

Boko Haram: Its Impacts on Political and Economic Development in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria is currently facing attacks and violence from Boko Haram terrorist group, which is threatening its territorial integrity, sovereignty, peace, and political stability. This has been one of the major issues affecting the development of the country since 2009. The expansion of the group since inception from a non-violent group to an internationally recognized terrorist group has been attributed to two factors: Lack of trust in the political system and the dissatisfaction of the citizens with the economic policies of the government, inflation, and poverty. Thus, the aim of the research work is to understand the implications of the terrorist group on political and economic development in Nigeria.

This thesis analyses the implication of Boko Haram on political and economic development of the country and how it has increase inflation, poverty and poor standard of living to the citizens.

Keywords: Terrorism, Nigeria, Boko Haram, National Development, Insecurity

ÖZ

Nijerya, Boko Haram terör örgütü tarafından saldırılara uğramaktadır ve söz konusu durum ülkenin toprak bütünlüğünü, egemenliğini, barış ve huzuru ve siyasi istikrarı tehdit etmektedir. Bu olay, 2009 yılından itibaren ülkenin kalkınmasını etkileyen başlıca meselelerden olmuştur. Başlangıcında şiddet-dışı bir grup olan Boko Haram, zaman içerisinde uluslararası anlamda terörist örgüt olarak tanımlanan bir grup haline dönüşmüştür. Bu dönüşümün gelişmesi iki etkene dayandırılmaktadır: Siyasi sisteme olan güven eksikliği; ve, vatandaşların hükümetin ekonomi politikalarına, enflasyona, ve yoksulluğa karşı olan hoşnutsuzluğu. Bu bağlamda tez, Boko Haram terör örgütü faaliyetlerinin Nijerya'nın ulusal gelişiminde birçok olumsuz etkisi olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu hususta tezin tavsiyesi, hükümetin sorunun kök nedenlerini çözmeyi ele alması ve buna ilaveten silahlı kuvvetleri terör grupları ile mücadele kapsamında gelişmiş silah sistemleri ile donatması gerektiği yönündedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Terörizm, Nijerya, Boko Haram, Ulusal Kalkınma, Emniyetsizlik

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents.

My Beloved Dad. **Late Pastor Isaac K. ADETUNJI** who did not only nurture and train me but also taxed himself dearly over the years for my education and intellectual development. Incidentally he met his demise during the course of my degree. He encouraged me and led me in this journey but could not wait for me. I promise to do more, Thank you for allowing God to use you to make me the man I am today.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANPP	All Nigeria's People Party
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences
IDP	Internally Displaced People
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
YIAGA	Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Boko Haram's philosophy is one of the few variations of radical Islamism to have risen in Northern Nigeria. This Boko Haram terrorist group has been a major and recent problem threatening the success of democratic governance in Nigeria. The Federal government of Nigeria and the different governments in the affected part of the country have met several times to find a working approach to solve the Boko Haram attacks. The military forces had also been involved in the process of restoring stable peace in the Northern part of Nigeria. This has led to the establishment of a military joint force specially to put an end to the terrorist group in Nigeria.

Membership of the terrorist group comprises of citizens from different professions like professors, bank officials, military men, political office holders, unemployed graduates and citizens from neighboring countries like Chad, Niger and Northern Cameroon.

Terrorism has been an International issue. A good example is the recent Sri Lanka Easter bombings which recorded over 200 deaths, three churches and three hotels in the capital city were attacked by terrorist suicide bombers. Also, on the 15 March 2019, two mosques were also attacked by terrorist in Christchurch, New Zealand killing fifty-one (51) and left forty-nine (49) people injured. Countries are facing their security issues and challenges with terrorist in their possible best way. Nigeria, a developing country in Africa is presently faced with her own share of the problem. There are

challenges in political, economy and social sector of the country which have in one way or the other affected development in the country.

Nigeria is the largest country in terms of population in Africa with a population of over 190 million (2016 NBS Estimate), with a GDP of US\$1.169 trillion making it the largest country economically in the continent. Nigeria is also the largest oil producing country in Africa and ranked sixth in Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The country is blessed with good soil for agricultural practices and lot of natural resources like petroleum, bitumen, coal and yet some untapped mineral resources. Despite all these resources, Nigerian government still find it difficult to provide citizens with adequate social amenities, security, good governance, quality and affordable education and many more.

It is important to know that the development of a country sometimes depends on the crime rate that exists in the country. Nigeria has recorded a consistent increase in the frequency of crime committed and the level of insecurity in the country, which are alarming. Since the end of the civil war in 1970, the level of insecurity in Nigeria has been so great that the Nigeria Police Force can no longer curtail the situation and the Nigeria military have all been drafted into maintaining internal security. The level of insecurity caused by the terrorist group Boko Haram in the northern part of Nigeria had made a lot of the citizens homeless, there are increase in killing of innocent citizens and destruction of properties worth of millions of naira by the terrorist sect.

Millions of naira (Nigeria currency) has been lost to the attacks; thousands of citizens have been killed. Very large populations of displaced citizens now live in internally

displaced camps across the country. The internal security of the country has been affected which has drawn the attention of International communities, and also the implication of this insecurity on economic issues are noted.

The mode of operations of the Boko Haram terrorist group has raised questions from International organizations and policy makers about Nigeria government strategies on National security and there are concern on how these operations endangers the National security of the country. As it is, there have not been a clear objective or purpose of the terrorist group but it can all be traced and linked to economic issues, bad governance, and lack of functioning government institutions to achieving government electoral promises.

The continuous killing, bombing, kidnapping has become a great concern to the government and citizens of Nigeria and the International institutions, while the implications can be studied in the political and economic development of Nigeria. “The phenomenon of crime has impacted negatively on the economic, social and political life of the nation over time.” (Adebayo, 2013b).

1.1 Research Question

This study will answer the following questions:

- (1) What factors contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria?
- (2) How has the emergence of Boko Haram affected the economic and political development in Nigeria?

The first question will give details of how Boko Haram started with little or no attacks to a significant. Many scholars have written about this and there are different perspectives to reasons Boko Haram keeps spreading and expanding in Nigeria.

The expansion of Boko Haram will be viewed from the following perspectives; advanced attacks, increase and expansion in their membership, geographical expansion, attraction and connection to other International terrorist groups. The second question will focus on how the expansion of Boko Haram has affected the economic and political sector of the Nation with more emphasis on the Northern region of the country.

1.2 Hypotheses

H1: Dissatisfaction with the economic policies of the government, inflation, poverty and increase in unemployment rate has contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Lack of trust in the political system as a result of corruption and poor crises resolution strategies has also helped in the spread of Boko Haram.



H2: The insecurity caused by Boko Haram's activities has created negative implications on Nigeria's economy and political development. The negative implications caused by Boko Haram terrorist group will be discussed from the view of people's inability to engage in economic productions, how the country has become unattractive to visitors, the closure of many manufacturing companies that should have

employed unemployed graduates, poor education system and more. The activities of Boko Haram have also impeded the public participation of citizens in the electoral process.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Different authors, scholars and researchers in the field of terrorism have employed some theories which will help to give good understanding of reasons for the expansion of Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria. As it is generally known that theories help to explain and give understanding to an event or case. Scholars apply theories to explain an event from their own perspective.

The emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group has been linked with few theories that are useful in helping researchers to understand the causes and expansion of terrorism: examples are frustration-aggression theory, social exclusion, Islamic extremist, relative deprivation theory, weak state theory and few others. For the purpose of this research, relative deprivation theory will be adopted as the theory that will help us to understand the emergence and expansion of Boko Haram.

1.3.1 Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation theory will help to understand some of the underlying causes of Boko Haram terrorist group and what led to the emergence of the terrorist group. A deep look into governance in Nigeria, the political system and social conditions of Nigerians has been a boost to the existence and expansion of Boko Haram terrorist group. Nigeria, a country blessed with good soil for Agriculture and rich in natural resources like crude oil, coal, bitumen, etc. All these natural resources most especially crude oil has served as a source of income for the country. Despite all these natural

resources, the country is still struggling to be recognized as a regional economic power.

Gurr defined relative deprivation as an “actor’s perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities” (1970:24). This meaning was actually from his book “Why men rebel”. He believes that citizens dissatisfaction with policies that the government create and sometimes what the social conditions the citizens are been offered from the government compared to their expectations mostly lead to frustration and rebellion. It is generally accepted that poverty and inequalities among citizens of countries gives room for violence in the country.

Ted Gurr (1970) contend that “structural poverty and inequality within countries are breeding grounds for violent political movements in general and terrorism specifically.” In relation to Nigeria, terrorism emanate in the northern part where development in all sectors are low. The Northern part of Nigeria is known for its abundant unemployment and poverty rate in the country, which led to the uprising of terrorist group challenging the supremacy of the government.

Sope Williams Elegbe (2012) argues: “The increasing poverty in Nigeria is accompanied by increasing unemployment. Unemployment is higher in the north than in the south. Mix this situation with radical Islam, which promises a better life for martyrs, and you can understand the growing violence in the north. Government staistics show that the northern states have the highest proportion of uneducated persons. If you link a lack of education and attendant lack of opportunities to a high

male youth population, you can imagine that some areas are actually a breeding ground for terrorism. (cited in Oxford Research Group 2012:4).

