim is to enable the country meet the challenges of the present threat in the country. These funds can be best utilized in providing infrastructures in the country, like good roads, electricity and other vital amenities that will enhance the economic development of Nigeria. The irony is that while the government is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram menace is crumbling all the efforts. Leadership Newspaper (May 9, 2012).

3.2 The Implication on National Integration

According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Integration can be simply defined as “the combining of two or more thing so that they 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 live separately.

National integration therefore, can be refereed to as a purposeful strategy which is directed in order incorporating various groups in the country towards to enhance peaceful co-existence, harmony and cooperation at various levels of administration.

National integration is usually adopted by the federal government in order to unify and regulate all political economic and social activities in the state so as to eradicate any feelings 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, subjugation, suppression, dehumanization, war and other forms of political and socio-economic vices will be properly enhanced and controlled.

The question now in Nigeria is “how and what implications does the Boko Haram insurgence have on the National integration of Nigeria as a country?”

Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’ await wai-jihad as the group is called, are of the belief that western education is a “sin”. The people are committed to the propagation of the prophets teaching and jihad. Since its formation in the year 2002, the activities have been a thorn in the flesh of Nigeria as a country and its corporate existence. Nigeria was divided into three regions in the year 1946 under Richard’s constitution and these three regions are 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 itself part to represents 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.

Boko Haram insurgence has over the years appeared to be a regation on the principle of harmonious organization and peaceful co-existence of the country because it appears the group and trying to succeeds, the northern part of the country from its eastern, western and southern counterparts.

Boko Haram have leveled criticism against western education, has contributed to the destrintegration 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. The world is going globalize and computerized the citizens of Nigeria are fast catching up with the

standard of literacy on the world scene. The western part of the country is been dominated by Igbo people who have a serious passion and affiliation for education. These people often visit other region of the country in search to obtain western education.

In Nigeria, there is an obvious disparity between the opinion of these various ethnic groups, these is also a different approaches 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 broad in the horizon of the easterners. This has automatically divided the society into different blocks seeking to be independent in a democratically dependent nation, and this invariably leads to disintegration which makes it impossibility for national integration to thrive.

Several attacks on church among which his the attack on St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madala, Abuja on the 25th of December 2011, is often seen as sign of the Northern people to uphold Islam ahead of Christianity. In a bid to combat the Muslim, the Christians seek to distinguish themselves and differentiate their religion thereby officially declaring a state of independence of the Christians from the Muslims.

Therefore, make the society to be divided into two poles which are constantly repelling and of course national integration is hindered, and promotes national distintegration in the state.

The sect continuous attacks on strategic buildings, organizations and groups by the Boko Haram sects in the northern part of the country, could also lead to series of counter attacks by the Oduduwa people's 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 thrive in the state “Nigeria”

3.3 The Implication on Nigeria Foreign Relation

One cannot really ascertain the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on Nigeria’s foreign relation without clearly understanding the meaning of foreign policy. Therefore it is paramount important at this juncture to take a look at the meaning of foreign policy.

According to Rode (1957) “foreign policy can be seen as the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shapes the behaviour patterns of a state while negotiating with others to protect its vital interest”.

According to Wolfram 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 view that through foreign policy, a country seeks to promote and protect its national interest on the course of it interaction with the outside world and with the 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 interest and in accordance with their perceptive of the world order.

Mazrui states that “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 cost of perestroika is that the quantity of aid from the north to the south would decrease.

Karl Deutsch (1954), he defined foreign policy as “the search for the preservation of a country’s independence and preservation of a country’s independence and security, the pursuit and protection of its economic interest.

According to K.j Holsti, He view foreign policy as action and ideas designed by policy makers to solve or promote changes in international environment.

Modelski (1962), “Foreign policy is the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting heir own activities to the international environment”.

Reynolds (1971), “maintain that the concept of foreign policy denotes the authoritative action which governments take or are committed to take in order to either to preserve the desirable aspect of the international environment or to alter its undesirable aspects”. It also represents the range of actions taken by

various sections of the government of a state in its relations with other bodies or states acting on the international scene in order to advance the internal interest of that particular state.

Joseph Franked (1968) sees foreign policy as “that consisting of decision and actions which involves to some appreciable extent relationship between one state and another.

Goldstein (2003) in his view state that “foreign policy includes the strategies used by governments to guide the actions in the international arena”. The author posits that foreign policy spells out the objectives of state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation as well as the general means by which they intend to pursue their objectives.

Okoli (2006) “foreign policy of any state concerns itself with the objectives, aspiration and action of that state with respect to other state as well as with the

domestic environment or conditions under which such actions and objectives are formulated and projected”. This means that foreign policy is much more restricted than international relation. It deals basically with actions taken by state vis-à-vis other state, state actions across national boundaries.

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 and external relations”.

At this point, we can now see the definition of foreign policy as the general principles which govern a state’s international behaviour. Again, Nigeria 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 with one another, it is very important to note here that the state or rather condition of the political, economic and social institutions of states can either make or mar their relation. This is because if Nigeria were to be without recent security problem, foreign countries will be encouraged to maintain a free flow of trade transactions and foreign investors will be attracted to invest in our local industries. On other hand, foreign investors will be scared to invest in a war turn atmosphere which is the case of the present day Nigeria, due to fear of loosing their funds.

