

## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Terrorism according to Lodge is an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political change by the indiscriminate use of violence (Lodge 1988:5). Also Madunagu (2001:51) maintains that terrorism is “the use of violence to achieve political objectives”. The bottom line of the above definitions is that terrorism is an aspect of political violence. Since September 11, 2001, multiple attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre and pentagon in the United States of America, terrorism has become a House Hold discussion in the world. Boko Haram according to Dr. Anslem Dilichukwu Omenma in one of his presentation at Caritas University political science seminar day, is traceable to the militia group called ECOMOG which enjoyed the patronage of top politicians in other parts of the northern Nigeria, began to patronize the group through budgetary allocations. The

Boko Haram group has affected Nigeria's economy badly most especially in the northern part.

According to a seminar presentation in Caritas University by Dr. D.A. Omenma (H.O.D), the Boko Haram Insurgents started as a militia group called ECOMOG, which have being sponsored by prominent politicians in the north – eastern states of Borno and Yobe during the build up to the 2003 general elections. Later, other politicians in other parts of Northern Nigeria began to sponsor the group they provided them with huge sums of money, provision of training grounds on the many mountains scattered in the northern region as well as protection against arrests by the Federal governments. (Omenma 2012:15).

The sects spokesman Abu Qeda in one of his confessions in 2012 stated that the Boko Haram sect started as a fundamentalist group officially called Ahlus Sunna Lid Dawatis Jihad but now popularly known as Boko Haram. Since the inception of the activities of this

group, Nigeria's security has been threatened and it has also affected the economy.

The project is therefore an attempt at a critical study to show how Boko Haram has affected the economy either positively or negatively. It has been noted that Boko Haram is regarded as terrorist group that has affected Nigeria's economy especially in the north, attempts would be made to see how this sect has really affected the economy of Nigeria and possibly recommend lasting solutions to the menace, so that the peace and stability which the country has longed for would be achieved and there would be an end to terrorism in Nigeria.

A cursory look around the world will reveal that for many countries under this dispensation, have also suffered and are still suffering from terrorist attacks. For instance, the United States of America which has lasted for almost two hundred years since the 18<sup>th</sup> century still suffered in the hands of Osama Bin Laden before he was finally killed in 2011. Also Israel, Pakistan and even some other countries in

Africa have had terrorist's attacks that have rendered peace and stability almost a mirage. Example, Libya in 1986 was attacked by the United States of America.

In Nigeria Boko Haram snowballed into national menace after the 2011 general elections, the northern governors who had relationship with the sect began to withdraw their patronages and eventually abandoned them to their fate. (The Nation 2011:13). Most scholars and analysts tend to subscribe to the opinion that terrorism is a political expression and not a criminal act. As a result they agree that terrorist groups across the world have a common adversary in the status quo, represented by the regime in power, the political system of the economic system. In their view therefore, the major objective of terrorists is to disrupt the statusquo or dismantle the regime in power so as to impose their own values on the rest of the society.

However since the terrorists usually lack willing public support and face stiff suppression from the government, they always resort to

indiscriminate violence on a tactical and strategic basis to spread fear and intimidation and persuade the public of the validity of their cause (Lodge, 1988:3). All terrorist acts involve violence or equally important, the threat of violence. The Islamic militant sect, Boko Haram has been terrorizing Nigeria's population for almost two years, sapping economic development in the northern part of the country. According to "focus Nigeria" an interactive programme on television, 2012, the insurgency has brought about the demise of business in the country most especially in the northern parts. For instance, traders who come from all over Nigeria and neighboring countries to buy textiles in Kano, no longer frequent the market again and the market is not as busy as it use to be. The study is set to investigate how this menace has eaten deep into our economy.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

The high level of terrorism and violence in Nigeria by the fundamentalist group (Boko Haram) has heightened fears among the populace and the international community and has eaten deep into

our economy and as a matter of fact, the hostility has gone beyond religious or political coloration.

Several meetings, summit, conferences etc have being held in a bid to curb the menace in the country but all to no avail. Also apart from the fact that meetings have been held, the federal governments have spent millions of naira in making sure that security is brought back to the country but that has never looked worked. The president has told all security agencies to be at alert and to get their arsenals ready and to put more effort in the promotion of effective security in the country. Also the president in one of his speeches prompts all Nigerians to take security seriously because it is everybody's business. But the question is will it ever stop? Can we say that the Boko Haram menace could be understood from the argument that Islam which give hope to the poor Muslims is being threatened out of extinction by Christianity and the Muslim youth who derive hope of a brighter future from the teaching of Islam are fighting to defend the survival of the hope of the hopeless Muslims, or do we see the

insurgency from the prism of nationalism? In this light, this study will be guided by the following research question.

- i. Is ideology and fundings the fundamental factors that propelled the Boko Haram Sect in Nigeria?
- ii. Does the Boko Haram crisis pose a threat to the economy of the country?
- iii. Is the military option the possible solution in tackling the menace?

### **1.3 Objective of the study**

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

- i. To ascertain ideology and fundings as the fundamental factor that propelled terrorism in Nigeria.
- ii. To find out if Boko Haram crisis poses a threat to Nigerian's economy.
- iii. To explore whether the military option is the possible solution in tackling the

menace.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

The significance of this study is that it will act as a guide to the government in their quest to quell the problem of terrorism (Boko Haram) as it affects the economy of the country. Also judging from the fact that terrorism is currently a prevailing cankerworm and its very spontaneous and topical, this study will help to proffer solutions.

More so, this work, theoretically will be useful to writers, scholars, journalists etc. in order to add to their existing knowledge what they already know about terrorism and Nigeria's economy, particularly the Boko Haram activities.

#### **1.5 Literature Review**

This review is precisely concerned with pre existing views and perception of various scholars and academicians as regards their contributions to the subject matter. As a result of this we will be focusing on major issues: terrorism and Nigeria's economy.

When we talk about terrorism, just like other concepts in political science that do not have one definition, it has various definitions. Most scholars and analysts tend to subscribe to the opinion that terrorism is a political expression and not a criminal act. According to Lodge (1988:5) as already cited, "terrorism is an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political change by the indiscriminate use of violence. What lodge is trying to explain is that terrorism is a means of attempting to effect political change but it is illegitimate, it involves the use of violence. According to lodge, every act of terrorism is intended to effect a change in the political system.

According to Cook (1989) terrorism is an attempt to achieve a political end by creating a climate of fear through bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, and seizure of air craft's. That is to say, those who involve terrorist activities use bombings, assassinations, kidnappings and seizure of air craft's mechanisms or strategies in order to create fear because when people are afraid, they tend to surrender to these who inflict them with the fear and terror.

Lacqueur (1997) posited that terrorism is “the substate application of violence or threatened violence intended to sow panic in a society to weaken or even overthrow the incumbent and to bring about political change”. In another words, one can say that terrorism and revolution are synonymously the same because both are intended to bring about political change at the tail end.

Madunagu (2001: 51) maintains that terrorism is the use of violence to achieve political objectives. “The bottom line of the above definition is that terrorism is an aspect of political violence but it is an extra normal kind of political violence. This is because in a bid to immobilize the forces of the incumbent, the insurgents waste innocent lives and feature of terrorism is that governments, states and their symbols including innocent people are attacked in order to undermine confidence in a state’s ability to protect its citizens. Narrowing it down to Nigeria, there is no history of terrorism in the form of coordinated attacks to spread fears and undermine the government of the country until recently. Most studies have revealed

many driving forces of terrorism, for the purpose of this research they are narrowed to three; these are fundamentalism, nationalism and secessionism.

According to the fundamentalist view, they contend that terrorism is a product of religious fanaticism and an expression of faith and intolerance to the spread of another religious faith. In other words the proponents of this line of argument regard terrorism as a tactics employed by some groups to contain the spread of other religious faiths and impose theirs on others through violence or intimidation in line with this argument, the only panacea to the menace of terrorism is the abolition of secular principle and the enthronement and acceptance of one religion in the world. Tony Blair, a major proponent of the fundamentalist view and a onetime prime minister of Britain did not hesitate to attribute the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington to Al-Qeda Islamic fundamentalist group led by Osama Bin Laden in his reaction to the incident, Blair asserted unequivocally that;

Fanatics who are utterly indifferent  
To the sanctity of human life  
perpetrated the acts" (the Guardian,  
2001:3)

Of course, it did not take long before Alqeda claimed responsibility for that horrendous act. The current terrorist menace by the Boko Haram meaning "Western education and values are evil". Is what is signifies. Moreover, the utterances of the sects spoke man, Abu Qada also lend credence to the fundamentalist argument. Abu Qada asserted that;

The reason for our insurgency (Boko Haram) is because we the Muslim communities in the North of Nigeria where Boko Haram operates, See ourselves as increasingly threatened By the strident Christianity that dominate the North.(the Guardian, 2001:5).

The sect now wants Sharia established across the length and breadth of the country as the only condition for ceasing its bomb and gun attacks (the Nation, 2012:12).

According to the Nationalist view, terrorism is the exclusive preserve of the champions of ethnic emancipation viewed from this prism; terrorism exists in a multi ethnic society where there are prevalent cases of marginalization and oppression, according to this view, the propelling force of terrorism is the existence of exploitation and oppression of a group which invariably creates injustice and inequality. In the words of Mbah (2001:63).

Terrorism inexorably becomes A  
weapon of the underprivileged The  
victim of the prevailing relations Of  
power in the international system,  
Acting in self defense or struggling to  
Shake off the yoke of oppression.  
(mbah 2001:63)

The implication of this line of argument is that terrorism is a revolutionary tactics and nothing else. This explains why some terrorist groups assume a larger than life image of liberation fighters, social revolutionaries and even martyrs of some worthy cause as they can legitimately claim to speak for an identifiably oppressed group (Merkl, 1986: 141). More so, failure to give quality attention to the

review of the meaning and concepts of the Nigeria's economy as propounded by scholars will render this review incomprehensive. This is because by so doing by reviewing the concept of Nigeria's economy, we will be able to establish a relationship between the two issues (Terrorism and Nigeria's economy). Economy is regarded as the wealth and resources of a country or region especially in terms of the population and consumption of goods and services. Also according to Business Dictionary, economy is an entire network of producers, distributors, and consumers of goods and services in a local, regional or national community e.g Nigeria's economy.

