

## The Boko Haram Insurgency: Implications for Socio-Economic and Political Development in Nigeria

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### Abstract

The object of this paper strives to cross-examine the socio-economic and political development implications of Boko Haram Terrorist Sect in Nigeria. Incontrovertibly, the scourge of the terrorist attacks of the militant Islamic zealots, Boko Haram members have undermined the safety of lives and properties of the citizens and foreigners residing in Nigeria which has almost grounded socio-economic prosperity, cultural and political development in the country. Of course, the paper further debriefs the remote and immediate causes of the Boko Haram terrorism intending to provide panaceas capable of remedying its dastard attacks. In the same vein, the paper probes into why terrorism is simultaneously deliberated and considered “as meat and a poison”. The researcher sources for secondary data from books, library, documentaries, journals, newspapers and magazines for the needed information to be interpreted and analyzed. The findings in this paper evince that, high level of illiteracy, martyrdom; poverty, unemployment, lack of developmental and infrastructural facilities etc. are responsible for the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and its attendant's negative socio-economic and political development implications. For the purpose of policy recommendation, the aforementioned findings help both the government and the governed in Nigeria and beyond to curtail the exacerbation of terrorist dastard acts and its attendant's unpalatable consequences.

**Keywords:** *Terrorism, Boko Haram, Development, Implication, Western Nations*

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### **Background to the Study**

According to Wikipedia, Boko Haram coresponds of people and congregation committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad. It has a long history of being a participant in the Nigeria sharia conflict. This group has been active since 2001. The present ideologies are Islamic extremism, Islamic fundamentalism and Takfir. The leader of Boko Haram sect is Mohammed Yusuf (Lah). Now, the leader is Abubakar Shekau. The major areas of operation of Boko Haram are Northern Nigeria, Northern Cameroon, Niger, and Chad. Boko Haram terrorist group fraternizes with Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb. The opponents of Boko Haram are Nigerian State, perceived enemies like Christians etc. This group has partaken in several battles and wars including but not limited to 2009 Nigerian sectarian conflict, Dec. 2010 Abuja Bombing, May 2011 Bombing, Abuja Police Headquarters Bombing, Abuja United Nation Bombing, Christmas Day Bombing, Deeper Life Church Shooting etc.

Boko Haram is also a congregation and people of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihad. Its Quran name is Jamaa Ahl al-sunnah al-jihad; the meaning is Western Education is sinful. It is a jihadist organisation based in the northeastern part of Nigeria. Fundamentally, this Islamic movement strongly opposes man - made laws and Westernization. It was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2001. It seeks to establish Sharia law.

Terrorism is a problem as a result of civilization and resistance to hegemonic West precisely, the United States and by extension Israel. The paradoxically conventional mantra is that one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter; this is substantiated in the fact that Israeli and Jews carried out terrorist acts against Britain and France to be decolonized, illustratively, their insurgent movements were labelled freedom fighters then. Even, Osama bin Laden and his Taliban fighters were trained by America CIA and supported morally, financially and spiritually to carry out terrorist acts against the Soviet Communist ideologies and interests, especially by free Afghanistan from its occupation.

To advance further shrewdness, in 1986, the Britain Prime Minister, Ronald Reagan called the Afghan Mujahedeen freedom fighter when they attacked the Soviet interests. Conversely, its dreaded role against the Twins World Trade Centre in New York and Pentagon in Washington in September 2001 was purely a terrorist act as being tagged by the then American President George Bush. Many countries in Asia, Africa, Middle East, and Latin America in the fifties and sixties used terrorism as modus operandi and modus vivendi to free themselves from the shackles, exploitation, subjugation and nihilism of colonial rule.