Moreso, 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 (NCAN) Marold Demaron as Nigeria representative, while John,

W. Haluski who was the assistant administrator of global 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 National recently. This is a result of the activities of Boko Haram Insurgence together with past terrorist activities which the country has posed to the global world such as the attempt by Nigerian born Abdul Murlalab. L. Farouk to bomb United State bound aircraft from England.

Therefore, the success of so many bombing blast and series of attacks which have been executed by the Boko Haram has left a big question mark on the mind of not only Nigeria citizens but also citizens of other states in the world which have diplomatic relationship with Nigeria. These series of doubts as regards to Nigeria security competence has made of almost impossible for

the United Nations (UN) to grant Nigeria's appeal concerning a permanent seat in the security council of the multinational organization, United Nation (UN).

Conclusively, these among others but just to mention few, are some of the underlying effect of Boko Haram insurgency. Necessarily measure needs to be adopted in order to control our political and socio-economic system of the state. If not its effect will be so harsh on Nigeria and its relations with other countries of the world.

Chapter Four: Strategies for Addressing the Menace of the Boko Haram Insurgency

In every state, there exist a sovereign body, this body is vested with all the power and legal authority to make and enforce law which will regulate the behaviour and the activities of people in the society in order to prevent the society from becoming or deteriorating into what Thomas Hobble represented to a primitive society where life a solitary, nasty, poor and brutish.

Sovereignty ordinarily resides on the electorate who often elect their leaders or representatives in order to represent their interest in the higher governmental activities. Those elected representative are accorded fully 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 or individual that is greater in strength than the federal government.

Despite the alarming rate of terrorist activities, in Nigeria, the government in an effort to correct these anomalous have gained many group but much still need to be done.

Governments have become deeply involved towards resolving the Boko Haram menace after June 16, Abuja Bombing. This does not mean that subsequent measures have not been taking by the Borno State government, which is where the insurgence is operating from.

Boko Haram first strike in Borno State was recorded on Tuesday, September 21, 2004, when they invaded Bama and Gwoza in Borno State, where the Area Commander in charge of Bama, Assistant Commissioner of police was brutally murdered (Omopidan, 2011:4). This attack attracted the government attention to what was earlier perceived as ethnic crisis. The former Borno State governor, Ali Modu Sheriff, called for assistance from the federal. This took the federal troop four days of gun battle to subdue the group. This led to the killing of over 40 members of the Boko Haram sect, this following other clashes with the group and security officials which finally led to the extrajudicial killings of the Boko Haram insurgence leader Ustaz Yusuf Mohammed.

In surveying the action of government toward terrorist activities in Nigeria, it is important to reckon the fact that the Boko Haram is not the first form of violent depriving in Nigeria especially in the Northern part of the

country. They are other group in the 1980s, such as the maitestine group. The government action towards all these violent groups in the past has not been decisively, it has always been returning fire-for -fire. As these groups often than not regroup at different instances.

The most different decisively action the government has taken to curb this ugly menace in the society is the amnesty programe which was adopted by the federal government to provide a lasting solution to the Niger Deltas militancy. The programme brought the militants and the federal government in a round table. The dialogue between the two parties brought the situation under control. This is a major role the government had played in an effort to curtail the escalation of the terrorist related activities in the country.

It was in accordance to this, that Borno State government under governor Ibrahim Kashim Shettima has offered the same amnesty to the Boko Haram

insurgency, which the sect refused in an effort to establish the amnesty, the vice president, the governor of Borno State, the Inspector General of Police and other stake holders after meeting resolved to grant amnesty to the Boko Haram group (Sun Newspaper, 27 June, 2011).

The proposed amnesty to the Boko Haram sect was turned down by the group, the group made their stand very clear by carrying out other major bombings activities in the country including the destruction of the first bank of Nigeria branch in Damabawa Local Government in Borno State.

Significant reforms are needed in many areas, including the legal sector. Corruption is so rampant that the wealthy and connected are perceived as able to get away with virtually any kind of injustice. As John Campbell notes.

Boko Haram ideology draws on a long –standing local tradition of Islamic radical reform that

emphasizes the pursuit of justice for the poor through the imposition of sharia. Adherent generally despise Nigeria's secular leadership and the country's traditional Muslim elites.

In his analysis of extremist groups in Nigeria, Chris Ngwodo noted: "it is their advocacy of the poor and their opposition to social justices that lends these groups their appeal.

Beyond the preconditions described earlier, there are also potential triggers for violence outbreaks, a belief that election are not free and fair, or government inability to respond effectively when faced with economic shock of environmental disaster. And in global environment, Nigeria must collaborate with others to combat regional or global trafficking networks that could be of used to help finance terrorist group in Nigeria.