Over the years, since the inception of the menace of Boko Haram, the economy of Nigeria especially in the North has been destroyed. According to the Borno state commissioner for information, Mr., Inuwa Bwala, it will take the state 20 years to recover from the current predicament it has found itself. 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 economy it will take us a very long time, not less than 20 years to recover and get to the position where they were before The crisis stated.  
(This day 2012:3).

The year 2011 shows that Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism has continued to pose a clear threat to the Nigerian economic sector.

According to Olwaseun Bamidele Department of liberal Art and Social Science faith Academy Cannanland Ota, Nigeria, the Nigerian economy is critically dependent on foreign investment and natural resources. Renewable natural resources exploration is agriculture and foreign investment sectors contribute more to the gross domestic product (GDP) of many Northern states economy than manufacturing. Foreign investment is the fastest growing sector in many of these states and this is based on the encouragement given to it. In addition to the significant contributions to natural economics,

foreign investments sustain rural livelihood through the provision of a wide range of products and services. The Maiduguri Monday market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners especially southerners are said to have closed their business and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city.

According to the Executive Director of Admiral Agriculture and Environmental care Kaduna, Mr. Shedrack Madlion, the business environment in the north is becoming worst and called on the authorities to do something about the worsening security situation according to madlion.

Business authorizes in northern Nigeria Today have gone to almost zero percentage. There is no way anybody can come and put Any investment, where there is insecurity. The transport owners are complaining, Social life in the north is gone. (madlion 2012:5).

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

The group theory will stand as the theoretical framework of this study; there are many theoretical frameworks for the study. analysis and explanation of different political phenomena. These frameworks however vary depending on the subject under study, for the analysis of such phenomenon like terrorism (Boko Haram), the group theory is more appropriate and relevant. Also the theory of deprivation which also can lead to violence is another theoretical framework that can be used to analyze the study.

Group theorists like Authur Bentley conceptualize social activities in terms of groups, according to him, group are indispensable, some admit that though individuals have roles to play, their roles are more important only in group context. The theorists see group behavior as relationship between the individuals that constitute such groups. The group one belongs to affect him to a certain extent of his behavior. The Boko Haram therefore is a conglomerate of interest groups. It becomes very necessary at this juncture to study the various groups

which interplay with each other in the process of terrorist activities in Nigeria. According to Bentley in his analysis of Group theory, individual is important only in the group context. He and skills (another theorist). See the social system as being made up of groups which compete for values of the society. Consequently, these groups which compete for values, attention and demands of the society,

Drawing from our subject matter, these groups are being motivated by the activities of the other groups for instance; the Niger Delta Militant group motivated and ginged up Boko Haram sect. presently, the Boko Haram sect, with its own group interest is then likely that it has turned one of the most terrifying and strongest terrorist group in Nigeria among other groups. But the group is seen by everybody in and outside the country as a group with special and one sided interest and they fight other groups as well as stand out in relation to no other.

Since group regulate group struggles, they invariably determine peace and stability, terrorism in Nigeria is therefore seen as the result of interplay of demand and objectives of various groups e.g Boko Haram Sect, Niger Delta Militant group etc. in the study of group activities and their influence with its application to terrorist activities in Nigeria, certain variables can be utilized, such variables are the group access to the conflict and instability in the country, group cohesion, the organization of the group, status of the group, leadership, funds and resources. In this analysis, the group approach will be applied in the conflicts and instability are of groups, the organization of the Boko Haram sect is based on interplay of groups. There must be leadership for dissemination of information.

## **1.7 Hypotheses**

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

- i. Ideology and funding seems to be the fundamental factors that propelled the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria
- ii. The Boko Haram crisis seems to pose a threat to the economy of Nigeria.
- iii. The military seems to be the best option and solution in tackling the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria.

### **1.8 Method of Data Collection And Analysis**

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

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

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

### **1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The scope of this research work is quite broad that it encompasses the investigation of "Terrorism and Nigeria's economy" an assessment of the Boko Haram insurgence. This is because of its spontaneous nature.

In view of the limitations of this study various factors contributed in affecting the researcher's comprehensiveness and totality in carrying out the study. Among these factors are scarcities of relevant materials on the issue due to its continuous evolving nature and virginity, financial constraints and other task of campus engagements and the fact that the crisis experienced its apex in the course of the research interval. Despite, the aforementioned short comings and hindrances, the research study no doubt turned out to be successful.

## **1.10 Definition of terms**

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

**Terrorism:** this is an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political change by the indiscriminate use of violence. Also it is the use of violence to achieve political objectives.

**Nationalist:** A person who advocates that the interests of the nation or country are primary and deserving preference over other individuals interests. A nationalist is concerned mainly with promoting the concept of the nation in its various forms that may include any or all among the economic, cultural aspect of the country.

**Menace:** menace means a possible danger, a threat, or an act of threatening. It also means something that threatens to cause evil, harm, injury etc. this also means the show of an intention to inflict evil, indication of a probable evil or catastrophe to come.

**Insurgence:** Armed uprising or rebellion against a government. The term has been used variously to describe revolutionary movements, civil wars, anti-colonial struggles and terrorist agitations, it is also seen as the state or attitude of being indulgent or tolerant.

**Economy:** This refers to the wealth and resources of a country or religion, especially in terms of the production and consumption of goods and service. It is also the state of a country or region in terms of the production and consumption of goods and services and the supply of money.

## **Chapter Two: Background to Terrorism in Nigeria.**

Recently, global peace and security have come under severe stress on account of terrorist activities also national peace and security have come under stress too because of terrorist groups (Boko Haram) in Nigeria, especially by ultra-left wing Islamic groups who are desirous of creating a society of their own vision and dream (Al-Attas, 1999:41).

In this respect, it becomes important to trace such activities known as Islamic terrorism which is synonymous with the Boko Haram sect in Northern part of Nigeria. Islamic terrorism operates all over the world, though with different ideologies, but maintains a secret sleeper cell, these sleeper cells share intelligence and training, hence their belief in a similar cause. Based on the fact that there is an affiliation or connection between Boko Haram Islamic sect in the

Northern part of Nigeria with other Islamic terrorist sects, such as the Hezbollah, Al-Qeda and Hamas.

In Nigeria specifically, there is no history of terrorism in the form of coordinated attacks to spread fear and undermine the government of the country until recently. It is therefore contended here that terrorism was imported into Nigeria by the Niger Delta Militants in the early 1999 as a means to influence international audience and secure commend surate compensation for the degradation of their environment through oil exploration and production.

Since the Amnesty deal in 2009, their menace seems to be in a suspended animation or holiday, thereby paving the way for the Boko Haram insurgents to fill the vacuum created.

To be sure, Boko Haram which implies that "western education is sinful" was launched into existence in 2002 by a school drop-out Mohammed Yusuf in the city of Maiduguri as an amorphous Islamic sect seeking to purify Islam & spread it by force as well as dismantle

western education and civil service across the northern states of Nigeria. At the incipient stage, the group leader established a religious complex that included a mosque and a school where many poor families from across northern Nigeria and neighbouring countries such as Niger and Chad enrolled their children. Soon, the initially seemingly innocuous group began to work as a recruiting ground for future jihadists to fight the state. When the group became rather difficult to control the then Governor of Borno state Ali Modu Sheriff asked them to leave the state. Consequently, the group relocated to Kanama, Yobe State in 2003 and named itself the Taliban. From its new location which they renamed "Afghanistan", the group began the process of "Afghanization" of the North by launching fierce, dangerous and sporadic attacks on the citizens of the country including western institutions. In retaliation to the killing of Yusuf in police custody on July 30, 2009, the sect under its current leader Ibrahim abubakar launched its first terrorist attacks in Borno state that recorded the death of four people. Since then the menace

of the group has escalated both in frequency and intensity to the extent of becoming a thorn in the flesh of Nigerian leadership. Onwuamueze Dike (A thorn in the flesh of the Nation). News watch July 4, 2011.

## **2.1 Origin of Boko Haram Sect in Nigeria**

It is though difficult to pinpoint the exact origin of the Boko Haram sect. Prof. Soyinka while speaking on the 100 anniversary of Kings College Lagos emphasized that Boko Haram has always existed before the country as a sect.

Historically, the Boko Haram sect was purportedly founded in the 60s by Mohammed Yusuf the late leader of the Boko Haram sect but its activities came to limelight in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri as a notorious Nigerian militant Islamic group that seeks imposition of Sharia law in the states of Nigeria. The origin of this sect can be better understood viewing from the history of sectorial groups in the

northern part of Nigeria since independence. It is feared that these sects might have metamorphosed into the present day Boko Haram.

Boko Haram is just one of the many sects that sprang up to declare Jihad in the Northern part of Nigeria in recent times in 2004, a group called the Al sunny wal jama, attacked police stations in Yobe State killing police they made away with guns and ammunition in the station and burnt it down the group later retreated to a primary school in Kanama where it hoisted the flag of Afghanistan. There are other sectorial groups such as shite, which literally means set the street of Zaria on fire. It was the mediative group, which terrorized the northern states in the 1980s.

The origin of Boko Haram according to Mmadike (2011:1) started in 1995 of sahaba and was virtually led by Lawan Abubakar, who later left for the University of Medicine in Saudi Arabia for further studies. Yusuf was said to have taken over the leadership after departure of

Abubakar and indoctrinated the sect with his own teachings, which he claimed was based on purity.

The group which initially drew membership from the south-west started off as the "Taliban" it was first invited to Yobe State during the warm up to the 2003 elections, in the wake of sharing implementation in some states in the north. Due to the fact that the election did not assume the dimension their host thought it would take, the group was said to have been abandoned to its fate, before the state government ordered them to vacate its vicinity. Findings from the sun newspaper (Friday, 17, 2001) indicate that the group's critical abode was Burtati, in Busari council of Yobe State before leaving for Kanama, a border from between Nigeria and Niger. Kanama is the headquarters of unsure council, also is Yobe state, it is not far from Gardam local government, where the leader of the group Ustaz Mohammed hails from.