Boko Haram headquarter is located in the Northern part of Nigeria, while the Northern part has the highest level of people living in poverty, high illiteracy level, highest number of unemployed citizens in the country and home to the almajiris (the almajiris are those who are on the quest of having Islamic knowledge, left their various homes and become destitute who takes into begging for a living). All these are reasons that the Northerners in Nigeria are easily recruited into the terrorist group. Most of the operations of the terrorist group in Nigeria take place in the Northern part because they believed they have been deprived and they feel they are getting less development compared to the other parts in the country.

The Eastern part of Nigeria most especially the Niger Delta part of the country, where the major lucrative natural resources of the country are being found believed they deserve more in the allocation of federal resources because of the implication of oil drilling on their environment. The exploration of oil destroy the soil and makes it not fit for farming. They believed they are been deprived and this led to various violence, kidnappings and formation of militant groups. The early intervention of government which led to the creation of amnesty resolved the crises.

The development differences between the North and other part of the country are wide, which makes the citizens of the Northern region feel isolated and cheated when it comes to allocation of resources. The development projects and the standard of living also created the feelings of deprivation. The other part of Nigeria have a lot of access

to the oil revenue, developmental projects as a result of community social responsibilities of International companies, social amenities and many more while the Northern region have less of all these. This sense of deprivation has a major impact on the rise of Boko Haram and the insecurity experienced in the Northern part of the country.

The poor economic system in the country and mostly especially in the Northern part has led to grievances and frustration, the Northern part believes the other regions have been equipped with better opportunities and that they enjoy high and good standard of living, Meanwhile, accessibility to government is poor generally in Nigeria, the best option they believe is joining forces with Boko Haram terrorist group in making their grievances known.

1.4 Methodology

Taking Boko Haram as a case study with the aim to explain the relationship between the terrorist group and development in Nigeria. The thesis employs the use of qualitative methodology relying mainly on secondary sources, such as journals, articles, newspaper, magazines, YouTube clips and reports from Nigeria government and non-governmental institutions. National Bureau of Statistics is a major data gathering source with Data ranging from between 2004 to 2018.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

This study focuses on the emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria and also what led to the expansion of the terrorist group in terms of territorial boundaries and tactics. The impact of Boko Haram on economic and political development in Nigeria will also be discussed.

The limitations ranges from the inability to reach any former member of the terrorist group to ask for their motives of getting involve in the terrorist activities. Another limitation is the inaccurate data from causalities, limited access to data concerning Boko Haram attacks and also some unavailable confidential data as well.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research topic was influenced by the present security issues in Nigeria and its neighboring country (Chad, Niger and Cameroon).The thesis intents to examine reasons Boko Haram has been able to expand in the country. These will eventually help government officials, elected office holders and other stakeholders to know the best approach to curtail Boko Haram after been informed of the causes for the expansion of Boko Haram and why they are able to easily recruit members.

Another importance of this thesis is also to examine the impact of the Boko Haram terrorist group on the political and economic development in Nigeria. This will be discussed on how insecurity has caused less development in Nigeria and most especially the Northern region of the country.

This research will also offer suggestions to the Nigerian government as a matter of urgency to do everything possible to end the terrorist attacks and find lasting solutions to the root causes of grievances in the country. The governments will also have to reduce the unemployment rate of the country to a reasonable level to discourage easy recruitment of young minds into the terrorist group. Equipping and mobilizing the security agencies with 21st century equipment which will make them stand better chances of attacking the group effectively are also part of the recommendations.

1.7 Organization of Chapters

This research work will consist of five (5) chapters. The first chapter is an introduction of the thesis and it gives overview of the research topic by discussing the background information, purpose of the research, hypotheses, methodology of the study. It also give details about the scope of the study, the limitations that are likely to be encountered during the course of the research and discuss briefly on the theoretical framework. It is going to be the basics for this thesis. The second chapter is devoted to the review of existing literatures by scholars, researchers and stakeholders on the concept of terrorism in the International system. The chapter will also discuss briefly about Boko Haram terrorist group. The third chapter will discuss how dissatisfaction with the government policies led to the expansion of Boko Haram in Nigeria, which will help in proffering solutions to the first research question. Chapter four will discuss how the insecurity created by Boko Haram activities has affected the economic and political development in Nigeria. Chapter Five will focus on conclusions and recommendations of the thesis.

1.8 Conclusion

Solomon Ayegba contends that “To Gurr, violence and extremism like the Boko Haram terrorist group based in the North is a result of collective discontent caused by a sense of relative deprivation by the young people...” (2015: 92). Unable to utilize a platform to voice their grievances and incapable of effectively altering their status; the people of the north are influenced to join the Boko haram group as it imparts a sense of purpose and mission as “warriors for the cause of God ordained to cleanse the society of moral impurities and establish an alternate order” (Ngwodo, 2010).

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses articles, journals, views and writings of various authors for the purpose of understanding the concept of terrorism. The chapter also analyses the literature on Boko Haram insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria.

There are different perspectives and views on the concept of terrorism, as it affects all parts of the world through different approaches, purposes, and perpetrators. Terrorism is basically a challenged concept in political debate and since there is no generally acknowledged legitimate definition of terrorism in the United Nations, the arguments on the causes will continue.

Scholars have spilled nearly as much ink as terrorist has spilled blood, but their various views and points still vary. Schmid and Jongman directed a study examining data from more than 100 definitions and ran a breakdown of basic components, they found that there were 22 regular components, of which the most commonly used were 'violence', 'force', 'political', 'fear and terror emphasized' and 'threat' (Schmidt and Jongman,1988:5). But for the purpose of this research work, some definitions will be considered.

2.2 Concept of Terrorism

The Oxford Dictionary of English describes terrorism as “Unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims.” (Oxford Dictionary). Quite clearly, numerous demonstrations of conventional attacks can similarly be portrayed as fierce and scaring for political purposes. This definition does not think about the idea of the culprits, nor the methods or components of accomplishing their objectives. It additionally does not make reference to the utilization of danger of savagery; determine what the objectives are, or what the points could be past their political nature. Thusly, while this definition might be straight forward and it’s only valuable for fundamental presentation.

Bruce Hoffman, a famous scholar on terrorism defined: "terrorism as violence or equally important, the threat of violence used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim” (Hoffman, 2006:3). Thus, this definition covers brutality and political points, yet does not specify either who the culprits of the violence or attacks are, or the targeted fellow or victims. The definition anyway refers to threat of violence showing that violence alone does not classify it as terrorism but the threat also does. This has extraordinary results over the grouping of terrorism, as an altogether bigger extent of occurrences can be classed as terrorist events.

Brain Forst, an American professor gave a more considerable definition to terrorism as: “the premeditated and unlawful use of violence against a non-combatant population or target having symbolic significance, with an aim of either inducing political change through intimidation and destabilization or destroying a population identified as an enemy” (Forst,2009:5).

This definition by Brian Forst explained the aims and objectives of the terrorist and their targets. It can be taken to be a comprehensive definition but it did not discuss about the utilization of power and also using of force. Another aspect the definition did not make mention is the classification of the terrorist to either be a state actor or non- state.

In order to give a wide and global attention to terrorism, the definition has gone beyond scholarly work and can be classified as official definition which is used for specific purposes like managing the legitimate limit of terrorism issues; also it helps to seek legal actions against people engaged in terrorism. (Chaliand and Blin, 2007:14). With these types of definition, it may be obvious that these definitions are more about the thought on terrorism and also on the culprits of the act compared to scholar's definitions. Generally, these definitions normally include "three basic components (i) the use of violence; (ii) political objectives; (iii) the intention of sowing fear in a target population" (Chaliand and Blin, 2007:14).

For example, the United State Central Intelligence Agency presently accept terrorism to be; "premeditated, political motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents". The Federal Bureau of Investigation defined terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social ".

It is important we move from finding a general definition rather to an all-inclusive definition suitable for explicit situations, the absence of a generally accepted definition should not obstruct the endeavors to counter terrorism.

2.3 Causes of Terrorism

To have a good understanding of terrorism, it is important to have an idea of the causes. Some scholars believed that dealing with the main causes of terrorism will definitely bring an end to this contemporary issue affecting the International system.

It is difficult to come up with a specific reason that leads to terrorism because each terrorist group has its own purpose. It therefore differs from each other, outrageous perspectives in common belief system, religion, science, nationality and ethnicity leads to terrorism. However, the grievances on deprivation, unemployment, weak state control of territory and then military abuse are in some cases precursor to terrorism. Terrorist performs their operations because there are authentic confirmations and sometimes convictions that they are been deprived and they tender their grievances as mischief done to them and in some cases they attack directly the individuals who inflict the damage on them or deprived them. Some attacks are carried out to attract attention and also to distract the government (political reasons).

Deprivation at the International level sometimes can be a reason for terrorism. Utilizing the instance of the United Nation's activity to make the condition of Israel on Palestinian land after World War II. Belief systems sometimes determine how the terrorist groups select their targets; it gives them the rationale in activity, gives a clear-cut on how they see other individuals and find supporting idea to their actions and activities. (Azar, 2003)

Babalola, argued that the contribution of religious convictions in explaining terrorism cannot be overlooked. In some societies, religious convictions have been broadly acknowledged to be the purpose and a pushing factor, not neglecting that there may be some other different sources like disputes about power, assets, and territories which might add to their motives. Related to this contention are James Piazza and Ali Ozdogan who argued that the isolation of minority groups like unequal job opportunities, absence of access to fundamental and social amenities had contributed to grievances by the minority group which may likely appear as terrorist actions. Besides, the more socially divided a state is, the higher its closeness to terrorist activities. Which means the higher the divisions and differences between social contract like ethnicity, religion, culture and religion may prompt terrorism activities. (Piazza, 2011; Ozdogan, 2007)

2.4 Terrorism in Nigeria

According to Global Terrorism Database (GTD), a database for the record of terrorism in the world since 1970. Nigeria is the 6th most terrorized country in the world. The terrorist incident of Global Terrorism Database in 2017 have on record 484 incidents with over 1,800 deaths and over 1000 injured. Nigeria has the highest increase in terrorist casualties in 2016 (Ibid.).