According to Akinboye, S.O. in his inaugural lecture (2013) titled 'Beautiful Abroad but Ugly at Home; Contradictions in Nigeria's Foreign Policy' he accentuated, 'Terrorism is a global phenomenon and therefore deserves comments. America views with serious concern the activities of terrorists in different parts of the globe. It is also important to establish that there is a link between religious radicalization and terrorism. Nigeria is most vulnerable because of its chequered history of religious riots and crises. Therefore, the US expects that Nigeria is not indifferent to the global war on terror. Unfortunately, Nigeria was placed on the US Terror

Watch List, especially, with the attempted bombing of Northwest Airlines Flight 253 by Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab in December 2009. To be delisted the National Assembly must pass an anti-terrorist bill. Thus, it can be inferred that Boko Haram terrorist act in Nigeria is religiously inclined and socio-economic and political deep-seated”.

Unequivocally, these terrorist dastard assaults occur in the northern part of Nigeria, but the domino effect permeates all the nooks and crannies, length and breadth of the whole country. “Boko Haram” which by translation connotes that “Western Education is sin” the sect do engage in strife, conflict, and consequently incessant and indiscriminate bombing of state parastatals, police stations, churches, United Nations buildings, schools and so on. Lending credence to the verisimilitude of the astronomical surge of Boko Haram reprehensible paroxysms, David Mark, the Nigeria Senate President then affirmed that “There is a Boko Haram somewhere. They bomb. They kill; attack security agents, bomb churches and kill fellow Muslims” (The Punch Newspapers, 22nd June 2012). “Terrorism is a direct attack on the Western nations, especially, the United States of America, her agents, institutions, investments, and allies by any of the militant Islam(s)- the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Salafism, Hamas, Al-Shabaab, Al-Sayaff and their sponsors such as Osama bin Laden (Benjamin, H.F; Jim H. and Christopher A.P. 2010).

Terrorism is a group phenomenon perpetrated by organized groups whose members have a clear group identity: national, religious or ideological. Political terrorism has its root in intergroup conflict and insurgent terrorism unlike state terrorism, is a strategy of the weak. Terrorist acts are grounded in the extreme belief that arises from group identity, and a chosen strategy (Walter Laqueur, 1987). To this extent, the following factors could lead to terrorism: social and economic pressure, logical choice and political strategy, lack of opportunity to participate in political processes, disaffection among the elites, and feeling of alienation, collective rationality and personal experience of terrorism or contagious effect like Arab Spring.

“The salient political problem in Nigeria arises from the fact the country includes three main ethnic groups, namely Hausa people of the North, the Ibo people of the East and Yoruba people of the West. The difficulty has been to find a means of binding them together to form a nation. By 1906, the British military power had been firmly planted in the territories now known as Nigeria, but the conquered communities were different race and language and social and political organizations”. The emirates of Northern Nigeria were Mohammedans. They had been under the impact of Islamic culture for over six centuries and had little in common with the Yoruba and Ibo tribes in the south. The situation created the problem of how to merge the discordant elements into a coherent whole while preserving autonomy to satisfy cultural aspirations (Ojiako, 1981).

The foregoing coupled with the unprecedented level of corruption, socio-economic and political injustices have been the principal roots responsible for the perennial intractability of plural cleavages and its interplay with politics resulting in internecine war, ethnopolitical crisis, riots, civil wars and dastard terrorist attacks we are witnessing today. What an avoidable societal and national calamity!

Of course, Nigeria has vast human and natural resources to maintain and sustain equilibrium in the polity. If the government can address the issues of unemployment, illiteracy and poverty the growing tide of terrorism will be annihilated. It cannot be gainsaid to posit that at the very beginning of the terrorist attacks in the northeastern part of Nigeria; it was a mass uprising against the police. In the same vein, the sudden death of the Boko Haram leader, Mohammed Yusuf fueled the scourge of Boko Haram terrorist acts in Nigeria because his followers engaged in all manners reprisal attacks.

After a year of hibernation, Boko Haram terrorism shifted to attacking police stations, UN building, banks, churches, and bars. The recent bombing of a mosque in Borno State is the least of all expectation.” The bombing of the UN office fits into a broader pattern of Boko Haram's geographical expansion and increasing tactical sophistication” (Shehu, 2012). With the spate of sophistication of bombs and other weapons used by Boko Haram in Nigeria there are speculations that al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) has linkages with the Boko Haram even the head of the US Africa Command, Gen. Carter affirmed to it when he visited Abuja.