Similarly, the first documented major attack by the group was in Yobe state on December 2003, precisely on December 22, a day affirming to the then Governor, senator Bukar Abba Ibrahim, they had promised to leave the state. This marked the dawn of the group violent ideology. After this came attacks one after another, that it has become a daily activity and a very stronghold.

## **2.2 Funding, Membership and Ideology of the Boko Haram Islamic Sect.**

It has been practically difficult to ascertain the source of the funds that the Boko Haram uses in running its creation. But just like every Islamic extremist, the Boko Haram attracts international Islamic sympathizers. These similar cells which believe in the sects ideology always, tend to support the activities of other sect around the world.

However, considering the new sophistication that has been adopted by the group, it is rumored that some influential citizens from all works of life not ably the political and economic bourgeoisie sponsor

the activities of this group, though behind the scene. Based on this, it is also possible that some politicians may likely hide under the canopy of the Boko Haram to pursue their various political ends. If this is the case, then such politicians are supposed to provide not only funds but also logistic assistance. This is similar to the murders which have been said to be committed by these sects most of them take the posture of political killings so one can argue from this angle that the political class can also, seek the services of the Boko Haram Islamic sect, lets recall that in 2005 when the late leader of the group was first arrested it appeared on the national daily (Punch Newspaper 07 June, 2005, sun newspaper 10 June 2005) that his release was facilitated by a notable political gladiator in the corridors of the people democratic party (P D P). Considering the technicality and fragile nature of the democracy in Nigeria and the crisis engulfed by the Boko Haram Sect, the name of the so called political big shot was never mentioned neither did it surface anywhere in public discussion. The much that was heard about it is that the politician

hails from the north central and also contested in the presidential election.

Although, similar trace which contradicts the political class and the funding of the Boko Haram is understood from the fact that Late Leader Yusuf Mohammed was a regular visitor to Abuja, the security outfits to be precise this was before the group stated its violent activity. Ustaz we understood control a reasonable wealth despite the condemnation of western style of life and its products. Also according to the secessionists, (A school of thought that attributed terrorism to the tactics of the insurgents to dislodge the incumbents and ascend to political power themselves), Boko Haram is being funded and sponsored by top politicians in the north – eastern states of Borno and Yobe during the buildup of the 2003 general elections. Later other top politicians in other parts of the northern Nigeria began to patronize the group through budgetary allocations and monthly disbursement of huge sums of money, provision of training grounds

on the many mountains scattered in the northern parts or region as well as protection against arrests by the federal government.

In evaluating the funding of this group, it is pertinent to understand that the members of this group were mandated to pay dues of the range of one naira per day. The implication is that they raised up to (N5,000) everyday because the group had more than five thousand (5,000) members. Ustaz himself, the leader of the group covered more than 5,000 members. This individuals included people from different works of life, mostly were university lecturers, who resigned their vocation, transferred all their life savings to the group and also businessmen who hawk in the street and strictly commit their profits to the growth of the sect.

A suspected sponsor and financier of the sect according to Daily sun is Alhaji Foi, he was also given summary execution in Maiduguri. He is a major member and fund raiser of the group. His execution took place at the state police command headquarters in Maiduguri. Fois

death came 24 hours after Yusuf was killed. Curiously, Foi was a commissioner of religious affairs during the first tenure of former governor, Ali Modu Sherrif. Before then, he had served twice as chairman of Kogga local council. He was said to be wealthy and was arrested in his farm by the operatives of the operation flush II, led by its commander Col. Ben Ohanatu, where he allegedly camped women suspected to be wives of sect members.

The late commissioner was not the only person funding the Boko Haram sect, it was said that he was allegedly using his connections in the state to provide shelter for the fundamentalists.

Another source of raising funds by the group is from the perceived possibility that the group has international connections. Though this has not been fully established apart from the group coming out publicly to declare that it has received training from terrorist groups notably at Al Qaeda and Al-sha bah which is a section at al-Qaeda in Somalia. The point been raised here is that the group control a

reasonable amount of wealth. Most of these capitals are sourced from their sponsors. The regime in the Middle East oil proceeds and other radical elements. It is possible for the Boko Haram sect to have received training in manpower and logistics from this group (Al – Qaeda) the issue becoming glaring that this same group may have a hand in funding it, fellow radical element in Nigeria.

Apart from funds from/by fellow terrorist sleeper cell around the world some governments especially in the Middle East is alleged to be sponsoring terrorism. If that is the case, Boko Haram might have benefited from such magnanimous gesture.

Invariably, this led to the inauguration of the Nigerian financial intelligent unit (NFIU) when it was founded out that terrorist group in the country such as Boko Haram might be receiving fund from outside the country. The (NFIU) was mandated to checkmate money laundering and funding of organization from outside the country.

Though it is a difficult task to establish specifically who does or who does not fund the activities of this group. The basic elements are Islamic fundamentalism; most groups and individuals may sympathize with the ideology of this sect and will from time to time throw in their weight behind the activities, financially.

### **Membership of Boko Haram Sect**

In discussing the membership of Boko Haram Sect, emphasis should be laid on the belief of Islam as a religion. Boko Haram is basically Islamic terrorism reserved for Nigerians alone. This is also considering the strategic location of the Boko Haram Islamic sect based in Kanama village in Yobe state, which is the boarder of Nigeria and Niger republic. Considering the porous nature of Nigerians border, the bulk of the sects member include terrorists who are drawn from other neighboring Islamic states such as Chad and Niger republic.

As earlier noted, Islamic terrorism and its fight is perceived by the actors and its fans as a vast curse. And as such, it is a collective duty for all. For instance, an Islamic fanatic may be born in a country, then go to fight in a third country and take refuge in a fourth country, their traditional belief is that Jihad is permanent global and not linked with a specific territory.

The membership and environment of members of the Boko Haram Sect is the same thing as other terrorist operations in the world. On this account, instruction, recruitment and membership is synonymous to this issue. For instance, social networks such as Facebook and Twitter have social pages for friends and followers. The Boko Haram sect has seven (7) Facebook accounts with different members. (The Nation June 6 2011).

In the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century, a worldwide network of hundred terrorist coaches emerged that inspire, train, educate and recruit young members to engage in jihad against the west and its disciples.

(Mohammed 2009:20). Basically, the membership of the Boko Haram Islamic sect constitutes mostly individuals who have migrated from the neighboring countries.

What these recruits tend to have in common besides their urbanity, their cosmopolitan backgrounds, their education, their facility with languages, and their computer skills is displacement. Those who joined the Jihad did so in a country other than the one in which they were reared. They are many individuals from Niger, Chad, Benin and other neighboring states of who reside in the country without being noticed as aliens. Despite their accomplishment, they had little or no standing in the host societies they lived.

Membership of Boko Haram Sect is mainly drawn from university and secondary school dropouts. The widespread of the membership and its militant instruct have been responsible for its spontaneous strikes across the northern regions. In Maiduguri, where their headquarters is cited, the gun battles have been terrific and fierce. The age bracket

of these members is not restricted to any age limit. But the active members fall between the ages of 16 – 30 years. While the leaders and instructors are older ranging from 30 – 60years.

One of the predominant features about the members of the Boko Haram sect is that they wear long beard and beads, and the red and black scarf. Discussing the membership of the Boko Haram sect, it is important that we understand the activities of sleeper cells around the world. These groups of individuals are trained. They liberate just as any normal individual. The important thing about their instructions to act. Considering the new form of attack in the country, It is possible that the sects membership comprises of foreigners. To substantiate this postulation, a United States diplomatic cable from 2009 obtained wiki leaks and provided to Reuter by a third party said a veteran Chadian extremist with “limited ties to al-Qaeda associates” had visited north eastern Nigeria and may be planning an attack.

Similarly to this is a letter claiming to be from Boko Haram which was sent to a local newspaper saying that members have returned this month (June) from Somalia after being trained “by brethren who made the interim government ungovernable”, an apparent reference to Somalia’s al-Qaeda linked al – Shababa – Islamist.

Insurgents Daily Sun authoritatively reveals that Late Yusuf never knew his father in real sense of it; he was raised by fathers friend Mohammed Fugu Alhaji, who later became his In-law. It was the father in-law that relocated him and other members of the family to Maiduguri where the gospel of Boko Haram ideology spread like wild fire. In fact, in the early stage of the group, he was able to attract membership from the families of high and mighty in Borno and Yobe states. In fact at a point, one of the sons of a former secretary of the state government (SSG) in one of the states in the North-East region was a member of this group.

By implication, the members of the group do not require any special qualification to enable them become members.

### **Ideology of Boko Haram**

The Boko Haram Islamic sect is just like any other terrorist sleeper cell operating around the world based on ideology, the similar attribute that these groups such as Al-Qaeda share can be described as anti-westernism just as the al-Qaeda attacks on America are not motivated by a religiously inspired hatred of America culture or religion but by the belief that US foreign policy has oppressed, killed or otherwise harmed Muslims in the middle east condensed in the phrase. They hate us for what we do, not who we are" (Abony, 2006:27).

This can also be deduced in determining the ideology stands of the Boko Haram Islamic sect in Nigeria. The group ideology is based on its radical oppositions to the group education. Based in Maiduguri capital, of Borno state, the followers include former university

lecturers and students in other northern states including Kano, Yobe, Sokoto, Bauchi, so well as illiterate, jobless youths. Boko Haram means "western education is sinful" and all other westernized way of life is condemned by the group. This sum up the ideology of the group. It is geared towards establishing a state denied of any western orientation. The ideologies of the group as earlier mentioned as anti-western can also be better understood by its quest for the declaration of Sharia law in the 12 Northern states in the country. This implies that the ideology of this group is based on the complete Islamic orientation in the Northern part of the country.

As a radical group with a very striking ideology some of these members resigned their jobs as lecturers and then joined the sect. this is in conjunction to the ideology of 'say no to westernization' tyrannically this perceived ideology of the sect has been bewildering the entire nation especially those who have been following the recent happenings. The late leader of the group Ustaz Yusuf, who should be in his mid thirties have considerable private wealth and properties

which are made by the west, but his followers who came from diverse ethnic background in the predominantly Muslim north said he was also educated in Iran.