2.4.1 Boko Haram

Boko Haram, a name rooted in Hausa language majorly spoken by the Northern citizens of Nigeria. The term means “Western education is forbidden”. This means Boko Haram rejects everything Western, including values, technologies and system of government. The official name is Jama'atuAhlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, which makes an interpretation of "Individuals Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings of Jihad". The terrorist group dismiss the authority of the political

government in Nigeria and restrict its members and supporters from participating in social or political events including exercising their civil responsibilities of voting and been voted for. They believe every government institutions in the country are evil and need to be destroyed because it does not get the approval of Allah (BBC). The terrorist group target government institutions, civilians, elected office holders and even public and private properties. The Northern part of Nigeria is where they mostly perform their operations which have left thousands of people homeless, led to death of many and destroyed properties worth Billions.

Boko Haram terrorist group mainly inhabit areas in the northern states of Nigeria, specifically Yobe, Kano, Bauchi, Borno and Kaduna. The terrorist group was formed in the year 2002, It is centred in Maiduguri, the capital of the North-Eastern state of Borno. The first known attack by the group was in December 2003 which includes roughly 200 terrorist who attacked multiple police stations in the state of Yobe near the Niger border. According to National Consortium for the study of terrorism and responses to terrorism (START) and its Global Terrorism Database, there have been 1900 Attacks, 15,527 people have been killed, 7,328 injured and 2,436 have been taken hostage from the period of first operation 2003 – 2017.

Boko Haram, with headquarters in the Northern part of the country and extending its base and operations to neighboring countries like Chad, Northern Cameroon, is attacking both civilian and military system of the country. They started with a non-violent method but presently it has been a radical and terror filled attacks, with the main focus of eradicating Western education and bringing pure Islam into Northern Nigeria.

Boko Haram recruits members from every possible area in the country, ranging from lawmakers, military, unemployed graduates, experts, academicians and even homeless people. In 2004, some undergraduates from Nigerian universities in the Northern part of the country decided to get involved in Boko Haram activities. They destroyed their educational certificates and joined the terrorist group for Qur'anic knowledge and to improve their belief in the mission of the terrorist group. "In fact, AlhajiBuji Fai, one of the former commissioners in Borno state was a prominent member and financier of the Boko Haram group before his death. In addition, Kadiru Atiku, who was a lecturer in one of the Nigerian universities, is also a prominent member of the radical Islamic group". (Onuoha 2010:54-64).

Boko Haram is associated with Jihadist Salafiyya, which opposes Nigeria conventional type of Islam of not been violent. The encounter with Jihadi Salafis changed the religious condition in Nigeria. The academic Salafis employs scholarly discussion to challenge the traditional Muslim, with the aim of converting them through Jihad. Boko Haram has developed after some time from a nonviolent to a violent organization. The terrorist group first violent attack was in December 2003, when they attack the state security forces, the police station and governmental buildings in Yobe state. They have spread to other 19 Northern states in the Nation, with bombarding assaults and killings that have left over 6000 police officers, military personnel and citizens dead.

Boko Haram recognition at the global level happened between the years 2010 and 2011, after they successfully executed various dangerous attacks against the Nigerian government and furthermore exploded a vehicle bomb at the United Nations building in the Nation's capital, Abuja (Karmon, 2014). After the death of Boko Haram first

leader, Mohammed Yusuf, the group reorganized themselves and started operations on another level, they claimed to have members all over the 36 states in Nigeria and proclaiming to be a Nigerian version of the Al-Qaeda terrorist group and aligning with the vision of Osama Bin Laden till the whole country accept their ideology (Doukhan, 2012). Al-Qaeda in response, promised to equip the terrorist group with sophisticated weapons, training and render other support needed to expand through the Nations with their aims and vision (Radin, 2012).

Researchers have affirmed that diverse factors have contributed to the expansion of terrorism in Nigeria. Ozoemenam Mbachu contends that the political system in Nigeria which does not allow power to be shared among the unifying units is one of the major causes of terrorism in the country. Federalism that is believed to be the system in the country political arena is debased and corrupted.

The nature of exemption, nepotism and the corrupt judicial system is an additional factor. There is a high measure of segregation and special treatment in a country judiciary system with an idea that every judge has its buying price. At the point when rulers remain exempt from the laws that apply to everyone else and utilize the law as a political instrument against their rivals, the law loses its believability (Wylar, 2008)

Increase in corruption in the country, where elected office holders and public servants have been involved in several misuse of public resources and embezzlement. This corruption has affected every sector and institutions in Nigeria. The institution created to tackle the menace is also not independent as it goes after oppositions members in the country.

The identified crises have affected the security situation in the country. A Nigerian would initially distinguish himself with his ethnic gathering instead of his nation, such misconceptions between the two gatherings which can be normally settled agreeably, have brought about viciousness which breeds terrorism.

The shortcoming of the state establishments and the general intensity of certain people help terrorism. The state comes up with weak policies that cannot be deterrence to terrorism. The weakness of the state shows the inability of the state to fulfill basic political campaign promises and provide the citizens with the security, social welfare and good standard of living they deserve. Political institution unwillingness to be accountable and their failure to ensure public order also encourage terrorism (Patrick, 2006).

The increase in unemployment rate in the country also adds to the expansion of terrorism in Nigeria and the world generally. Unemployment rate keeps increasing yearly in Nigeria and the policymakers has not taken compelling measures to control the emergency. Some unemployed individuals have entertained themselves into wrong doings, like violence, kidnapping, terrorism etc. (Mbachu and Bature, 2013; Igbuzor, 2011).

Shehu Sani, A Nigerian senator representing Kaduna central argues that bad education system and illiteracy are factors that contribute to the rise of terrorism in Nigeria. They are been deceived easily to act against the will of the state because of not knowing the implication on the development of their state and also because they lack information. People that lived in the Northern region of the country are mostly illiterate and they

believe education is a terrible thing that affect and corrupt the country as a whole; various attacks and violence in the country has been linked with those who are against education (Sani, 2013). He includes that mentality of many young citizens have been dismayed by the government; it has made them perpetrators because of the bad education system in the Northern region of the country. (Ibid)

Abimbola and Adesote (2012), in “Domestic Terrorism and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria Issues and Trends: A Historical Discourse”, view Boko Haram terrorist group as what is known as domestic terrorism. They both came up with a conclusion that Boko Haram terrorism group is motivated by the growing and high poverty rate in the region, records shows that the Northern region have quite a lot of citizens that depends on alms begging which is as a result of the high rate of poverty. Furthermore, their finding shows that Northern region recorded the highest poverty rate with 74.8% which gives the expansion of Boko Haram opportunity to influence them and get them attracted.

Felix Akpan, Okonette Ekanem, and Angela Olofu-Adeoye in their article, “Boko Haram Insurgency and the Counter Terrorism Policy in Nigeria,” related Nigeria insecurity issues with other countries facing the same terrorist attacks from Islamic extremist group, they both suggested that border security should be strengthen in collaboration with neighboring countries as one of the urgent plan of action. Felix Akpan and colleague also advised the Federal government of Nigeria not to start a negotiation discussion with the terrorist group but rather involve and get the support of the other Islamic sect in Nigeria in fighting Boko Haram.

The relationship between Boko Haram and Maitatsine movement that happened between 1980 and 1985, led by Muhammadu Marwa, which was one of the first major wave from the Northern region of Nigeria, drew its membership from poor men, young and those that are not economically stable, this shows that terrorism in Nigeria led by Boko Haram can be traced to economic and political grievance against the government which are majorly caused by corruption and poor governance (Kukah, 2012)

The inequality in economic resources and regional development that is glaring in the country between the Southern region and Northern region of the country had contributed to the expansion of the Boko Haram terrorist group. (Klugman, 1999; Waldek and Jayasekara, 2011; Blanquart, 2012).

2.5 Major Attacks of Boko Haram

The death of Mohammed Yusuf led to the emergence of Abubakar Shekau as the leader of Boko Haram. His emergence heralds the violent operation of the terrorist group. Below are listed some of the operations of Boko Haram under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau;

- On Friday, January 28, 2011, Boko Haram killed Borno State governorship candidate on the platform of All Nigeria's people's Party (ANPP), Alhaji Modu Gobi and his brother. A 12-year-old boy and four police officers also lost their lives.
- On March 13, 2011, the sect killed a renowned Islamic cleric Ahmed Abdullah at his mosque in Gomari.
- On April 9, 2011, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) office in Maiduguri was bombed.
- June 6, 2011, witnessed the first suicide bombing in Nigeria when a suicide

bomber drove a car laden with explosive into the police headquarter in Abuja, the federal capital and detonated it. Many people were killed and scores injured.