Also, the emergence of O'odua Peoples' Congress (OPC), Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Anambra State Vigilante Service (ASVS), Imo State Vigilante Service (ISVS), Niger Delta Volunteers Force (NDVF), Ogoni Youths (OY), Ijaw Youths (IY), Bakassi Boys (BB), etc. are all ethnically affiliated groups which clearly evinced agitations over disparities of economic and political fortune in other word our common patrimony in the country.

In my opinion, the elite, the ruling class in Nigeria take advantage of ethnic consciousness to perpetually gain political prominence and relevance from their respective constituencies, and remain in power as long as they want. Their anti-social calculus is to use the political office for primitive accumulation of wealth for themselves and their cronies while the combined ethnic groups continue distrusting and suspecting themselves. The upshot will be abject poverty, underdevelopment, conflicts and terrorism. As legion and ubiquitous the negative impacts of these disparities, the intent of the politically and socio-economically disadvantaged groups highly manifested in the northern Nigeria, in a way snowballed into insurgent terrorism of Boko Haram.

Unequivocally, one can assert that these terrorist attacks are majorly occurring in the northern part of Nigeria, but quintessentially, the ripple effect in the country permeates all the nooks and crannies, length and breadth of the whole country and its attendant socio-economic and political developments implications.

Dr Adebayo, a psychiatrist opines that the terror Cimbricus was a panic and a state of emergency in Rome in response to the purpose of terrorism is not the single act of wanton destruction, but the reaction it seeks to provoke: economic collapse, backlash, hatred, division, and elimination of tolerance, chaos, until societies cease to reconcile their differences and become defined by them. They are anti-social personalities or psychopath

terrorists. Psychopaths can be intelligent and have contact with reality. They are law - breakers, deceitful, aggressive and reckless in disregarding the safety of others (Compass, Monday, 30 April 2012)

Imobighe (2006) noted that not only that the single issue of terrorism has dominated the global strategic landscape but can be compared with the anxiety and concern that gripped the international community in the immediate post Second World War years over the possibility of the nuclear holocaust of inter-state confrontation. He, therefore, concluded that terrorism has become the 21st-century monster the international community is finding difficult to tame if not to eliminate, that terrorism has altered the global security equation. He concluded by saying that the African States could become victims of terrorism by association. He cited the bombing carried out in Kenya and Tanzania targeting the US Embassies. It can be deduced that the American interests were destroyed but the nationals of the two countries were also killed in the process.

### **Terrorism Conceptualized**

Terrorism as a concept cannot be easily demystified in the sense that in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America, terrorism was seen as Liberation Movements or Freedom Fighters in their struggles to obtain independence and self-rule. They fought against denial of freedom of expression, association and assembly imposed on them by the colonial or imperial countries. These continents or regions fought to achieve decolonization, self-government and independence through nationalist and revolutionary armed struggles. The hegemonic western nations called them terrorist as against what their nationals called them. Terrorism thus implies that one man's meat is another man's poison.

Like every other concept in social science, terrorism does not have one definition due to what Adele Jinadu referred to as occupational hazards with variants time, space, environment, nature, target and objectives; and summarily referred to as spatial-temporal limitations by Carl Friedrich in their attempt to define 'federalism'. In The United Nations (UN) Secretary - General said in 2014, "terrorism is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act" ( Nigerian Tribune, 14th June, 2004)

The term "terrorism" has no precise or widely accepted definition. If it were a mere matter of description, establishing a definition would be simple: Terrorism is violence or the threat of violence calculated to create an atmosphere of fear or alarm; in a word to terrorize and thereby bring about some social or political change (Walter, B. 2010). It thus infers that terrorism consists of acts that in themselves may be classic forms of crime such as murder, arson, the use of explosives but that differ from classic crimes in that they are executed with the deliberate intention of causing panic, disorder, and terror within an organized society. The above definition put terrorism in the realm of crime, but we live in a world that recognizes the legitimacy of war and the right of revolution.