Members of the sect pray in separate mosque in cities including Maiduguri, Kano and Sokoto states. Anybody who does not follow their strict ideology either Muslim or Christian is considered an infidel. The group also believes that wives are scared being that should not be seen by anybody except their husbands. That sect discouraged its members from engaging in any western oriented jobs. Instead they were encouraged to take up any manual job, such as hawking, weaving, pastoral farming, shoe mending etc. most Muslims and Islamic scholars believe that the doctrines of Boko Haram is different from the teachings of Islam. These people argue that the western education we acquire now is in-line with Islam and that Islam is to obey contributed authorities and the sharia law.

West African Islam is overwhelming modest and the sects ideology is not supported by the Nigerian Muslim population, the largest is subsharan Africa.

Experts in the study of origins of words and two they have twice at their current form and meaning known as "Etymologist" described Boko Haram as a term emanating from the Hausa word "Boko" which means "Animist" western or otherwise non-Islamic education", whereas the Arabia word Haram could be metaphorically attributed to mean "Sin" which in other words, literally connotes 'forbidden'.

The above etymological illustration summarizes the ideology of the sect. with the ideology tacitly opposing not only western education but western culture and modern science as well. The group according to an interview in 2009 with the BBC, late Yusuf noted that the ideologies of the sect are contrary to the belief that the world is sphere. Based on the ideology, the sect advocates that this belief should be strongly rejected in its totality.

Similarly, the Boko Haram sects ideology strongly opposes the theory of evolution also known as Darwinism theory, the theory which was developed by 19<sup>th</sup> century British naturalist Charles Darwin, which has it that specie of living things originate, evolve and survive through natural selection in response to environmental forces. This is strongly contented by the Boko Haram Islamic sect and this maintains their position and ideology.

In the same contention, the group strongly disagrees with the fact that the rain comes from water evaporated by the sun. in conclusion about the ideology of Boko Haram sect making particular reference to what constitutes Islamic terrorism, which the Boko Haram has been identified as one its inherent ideologies have been the assertion that western politics and society are actively anti – Islamic or as it sometime describe waging war against Islam.

## **2.3 Religious and Ethnic Basis of the Boko Haram Sect**

The religious and ethnic basis of the Boko Haram Islamic sect is not clearly defined judging by the activities of the group. This notwithstanding that the group has been described as one of the Islamic terrorist groups operating in the globe. The fact still remains that one cannot actually say if the group is out for personal vendetta or religious zealotry.

However, the only parameter for judging the ethnic and religious basis of the Boko Haram Islamic sect is only by a proper evaluation of its violent attacks, ideologies, mode of recruitment, membership, funding etc. this is the only yardstick that can juxtapose the religious and ethnic basis of the Boko Haram.

Deducting 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 evident seen that its activities are not in any way in line with

other groups of ethnic militia abound in the country. For instance, the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) which is a militia group from Niger Delta or the south region, which is purely an ethnic based militia with no religious affiliations. The group was only fighting and agitating for equitable distribution of the mineral resources under the soil. Hence, its ethnic basis was purely outstanding. Sequel to this is the Oduduwa people congress (OPC) which was based on the Yoruba region with the sole aim of providing security and other activity as it may concern to operation. There was also the Bakassi boys, which was an ethnic militia based in the south eastern states. Some state governors in this part of the country even went extra miles to legalize its activities through the state legislature. Based on the foregoing, it becomes difficult but imperative to establish the ethnic basis of the Boko Haram Islamic sect as such as its religious basis.

The boko Haram judging from its activities cannot be described as an ethnic based militia neither will it be described as a religious sectarian group. The only attribute to its ethnic basis is owing to the fact that is based in the northern part of the country.

But viewing from the activities, and its modus operandi, it becomes confusing for one to adequately position its ethnic loyalty. They carry out violent activities in the northern part of the country; it has to a greater extent compromised the effort of security activities in this part of the country. If its 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 sect wants 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 basis of the Boko Haram sect. It can be said that from the struggle for the implementation of the sharia law, the activities of the group have been ambiguous and this makes its ethnic loyalty questionable. On the religious basis, the Boko Haram through an Islamic terrorist sect has assumed a very radical posture. The group considers anybody whether Christian or Muslim an infidel if such person does not adhere strictly to the principles. It cannot be actually said if the members of this group belong to the Muslim religion. This is because they pray in a separate mosque, dress differently, with many rules, guiding its activities which are not the same with the widely accepted Muslim teaching globally.

According to Benard Lewis (2009:103) "At no time did the (Muslim) jurist power 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, the above caption sum up the religious basis of 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.

## **Chapter Three : The Boko Haram Terrorist Activities and Nigeria's Economy.**

In this chapter, we are going to explore the basic inherent activities of the Boko Haram Islamic sect as it has seemingly stunted the acceleration of development in Nigeria. It is a basic truth that no real development can thrive in a war-prone security or a society which is characterized by incessant bombings and attacks, specially directed towards security operatives. This also bearing in mind that Nigeria as a society, is still nursing its infant and fragile democracy. Consequently, any uprising in his policy raises suspicious on what may become the future of nurturing democracy.

In a more practical terms, Nigeria as a state is strategically and naturally situated in the globe to maximize its potential of natural resources. There is no record of natural disasters in the country such as earthquakes, tornadoes, and volcanic eruption, on this Nigeria has so far been insulated owing to her topographical, climatic and

ecological features. By this complication, it therefore makes it easier for the country among other things to pursue its developmental goals that Nigeria is insulated from disaster altogether, our disaster just happens to be preventable man-made ones, caused variously by poor leadership, ineffectual government institutions and poor infrastructure. The natural disaster on its own can cause a great havoc to the most industrialized states in the world, and if this is the case, the Nigeria experience would be catastrophic.

Over the years, Nigeria has had several disasters although in different form for instance: the post independent history i.e. the civil war, the Niger Delta crisis, Electoral Violence, road accidents and presently sectarian Violence. These disasters had led to casualties and large scale damage to infrastructure, properties and livelihood. Most of these disaster happened because the government failed to take appropriate sanctions where necessary.

Sectarian violence in Nigeria is nothing short of terrorism, like the notorious al-Qaeda terrorist organization; fundamentalist religion sects like the Boko Haram have wreaked havoc on innocent people in their attempt at "purification" just as the Al-Qaeda views western practices as harmful, so does the Boko Haram view other Nigerians as infidels and western education as a pollutant. That is why its members think that the imposition of sharia laws would cure all ills.

Attempt by the Boko Haram religious sect to coerce others in their narrow world views speak volumes of how religious fanaticism leads to the imprisonment of the mind and ideas, this is the first place that inhibits development based on the ideology of the Boko Haram sect, it is obvious that the present world age needs more of a western development principles to harness the basic resources needed for development. Instead of this, the sect is busy propagating its beliefs by non peaceful means; they must kill or destroy property and infrastructure in the process.

Speaking to sun newspaper about the activities of Boko Haram and the distortion of development in the country especially Boko state, Maiduguri to be precise, Amb. Ali Mongoro said:

“The situation in Borno particularly in Maiduguri today is worse than what we witnessed during the civil war, every man or woman in Maiduguri feels threatened, afraid and unsafe. People have been seriously transmitted by the bad occurrence”.

According to ali Mongono, people no longer go out for their normal business in daytime and they cannot also sleep in the night. Yet people are hungry but they are afraid of going out to look for survival. So as not to be killed or bombed. But then, they are also weary of staying at home. (sun newspaper, July 2, 2011).

The extract above is a picturesque illustration of the way people in Maiduguri and the northern part in the country live their life in constant fear. Mongono also affirmed that he had never witnessed or heard of the evils that are happening in the state now since he came

into Maiduguri, about 70 years ago, adding that people were not as terrified during the war as they are now.

In summary, the subsequent sub-heading chapters illustrate clearly how the Boko Haram activities have contributed to the present underdevelopment of the country.

### **3.1. Dimension of the Boko Haram Terrorist Activities in Nigeria.**

Certainly, the issues of security have grown to become of the major topics of national discourse in Nigeria. The irony is that judging from the history of the country, the issue of violence is not a new scenario but the present menace caused by the Boko Haram sect has posed a deadly puzzle for the federal government to crack.

In the past, there has been religious uprising and riots in different parts of the Northern region. But now, the problem has taken a new dimension which is more deadly, thus becoming the greatest threat to corporate existence of Nigeria as a country. The country before

now has always prided itself a nation of unity in diversity. It has maintained some of the foundation on which the country's nationhood is built. But consequently, the bond that guide the various facts of the country has however been threatened in several occasions with the surge of violence in state like Borno, Bauchi, Yobe and Adamawa. The fact is that the sect under investigation which is known as the Boko Haram, led by the Maiduguri based Muslim cleric Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf suddenly became an Ayotallah (high-ranking title given to experts in Islamic Activities and doctrines). He was a semi-god to his followers.

The hitherto unknown cleric, before his death on Thursday, July 30, 2009, had a mission to abolish the western education system and install an Islamic revolution as well as a government in the country. Boko Haram which means "western education is sin" was what Yusuf inculcated into his followers. (National Mirror, July 31, 2004).

Categorically, this section of this research work seeks to explore emphatically all the dimension of the Boko Haram activities since its first deadly foray on Thursday, June 2009. As a historical and subsequent occurrence, the dimensions of the activities of Boko Haram are elaborately utilized here. This is to showcase and bring into limelight the basic inherent activities of the group as it has undermined and compromised the goal of real sustainable development in the country. But let us quickly add that this research is not only a typical issue but also a dynamic one. For that matter, the point is that the violent activities of the group is still on high mark as at the time of the research.

As earlier mentioned the first deadly foray of the sect which brought them into public consciousness was on Thursday June 11, 2009 in which about 17 members of the sect were shot and wounded by the police. They had refused to wear crash helmets in Maiduguri; the Borno state capital. The late Yusuf threatened to launch a disposal which he did on Sunday June 14, the same year: though were minor

attacks in many parts of the state but these were on minimal level. At a time, there were speculations and intelligence reports that the group was mobilizing itself. These reports were ignored by the security outfits, especially those based in Maiduguri, Boko state capital (National mirror 2009).