- Twenty-five people died on June 26, 2011, when explosive was thrown into a drinking joint in Maiduguri.
- The United Nations Headquarters in Abuja, the Federal capital was bombed on August 26, 2011, by a suicide bomber, 21 people died in the attack while several sustained injuries.
- In September 2011, Yusuf's brother-in-law, Babakura Fugu, was killed to thwart a peace process initiated by former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo less than 72 hours after having a meeting with Obasanjo.
- On February 26, 2012, Boko Haram attacked Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), a suicide bomber drove a car laden with explosives into the church killing four people.
- St. Finbarr's Catholic Church in Reyfield Jos, Plateau State was attacked on March 11, 2012. Eleven people lost their lives in the attack including a pregnant woman, while 22 were injured.
- On April 29, 2011, Christians who were worshipping at Bayero University, Kano theatre were attacked, 15 people killed including a professor, and many injured.
- There was a suicide attack at the Christ Chosen Church of God on Rukuba Road in Jos on June 10, 2012, two people were seriously injured.
- On June 8, 2012, a suicide bomber detonated his bomb at the gate of the Borno state police headquarters, killing five people, scores were also injured.
- 2 November, 2018: Boko Haram fighters attacked two Borno villages and IDP

camp killing at least 12 civilians.

- 17 December, 2018: Two military Bases in Northern Nigeria near Nigerian border with Chad were attacked.
- 24 December, 2018: Unidentified Gunmen killed 17 people in Nigeria's Zamfara State.
- 25 December, 2018: 14 personnel killed in Boko Haram Ambush in Damaturu town in Yobe State, Nigeria.
- 12 February, 2019: Governor Shettima convoy killing 42 people.

The considered literature gave insight to understanding Boko Haram in Nigeria and to contribute to the advancing scholarly works on understanding terrorism issues in Nigeria. The Major assumption is that social and economic situation of the citizens in the Northern region of the country led to the uprising and spread of the terrorist group, which is known as the relationship between poverty and terrorism. A look at the various citizens who are members of this sect are mostly uneducated people, poor, unemployed, those that earn less and find it difficult to live well in the region.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter encompasses clear view points that will help in understanding the research work. It gives perceptions on terrorism and how it operates in Nigeria. The chapter drew reader's attention to the fact that there is no generally recognized definition for terrorism but the chapter was able to define the concept from different views.

Additionally, the chapter review scholarly literatures on terrorism, the level at which terrorist increase in the International system and terrorism in Nigeria was discussed. The cause of terrorism which contains different factors ranging from poverty,

unemployment and many others was discussed. Boko Haram as a terrorist group was also discussed from their emergence to their expansion.

Chapter 3

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE EXPANSION OF BOKO HARAM

3.1 Introduction

Looking deep into Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, it can easily be concluded that it consists of the traits related to terrorism. The way the group goes about their operations with brutality and their intentions are element of terrorism.

Boko Haram can be traced to a radical Islamic Sect formerly known as "Jama'atul Ahlil Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad" implying that a gathering of individuals who are committed to the expansion of Jihad and messages of Prophet Muhammad. Boko Haram is a terrorist group based in the north-eastern region of Nigeria with operational extension to Niger, Chad and Northern region of Cameroon.

The organization was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 with the main purpose of "purifying Islam in Northern Nigeria." The group started as a non-violent one until its radicalization in 2009 leading to different violent uprising and the Nigeria military force had to step in and the leader was captured and killed in the same year. After the death of Mohammed Yusuf who happens to be the founder and spiritual leader as well, Abubakar Shekau was declared as the leader with their activities and operations more violent and radical. Over ten thousands of people have been killed while over 3million

people have been displaced from their home which some of them stays in internally displaced persons' camp across the country. (Global Terrorism Index in 2017).

It became an International issue following the method used in their activities like bombings, kidnappings and murder. Some of those issues that drew the attention of the International community's not limited to the following; the 2011 suicide attack on the United Nations building in Abuja, the 2014 kidnapping of about 270 Chibok school girls in Borno state while majority of the kidnapped girls were Christians, they were been forced to get converted to Islam, enslaved and forced them to early marriage.

Boko Haram stand against western way of life which reflected in it adopted name "Boko" (meaning education, democracy) then the word "Haram" meaning (prohibition).

Different scholars have written on the ideology of Boko Haram, while the religion motive cannot be overlooked because Christian communities, worship centers have been targeted and attacked several times by the terrorist group. It will also be safe to say that Boko Haram have also been a method used to show grievance against the government of the country because some have lost family members who have been executed without going through the trial process.

Poverty and increase in unemployment rate in the country has been a major reason for the expansion of the terrorist group, the northerners feel cheated as well as they record the highest number of poverty states and states with less development compared to the southern state that produced the main source of revenue which is oil. Boko Haram has

also emerged to be regarded as an opposition force to the government as a result of grievances and deprivation.

Before the death of the founder and leader of Boko Haram, the attacks were not harsh, they mostly engaged in non-violent movement by preaching and forming partnership with politicians, he passed his message with peace and having a just society as his fundamental vision and goal, he made his followers to understand that sharia law is an important tool in achieving the vision and goal. The situation of the northerners gave him more followers seeing the imbalance economically and in social development amongst the other regions in the country. He avoided violence as a method of passing his message of the imposition of sharia law but rather involve other Islamic organization in the process.

3.2 How Dissatisfaction with Economic Policies Contributed to the Expansion of Boko Haram.

3.2.1 Inability of the Government to Create Employment

According to Gordon (2011:26) “unemployed and underemployed young adults can rapidly destabilize a society with their restive energy. They are quick to join nationalistic movements or are quite often easy targets for radical religious movements”. Unemployment includes “the number of people skilled and unskilled in any political entity without work” maybe because of unavailability of job opportunities (Kastina, 2012:113).

There are two (2) categories of unemployment, there are those who cannot find job because they lack the basic and required skills and the other category of people have

the basic requirement and needed skills but they are unemployed because there are no job opportunities for them. (Olofin&Salisu; 2014)

Most of the violent activities and attacks that have been recorded in Nigeria have been carried out by youths who are likely to be unemployed or do not have a good paying job. This has been a major concern for elected government officials as this has been their main focus during electioneering process and election campaigning. It is important to know that unemployed or underemployed individuals can easily be frustrated, destabilize and they are easily convinced to engage with extremist religious groups or movement (Kastina, 2012:118)

Unemployment cannot be overlooked because of its major contribution to the expansion and spread of Boko Haram in Nigeria. It has been regarded as one of the Nigeria's issues that require urgent attention. The education system keeps producing employable graduates every year with most of them unable to secure job because of the inability of the government to provide a job enabling environment for the citizens and also create policies that will drive increase in employment in the country. Figure 1 shows the increase in unemployment rate in Nigeria from 2010 to 2018. (Kastina 2012)

The Northern region of the country where Boko Haram activities take place and where the headquarters of the terrorist group is located has the highest number of Nigerians that are unemployed. The causes of these can be traced to their belief against western education which eventually made most them not to have the necessary skills as globalization and industrialization takes place in the country. Another reason is the

poor attitude of the government to the development of Agricultural sector which is mainly the economic power of the Northern region, as soon as petroleum was discovered and the exploration started, the government showed less care and attention to the Agricultural sector which also add to the level of unemployment in the Northern region of the country (Musa, 2012)

The condition of the employable youths leads to aggression and frustration and gives the terrorist group an advantage over them and also expands well.

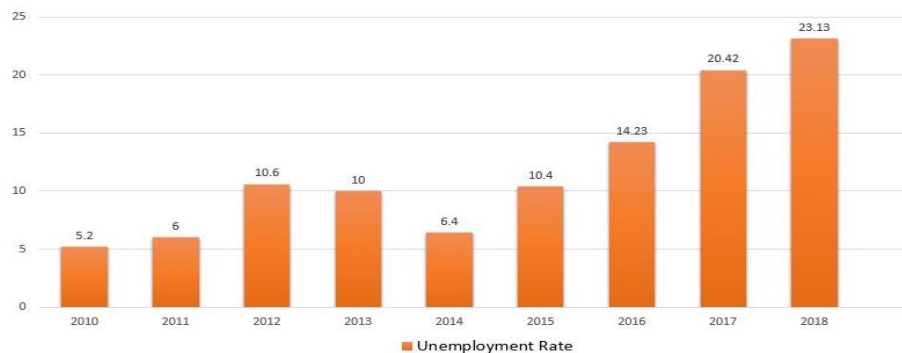


Figure 1. Unemployment rate in Nigeria (2010 -2018)
Source: National Bureau of Statistics

3.2.2 Poverty

West Africa seems to say a lot about the relationship between poverty and terrorism, because it has a record of about eleven (11) from the twenty-five (25) poverty stricken and less developed countries in the world.

Nigeria is Africa's biggest economy and fastest developing state in Africa and one of the largest producers of crude oil in the world still experiencing poverty. In 2018, 50 percent of Nigerians are projected to be living in extreme poverty. (National Bureau of Statistics 2019).

As O'Neill (2002a: 9) observed "poverty of resources, combined with poverty of prospects, choices and respect, help enable terrorism to thrive". Various researchers have been able to connect the Boko Haram terrorist group with socio-economic conditions in the Northern region of the country. The Northern crises have been attributed to "the alarming poverty rate and the neglect of the youths in the region (Musa 2012:118). Forest (2012:57) additionally noticed that "the emergence of violent extremists like the Nigerian Taliban and Boko Haram can be viewed as a response in Northern communities to insecurities about their spiritual and socioeconomic future". The poverty rate blame has been shifted on the political leaders and the political system for not providing a good education system that will keep the citizens away from manipulation.