Terrorism is the premeditated use, or threat of use, of violence to gain a political objective through intimidation or fear of a targeted audience. It is an act of deliberate violence against an individual or a group to right perceived wrongs, an act of revenge or a form of political pressure. Terror goes beyond the ordinary physical violence to include all aspects of violence in its entirety. The Socialists' Revolutionaries in Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were proud to call themselves terrorists. To this end, it can be asserted that what one perceives as terrorist acts could be seen freedom fighters to others.

According to Water Laqueur (1987), terrorism can be defined as a dangerous ground for simplifications and generalisations. To tackle it, cool and egg heads are undoubtedly more indispensable than any other intellectual adroitness. This infers that terrorism depicts something horrendous characterised by all manners of phobia and must be handled by a high level of adroitness and ingenuity. To buttress the foregoing, the events of September 11, 2001, seemed destined to remain perpetually etched in the minds and memories of everyone. Terrorists attacked and destroyed the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and severely damage the Pentagon in Washington.

In the words of Imobighe, (2006) "Terrorism is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of innocent to inspire fear for political ends." That definition has never been surpassed clarity and concision. Proffered by analysts in 1979, it remains to sound a quarter-century later and better than many alternatives suggested subsequently. In the latter twentieth century, terrorism became a well-established feature of world politics and conflicts. Today as then, terrorism is used by individuals, small groups, state agents, and broad insurgent movements to seek political and military results judged difficult or impossible to achieve in the usual political forums or a battlefield against an army.

Terrorism is always political, even when it also evinces motives, such as religion, the economic, or the social. Terrorism is about power and political influence. Nothing reveals this as well as the difference between actors' speeches in the film "Munich", released as 2005 and what the perpetrators of the Munich Olympic Games massacre themselves in that 1972 action. Mohammed Oudeh, whose *nom de guerre* is Abu Daoud, still talking about the operation he helped mastermind for his group in Black September. He declared in Cairo, Egypt that he "regrets nothing". This kind of quotation reveals that deliberation in the act of terrorism is unambiguously evident.

It is imperative at this juncture to discuss the various types of terrorism. Al Qaeda is a notorious terrorist group being led by Osama Bin Laden. Most times it raises fund in Canada and has agent there as well, in part to prepare attacks on the United States. As a matter of illustration, Al Qaeda agent and Syrian citizen, Nabil al-Marabh once tried to enter the United States with a bogus Canadian passport, hiding in a tractor-trailer at Niagara Falls. He was caught and deported and later released by Canadians, only to further cross the southern border.

Washington is said to suspect that Al Qaeda agent may even have provided falsified documents to the 9-11 hijackers. Other examples are Hezbollah, a pro-Iranian Lebanese terrorist group; Hamas, the Irish IRA, the Tamil Tigers, Boko Haram etc.

The League of Nations in its 1937 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism defines terrorism as all criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a State of terror in the minds of particular persons, or the general public. These terror acts attempt to cause death or bodily harm to heads of state or government, their sponsors and the general public. It damages public properties and endangers their lives. It deals with ammunitions for the commission of any of these offences in any state.

Hitherto, the United States of America is the major target of a terrorist because of its role as the inventor and protagonist of civilization and it is attendant's pluralistic secular governments. The bone of contention is that America is allegedly judged to have undermined and eroded the tenets of the Islamic caliphate. The Dictionary of Social Science defines terrorism as the systematic violence in the furtherance of political aims, especially by small guerrilla groups (Hanson, P.1993). Equally, Oxford Advanced Learner's English Dictionary defines terrorism as the use of violent action to achieve political aims or to force a government to act.