Consequently, on Tuesday, July 21 2009, nine members of the sect were arrested. They were paraded by the state police command the following Friday July 24, 2009. It was alleged that the suspects were in possession of 74 empty locally made bomb shells and explosive devices. In the night of that day, a locally made bomb exploded in the residence of another member named Hassan sani Badami. The explosion killed him instantly while his unnamed friend sustained injuries (National mirror, July 18, 2009).

By Sunday, July 26, 2009, the sect members launched an attack on the police in bauchi, the Bauchi capital, to rent their anger. And like a wild harmathan fire, the violence spread to other states in the North

within the period, over twenty people were reportedly killed in four days. The states were Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto with this the sect leader brought himself into nations limelight while the scattering crisis, Raged on with his followers attacking one police station after another.

They chanted Laila Ill Lila, away with Boko (western education) and democracy Yusuf was quoted as boasting that:

“The only solution is to flush out this corrupt system, there is no compromise. The solution is not dialogue but to flush out the corrupt system. Prophet Mohammed in his life time flushed out all idol worshippers and their leaders” (Sun 2009).

Despite the widely acclaimed ideology of the sect about its antagonistic despise of western modalities, the late Yusuf was said to have driven the latest cars and used modern technologies, but banned members of the sect from using such materials, which he claimed was sin to Allah. Now isn't that ironic? The sect is being

referred to as the Nigerian Taliban, has claimed responsibilities of many bomb explosions in many parts of the country. The most often target are the security outfits.

Most remarkable is the June 16, 2011 attack on Luis Edet building which is the nation's highest symbol of security. The June 16 attack is similar to the September 11, 2001 attack by the security nerve of the United States. Many have argued that the blast in the force headquarters was not an act of suicide bombing.

According to Iyke Abelu of the Sun Newspaper, he affirmed;

"People should not be deceived by Book Haram members, because they are not suicide bombers, they prefer fixing the bombs and sparing their own lives" (Sun 2011:4).

Similarly, based on analysis of the incident, the individual that was caught in the web of the police was because he could not explain his identity and mission, all he knew was to drive in the car into the building at a given time and soul of the vicinity. Though, this is just a

basic analysis based on our own evaluation of the situation as it happened in Abuja. The blast which claimed more than nine (9) lives and destroyed more than seventy-one (71) cars, have raised and attracted security alert and consciousness in the country.

In July 2009, the Nigerian police started investigating the group following reports that the group was arming itself. Several leaders were arrested in Bauchi, sparking up deadly clashes with security forces which led to the deaths of an estimated 700 people (Sun Newspaper July 2009).

Prior to the clashes, many Muslim leaders and at least one military official had warned the authorities about Boko Haram. Those warning were reportedly ignored.

In the state of Yobe, fighters reportedly "used fuel laden motorcycles and bows with poison to attack a police station.

Also in September 1, 2010, Boko Haram freed over 700 inmates from prison in Bauchi state; it was an attack which was geared towards freeing its members who were held in the prison.

In December 2010, Boko Haram was blamed for a market bombing following which 92 of its suspected members were arrested by police.

In January 2010, the group struck again in Borno state, killing four people in Dala Alomderi ward in Maiduguri Metropolis.

On Friday, January 28, 2011, a gubernatorial candidate was assassinated along with his brother and four police officers.

Again, on Tuesday, February 8, 2011 Boko Haram gave conditions for peace. The radicals demanded that the Borno state governor, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, steps down from office with immediate effect and also allow members to reclaim their Mosque in Maiduguri.

Despite the fact that the above requirement of the group was not granted, the dimension and variation of this sect has shown that the group up till now does not have a specific request. Its conditionalities

to the government have been changing from time to time. This is not unfamiliar with the activities of other sleeper cells operation around.

The ugly trend about the Boko Haram issue is that the society is confronted with a faceless monster. For instance, their mode of dressing, appearance in general does not portray them as radicals. But within them is a volcano which eruption is capable of throwing the entire country into conflagration. Their members are scattered all over the northern states.

These militants often engage the police for hours sometimes with enforcements from neighboring state. In Bauchi, the sectarian crisis first erupted in the early hours of Sunday July 26, 2009. The sect had stormed the dutseen Tan sheen police station with the aim of carting away arms and ammunition in the stations armory (Gusan et al 2009:4). This operation lasted for hours, they engage the police in a gun battle for several hours and in the process, most of the officers sustained bullet injuries. At the end of the battle, two corps and one

military personnel were reportedly killed. About 176 persons believed to be members of the sect were arrested; police later admitted that the sect was actually armed with sophisticated weapons such as Ak47 rifles, locally made guns, bomb making devices, military uniforms and knives.

Also in the wake of its activities in Kano, the Boko Haram struck in July 2009, in wudil, about 44 kilometers from the state capital. The incident left many deaths in its trail. More than 80 members of the sect, armed with dangerous weapons had attacked the wudil from police headquarters. According to Gusan et al (2009:3), the Divisional Police Officer (DPO), Sager Idris and another police man on duty were reportedly wounded. The attackers were said to have sized two Ak47 rifles.

Based on the foregoing, it is clearly understood that at that stage, the group was only concerned in arming itself. The minor and major attacks on security posts and officers were engineered to take

possession of their firearms. The recent attacks by the group shows that the operations have taken another dimension, which is bombing. In the past, the minor attacks were targeted at individual security officials and some notable Muslim Clerics and rulers, who oppose the doctrine of the sect.

Over subsequent minimal attacks by the group have been on the increase since July 2009, but the major thrust of this research is to evaluate those attacks which pose threat and hindrance to the economic development of the country.

### **3.2. The Effects of Boko Haram Insurgence on Economic Development.**

Nigeria is a country endowed with natural resources all competed favorably with one another in security a big chunk of foreign exchange earnings for the country in the early 60s, the discovery of oil and unprecedented wealth accrued from it in the 70s, soon emerged Nigerians a major foreign exchange earner, inspite of the

natural and mineral resources with which numerous governmental policies and programmes for foster peaceful co-existence among the multi ethno religious entities which make up Nigeria, the country has virtually become a battle field where incessant ethno-religious and political crisis are staged. The implication of Boko Haram crisis or terrorist activities on economic development is that the instruments which is supposed to be used for sustainable development is conversely being used for destruction and vandalization purposes (Mohammed 2002).

In essence, it gulped the Nigerian government missions of naira to put in place numerous amenities which were destroyed during crisis. Resources which could have been used to improve these amenities and embark on other development projects, would have to be used on restricting and replacing what had been damaged during the crisis. In most cases government compensated victims of these crisis and this gulped millions of naira, which could have been used to develop the economy. Apart from the fact many virile men of the

nation are seriously affected in the crisis which consequently led to their death the country's source of revenue is equally affected.

Since no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It therefore implies that Boko Haram menaces are bane to economic development. Looking at it internationally, Boko Haram crisis has added to the fear of foreign investors that are in Nigeria. (Abony, 2009). Cases of kidnapping of expatriation in Nigeria are no more news one wonders how foreign investors could decide to establish in the war zone. Apart from the fact that the image of Nigeria has been dented globally as a country which breeds social miscreants and criminals.

The crisis have also made investor to flee the nations troubled spots particularly Plateau State. Also neighboring states have had their economics disrupted by the reason of the crisis. As a result of these blasts, the citizens, mostly those who come from other parts of the country have relocated from the state, especially those from different

ethnic group/religious. This does not mean well for the economic development of the country. (Broad Street Journal 2012:19).

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 infrastructure in the country. There are no good roads, electricity and other vital amenities, yet the federal government has to raise funds to take care of the little established institutions. The irony is that while the country is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram menace is crumbling all the effort (leadership Newspaper 2012).

Speaking on the economy of Nigeria, it has come to a halt in area where the fight were tense. This traumatic episode has affected mostly the petty traders who earn their meal on daily routine. Banking sector equally suffered setback. At a time, all the commercial banks were closed for more than a week (Abdullahi 2009:215).

Maiduguri Monday Market was also shut down for almost a week. As a result of these incidents, salaries of workers civil servants in Borno and Yobe state were not paid on time. The government on its own part seemed helpless in the situation as many action to ameliorate the situation may aggravate it. Hence, the government stopped all form of preaching in the state especially Islamic preaching.

The government become so cautious on the rise of sect and sanctioned the conduct of religious activities permission must be obtained before preaching is allowed. In Niger state, immediately after the Boko Haram sway was on the increase, a community called "Danes Salani" was displaced following the report of security threat by the government. This community is isolationist in nature and sees the government and country as adulterated institution and policy.

The highest stage of this is the recent four (4) paragraph statement issued by the Borno state government banning any form of

motorcycle either commercial or private in Maiduguri and its environs.  
(Mokeme, 2011:6).

The Boko Haram crisis has really posed a threat to the country. Bearing in mind the level of development in Nigeria and emphasis placed by the Nigeria government to attract foreign investment to boost our economy more from the level it is now to a greater height, like level of insecurity have made this illusory. It is in line with this that Adetola (2002:161) affirmed that:

“The study of linkage politics expressly enunciates the interrelatedness of domestic and external policies in inter-state interactions. This brings into focus the analysis of system analysis in the understanding of international relations in general and foreign policy in particular. These two paradigmatic explications are relevant in their manner of explaining the relationship between the settings with the domestic environment partly determines the type of benefits

that can be derived from efforts intended to protect, promote and protect the interest of the country in the international arena.”

Deducing from the above, we begin to understand the role internal dynamic plays in not only attracting foreign investments, but also in the international relations of country to another. The importance of Foreign

Direct Investment (FDI) towards the development of the Nigerian economy can never be over emphasized. This is why Omenma (2009:46) opined:

“This is no gainsaying the fact that no man and by extention no state is an Island”.