According to a researcher (cited in Musa, 2012:118):

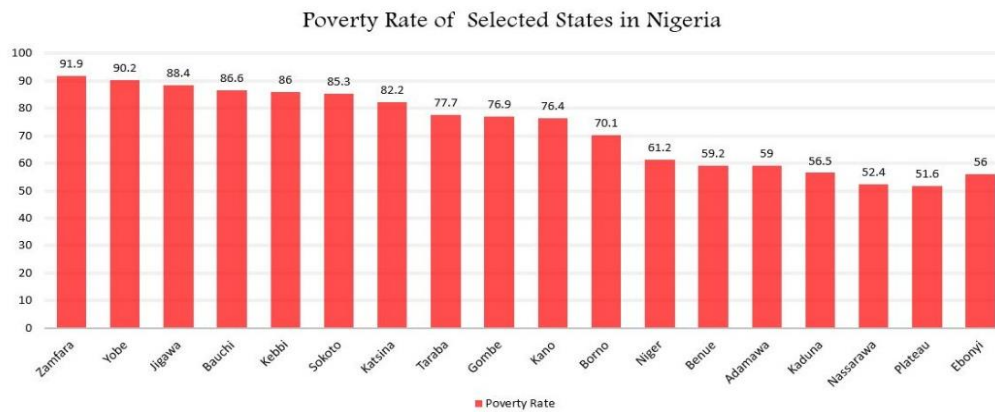
This problem is due to poverty in the North, despite that their region produce more presidents for the country more than other regions. The North is divided between the masses who are in majority and the elites and rulers who are in a small minority. The latter made sure the former are kept illiterate and poor so that they can manipulate them. There is also this idea of obedience to those in authority which the elites and rulers used to hold down the masses.

Poverty rate in the Northern region of the country is higher compared to the Southern region. Figure 3.2 analyzes the poverty rate of selected states in Nigeria (2014). It is noted that the Northern region had higher citizens living in poverty related to the other part of the country. The younger generations are the most affected one in the region; a lot of them depend on begging by the street for feeding and shelter, which is known as Almajiria. These group of people are prone to get involved in activities related to terrorism because of the promises been made to them. Some of them get involved in violence and conflict issues because they can easily be manipulated (Musa, 2012:118).

According to Tayo Fatinikun, who was the State Secretary of the Child Protection Network in Sokoto, induced that these youngsters who are essentially "living where they don't have families" are easily exposed and thereby get engaged in the activities of the terrorist group. (Parker, 2012). As observed from the recruitment process of the terrorist group, their peculiarity of promises made to prospective members like helping them in achieving a better status in the society and promise of business support which is attractive to the desperate young ones in the affected part of the country.

A former male member who spoke with Mercy corps said "Because I needed an identity to remain safe, I decided to pledge my allegiance to them. At that time, I needed protection and immunity from persecution by them so I could continue with my business. When they attacked Bama and took over the military barracks and burned all the houses in our community, my family's house was spared."

One might want to know why the poverty rate in the Southern region did not lead to various attacks as witnessed in the Northern region of the country. The Niger delta protest and crises is a good example of the attacks in the Southern region which shows the nexus between poverty and violence. But the level of poverty in each region added to the aggressiveness of the citizens, the level of deprivation in each region gives different result. It is important to note that the Southerners especially the oil producing region in the country feel deprived as their land is not good for Agricultural farming yet they produce the natural resources which is the major income to the country as whole. They have in several times experienced attacks, protest, violence and insurgences because of the lack of social and economic development of their region. (Clark, 2009; Etemike, 2009; Agbiboa, 2011a).



Data collected between 2004 and 2014 by United Nation's Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index

Figure 2. Poverty rate of selected states in Nigeria

3.3 Lack of Trust in the Political System

Lack of trust in the political system in Nigeria is a result of what is referred to as “The State Failure Theory. This hypothesis is related to the relative deprivation theory which depends on the idea that the state has failed to provide the necessary policies that will bring about good economy and better well-being of their citizens. Good and blooming economies are important elements in a successful and developing system. The elected political office holders make use of the resources meant for the development of the country for their own personal interest, making the general public suffer for it.

Due to the inability of the government to provide the basic needs of the citizens, communities have come together to form an association whereby they contribute to fund the necessary social amenities they need in their community such as good water supply and electricity for their community. Insecurity of lives and properties keep increasing because of increase of violence and crime rates, communities and individual as well provide security for themselves for the safety of their properties and family. There is increase in the rate at which youth joined cultism, kidnapping gang and arm robbery gang as well, the expansion of Boko Haram can be traced to the fact that the

policy makers and elected office holders failed in their responsibilities

3.3.1 Poor Crises Resolution Mechanism

The mechanism the Federal government of Nigeria used in dealing with the uprising of Boko Haram was not good enough as various red-alerts; warning was outrightly neglected by the government. The government failed to address issues that are related to group grievances which eventually led to the rise of the terrorist group.

In 2005, when President Goodluck Jonathan led administration reacted to the uprising of the crises by establishing a Joint Security Force to battle the expanding terrorist group, the mechanism and method they used was wrong. Intelligence report from the military department reports shows that individuals and members related to the terrorist group have been sponsored and trained in country where terrorism is of high prevalence like Pakistan in order to be skilled in production of explosive materials for attacks and also in strategic trainings (Owen, 2014).

Despite the report from the intelligence gathering, the Federal government took less action in resolving and preventing the looming dangers until the issue is out of prevention.

3.3.2 Corruption

The political system in Nigeria from the beginning had created isolation between the policy makers, politicians and elite from the general populace. This has added to the loss of legitimacy among the populace where they don't trust in the political system and institutions. (Forest, 2012). Every sector in the country have different corruption cases, it appears to have eaten deep into every corner of the country, every institution, sectors, agencies, parastatals, ministries not excluding the elected government officers

and security services (Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Army and others). (Adetoro, 2012).

This clarifies why the citizens are bothered about the government and also why there's lack of trust in the political system. It also shows why the Boko Haram has the military forces, law enforcement agencies and the government institutions as their primary targets. The uninvestigated killings and unlawful open execution of the radical group members also added to the attacks. (Johnson, 2011).

Emphasis should be on how unfriendly corruption is to National development; any institution that corruption is found is likely to have low development and issues with rendering better, effective and unbiased administrative services and obligations. This is also noticeable in the Nigeria Military Services where corruption ranging from recruitment process, promotion process and even financial aspect of making the military sector work has been filled with element of corruption. A declining rate of the military services and insecurity recorded in the country can be a result of the corruption practices happening in the military sector, this has also affect the incapability to shut down the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group (Olowu 1993:231)

According to Sarah Sewall, who served as Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights, United States, said completely that corruption and embezzlement are preventing and affecting the work to end terrorism in the Northern region of the country. How? The budget allocated to the defense ministry to enable it to combat terrorism have been mismanaged and turned for personal use. The legislative and executive arm of the government increased the

allocated budget of the ministry in order to make them defeat the terrorist group from 100 billion naira (\$625 million) in 2010 to 927 billion naira (\$6 billion) in 2011 and 1 trillion (\$6.25 billion) naira in 2012, 2013, and 2014. (National Bureau of statistic)

With the increase in the budget allocation, one would expect a lot of impact in combating terrorism but there is no relating result because of the failure of the military to reasonably make use of the allocated funds to improve the security issues in the Northern region and in the country generally. Different investigations reveal that the allocated funds had been misused by top government, military and other stake holders involved in the process. Security equipment meant to be purchased for the purpose of securing the country was not and those that were gotten were not the approved and standard one's meant for combating terrorism.

A present case of the misappropriation still in the Nigeria court of law is the \$2.1 million Arms Deal Scandal famously called the Dasukigate; including the previous National Security Adviser (NSA), (Rtd.) Col. Sambo Dasuki and other top military officers and government officials, the case uncovered a large scale extortion in the military, where funds implied for the defense sector were been conveyed for private and politics purposes. Over \$15billion has been recorded stolen which affected the military from not been able to purchase the important equipment and also caused inability to fund the adequate training of the army officers and this gave them poor attitude to work (Sahara Reporters).

Corruption in another way has affected the effectiveness of the military sector by limiting their accessibility to logistical support, the logistical support here is the

acquisition and accessibility to defense items, moving of military officers and provision of amenities like military base and also effective medical services. Despite the huge spending on the military, there are reports that the Nigerian military is not well prepared with equipment, and that officers are typically sent into battle with constrained weaponry. There have been video of officers coming to social media to weep and complain bitterly about their poor and constrained weapons which is very low compared to the weapons been used by the terrorist group. The officers made it clear that while they were furnished with just AK-47 rifles and many slugs, but the terrorist group make use of modern arms and ammunition like Browning Machine Guns, Rocket Impelled Projectiles, Night Vision Goggles, AK-49 rifles and many more (Nick Schifrin).

Added to this is the poor and ineffective medical personnel who are limited to assist the officers on the battle field, and also insufficient allowances that is been paid to the military personnel and family of the fallen heroes which give less motivation to the officers.