According to Jennifer Cooke, Director of the Africa Program at the center for strategic and international studies, described her recent congressional testimony

how “the Nigerian government’s response to Boko Haram will need to be integrated into a comprehensive political, economic and security strategy that offers some promise of real improvement to northern populations and communities and limits the appeal of Boko Haram and its potential successors”. Her perceptive, endorsed in this monograph, reflects a common theme in the contemporary security studies literature that a whole – of – government approach is necessary for successful defeating a terrorist group. In the case of Boko Haram, however, a boarder perspective is needed, defeating this group – will require a “whole of Nigeria approach” in which government forces the non-government entities are engaged in a complementing efforts, in some case with the support and assistance of the U.S and the international community. Success will come from working together to understand all we can about Boko Haram and the environment that sustained them, and

then craft a strategy that employs this knowledge to maximum benefit.

Various strategies adopted in order to combat the activities of Boko Haram.

1. Nigeria's Government

Policies enacted by President Goodluck Jonathan's administration may have alienated some northern military leaders and other elites and this could exacerbate north-south elites rivalries. But this seems to be separate issue from Boko Haram. The government could identify and leverage culturally specific factors in a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy. In particular, Muslim leaders in the Northern Nigeria are seen by many in their communities as power brokers and trusted mediators of dispute. They draw tacit authority by nature of a deep historical Muslims influence in social and political life throughout region. Not only do these religious leaders have an important role to play in

confronting the treat of Boko Haram, they also can have a positive impact on the future of the country, it involved in discussions about economic, security and development projects. To promote stability, address religious insecurities, and to provide a conduct for locals to voice the grievances about the government in a non threatening environment, channels of communication between government and religious leaders are vital at both the public level and the private, behind the scenes level, in some cases to ensure the safety of religious leaders who might become exposed to targeting by Boko Haram.

In short, the political and economic conditions in Nigeria have been improving considerably, and in most cases are far better than adherent of Boko Haram's ideology would have you believe. This, in turn, aids the government is undermining that ideology and reducing it resources.

Legitimacy and trust are key aspect of any audiences willingness to accept a message, if the government of Nigeria loses or has lot it. Boko Haram and others with a competing message have an opportunity to gain influence among their target audience. To overcome the state security forces fractured coercive capacity, the Nigeria government must establish a level of moral and political legitimacy that will help them gain the support of local Muslim communities in the north. The research literature on conflict and security supports the notion that as legitimacy of political regime declines, their citizens are likely to rebel. In addition to putting an end to corruption, the government must also address the many grievances mentioned by becoming more transparent, efficient and effective with regard to delivery of services, rule of law, accountability and justice for all. It must foster nation wide respect towards all religious faith, equitable distribution of resource,

improvement in education and economic opportunity and much more. Nigerian must come to trust their government more than they have previously to and have no reason to cause and enhance political and economic instability in Nigeria.

4.1 The Strategy of Coercion

The former Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung, defined coercion as “force or intimidation of a victim to compel the victim to do some act against his or her will by use of psychological pressure, physical force or threat”.

According to him, the might is always right that is to say, he who wields the instrument of coercion is the political sovereign.

Over the years, the most preferred option for combating or fighting such societal problem has been the coercion method, the armed confrontation. To a great extent, this largely explains why president George Bush

Junior. Immediately or rather instantly declared war or terrorism in response to the terrorist attacks on the United State on the memorable black Tuesday of September 11, 2001, this meant the United State adopted the coercive method to avenge the attack. Several other countries in west have often employed this approach in solving their political problems in order to avoid political instability in the country.

The British army can boast today of having achieved a truly impressive record in combating major terrorist outbreaks around the world. Specifically, its experience in countering terrorism placed it on the advantage position in August 1969, the laour government of the day decided to put the arm into Northern Ireland to maintain public order (Callaghan, 1972).

In the same vain, the response of the Francoist regime to both Basque nationalism and the emergent of ETA were to utilize 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.

Just like other sovereign state, Nigerian government has tired to exhibit or show it capacity to protect the lives and property of its citizens, citizens has to encourage its successive government to adopt military or coercive confrontation in tacking terrorism through the establishment of joint task force (JTF and declaration of state of emergence in the state the terrorism is operating with high force. Subsequently in the year 2000, during 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 tasks force (JTF) to battle the militant 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 derived on the fact that most government and leaders of the world see or rather regard terrorist as criminal who must be brought to book and penalized but also because “the general principle of non negotiation” with terrorist 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 (Wikison, 1981).

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

For example, the United State 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 curtailing the Boko Haram menace in the country. At this juncture, it is paramount necessary in note that these military action are often discharged by the judicial arm of the government in Nigeria.

Terrorism is an idea and ideas are difficult to exterminate. It has scourged mankind for a long time and will continue to do so. It is very unlike that Boko Haram group can be defeated military. It is therefore, necessary the Nigerian government and its people to seeks ways to limit the effectiveness of the sect's attacks, modify day to day living to cope with this threat and find means to drive the sect underground. A large country like Nigeria which is also rich in oil and natural resource must have problems. Given the huge improvement of oil to the

modern economy and the need for other countries to trade what they have for it. It should not be beyond belief that foreigners may be deliberately encouraging discord in Nigeria in order to exchange arms and ammunition for the nation's mineral wealth.