This means that states need the relationship and partnership of one another to pursue development goals but the quest for foreign direct investment in Nigeria has been compromised by the level of insecurity in the country. The Nigerian government long before now understands the importance to woo foreign investors. And

governments being aware of the limitation and incapability of the local investors wasted no time to vigorously and financially make provision for the injection of foreign capital in form of investments in the country. This it did through the use of shuttle diplomacy. This was protected and facilitated by the country's confidence in its new found democracy which most foreign firms have pointed out as the basis for investment.

This is also to support the view of Walter Carrington, a former American Ambassador on the part of investors have been pre-determined by the level of security. This was due to the unpredictable ethnic clashes; North, South, East and West. Lagos Nigeria commercial nerve centre had used than its fair share, likewise the ancient cities of Ile Ife, Sagama, Umuleri and Aguleri, metropolitan cities of Kano, Jos and so many other parts. The Boko Haram uprising under investigation can be best described as the last straw that broke the nation's heart towards wooing foreign direct investment (FDI).

### **3.3. Effect of Boko Haram in the Nigeria Stock Market**

Insecurity triggered by the wave of Boko Haram bombing in parts of Nigeria is having a negative impact on the country's capital market, the Director General of Securities and Exchange Commission, Arumna Oteh has said. Oteh was speaking in Abuja on Tuesday, at start of public parliamentary hearings on the operations of the capital market organized by the Nigerian House of Representatives Committee on capital market and other institutions.

As a result, some 10 million Nigerians have lost their investments in the country's capital market and investors' interest and confidence were being ended, officials say. Hundreds of people have been killed and hundreds of others wounded as well as millions of dollars worth of properties destroyed, sparking a wave of terror around Nigeria since the Islamist militant group language its attacks in 2009.

Though the attack has been predominantly concentrated in the north, not even the capital, Abuja has been spared in the groups

deadly attacks. Investors' interest and confidence were being eroded as a result, Oteh noted. However, she said that the commission was putting in place strategic interventions to strengthen the operations of the market in order to restore investors' confidence.

She explained that the commission had also taken steps to strengthen Collective Investment Schemes (CIS) through regular on site inspections of the schemes as well as transfer of fund asset.

As WADR's correspondent Martins, Martins reports, the head of Nigeria's Securities and Exchange Commission said because of the losses suffered by shareholders from the market crisis in 2008, many local investors were hesitant to invest.

### **3.4. Effect of Boko Haram on Nigeria's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).**

A recent World Investment Report (WIP) of the United Nations Conference On Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct

Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of the Nigerian terrorists, these losses are unquantifiable taking a cursory look at the direct and indirect losses associated with acts of terrorism. The WIR report with its scary figures reveals that last year alone, Boko Haram struck 115 times and killed 550 people. According to the UNCTAD report, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to \$6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 percent from the \$68.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year. The report obtained by US further revealed that the sharp decline of FDI to the country was compounded in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.

Also, statistics obtained from the 2010 annual report by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) showed that the total foreign capital inflow into the Nigerian economy in 2010 was \$5.99 billion. The record showed that FDI represented about 78.1 percent drop from \$3.31 billion in 2009 (World investment Report 2009).

Foreign Investors are gradually divesting from Nigeria due to the worsening security crisis. The renewed interest of China in investing hugely in Nigeria is being dampened to guarantee these investments.

Local investors are also hardly hit as a large chunk of operational cost is diverted to Nigeria's investment climate as "risky" due to the advent in Nigeria.

The banking sub sector has not been exempted as the profitability of the branches in the North has nosedived deeply, banking are closing down their business outfits as a result of decreased activities in the North. Employees of these institutions are opting to be posted out of these regions due to fear and air of uncertainty that saturates these zones. Banks are spending very huge amount of their resources towards the provision of security as we have seen several occurrences of high-tech bank robbery with the use of dangerous explosives and sophisticated bombs.

The cost and risk of doing business in the North is at its high height. Most markets in these regions are operating at a decreased capacity as most of them who hail from the` South East have gradually fled from these `troubled coaters`.

## **Chapter Four: The Place of the Military in Curbing the Boko Haram Menace in Nigeria.**

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

Thus sovereignty ordinarily resides on the electorates who often elect their leader or representatives in order to represent their interest in higher governmental activities. These people that is, the elected representatives are accorded full legitimacy by the masses therefore the sovereignty of the state automatically rests on them. In Nigeria, the federal government is the highest law making authority and by

virtue there is no group that is greater in strength than the government.

Therefore the federal government has to stand its grounds without any form of fear in order to combat the activities of the Boko Haram sect and to prevent any trace of future occurrence of such religious cum political sects. It is in a bid to curb the activities of the Boko Haram sect that we therefore specify or rather suggest the following options or approach to be adopted by the federal government.

#### **4.1 The Legal Option**

Legal authorities are often referred to as the authority backed by law a stipulated in the rules and regulations and principles and laws guiding a state that is, the constitution. The high court on the extra judicial killing of Yusuf on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 2009, to dismiss three junior officers and suspension of four senior officers indicted by a probe on the matter after the accused policemen culpable.

This approach involves the tracking of terrorism through the legal instrument.

Various leaders who have adopted the 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 "sheer force including the building of a good military coalition to eliminate terrorists will perhaps at best succeed, but the scourge of terrorism is bound to stop or rather worsen ever after [Mbah,2001:B3].

That is to say that military option can be effective in stabilizing ethnic tensions and preserving the unity of a country but it has not been able to achieve permanent peace as the insurgents usually adopts new tactics to overcome the suppression and unleash further chaos on the society. Take for example, the regressive *anti-euzk-adi* policies not only failed to undermine Basque nationalist aspirations but also served to nurture and act as a catalyst upon the very movement they were intended to crush [Pollack and Hunter, 1988:130].

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

At this juncture, it is of Paramount importance to understand the role of the law court in controlling the Boko Haram crisis through its agencies such as the judiciary and the police force who help to implement the laws. We should also note that this approach is opted for because it encourages equality and fair hearing which eradicates any sense of injustice by the less privileged who often feel that their human rights are been infringed upon. The internal capitalist bourgeoisies.

In a nutshell, if the principle of rule of law which stipulates for the supremacy of the constitution, equality before the law and safeguard of human right is upheld as propounded by A.V.Dicey, then the attacks and series of bomb blasts by the Boko Haram will be effectively controlled and checkmated.

#### **4.2 The Dialogue Approach**

In pursuing a stable economy free from all forms of social vices and 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 this juncture, it is necessary to give a brief definition of the term diplomacy for a clearer understanding of this option as delving into its importance of necessity will be putting the cart before the horse and a negation on existing protocol.

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

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

Diplomacy in the modern world has become very fashionable as an effective means of pursuing national interest and achieving national goals in all spheres of international involvement. Diplomacy has come a long way from the crudity and pettiness of the old order and prestige and unseemly scramble for precedence and etiquette.

The second half of the twentieth century ushered in the era of high-tech diplomacy as interaction between states and non state entities

became increasingly dynamic and highly sophisticated. Alaba Ogunsawo (1993) believe that a diplomat must poses “[extra ordinary qualities” such as knowledge, breath of character and personality to enable him function effectively in view of challenges facing him.

Tam David west also noted that the diplomat is different from the politician saying that:

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

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

sect amount to applauding them with talks for their numerous and uncountable killings they therefore hold that:

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

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

### **4.3 The Military Approach in Curbing the Boko Haram Menace**

The former Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung defined military power as “power which emanates from the barrel of gun”. According to him, the might is always right that is to say, he who wields the instrument of coercion is the political sovereign. This view or rather opinion is true to a large extent because even if it were to be little child or a

situation of crisis, the adult being has no choice, than to adhere to the whims and caprices of the teenager.

Over the years, the most preferred option for combating or fighting such societal problems has been the armed confrontation popularly known as the military option or approach. To a great extent, this largely explains why president George Bush Jnr. immediately or rather instantly declared war on terrorism in response to terrorist attacks on the united states on that memorable black Tuesday of September 11, 2001. This meant that the united state adopted the military option to avenge the attack. Several other countries in the west have often employed this approach in solving their political instability.

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 terrorist placed it on the vantage position when in August 1969, the labor government of

the day decided to put the army into Northern Ireland to maintain public order (Callaghan, 1972).

In the same vein, the response of the Francoist regime to both Basque nationalism and the emergence of ETA were 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.

Nigeria just like every government that tries to exhibit or show its capability to protect the Lives and property of its citizens has to encourage its successive governments to adopt military confrontation in tackling terrorism through the establishment of Joint Task Force (JTF) and declaration of state of emergency. Subsequently in the year 2000, the Olusegun Obasanjo government launched a military expedition at Odi in Bayelsa State to quell the menace of the militants.

In 2007, it then set up a joint military and police task force (JTF) to battle the militants in River State. The same military action has been at play in the Boko Haram crisis since 2009, although not as enforced in the Olusegun Obasanjo's regime of 2000, that is to say that president Goodluck's administration needs the Obasanjo's administration orientation in fighting Boko Haram terrorists starting from a repeat of what happened in Odi in Bayelsa where Obasanjo government launched a military expedition.

It is of paramount importance to note that the adoption of this option is not only derived on the fact that most governments and leaders of the world see or rather regard terrorists as criminals who must be brought to book and penalized but also because the general principle of non-negotiation with terrorists state that:

The government should not engage in dialogue and negotiation with group 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 (Wilkson 1981).

According to Vanguard Newspaper (June 17, 2011) the federal government has directed the immediate establishment of a special joint military Task Force specifically to tackle the Boko Haram as headquarters of the task force.

The task force to be headed by a major General of the Armed Corps could comprise the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Navy, Nigerian Air Force, Nigeria Police Force, Defense Intelligence Agency and the Department of State Security, S.S.S (NBF News 2012).

Already Vanguard gathered that about 200 operatives of the S.S.S arrived Maiduguri, 300 officers of the Nigeria Air Force, 300 officers of the Nigerian Navy and 500 soldiers of the Army with their force commander, are deployed for action. It was gathered that at the end of the day, Nigerian Army would have two battalions of soldiers in place, the Nigeria Police will deploy 1,500 officers, and S.S.S would

have 500 operatives, the Airforce 680 officers while the Nigeria Navy will have 750 officers deployed.