Globalization has in no measures aided and abetted terrorist insurgency of Boko Haram. Thus, in Nigeria's context, it can be conceptualised as the free movement of people, ideas, investments, capital etc. with the assistance of sophisticated technologies, advanced sciences, computers, internets, e-mails and its interrelatedness and interconnectedness socially, culturally, politically and fundamentally economically.

The United States Government defines terrorism as premeditated politically motivated violence, perpetrated against non-combatants targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents (Compass, Monday, 30th April 2012).

According to Onuoha, F. (2012), terrorism is a fall out of youth unemployment and display of stupendous inexplicable wealth by leaders. He posited further that a terrorist uses violence, especially bombing, kidnapping, and assassination to intimidate others often for political purposes.

According to David Campbell, the former US Ambassador to Nigeria, "Boko Haram is a way of thinking. They are a loosely organized grassroots insurrection against not only the Abuja government but the traditional Muslims".

President Ebele Goodluck Jonathan has openly encouraged the leaders of Boko Haram to come out, state their demands and embrace dialogue. This is in tandem with the position of the US National War College Professor of Strategy, Audrey Kurth Cronin, on how to resolve terrorism- "Defeating al-Qaeda is to look beyond the war to the nature of peace" (Benjamin H. Friedman, 2010).

To protect the American interests and help to tackle terrorism in Nigeria, the United States of America has declared three members of the Boko Haram sect as terrorists on Thursday, 21 June, 2012 through the designation of its Executive Order 13224. The names of the said

terrorists are: Abubakar Shekau, aged 43; described as Boko Haram leader who allegedly aligned himself with al- Qaeda in a video message; Abubarkar Adam Kamar, aged roughly 35; and Khalid al Bamawi, aged 36. Consequent upon this, the US places \$7m bounty on the Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau for anybody that could give information to facilitate his arrest. on the part of Professor Lai Oluode, he said that Nigeria Government should not wait for the US government to come and make an arrest of the named terrorists she could do that as a serious and responsible government that is committed to safeguarding peace and security of lives and properties of Nigerians and foreigners in Nigeria.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Theories of Conflict have been advanced to interrogate Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. The thrust of theories of conflict is psychologically underpinning which emanates from the feelings of deprivation, frustration, aggression among individuals, groups, classes in the society. Conflict itself was conceptualised by (Ted, G. 1970) as struggles to obtain values and resources which are limited. Frustration-aggression, relative deprivation and revolution of rising expectation are theories made by (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower, and Sears: 1939), (Ted, G.:1970) and (Siddharth C. and Angelle, W. 2005) respectively. The prime position advanced by the following scholars is that relative deprivation snowballs into conflict. And this relative deprivation can be classified into inspirational deprivation (when values are constant but expectations are rising, a case study of yearly turning out massive graduates and job opportunities in Nigeria. The detrimental deprivation (values are decreasing but the expectation remains constant, a case study of when too much money is chasing few goods and services and progressive deprivation, when expectations start rising but values which have grown with expectation are rather falling, examples abound in post-conflict countries worldwide.

Looking critically at the Boko Haram terrorist attacks in Northern Nigeria, unflinchingly one can affirm that, the astronomically relative deprivations in terms of western education acquisition and provision of infrastructure, employment generation, high standard of living etc. could have been the reasons that that trigger terrorism in that part of the country.

To end the conflict, negotiations and bargaining can be applied in these four ways:

- i. Deterrence modus operandi can be applied if it is mutually assured destruction (MAD) both sides will lose is the possibility.
- ii. Stalemate approach can be deployed if the possibility is that none of the parties will win.
- iii. Appeasement resolution efforts, when the possibility confirms that one will win the victory.
- iv. The last resolution method is compromised when the possibility is that winning sounds insignificant to any sides of the conflict. (Tilly, C. 2007)

### **The Terrorist Network**

Contrasting with the governments that they target, terrorists have advanced in deciphering their collective action problem. From the early 1970s, terrorist groups engaged in transcontinental acts have tied either covertly or overtly to networks consisting of left-wing



terrorist groups united in their end to take-over democratic governments. Palestinian groups aggregated in their aim to establish a homeland or to destroy Israel, and extremist terrorist groups united in their goal to create nations instituted on extremists' principles. Terrorist networks cooperate on many levels, including weapon acquisition, pooling resources, training, financial support, logistical help, intelligence, and the exchange of operatives-illustratively, operatives were exchanged in the 21st December, 1975 attack on the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) ministerial meeting in Vienna, and on the 27 June, 1976 hijacking of Air France Flight 139 (Alexander and Pluchinsky, 1972).