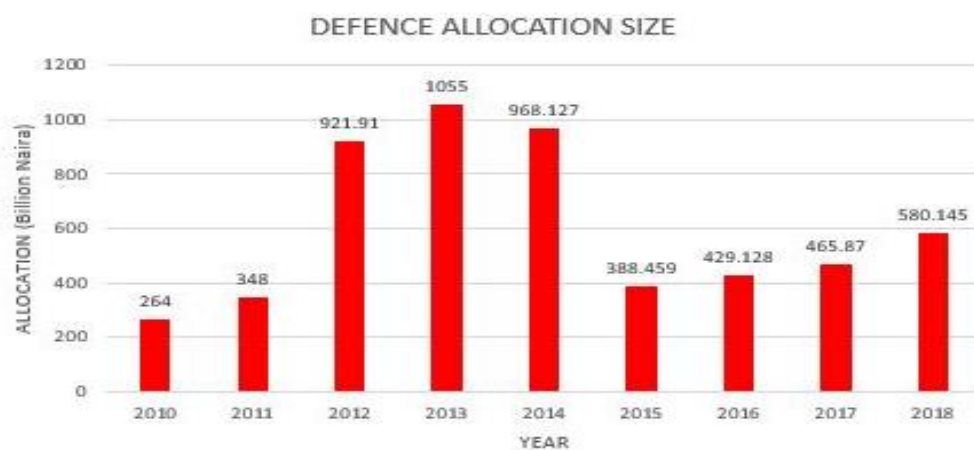


Figure 3. Budget allocation for defence sector 2010 – 2019
Source: BudgIT

Another factor that has contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram terrorist group in

Nigeria is the penetrable boundaries that exist between Nigeria and its neighboring countries. According to Lieutenant General Dambazau (Nigerian Interior Minister) confirmed that there are over 1,400 illegal passage point into Nigeria compared with the 84 approved route to the country.

All these illegal routes have helped Boko Haram terrorist group in many ways to bypass security agencies in moving to neighboring countries like Chad, Cameroon and Niger to build base and recruit members for their activities. The constant illegal trans-national movement also enabled and encourage the terrorist group to smuggle weapons from one country to another. It was confirmed that most of the weapons used are foreign weapons and can be traced to those used during the Libyan crises.

The rapid expansion of Boko Haram terrorist group can be linked to their strong association and relationship with Islamic State of Iraq and the Levent. After the death of the founder and pioneer leader of the Boko Haram terrorist group, many of its strong members left the country for safety and in the process associated themselves with various terrorist group in the world. The connection created an opportunity for the members to finance the operations and activities of Boko Haram. The connection also created training opportunities for Boko Haram members which can be noticed in their mode of operations and activities.

Additional strategies like suicide bombings, kidnapping and seizure of land was part of the new techniques used by the terrorist group. Boko Haram declaration of Islamic Caliphate, the uplifting of banner over claimed territory, the release of execution videos and the abduction of 276 female girls of Government Secondary School,

Chibok, Borno State are part of the strategies the terrorist group got from ISIS.

3.4 Conclusion

The factors that contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram in Nigeria are categorized into two factors.

Firstly, dissatisfaction with economic policies and economic situation of the country has led to the expansion of Boko Haram in the country. The dissatisfaction with the economy policies was discussed ranging from the inability of the government to provide employment opportunities to qualified citizens which has led to aggression and frustration. They easily get enticed with mouth-watering offers from terrorist groups. Poverty has been a major problem in Africa, in Nigeria especially. The poverty rate in Nigeria has been so alarming with increase every year despite the budget for social investment. Poverty in the Northern region of Nigeria is said to be one with the ability of the terrorism group to entice the citizens who feel joining the terrorist group is the best for them.

Secondly, lack of trust in the political system is one of the factors that contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram. The campaign promises during electioneering process are hardly fulfilled which allow members not to have access to basic needs and facilities that are needed to live a better life. Corruption has affected every sector of the country and it looks like things are not working as it should be. All these are what the terrorism group use in drawing the attention of the deprived to them.

Chapter 4

THE IMPLICATION OF BOKO HARAM TERRORIST GROUP ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA.

4.1 Introduction

One of the major duties of the government is to provide security to the citizens and their properties, which is why countries do not take for granted the security of its boundaries and that of the masses. The security situation of a country tends to affect every other sector such as the economic, political, health and social.

The present security situation in Nigeria, caused by the terrorist group, Boko Haram is now a unique one. The United States of America and many other states have been faced with security issues for a long time (Adejumo, 2012), but many of these countries have been able to handle and manage the security challenges and they have also been able to create counter mechanisms. They have the resources and it is been put to use in other to counter the threats of insecurity, which have made them different from Nigeria.

The United States Department of Defense defined terrorism as, “the calculated use of unlawful Violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuits of goals that are generally

political, religious or Ideological”. The three main components in the above definition are **Violence, Threat and Fear**, which causes terror on the victims. The United States think tank Fund for Peace that works to prevent violent conflict and promote sustainable security, ranked Nigeria as the 14th most fragile state in the world (Fragile States Index 2018). “The Fragile States Index assesses the pressures experienced by nations based on social, economic, and political indicators such as demographic pressures, refugee flows, uneven economic development or severe economic decline, and human rights, among others” (Messner, 2017). This shows that any Nation faced with challenges of insecurity will also have challenges with its economy and development, which affects the occupiers and citizens of such Nation.

The implication of Boko Haram activities will be analyzed using two sectors. First, will be how it has affected the political development of Nigeria and Secondly, how it has affected the economic development of Nigeria.

4.2 Implication of Boko Haram Activities on Political Development in Nigeria.

The terrorist activities have made Nigeria unattractive to the outside world, as citizens of other countries now have to give it a second thought before visiting Nigeria. The threat presented by Boko Haram has been addressed by governments of other countries and an article was recently published on April 9th, 2019 by United States Department of State- Bureau of Consular Affairs webpage titled “Reconsider traveling to Nigeria due to crime, terrorism, civil unrest, kidnapping and piracy”. It categorically warned its citizens from travelling to Borno State, Yobe States and Northern Adamawa state due to terrorism. Aside the implication on humans, it also have implications on the

development of the country and also discourage investors and potential investors, who are planning to invest in the country. (United State Bureau of Consular Affairs).

The Northern region of the country is now known as a terrorist den which has affected the image of the country. The way foreigners relate with Nigerians has changed over the years, some are scared of having any form of relationship and business with them, the level of trust is worrisome as well. So many abusive treatments and inhuman actions have been witnessed by Nigerians both in the country and outside. The kind of searching and checking Nigerians go through when visiting other countries is as a result of destroyed image caused by the Boko Haram activities. (Deemua,2013)

The former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, on a working visit to Nigeria was meant to meet the then President of Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan in the state house in Abuja but requested to have the meeting in Lagos because of the proximity of Abuja to the affected areas of Boko Haram. (Alozieuwa, 2012)

These activities have also caused disunity amongst the regions in the country (Olasile, 2014). Another major implication of the Boko Haram activities is noticeable in the public participation of citizens in the electoral process of the country. The percentage of registered voters, who came out to participate in the just concluded presidential election on 23rd February, 2019 was 34.75% which happened to be the lowest turnout in the history of Nigeria since the adoption of democracy system of government in 1999. (Figure 4.1) This percentage was determined by the number of enrolled voters by the total number of votes that were gathered at the conclusion of the election. The voter's turnout in the concluded elections also happened to be the lowest turnout in Africa (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2019).

According to Sam Itodo, who spoke on some reasons why the 2019 general election recorded a low turnout, he specifically mentioned that Boko Haram threat and the insecurity issues in the Northern region of the country as one of the major reasons. The convoy of the executive Governor of Borno state was attacked some hours before the initial election date and this event discouraged a lot of the citizens from coming out to be part of the voting exercise, the various warnings from the Boko Haram camp to Northerners to avoid coming out to vote and to stay away from polling units also added to the low turnout of voters in the country. (Youth Initiative for Advocacy, Growth and Advancement, 2019)

The inability of the Government to successfully tackle the Boko Haram issue discouraged a lot of registered voters from coming out to perform their civic responsibilities. There are notions that the Government could not fulfill their electoral promises and there was no recorded improvement in providing better standard of living to them. This led to lack of confidence in the governmental Institutions, which made them not to participate in the political process of the country.

Figure 4.1 shows reduction in voter's turnout from 1999 – 2019. (Carson, 2012).

Another implication of Boko Haram activities can be noticeable on how it has prevented the government from having an effective governing system and achieving their electoral promises. Though Nigerian political candidates are known to promise more than what they could achieve, but the confusion created by the terrorist group affected the performance of President Goodluck Jonathan, as focus was diverted on how to tackle the terrorist group. So many policies were made in 2011 in order to tackle the terrorist group; a good example is the banning of public meetings or fora

without approval from the government and security agencies. Educational institutions were banned from having assemblies because of the fear of attacks from the Boko Haram terrorist group. (Baiyewu, 2012)

The Boko Haram activities created disunity among the Northerners as the Christians avoided interaction and transacting with the Muslims, they categorized all the Muslims as extremist due to how they have been affected by the various violent attacks masterminded by the Boko Haram group. (Adejumo, 2012)

According to Nigeria's National Population Commission (NPC), 766,206 persons who have been affected by the insecurity issues mostly caused by Boko Haram terrorist group are presently living in Internally Displaced Camps across the country. The implication is that the educations of these children have been interrupted, adults who own small scale business have been closed up, some cannot find their family members and properties worth millions of dollars have been destroyed. (Obasanjo, 2014). The country now witnessed social dislocation and displacement.