Director, Army public relations Brigadia General Rafael Isa, told vanguard there were plans to support operations there, but said he could not confirm if the troops had been deployed. It could be recalled that the Inspector General of police, made an operational visit to maduguri, the Borno state capital, where he received 10 Armored Personnel carriers donated by the state government to the police to fight Boko Haram menace.

The joint security Task force has commenced deployment to the conflict zone with its headquarters at Maidduguri, which is the centrally located capital of Borno state, and the force commander of the JSTF is a senior officer of the Armored Corps, Major General Jack Okechukwu Nwaogbo. Maiduguri already plays host of the headquarters garrison of the 21 Armored Brigades, a formation that has earned for itself a reputation for toughness, which is expected to

actively support the operations of the ad-hoc JSTF (Daily trust April 2, 2012).

Going by the recent development in the country in the area of declaring state of emergency in Maiduguri of borno state, Yobe state, Adamawa state etc. it is now very clear and obvious that the federal government cannot curb these menace in exclusion of the military, that is the only available avenue that will proffer solution to the non-going Boko Haram crisis. The position of the military here cannot be over looked or neglected and its importance cannot be over emphasized.

The position of he military is not just killing the perpetrators of these acts, but in making adequate efforts which will end the seeming chaotic situation in the country.

#### **4.4 The Military “Massive” Offensive Strategy Against the Boko Haram.**

Soldiers from Lagos, part of an expected 1,000 reinforcements sent to Adamawa state to fight Boko Haram Islamists, with 23<sup>rd</sup> Armored Brigade, Yola May 20, 2013. It has been less than 10 days since the Nigerian military began what it calls a “massive” offensive against Boko Haram, the extremist Islamists militant group that claims ties to Al-Qaeda and recently captured portions of the country’s northeast.

While military officials claim to have killed dozens of its fighters and arrested hundreds of its members, destroying their encampments and retaking at least five districts since the campaign began, none of the information is verifiable. With phone lines down and roads blocked, no independent observers are present along the front lines and some aid workers fled the region after an attack the previous Saturday.

Hussaini Abdul, head of the anti-poverty organization Aid in Abuja, saying the military's information blackout is meant to achieve two aims. One is the possible constraint the communications of the insurgents groups but its also to disallow the public from accessing such information that can be used to put pressure on the military. "He said," so if there are issues of right violations; if there are cases of killing of innocent people and all those things, if people get to know it, we report in the media it will put pressure on them. And the military will typically see it as distraction.

Renowned for its peacekeeping successes across Africa, the Nigerian military, some experts say, possesses the weaponry and man power to beat back the insurgency. But faced with a battle unlike any it has fought past successes abroad may not translate to victory at home. Although the military released a statement on Friday saying no civilians have been killed in the conflict, and nine of 12 women and children had been rescued from Boko Haram kidnappers, Amnesty international issued a report on Thursday saying that the military has

a history of rights violations. In recent weeks, the rights group saying, it has received reports of arbitrary arrests and soldiers dumping bodies at morgues.

According to Abdul, the Nigerian military has not fought a guerilla war since the country's civil war in the 1960s, and only recently saw Boko Haram take form of an enemy it was well prepared to defeat. They are trained to fight territorial battles says Abdul, explaining that Boko Haram's recent military style attacks and seizures of northern districts compelled the military's aggressive response. "They are not trained to fight with the guerillas, so when those terrorist began to emerge personally, I think they were excited about it, they could go to the games reserve and drop bombs and disperse the training centers. They could go to borders, cordon the areas, arrest everybody."

While the military appears posed to beat back the insurgency, political analysis against and former university of Nigeria researcher

Nkwachukwu Orji says, Boko Haram has a history of appearing to succumb to defeat only to return stronger, better armed and more violent. "they are going to fight to reclaim those territories that Boko Haram already controls he said. "And when what happens to Boko Haram is that they will definitely find their way and escape to Niger, to Cameroon, distant places for some time and watch what will happen after the six months emergency (rule)".

When the battle is won, Orji says, the military will be able to force Boko Haram to participate in peace talks which in the past, the group has rejected the military says it has faced fierce resistance in its offensive against Islamist insurgents who are armed with weapons from Libya.

Nigerian soldiers arrived in Yola as they continued their offensive to drive out Boko Haram militants from the area. Nigeria's military has been involved in heavy fighting with Islamist insurgents armed with

sophisticated weapons from Libya as it steps up an offensive aimed at flushing out Boko Haram from its north eastern bases.

“They have been putting up fierce resistance and they are very well-armed with weapons from Libya”, a senior military official told the Guardian, adding that most of the militants who have waged a four-year battle to create an Islamist state have scattered across the regions semi-desert borders.

A renewed military campaign, including aerial bombardments of Boko Haram training camps in three remote states which were put under emergency rule has led to the capture of almost 200 militants and the death of dozens in a week, according to the military. In one raid, an helicopter gunship was hit by anti-aircraft and anti-tank fire, a military source said.

In a sign of increase concerns about jihadist movements jumping borders, Nigeria has also asked neighboring Niger for military support as it seeks to police 870 miles of shared desert borders. With phone

lines cut off across most of the three north-eastern states as advancing soldiers try to prevent the militants from carrying out approaching raids, residents fleeing across porous borders also risks destabilizing a region already reeling from a separate Islamist insurgency in Mali.

“It is only by the grace of soldiers and by virtue of my position I was able to leave the city. All the entry point to and from (Borno state capital) Maiduguri are blocked by the military but they let me through”, said Suleiman, a civil servant who quit the city at the epicenter of the insurgency with his family of four. Outside the city walls, he said, trucks carrying food and market produce were lined up awaiting entrance.

“We have been used to seeing soldiers and checkpoints for the past two years in Maiduguri but it is having a real impact on the economic activity,” he added. In Maiduguri, where militants are deeply embedded in the population, soldiers carrying out house to house searches after placing 24-hour curfew in some neighborhoods,

discovered stock piles of weapons including rocket propelled grenades, a defense spokesperson said.

“Life has still not returned to normal in these areas, shops aren’t open. People are just sitting at home scared and sweating” said Amina, a secretary in the 202 neighborhood. They arrested a lot of people here in operations in the night” Nigeria military already assisting a west African-led force in Mali, has asked for help from Niger. We currently have military operations under way in Nigeria in three federal state to combat terrorism and we could live to Nigeria’s support in the common fight against these terrorist” said Nurudeen Muhammed, Nigeria’s Minister of state for foreign affairs. He did not specify what kind of military co-operation that might mean.

### **Niger’s Military Support Against Boko Haram.**

Nigeria has asked its northern neighbor, Niger for help in an offensive against Boko Haram insurgents, as West African state try to co-operate against a spread of Islamist Violence. An insurgence source

in Niger said security had been tightened along the thinly populated border and military police were searching vehicles for Boko Haram fighters who might be fleeing the past week's onslaught on their bases in Nigeria.

A Nigerian minister delivered a request for assistance late Monday May 20, 2013, in the Niger capital Niamey, but gave no detail on what Niger role may be. The success of Al Qaeda associates in seizing a swathe of Mali last year prompted West African leaders to co-operate more against militants seeking an Islamic emirate.

Nigeria and Niger signed a mutual defense pact in October 2012 and soldiers from Niger, as well as Chad, joined Nigeria forces in an assault on Boko Haram fighters last month in the shores of Lake Chad. Nigerian lawmakers from both houses passed motorist approving emergency powers granted to the military.

Nigeria's military offensive against Boko Haram strongholds this week has left at least 21 insurgents dead, an official said.

The attack on Sambisa forest Reserve, one of the strongholds of the Islamic sect/militants, began on Thursday 24 May, 2013.

Troops shelled the area with cannons, killing dozens of insurgents, though there was no independent confirmation of the casualties, the Associated press reported. Director of Defense Information Brigadier – General Chris Olukolade Confirmed that co-operated offenses against militant camps across all three states are ongoing, with several already taken over or destroy in northern and central Borno, the heart of the insurrection.

The operation is expected to last as long as it takes to achieve the objectives, he told Global post on Friday May 25, 2013, adding that the number of wounded or killed has not yet been determined. Anti-tank guns, vehicles and other equipment have also been captured, Olukolade said in a late press release, military personnel are guarding international borders to prevent “escape or infiltration by insurgents”, he added.

“civilians who hide Boko Haram terrorist (BHT) will put themselves in danger as acting against the public and national interests”, said Major General Mobolaji Koleoso, chief of civil military Affairs, in a press conference in the Nigerian capital Abuja. President Good luck who issued an emergency decree in the area, said that the Boko Haram violence could no longer be treated as military or criminality, but now amounted to a “declaration of war”.

## **Chapter Five (5)**

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation.**

In this chapter we shall be looking at the entire structure of this research work but in a more condensed manner although comprehensively. Here we shall draw out obvious conclusions as to the effects of the Boko Haram insurgence which is engendered by the escalating rate of economic backwardness and deterioration in the country and proffer possible recommendations to tackle the menace in the society.

#### **5.1. Summary**

This research work centers around exhibiting the challenges posed by the socio-economic and political vices in the society (Boko Haram). The Boko Haram crisis has indeed distorted the economic development progress in the country. The high incidence of bombings and sporadic attacks on security buildings and its officials in one which has greatly impacted negatively on the economic

growth of the country. This study on terrorism and Nigeria's economy; Assessment of the situation of things, currently in Nigeria especially in Borno state and the entire northern part of the country. It traced the level of insecurity in Nigeria as a result of the activities of Boko Haram Islamic sect.

It also made recommendations for possible solution to conundrum as an antidote to curtail the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram Islamic sect in order to provide security of lives and property in the country. Boko Haram is a case study in this research work and it was earlier seen or referred to as a Nigerian Islamic group that seeks imposition of sharia law throughout the whole of the country. Figuratively, members of this group believe that "Western Education is a sin". The official name of the group is "Jama'atul Ablis Sunna Lidda'a wati waljihad" meaning people who are propagated to the prophets' teachings and jihad.