Also given Nigeria's large population, it must have a fair distribution of good and bad people and as it urbanizes and partakes in the fruit of globalization, it must as a matter of fact have to deal with development challenges as the Boko Haram Nigeria government as matter of urgency should seek quickly resolve of Boko Haram menace in a better ways not by using of force and coercive method because peace cannot be established with force and military power rather with negotiation and encouragement of the northern to have a better relationship with the government in order to curtail the menace of the Boko Haram insurgency.

4.2 The Strategy of Legal Response

Legal authority are often referred to as the authority backed by law, as stipulated in the rules and regulations, principles and law guiding a state that is “the constitution”. The high court is usually vested with this form. Abuja high court on the extral-judicial killing of Yusuf Mohammed on the 30th of July 2009, to dismiss three younger officers and suspension of four senior officers indicted by Probe no matter after finding the accused policemen capable.

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 existing for a short time or illusory. According to them:

Shear force including the building of a good military coalition to eliminate terrorist will perhaps at best succeed, but the scourge of

terrorism may be bound to faster or worsen ever after (Mba, 2001:63).

That is to say that military option can be effective in stabilizing ethnic tension and preserving the unity of a country, but it has not been able to achieve permanent peace as the insurgents usually adopt new tactics to overcome the suppression and unleash further chaos on the society. For example, the regression anti-Euzkadi politics not only failed to undermine Basque nationalist aspiration but also served to nurture and act as a catalyst upon the very moment they were intended to crush (Pollack and Hinter, 1988:130).

Similarly, the America's war on terrorism has not been able to stop the incidence in parts of the world. As a signatory to all legal instruments on international terrorism, Nigeria domesticated them by statutory adopted not only to make them enforceable under domestic law but to offer the Nigeria government the

chance of tacking their incessant internal terrorism posed by groups or religious and political such as the Boko Haram.

Combating the threat of Boko Haram as a law enforcement and security issues requires going back to the basis. Intelligence gathering and analysis, community policing, operational and strategic approach to policing, vigilance and awareness by the public, renewed public publicity campaigns and a joint integrated approach of all the security agencies are measures that should be employed against the threat we face “Boko Haram”. On the other hand in fighting, turf wars and lawlessness through inter agency skirmishes leading to loss of lives including the family members and destruction of properties between Nigerian police force and the Nigerian Army. Severely this weakness the fighting capacities of security agencies in dealing with these challenges (The Nation, 7/8/2012).

At this point, it is great important to understand the role of law “court” in controlling the Boko Haram crisis through its agencies. Such as the judicial and the police force who help to implement the laws of the state. we should also note that this approach opted for because it encourage equality and fear hearing which eradicates any sense of injustice by the less privileged who often feel that their human right have been infringed upon by the internal capacity bourgeoisies.

Conclusively, if the principle of the rule of law which stipulates for: the supremacy of the constitution, equality before the law and distribution of resources and safeguard of human right is upheld as propounded by A.V. dice, then the attacks and series of bomblasts by the Boko Haram insurgency will be effectively controlled and checkmated in Nigeria.

4.3 The Strategy of Dialogue and Negotiation

Dialogue is a discussion between two or more people or groups, especially one directed towards exploration of a particular subject or resolution of a problem (wikipedia, free dictionary). Dialogue is a delicate process. Many obstacles inhibit dialogue and favour more confrontational communication forms such as discussion and debate. But dialogue remains the best option for combating terrorism in the world because it involves peaceful strategies in curtailing crime dialogue the option for it ensure safety of life and property.

In pursuing a stable economy free from form of social vices and to maintain a peaceful co-existence in the society, the dialogue approach is often recommended to the federal government for adoption. This approach is also referred to as the diplomatic approach. At the juncture it is necessary to give a brief definition of the term “diplomacy” for the clear understanding of this option as deliving into its importance or necessity will be

putting the chart before the worse and a negotiation on existing protocol.

Here lies the big question, “what is diplomatic instrument?”

According to Ernest Satow, diplomacy can be defined as the application of intelligence and tactics to the conduct of official relations between the government and independent states. This is seen as one of the most effective investment of curbing societal problem. 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 was and forms of hostile action remain largely and acceptable mode of state's interaction with one another. Diplomacy aim at averting war between different ethnic groups in the state.

Diplomacy in the modern world has become very fashionable as an effective means of pursuing national

interest and achieving national goals in all sphere of international involvement. Diplomacy has come a long way from the crudity and pettiness of the old order when great emphasis was placed on formal honour and prestige and unseemly scramble for precedence and etiquette

Borno State government, which has suffered from the attacks more than any other state government in the zone, decided to pursue the path of dialogue with Boko Haram. On the 16th of January 2012, Kashim Shettma, governor of the state “Borno State”, presented a cheque of N100 million of Naira to the family of fugu Mohammed, the father-in-law of Yusuf Mohammed were allegedly extrajudicial killed by security force in 2009. Mohammed’s house in Maiduguri was also demolished by the military (Sun, 17, January, 2012, p. 3).