Highly skilled and talented citizens of Nigeria now migrate to developed countries because of the rate of insecurity in Nigeria. Many of the citizens who are experts in engineering and medical fields could not get the necessary motivation to stay in the country because their lives are not safe, properties are not secured and also the standard of living is now low. They get better offers in developed countries and migrate with their families. The academicians are not left out as most of them find their way of migrating to other countries too because of the security situation in the country. Some left Nigeria on the basis of getting more knowledge with the promise of coming back

to Nigeria to make impact but the security issue did not encourage them to come back. The implication of brain drain on Nigeria development is noticeable in the standard of education as there is low record of adequate academicians in the education sector, there is loss of skilled labors, loss in investment in education sector and the health care system of Nigeria is in disorder due to the drainage of healthcare professionals. (Channels, Sunrise Daily, 2019).

Election year	Voters turnout (million)
2019	34.75
2015	42
2011	54
2007	57
2003	69
1999	52

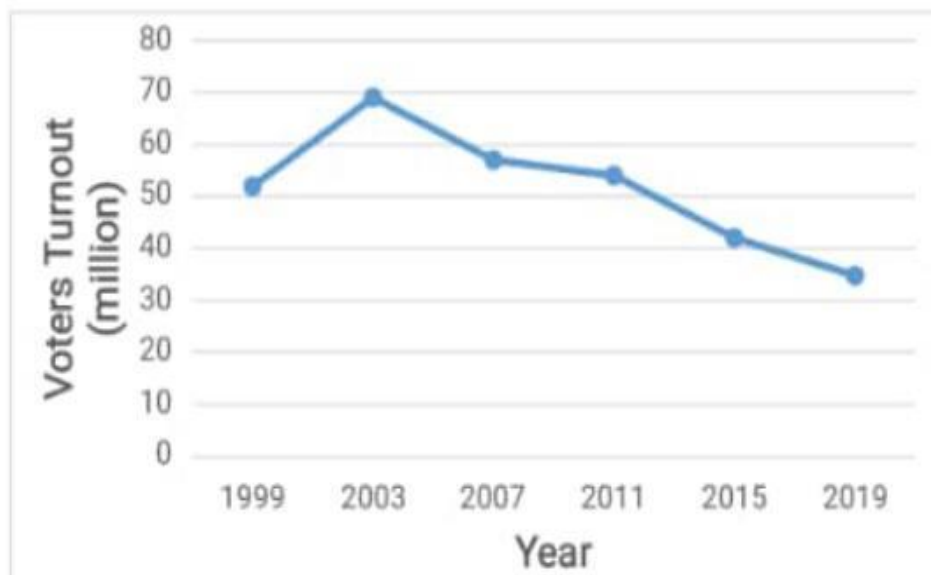


Figure 4. Analysis showing declining voter's turnout from 1999 – 2019
Source: Independent National Electoral Commission

4.3 Implication of Boko Haram Activities on Economy Development in Nigeria.

After the 9/11 attacks in United States, New York City lost about \$21 billion as a result of the terrorist attack. This economic implication affected how some International trade are been carried out and also affected the supply chain (Mailafia, 2013). The business activities in the Northern part of Nigeria have closed up, banks, markets and shops hardly open for operations because of the fear of assaults from the terrorist group due to the state of insecurity in the area. Human capital as well has been affected, as those who could afford to relocate have done so by moving to the Eastern and Western region of the country (Okereocha, 2012).

Kaduna and Plateau state in Nigeria have witnessed a lot of violence in the past which has affected the development of these states. Kaduna state used to be known as the economic hub of Northern Nigeria, with a lot of textile companies and hub for cosmopolitanism, but today Kaduna has been divided because of recurring conflict and violence. This has made the Christians to live mostly in the South while the Muslims live in the Northern part of the state. The violence has led to the shutting down of companies in the affected region (textile companies) and most of the International investors that lived and earned in the state have been forced to go back to their countries, while others have relocated to the Southern and Western regions of the country. The business activities of the Northern region have been affected generally, many of the Southerners and Westerners living in the Northern region, who operated small scale businesses have shut down and relocated to their states. Over 100 industries have been shut down in Kano state, because of the insecurity challenges in the Northern region (Sunday Trust, 2012).

The defence sector in year 2012 was allocated NGN 921.91 billion in order to fight and defeat terrorism in Nigeria. This amount of money could have been successfully invested in other sectors that will help in developing the country, as well; some of these funds allocated could be used to create programs and activities that will help the country as a whole. (Budget,2013). So, the efforts to combat Boko Haram have some significant opportunity costs.

Since the inception of Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in 2012 was affected with a reduction of 21.3% in a year, the reduction was from \$8.9billion to \$7billion (World Investment Report, 2013). This Foreign Direct Investment in past years has helped in growing the Nigerian economy and it also helps in complimenting the existing domestic funds. The reduction in the Foreign Direct Investment also has direct implications on trade and business opportunity

Political stability, human capital and security are major elements investors consider before making moves of investing in a country, while a lot of potential investors have reconsidered their choices and the existing investors, like industries and companies, have closed down because of the continuous attacks of the Boko Haram. These have led to citizens becoming jobless and there is increase in the unemployment rate of the country. Some existing companies that are located in other regions of the country with the plan of developing a branch in the Northern region cannot go ahead with the plans because of the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group. “Every business, big or small and individuals need some level of stability certainty to plan and execute their programs” (The Nation, 2015).

Boko Haram activities have created poor conditions for businesses, the manufacturing companies in the Northern region that has been affected by these activities and those struggling for survival of their investments and companies to exist, no longer have access to electricity, internet services and telecommunication. They now have record of low manpower needed to make the sector a functioning one. People who live, work and carry out commercial activities in the region have sought safety in other regions of the country (Chikodi, The Nation, 2015). These manufacturing companies have the ability to employ a lot of youth into their industries but could not employ them because of the challenges they faced as a result of the Boko Haram activities. An analysis carried out by some organizations such as Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), The National Association of Small and Medium Enterprises and the Lagos Chamber of Commerce, shows that over 800 companies in 2009 have stopped operation and majority of these companies are from the Northern region of Nigeria which was a result of Boko Haram activities. The few ones are struggling for survival which, if they eventually stop operating, it will increase the unemployment rate of the country (Okafor, 2011).

Boko Haram activities are responsible for Inflation in Nigeria because the cost of sustaining businesses, most especially the private owned ones has increased because of low accessibility of materials, human capital, and customers needed to make their business thrive. In July, 2016, the country recorded its highest inflation which increased to 17.1%. The same year the country witnessed recession because its major sources of income which is the crude oil fell in price to \$35 per barrel from \$115 (Folashade, 2015.)

The hospitality and tourism sector too were affected by the activities of the Boko Haram, as recreational centers and places of attraction in the Northern region became isolated. Visitors, tourists and citizens have stopped visiting those places because of the risk and the insecurity witnessed in the area. Security experts also warned people against gathering and going to places of attraction because terrorists are known to specifically target places that are attractive to the masses. Hotel owners and operators got affected too because there were less visitors, business visits and night life which went on extinction as people preferred to stay in their apartments as early as 5pm. The implications low costumers patronage also affect the state government internally generated funds because the government will not be able to get tax from these business operators, their businesses seem not to be existing or having no profit and lack encouragement to improve on their services (Adebayo, 2013a).

Today, Jos city which is known to be a peaceful city and a tour destination to foreigners no longer have tourists and visitors coming to the city. Jos wildlife, its amusement park and museums are now closed down because of lack of patronage caused by Boko Haram activities (The Nation, 2015).

Insurance companies and financial institutions have been closed up as many of their staffs and employees have left the affected region. Several of the banks vaults were blown up in order for the terrorists to get funds to finance their different operations. Developmental projects worth billions of naira under construction and completed ones were abandoned because the human capital needed to get things done no longer have interest in the environment, many of them already relocated to other regions to save their lives and that of their family members. (The Nation, 2015).

In 2016, about 952,029 children have fled from the terrorist affected area and most of them no longer have access to education. Borno state with 27 local government areas had to shut down the educational system in 22 local governments in order to avoid Boko Haram attack and stay safe at home while some already fled. In short, the teachers who earned from the education system in the 22 local governments which was been closed down will have to remain financially unstable for the period of the attack (Okoli&Lortyer, 2014).

Life expectancy of a Nigerian was put at 53-years for males while 56-years for females, which is among the lowest in the world because a lot of Nigerians lack access to public health, good hygiene and social amenities that can keep them in a good state of physical and mental wellbeing. The threat of Boko Haram has caused many to develop high blood pressure and they could not access good health care because most of the professionals in the health care system have vacated the environment to safer places. “Child mortality is over 200 deaths per 1000 live births, leading to lower life expectancy” (Chinwokwu, 2012).

The reconstruction funds allocated to rebuilding the destroyed facilities all over the affected region will make a lot of impact improving the economy and creating a better living standard for Nigerians. The World Health Organization report shows that 72% of health facilities in Yobe state have been destroyed by the Boko Haram group, while 60% have been destroyed in Borno state. The money that would be spent on rebuilding these could have been diverted to development programs. (Gilbert, 2014)

A lot of funds were invested in getting drugs and resources for immunization of children in Nigeria, but they could only immunize 49% of the children in 2015 which became a loss to the health sector because the health workers could not get access to the children in the Northern region of the country. Several times the United Nation Children's Fund (UNICEF) had sent for the withdrawal of their workers as security could not be provided for them and sometimes there were direct threat to the life of workers coming to the region to render humanitarian services. (Folashade&Pramond, 2017).

4.4 Conclusion

This Chapter has been able to analyze the implications of Boko Haram activities on the political and economic development of Nigeria.