It is necessary to note that the group has done nothing else other than posing a serious threat to the economy of this country, and to Nigeria's security agencies since its inception in the year 2002. During the course of our study, we made mention of some series of attacks and bomb explosions which the group has effectively carried out over the years. These vary from one Geo-political area to another and some of these attacks include, the Bauchi prison break -1<sup>st</sup> Abuja -2<sup>nd</sup> Abuja, the Northern Nigerian Bombing in the year 2011, the attack on the police headquarters on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, 2011, and the Bauchi bomblast which claimed about eleven lives on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June,2012.

We then tried to analyze the concept of economy by defining economy as the wealth and resources of a country or region especially in terms of the production and consumption of goods and services. The concept of terrorism was viewed from Lodge's perspective who views it as an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political changes by the indiscriminate use of violence. Also

Madunagu sees it as the “use of violence to achieve political objectives”. In a nutshell, terrorism is an aspect of political violence but it is an extra normal kind of political violence.

In chapter two, we tried to expansiate or rather buttress on the concept of Boko Haram in Nigeria, illustrating its background from the origin, Fundings, Membership and Ideology.

And also religious and ethnic basis of the activities of the sect. this was in order to present a better and clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the origin and genesis of this concept which has led to series of problems in the Nigeria society in recent times.

Chapter three takes a look at the activities of the sect (Boko Haram) as it affects Nigeria’s economy. Here, we tried to point out the problems which these incessant crisis have posed to Nigeria’s economy and its development. Due to the fact that the people in the Northern region are strongly opposed to western education which they believe is a sin, the people of the east and other regions of the

country who have so much love for western education will become a separate block since they differ in opinion ideas and ideologies.

This will definitely throw the society into a state of quag-mere (confusion) and instead of uniting together in the development of the country's economy, disintegration, underdevelopment, backwardness and economic deterioration will be the dominant factors in the society. We also went further to say that it will be very difficult to record much success in economic development of a state during the time of the crisis or wars. Nigeria has experienced a greater number of death rates when compared to mortality rate as a result of crisis in recent times, inflation and deflation has been constantly uncontrollable, production of goods and services for human consumption has reduced drastically, and there has been a constant fall in the general standard of living. All these amongst other make it almost impossible for proper economic development to be achieved during crisis.

The impact of foreign relations as regards Nigeria's corporate existence has also been threatened by the Boko Haram due to the underlying and indisputable fact that a state of war breeds fear. Just like Carl Von Clausewitz stated that as "a political intercourse, an act of violence intended to compel the enemy to fulfill over will".

Foreign relations are hindered in a war torn environment

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

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

In chapter four, we tried to specify or rather suggest some approaches to help combat these crisis which has turned out to

generate internal terrorism in the country, these approaches undue, the legal option/approach, the dialogue approach and the military approach which turned out to be the best approach as far as this research is concerned.

Military instrument is a continuation of the political action which a state could not resolve at the diplomatic and political levels. According to the former Chinese leader "Mao Tse Tung", this form of approach is the power which emanates from the barrel of gun. It has to do with tit-for-tat that is operation fire for fire or shoot at sight. The holder of this form of power is seen as the political sovereign because they might is always right.

Other options like legal approach on the other hand involves the use of settlement means as stipulated in the constitution to resolve disputes. In the words of A.V. Dicey, nobody is above the law; everybody must be treated equally and given a fair hearing so as to dismiss any feeling of injustice in the mind of the people especially

the inferior majority. The law court is vested with the power to discharge this form of approach through its agencies such as the judiciary and the Nigeria police force.

Also, the option of dialogue was also treated as a means of combating the Boko Haram crisis on the failure of other options. Dialogue can also be referred to as diplomacy and this involves sitting on a round table to settle disputes.

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

## **5.2. Conclusion**

Having said all these, we can now draw out possible conclusion that the application of any of the aforementioned approach will only serve

as a means to control the crisis and not necessarily put a stop to it and right now, only the military approach is capable of controlling it.

Arguments have been made pertaining these various approaches with more reference to dialogue. The actions of the Boko Haram sect over the years have clearly illustrated that they do not want peace talks, even if the government were to grant amnesty to the group, who will represent them: this question is very necessary because the members of this are yet to be known, they have rather preferred to remain anonymous.

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

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

### **5.3. Recommendations**

The Boko Haram crisis has turned out to become a thorn in the flesh of the Nigeria government. Over the years, it has become a cog in the wheels of the operational existence of the political, economic, educational, social and total structure of the economy. In order to curb this unending crisis, we therefore advocate for the following measures to be adopted.

#### **1. The Idea of Amnesty Should Not Be Encouraged.**

Firstly, the government should understand that the Boko Haram insurgency is not the same as the Niger Delta uprising. This two cases are different things and therefore do not require the same solution. The idea of amnesty might have worked on solving the

problem of Niger Delta, but on the Boko Haram sect, many concerned rational minds have always feared that due to the nature of ethnic diversity in Nigeria and ethnic militants loyal to these ethnic groups, it is possible that this extension of olive branch by the government may be abused, as some other groups may take up amnesty and expect the government to treat them with glove fingers.

If Boko Haram is granted amnesty, then it means the government has just succeeded in creating another problem by solving another one. This can better be understood by the declaration by the leaders of the sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB) Chief Ralph Uwazurike that MASSOB will adopt Islamic sect strategy. As the Daily Sun, Monday June 20, 2011 tags it in its front page" Double Trouble MASSOB to join Boko Haram.

Secondly, granting amnesty to the Boko Haram has no logical basis. As the Guardian Editorial (Wednesday, July 8, 2009) put it "the

militants rode on the crest of what began as peaceful agitation for resources control when the federal authorities turned deaf ear, militancy became the inculpable option". Then in the case of Boko Haram insurgents, what are they clamoring for? From where did their agitation steer? Who inspired them to take up arms against the state? What legitimate demand can they lay claim to, is not the same demand every Nigeria youths lay claim to, lack of employment and access to basic things of life. The Boko Haram movement is ideological, asking for a separate law for certain states in the country is simply questioning the sovereignty of the federal government of Nigeria. The government should view it from this direction and understand that amnesty is not ideal for a possible treasonable felony.

## **2. Military Expedition Should Be Launched at These Northern States Especially Maiduguri.**

According to John F. Kennedy “those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable” what this means is that those who have refused to allow for revolution to occur peacefully will have no choice but to allow revolution to occur violently.

If the Boko Haram has decided not to stop bombing and killing innocent lives thereby threatening the security and economy of the country, I think a repeat of what happened in Obasanjo’s administration should take place, military expedition should be launched in Maiduguri. This approach is radical in nature and needs someone with a military blood to make it happen just like Obasanjo in the case of Odi in Bayelsa to quell the menace of the militants.

This is different from the declaration of the state of emergency in these northern states, this means going down to the local

government where all those evil deeds are plotted and kill every soul that is seen there, whether man, woman, boy, girl or child and even animals too.

### **3. Government should Improve or Rather upgrade its intelligence Gadgets and Surveillance Equipments.**

We strongly recommend in this study that the government should provide funds, instead for amnesty but to upgrade and switch in its intelligence gathering gadgets. It was easy for Osama bin laden to invade America intelligence for so long because Osama decided to deny himself the luxury of technology. He rejected phones and the use of internet. Infact, he lived an asture life of a hermit. But from what we know so far, these Boko Haram sect enjoy all these technological packs with impunity knowing that our intelligence gathering techniques is so archaic that our security agencies only believe in totting guns around government officials. If only the

government have the needed facility to intercept mails and many other electronic means of communication.

#### **4. Backing Down of Boko Haram Funding.**

Again to overcome the menace of Boko Haram in the country, the government should do whatever it takes to find out how this movement is funded. Who are their funders? The United States cut off all the sources of Al-Qaeda funding through the banking system. If the governments are able to do this, the government will have gone an extra mile in solving the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria long time ago because the sect does not maintain the level of sophistication it does without funds.

#### **5. Carrot and Stick.**

This implies negotiation and coercion. It is no more a doubt that the Boko Haram sect is not ready for any form of diplomacy or compromise. If the government continues to meet with them on a

round table, then the government should be ready to sit on the receiving end of the crisis.

Since these people are out to over throw the government, the government should spend more money to acquire more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction as a form of deterrent to the Boko Haram attacks. If the government does this without any fear, then the group will be subdued because no matter how strong they are, they cannot defeat the government of the nation due to the fact that the sovereign power of any independent state rests on the government.

## **6. Creation of Ministry of Religion by The Federal Government.**

We also recommend that the government should create the ministry of religion where religious issues would always be sorted out. The ministry will comprise both Muslims and Christians alike. And above all, representatives should hold the trust given to them by people in

good faith by governing well and providing the people with good things of life.

## **7. An Overhaul of the Security Agencies.**

We also recommend in this study, considering the way the Boko Haram operates, that it is possible that the security operations in Nigeria especially the police has been compromised. As a result, we also recommend the complete overhaul and redeployment of officers. This is because if the police is compromised, it is not possible to checkmate the activities of the Boko Haram sect when the security operations are also members of the same group they want to get rid of.

## **8. Creation of State Police.**

I strongly believe this is the right time for all those agencies state police creation to have a change of mind. The other issue is the helplessness of the police that is not badly equipped but centrally controlled. The country is too large to be policed from Abuja.

Instead of allowing ethnic based militias; the government should instead make provision for state to own and control their own police as this will help in community policing which is the basic aspect of policing that will help unearth the dreaded Boko Haram sect which held the country under siege.

Finally, we believe that of all these recommendations are considered, bearing in mind the dynamic nature of the crisis, the government and the society would be making a head way towards resolving the problem in Nigeria security issues. The point here is not on eradicating Boko Haram, but by so doing, the government can have much dividends of democracy.

## **9. Collaboration with Security Agencies.**

There is no gain saying the fact that security personnel alone can hardly uproot the terrorist menace in parts of the world and Nigeria in particular. Essentially the security agencies need the co-operation of all citizens to solve the present security challenges through giving

of prompt and reliable information, exposing the identity of the perpetrators of crimes in their communities and funding or provision of logistics. An eminent philosopher once posit that “the price of liberty is external vigilance” security therefore is everybody’s business. Let all hands be on deck to secure ourselves and societies.

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