The compensation is believed to be in compliance with high court judgment of April 13, 2010, which the

rule that the extra-judicial killing of Mohammed was a violation of his right to life. The governor also said that the government had withdrawn all its appeal against the court ruling. That gesture was part of the efforts to placate the seat (Newswatch, 2012).

According to Inuwa Buale, commissioner for information, Borno State, the compensation was one of the steps the government has taken to address the problems, adding that 86 million naira was passed in compensation to other victims of the crisis on the 16th of January 2012. He said that state government had also embarked on programmes that would create jobs for the youth and take them away from crime.

The failure of the coercion and legal response 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 Insurgency in

Nigeria (Ajaero et al, 2011: 20). The implication is that since they have tried both coercive and legal approach to no avail, he was resorting to the approach of dialogue.

President Goodluck Jonathan has asked the sect to identify themselves and state their term for unconditional talk, other eminent Nigerians have also shared similar position on the group that even the most violent conflicts are often resolved on a round table. In any case most Nigerian always opposed to the dialogue as they contend that negotiation with the Boko Haram insurgency amount to appending them for their numerous and uncountable killings and bombing and destruction of property. They therefore hold that:

Even if talks unavoidable than they must take place at a time when the Nigerian notions can negotiate from a position of strength, at a time when the sect has seen it cannot prevail through violence.

The Boko Haram menace is very sporadic in nature and even as the debate is increasingly, the Boko Haram sect has bluntly refuse the offer for dialogue because the group has continue to carryout more attack on the country. “We will consider negotiation only when we have brought the government to their knees”. To buttress their point of view in infirmity, the Arewa Youths congress recently suggested that Jonathan should take a cue from Yar’Adua’s tactics in tacking the Niger Delta militants menace by offering general and unconditional amnesty to Boko Haram members to create an enabling environment for proper negotiation with the group.

Conclusively, it is necessary to state that the major problem Nigeria leaders are faced with is that they are skeptical on whether to fight it,, or inform of using coercive and legal options to handled it or whether to 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 insurgency have not presented any reasonable grievance, dialogue is the best approach to handle the menace because it is the best form of setting disputes, the use of force, war or legal way will never solve or curtail the problem rather it will enhance political instability in the country, unemployment and underdevelopment will increase to the highest order and a lot of lives will be lost at the process, both the citizens of the state and those that will be used as instrument to achieve it through violent ways.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Summary

This analysis highlights the importance of perception and beliefs in the study of terrorism and Counterterrorism. An individual's choice to engage in order disengage from-terrorism occurs at the intersection of ideas, perceptions, and opportunities.

Successful terrorist organization capitalizes on an environment in which their ideology resonates and their grievances are considered legitimate by smart, competence individuals. From this perspective, it becomes clear that Nigeria's counterterrorism strategy which has mostly focused on killing or capturing individuals, interdicting finances and so forth, will not lead to victory unless combined with a concerted effort to discredit the organization, its leaders and ideology, and influence the perceptions of potential supporters within the community targeted by the organization. Combating terrorism effectively as not only a matter of appropriately directing kinetic force to identified target; rather, the primary challenges involve acquiring contextually relevant intelligence and affecting perspectives and belief system in ways that create significant difficulties for terrorist organization's ideology to find local resources.

Counterterrorism strategy should focus on at least three areas: organizations, environmental conditions, and perceptions. It involves attacking terrorist organizations and their members, degrading their functional capabilities, encouraging “leaving” alternatives and supporting socio-political entities that draw support away from them. It also involves mitigating socio-political conditions and other grievances which have historically been used by terrorist organizations to justify their use of violence. Here, the instrument of soft power are just as important in helping combat terrorism as a nation’s security forces. Legitimacy in effort is also critical, in that it effects the quality of intelligence needed to identify and take away from the terrorist group the things that facilitate their operations, like safe heavens, weapons proliferation, weak boarder control, and illicit financial networks.

Boko Haram has evolved over the past years into a type of threat the Nigerian government has not dealt with before. In the recent past, militant groups employing terrorist tactics were mainly confined to the Niger Delta, were focused on economic grievance and targets, and could be bought off. Some observers have been quick to point out the promising potential of the government “amnesty” programme launched in 2009 under the Yar’Adua regime as an attempt to quell the violence in Niger Delta, based on recommendation made by the Niger Deltas Technical Committee in 2008. One report estimated that 20,192 militants surrendered their weapons, though others have suggested that there are still ten thousands of weapons available throughout the Niger Delta Punch Newspaper (30, May, 2011). Many are in the hands of small gangs who are either engaging in low level criminal activity or adopting a “wait and see” attitude toward the new administration of

Goodluck Jonathan. Of note, though, the amnesty program has focused only on former militants, it did not address future generations of militant.

Moreso, to do that, the government must address the grievance that motivate those militant to organize and launch violent attack, as well as the enabling environmental factor that sustain the resonance of these groups political ideologies.