One of the implications of the terrorist group is how Nigeria has become unattractive to citizens of other countries. The political participation of Nigerians most especially during electioneering process has declined, the fear of attacks discourage most of them from coming out to vote for candidate of their choice during election.

The chapter also pointed to how Boko Haram activities has prevented the government at all level not to be effective because attention of the elected officers had move from development projects, building a sustainable economy and better infrastructures to Boko Haram issues.

The amount of funds budgeted for the purpose of rebuilding the infrastructure and facilities destroyed by Boko Haram are good enough to help grow the economy. Another important implication of Boko Haram activities most especially in the

Northern region is how businesses no longer thrive in the region, a lot of companies have been closed down because security of workers are important to them. A lot of people now live in the internally displaced camp across the country with poor living conditions with no access to good and better amenities.

If the right mechanism is not adopted in tackling the insecurity issues, it might eventually get worst which will cause more harm to the development of the country.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

Terrorism in recent years has been an International issue affecting different all the continents of the world. Nigeria presently has various records of attacks and violence from Boko Haram terrorist group. The notion of terrorism is a wide phenomenon depending on the agencies and those involved in the process but it is important to know that it encompasses the use of Violence, Threat and Fear.

Different terrorist groups have different motives behind their acts. The expansion of Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria has been categorized into two factors in the thesis. The economic policies and condition of the country, which includes high rate of unemployment and poverty has contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Secondly, the lack of trust in the political system and governmental institution caused by high level of corruption of the elected political officers and poor conflict resolution mechanism has helped in the spread of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The research work discussed why these two factors were able to increase the rate at which Boko Haram was spread. There are other reasons identified by other scholars as well; example of this is the ideologies that have been preached alongside with religious beliefs.

The concept of terrorism was reviewed in the second chapter, looking into what terrorism means to various researchers and agencies, the causes of the act and I briefly discussed what scholars have written about terrorism in Nigeria. Most of the researchers have been able to create a nexus between poverty and terrorism while some were able to link terrorism to religious extremism. The next chapter was dedicated to the discussion of the generated hypothesis that explained how dissatisfaction with the economic policies of the government and lack of trust in the political system, contributed to the expansion of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Chapter four of the research work discussed the implication of Boko Haram activities on the political and economic development of Nigeria. The political implication was supported with data showing the declining voters turnout from 1999 – 2019. The economic implication was measured with the decline in the foreign direct investment recorded since the inception of Boko Haram. Increase in inflation rate was also as a result of Boko Haram activities, the shutting down of various business activities, industries and small scale businesses have been part of the implications of Boko Haram activities.

Boko Haram activities have existed for over a decade and their mode of operation keeps advancing, little or no success have been achieved by the defense sector. Taking into account the main goal of the terrorist group, the factors that are contributing to the easy recruitment of citizens into the terrorist group should be tackled which will discourage citizens from joining the terrorist group. Solving poverty and unemployment issues should be the major objectives of elected political officers and zero tolerance to corruption should be upheld in gaining the citizens' trust.

5.2 Recommendations

The Political system in Nigeria has turned into a means of enriching oneself while the important things that the populace needs, like quality education, good health system, affordable housing and others are left ineffective. Boko Haram terrorist group as well use advantage of the disappointment of the citizens of the Northern region who no longer trust the political institutions and also feel disappointed because of high level of corruption recorded in the public system, poverty, high unemployment rate and lack of better opportunities to thrive economically.

Nation-building should be a major initiative of government at all level, the unity of Nigerians will at the long run bring peace and end to terrorism. it will lead to “imagined communities” which was discussed by Benedict Anderson as “a Nation is a community socially constructed and imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of the group, members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each, lives the image of their communion.” Nation-building is a not a short term goal in battling Boko Haram but it hold a good future for stability and peace in Nigeria. (Jideofor, 2004)

Nigeria parliament and executive council major discussion on state policing is a very important initiative in the process of achieving a strong approach to strengthen democracy and federalism in the country. The centralized Nigeria police force will be decentralized in order to maintain order and achieve efficient policing in Nigeria. It will perform its duties in order to secure lives and properties of citizens at various sub-units within the federal system. It will help in reduction of crimes and terrorist attacks as most cases of attacks and crime are executed by those from that same locality

because they are knowledgeable about the community. When locals are employed and posted to their community to handle crimes and attacks, it becomes easier by helping in gathering intelligence and information needed to battle terrorist and criminals.

The Nigerian Military and Police force should be well equipped with sophisticated weapons that can help them in facing the terrorist group; intelligence gathering should be a major technique in defeating the terrorist group. The citizens should also be involved in getting information about what is happening in their environment, good communication and working link between the communities and the military to enable them to reach out to them during duress. The military budget and financial transaction should be audited and guided by reliable institutions which will enable proper spending of the allocated funds. The military officers fighting the battle against Boko Haram terrorist group should be encouraged with better financial payment and welfare allowances because it is a war of 50-50 chance of survival. A funding package that will help in taking care of military officers that were injured during the fight against terrorism should be established and their immediate family members should be cared for especially those that died on the battle field.

It is an agreed fact that there will be low level of development in a state that has security issues. Therefore, the Boko Haram activities in Nigeria do no good to the development of the country. It is heartbreaking that Nigeria, as a country, which is in need of a high foreign direct investment that will help in making the economy better and developed becomes unattractive to foreign investors because of the fear of Boko Haram activities in the country. The government should increase the level of developmental programs, they should also empower the unemployed so they can feed

themselves and their families and have the opportunity to live a better life in the society. By so doing, the Boko Haram promises will become unattractive to them.

The government should be ready for collaboration with International organizations and countries that are technologically more advanced than Nigeria. Non-governmental organizations should be involved in the process of fighting terrorism, all sectors and stakeholders are to put every policies and actions in place to achieve peace and security of citizens. These countries that are technologically more advanced with good standard of living and economic policies will help Nigeria in formulating policies that will help in growing the economy which will in turn help to achieve peace and security stability in Nigeria.

The destroyed facilities like school buildings, health centers, and homes should be rebuilt to enable displaced citizens and members of the society to integrate back to their community and live their life as usual.

International strategic and intelligence training should be organized for military officers. This will help their skills in combating the terrorist group and also help them to learn from security experts and understand the mechanism been used in preventing terrorism attacks. Forming alliances with various International military forces is important because International best practices are needed to combat the terrorist group, seeing their level of expansion and change in mode of operations in recent years.

Nigerian government must be ready to improve the economy by making farming very attractive to the youths; the country is blessed with fruitful soil and plenty agricultural

products. Agricultural development is one of the major options for diversification, as the country dependency on crude oil will reduce. It is so sad to know that Nigeria blessed with fertile land would still spend about \$20b on importation of food yearly, which implies that the country loses a huge amount of money on importing what can be produced in the country. Agricultural development will contribute massively in increasing employment opportunities in Nigeria. It has the capacity to employ 70% of the unemployed graduates in Nigeria. Therefore, agriculture should be more than the hoes and cutlass perception that discourage the young one to engage in the farming system. Loans should be provided for youths and graduates who wish to get involved in farming, so as to encourage them. Research institutions and universities should also come up with 21st century agricultural curriculum that will ensure active involvement of students in farming and crop management. All these will decrease unemployment rate in Nigeria and also discourage people from joining Boko Haram terrorist group. Therefore, governments at various levels should invest more in Agricultural development and come up with initiatives and developmental programs that will make Agricultural sector attractive, the advantages of the fertile land, climate and human capacity should be utilized.

The Nigerian government should examine various organizations and citizens funding the terrorist group, political office holders should be investigated as well, as it has been said that some top politicians fund the terrorist group. External funders too should be investigated and the means of financial transactions of the terrorist group should be blocked. Negotiations can also take place between the Nigerian government and the terrorist group which help in seeking the demands of the terrorist group.

Nigeria with a population of over 200 millions citizens, developmental assistance alone will not help in defeating the security challenges, the internal factors need to be addressed along with the assistance from International organization and more developed countries. Policy reforms should be discussed while promoting political will to end the status quo will be important. Accountability and good governance should be promoted as a major policy mechanism to tackle corruption which will help in improving the country's stability. Elected political officers should be transparent about implementing policies that will help the economy.

Corruption has been described as one of the main threats to national development (Seteolu, 2004). The increase in corrupt practices has made Nigeria to the International spotlight for wrong reasons, and there have been several moves by different administrations to bring this act to end with their initiatives. One of the famous initiatives was the "Ethical Revolution by the Shagari administration" "War Against Indiscipline (WAI) by the Buhari-Idiagbon administration", Abacha regime came up with "War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC)" and the recent one was established by the Olusegun Obasanjo regime in 2002 known as the "The Economic Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission (ICPC)". The EFCC and ICPC lack complete independence, there are intuitions that they go after members of the opposition political parties. They perform as instruments of executive coercion and victimization of those who speak against the policies of the government.

For effectiveness of the anti-corruption agencies, they should no longer be under the leadership of the executive that created them. They should be independent and be answerable to the judiciary system in the country. Citizens that are of reputable

characters and have a good record of integrity should be appointed as board members of the agencies, they should not have any affiliation with any political party.

Finally, this thesis might have little imperfection in discussing why there are expansion of Boko Haram activities and the implications of Boko Haram activities to political and economic development of Nigeria but it is necessary to note the research work has contributed to the existing literature on Boko Haram issues in Nigeria and it has also created a platform for me to keep researching on National development and security.

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