The same grievances and factors must also be addressed in a comprehensive effort to defeat Boko Haram. Interestingly, in May 2011 the new governor of Borno state Kashim shettima, offered an amnesty deal to Boko Haram sects but a spokesman for the sect rejected the deal during an interview on a BBC Hausa radio program, stressing that the group's reasons of not accepting the amnesty are: first we do not believe in the Nigeria constitution and secondly we do not believe in democracy but only in law of Allah. It is highly unlikely

that Boko Haram can be appeased by any amnesty program or a policy to bring better employment and education prospects to their home region. Sun newspaper 12 May 2011 p. 3). Theirs is an intractable ideology, with a broad array of potential targets and mostly importantly of all, a belief that their religious devotion will result in victory.

The socio-economic activities in the norther part of the country effected with the activities of Boko Haram insurgence, people cannot transact their business, disputing people for their original places. All these socio-economic changes combine to produce a sense of insecurity and vulnerability among northern Nigerians, and particularly among Muslim communities. This, in turn, offers insight into why Boko Haram's ideology has resonated among many including frustrated university graduates who find legitimacy in their argument that

western society has failed them, their aspirations cannot be met by the current in place.

Further, unlike the Niger Delta militant groups, Boko Haram insurgence has opportunities to garner assistance from established Jihadist group in all parts of Africa, and perhaps even the global Jihadist network, through which they could acquire weapons, knowledge, finance, and additional ideological support. In short, Nigeria is now facing a kind o terrorists threat “Boko Haram activities” that has become tragically familiar to the U.S. and other west allies who have been targets of radical salafi-jihadist violence in recent years.

There is much that external actors could offer in the form of lesson learned, including the need to protect influential moderates within the Muslim communities of the north against retribitional attacks by Boko Haram. This situation in Northern Nigeria requires a sense of urgency and co-operations, interagency, rational and

international among both governmental and non-governmental entities. For the sake of all Nigerians, one hopes that all those who can contribute to the solution will rise to the occasion before the situation deteriorates further.

This research work was designed to investigate and possibly establish the challenges of Boko Haram insurgence and its socio-economic implication on Nigeria. The aim of this investigation is to ascertain the security and socio-economic implication of Boko Haram in Nigeria and to explore and give alternative measures to manage the spreading of their nefarious activities in the northern parts of the country. It also goes further in exploring issues of anti-terrorism (AT) measures in curtailing the nefarious activities of Boko Haram.

Boko Haram is not just any other group pursuing its legitimate interest in the society. This is a fringe religious terrorist group that has virtually declared war

on the Nigeria state. It has killed and maimed hundreds of innocent Nigerians through bomb attacks in several states including Abuja. Its defiance of lawful authority is demonstrated by relentless attacks on policemen and soldiers. Boko Haram has sacked police stations, carting away arms and ammunition from their army. The group has assaulted prisons and freed criminals. Therefore, insecurity becomes the order of the day, where bandits had grown wings, trying to overpower the custodian of the state socio-economic development.

Many are oblivious to the fact that our ethnic diversity, religion, poverty and underdevelopment, I have long affirmed that lack of electricity, weakened public institutions, poor governance, and unethical leadership are the colossal symptoms of the collective challenges we must overcome, both political and psychological for the years ahead. Nigerian people must be saved from the menace of the group "Boko Haram". This can be

achieved through more intelligence work. The police should police more liaise more with the communities. The police should make all efforts to win the information (gridding). The police should give the people the cause to trust the police force. Also, the government should give the police adequate equipment to carryout their activities and also government should motivate the police force and other security agencies to be able in effectively combat violent crimes.

In order words, security is paramount for the survival of any nation and its citizens, the defective security structure with obsolete equipment and visionless approach is not a good measure for Nigerians state, any conflict will effect and destabilize the entire West Africa Sub-region. In curtailing or curbing insecurity, there must be proactive strategies rather than fire-fighting approach towards combating crime in the country. My advice for the Nigeria's populace;

security is a collective responsibility, government is doing now, communities will have to do their own and most importantly, the individuals must operate and take the terror challenges seriously, by given police and other security agencies relevant information and the financial of the Boko Haram evil acts exposed and brought to justice for good measurers because there cannot be development in a state of anarchy, doom and insecurity, so, the government should use its might to swell this ravaging sect.

The study adopts the frustration – aggression theoretical approach in explaining Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, especially in the Northern part of the country. The theory which best explicates the intent of the research, asserts that in an attempt to explain aggression, there is difference between what people feel they want or deserve to what they actually get and difference between expected need and satisfaction. The

theory further talks about issues of the tendency for people confront those hold responsible for frustrating their ambition. The theory goes along way in explaining that aggression is not just undertakes as a natural reaction or instinct but is the outcome of frustration and a situation where the legitimate desire of an individual is denied either directly or indirectly.

5.2 Conclusion

The northern states had witnessed crises before the recent Boko Haram bombing. We had the Maitasine riots in the 1980s in Kano, Bullum Kutu (1982), Kaduna (1982), Jimeta (1984) and Gombe (1986). What is novel in Boko Haram's case is their tactics. In the maitasine case, the proprietors were seen and known in the Boko Haram's case, the perpetrators are faceless. Their precise locations are known because it did not pay to fight government on equal terms, Boko Haram turned to isolated act of violence. The demand of Boko Haram

includes the demand for implementation of full sharia law in the twelve northern states and eradication of western education in those states. These states are mainly in the north east. These states are mainly in the north-east, north-west and north-central geopolitical region of the country. In these states, business and life “social life” has been disrupted because anyone can be a victim.

The government of Nigeria has struggled to deal effectively with these grievances and source of tension throughout the country and there is a pervasive belief particular among northern Nigerians that the government continually fails to address critical needs of those who aspire for a better future. While resources are surely constrained, it is the inequitable distribution of those resources, and the widely acknowledged levels of corruption among elites, that detract from the government’s effectiveness. In turn, patronage and

corruption few a general perception that government officials, to include law enforcement, cannot be trusted, and this further undermines the governments ability to influence the behavior of local community members in positive directions, away from the lure of radical extremist ideologies like that of Boko Haram.

An overwhelming majority of problems identified in this study can be tackled, but only by a capable government that is seen by its citizens as legitimate and trustworthy. There is must that Nigeria's government can and must do to reduce alienations and build trust and legitimacy among its citizens particularly in the northern region and address other enablers of terrorism described in the study.

The core problem is perceived government legitimacy, or lack thereof, and how this provides opportunities for non-state actors like Boko Haram to

capture loyalties, hearts, and minds in pursuit of their radical vision of the future.

Legitimacy is central to ensuring security, if corruption is not tackled effectively, and the use of force among military and police is viewed as illegitimate by locals, the counterterrorism effort against Boko Haram will be much difficult and much less successful than it should be for these reasons, according to recent congressional report, the US has begun to begin to publicly pressure on Nigeria's government to tackle corruption, poverty, encourage greater investment in the north, address poverty and jobless "Unemployment", and promote government accountability and transparency of course, the government of Nigeria does not need the (U.S) united state or anyone else to tell them that they have corruption problem, the country leaders have acknowledge if for many years.

Furthermore, these are problem within the Nigeria government who want to do something about it, and in some cases are actively trying. They need and deserve support and protection for their courage. But, based on this analysis of the underlying problems that have given fuel to the rise of Boko Haram, it seem evident that strengthening trust and legitimacy between state and citizens should be a top priority for the Nigerian government.

5.3 Recommendation

Having fully examined the body of literature on the topic under investigation, and a qualitative analysis of finding, my recommendations are thus.

Combating terrorism involves two sets of actions. Anti-terrorism (defensive measures) and counter terrorism (offensive measures). Anti terrorism (AT) is defined as “defensive measure used to reduce the

vulnerability of individual and property to terrorist acts, to include limited response and containment by local military forces”. While counter terrorism (CT) Involves these offensive measure taken to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorism programs are normally classified and addressed in various national security decision directives, and contingency plane. As such, only a limited amount of information about CT programs will be addressed.

As a logical point of departure, there are generally requirement for the sources of any counter terrorist campaigns. These principles are the following.

- 1) **Objective:** The general objective of combating terrorism programs is to neutralize terrorist group, this generally involves CT and AT programs. Neutralization in this contest means rending the source of threat incapable, not killing the terrorists. The death of the a terrorist simply create new terrorists and glorifies their

martyrs. Example, the killing of former Boko Haram leader, “Mohammed Yusuf” fueled the nefarious activities of Boko Haram which left 800 people dead after five days of fighting (Morgan 2011). In AT, the objective can be further refined as perverting attacks and minimizing the effect if one should occur. It includes any action to weaken the terrorist organization and its political power and to make potential targets more difficult to attack.

2) **Unity of Effort:** Interagency action is required to combat terrorism. Combating terrorism requires the efforts of many agencies, allies and friends. Unity of efforts entails ways to integrate the actions of various responsible security agencies in Nigeria and foreign governments. Intelligence is particularly important and sensitive it plays the critical role in part rating terrorist cells and identifying the political cadres, which organize the terrorists cells. A thorough targuledge of the strategic culture” in which the terrorist exists is necessary to

analyze the pattern of why, how and when they launch their attack. Yet with all the media coverage of black-uniformed CT forces in action, a democracy's first line of defense against terrorism is solid police work.

Again inter-agency struggle over who is in charge should stop as are all important parts of one body fighting one cause. Better harmonization, collaboration, synergy should be seen in coming weeks as suggested in the chief of army staff's remarks few months ago (Dr Joseph S.M. 2011). Held up intelligence should be released and shared with relevant agencies thereby breaking the syndrome of intelligence monopoly.

In circumstance where multiple police and intelligence agencies have vague and overlapping characters and justifications, friction is bound to occur.

The solution has in negotiation and consensus building.

3. Legitimacy: Legitimacy is not usually a problem in combating terrorism since the right of self-defense is universally recognized and as agreed to between most countries, terrorist acts are crimes in peace, conflict, or war. Security forces might bring their legitimacy into question by failing to distinguish between those perpetrating, aiding, sympathize with their cause but do not engage in violent acts.

Furthermore, failure to consider the proportionality of response can often tarnish the image of legitimacy. An overreaction that result in the avoidable death of hostages while security forces are attempting to neutralize terrorist, for example, on 8th March 2012, during a British hostage reseller attempt to free Italian engineer franco Lamolinara and Brition Christopher memar abducted in 2011 by a splinter group Boko Haram, both hostage were killed ([http://www.orlantsentinel.com/news/nation world](http://www.orlantsentinel.com/news/nation_world)).

4. Patience, Perseverance, and Presence (3Ps)

Patience, perseverance and presence are the hallmarks of successful programs to combat terrorists relative to the population. Identifying and capturing them is difficult and entails tedious police and intelligence work. It is filled with frustration. Antiterrorism efforts are also low-key and inglorious, requiring patience and running contrary to American culture. Perhaps, the most irritating aspect of defense against terrorism is that success is hard to identify for example, if there is no incident, it may be because the defensive measures are effective. On the other hand, it is equally likely that terrorists never intended to attack in the first place. Rarely will success be measurable, but defensive effort must continue. Absence of one “P” may make success Unattainable.

5. **Restraint:** Restraint is necessary to both objectives and legitimacy in the context of combating terrorism.

Premature action against individuals, for example, can be counterproductive if it interferes with developing intelligence in depth that might neutralize an entire terrorist group. Similarly, over reaction, such as imposing severe populace and resource control measure, can undermine legitimacy and unnecessarily irritate the civilian population. Example, the overreaction by the federal government in killing Muhammed Yusuf.

6. **Security:** Security is the most obvious requirement in combating terrorism. Terrorists rely on surprise and the victims' confusion at the time of an incident. Antiterrorism involves physical security, operational security and the practice of personal protection. Properly planned and executed a viable antiterrorism program will reduce the probability of surprise while discouraging attack by raising the risk to the attackers. In achieving these, in Nigeria, adequate arrangements were to be put in place in terms of training and retraining of security

operative on modern security management that is technologically based, and provision of modern equipment.

7. **Intelligence:** In combating terrorism, intelligence is extraordinary important. In addition to having basic information about the terrorists strength skills, equipment, logistic capabilities, leader profile, source of supply, and tactics, more specific intelligence is required. This includes the group's goals affiliations, indication of their willingness to kill or die for their cause, and significant events in their history, such as that of martyrs or some symbolic event. The specific intelligence is particularly important because most terrorist groups are interested in symbolically significant targets, example, the bombing of United Nations building and police headquarters in Abuja. Unless terrorists specifics interests are known predicting the likely target is pure chance.

Other Recommendations

8. **A structure to address the problem of terrorism should be established in Nigeria.** If one is talking of narcotics, you go to national drug law enforcement agency (NDLEA), if one is talking of drug and food control, you go national agency for food, drug administration and control (NAFDAC), if one is also talking of safety on the road, and you go to the federal road safety commission (FRSC). Then what structures does the country use for terrorism? We do not have any structure? What is the composition of the structure? What is the headship of the structure? What defines the qualification of those to be in the structure? Etc.

9. **Creating a reformatory home and a training ground for any terrorist captured.** Any terrorist captured. I recommend the person be presented, charge and sentereed if formed guilty by the law. Such individual should be detained and trained at the

reformatory home as professionals to carry out any mission impossible that may need urgent attention in the country. If the person survives, he regain his freedom but under surveillance and if he dies he will be remember for his service to his fatherland.

10. **The USS of Gridding System:** In any military operation, we must first locate the enemy before we can concentrate our blows against him late know that in modern warfare we are not clashing with just a few armed bands, but rather with an organization installed with the population, an organization that constitutes the combat machine of the enemy, of which (fighting cells) are but one element (Trinquier, 2006: 67). Thrinquier proposed a simple “griddling system” to gain control of both the population and the insurgents (ibid, 89-91). The starting point for thus griddling system will be in the urban areas of the nation, where insurgents can best

hide, can be protected and supported by the local populace.

11. Motivation of security agents are important method to carryout their work diligently and ensure stability in the country, government should motivate them interns of

- (i) Paying them good salary
- (ii) Provision of incentives to the security agents
- (iii) Promotion at when due
- (iv) Review of recruitment procedure in order to fish out the bad eggs among the security agents and sack them.
- (v) Creation of workable criminal date base for the Nigeria police

12. Fast tracking the development of rural communities in Nigeria, especially in the area of job creation and development projects in the Northern region

13. Creation of Fusion Center: Fusion centers serve as focal points within the state and local environment for the receipt, analysis, gathering and sharing of threat related information among federal and state, local and territorial (SLTT) Partners. They produce actionable intelligence for dissemination, which can aid other law enforcement organizations, including the JTTFs, in their investigative operations. Fusion centers overlay national intelligence with local state and regional information, enhancing understanding of the threat environment across all level of government. They augment the federal government's analytic capability and enhance situational awareness in order to protect nation.

Fusion centers leverage trusted relationships with the SLTT environment to law enforcement and homeland security partners in preventing, protecting against, and responding to crime and terrorism. They support the implementation of risk based, information-driven

prevention, response, and consequence management programs within their respective communities.

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