The al-Qaida network manoeuvres in upwards of 60 countries and phases their assaults universally. This network comprises of Al-Jihan (Egypt), Abu Sayyaf (the Philippines), Egypt's Islamic Group, Harakat ul-Mujahidin (Pakistan), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and bin Laden's group (US Department of State, 2004). Even left-wing groups and Palestinian groups have been known to train together and to have other ties (Hoffman, 1998) so that separate networks have explicit links to one another. These networks common hatred of the United States and Israel means that amplified attacks by groups in one part of the world can spark increased attacks by groups in other parts of the world.

This inherent synchronization evinces up as distinct cycles of peaks and troughs in transcontinental terrorist activities. The ability of terrorists to cooperate amplifies ineptitudes associated with governments' inability to cooperate, except episodically- for example, in building the alliance to defeat the Taliban and to attack al-Qaida camps and bases in Afghanistan. This inability of governments to cooperate affects the current efforts of governments at capturing terrorism.

### **Diverse Perceptions of Terrorism**

There is a need to look into diverse perceptions of terrorism. No doubt, there is international terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, terrorism as a weapon of religious fanaticism, national or domestic terrorism, terrorism as a weapon in ethnic conflicts, terrorism as a weapon of extreme left ideology and extreme - right terrorism.

#### **(i) International Terrorism**

This connotes that the terrorist act has gone beyond the national boundary of a country. To buttress the foregoing, the notorious terrorist Carlos told the hostages in Vienna in 1975 and said "The Third World War has started and our 58 comrades are perhaps the first deaths of the Third World War. It is not the war of military of the national governments. It is rather, a hundred wars waged by elusive and ruthless foes. They operate under various streamers: the Red Army Faction, the Red Brigades, the Armed Forces of National Liberations, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the Revolutionary Army of the People, the Popular Front, and the Holy War are a conflict for which we are inadequately prepared. Embassies have been destroyed, citizens have been kidnapped and killed, and jet fighters have been blown up on the ground"

#### **(ii) State - Sponsored Terrorism**

The state is the principal actor in the state-sponsored terrorism. For example, in 2002, only five states still maintain and covertly employ the weapon of sponsoring international terrorism. All these are in the Middle East: Iran, Iraq, Syrian, Sudan and Libya. Of course, Iran is far away from the most significant source of state-sponsored terrorism. As a matter of corroboration, the Iraqi regime is hobbled by the constraints imposed by the UN Security Council resolutions and has restricted itself to activities in the Kurdish area of Northern Iraq and the sponsorship of terrorism against Iran and targets in neighbouring states.

#### **(iii) Terrorism as A Weapon of Religious Extremism (Fanaticism)**

It is an unarguable fact that terror has been used as a weapon of religious persecution and religious warfare all over history. One of the earliest recorded instances is the Sicarii, an extreme group of the Jewish Zealot sect (Walter Laqueur, 1987). They waged terrorism and assassination against the Roman occupation, 66-71 A.D., and against any Jews who cooperated with the Roman authorities. Other examples are GIA in Algeria, the Islamic Group in Egypt, Al-Qaeda etc.

#### **(iv) Domestic or National Terrorism**

This type of terrorism has a national outlook simply because most of their dastard acts are perpetuated within the country. For instance, the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist activities spread within Nigeria, especially the north-eastern part of Nigeria. Though the Western world interests were seriously targeted and destroyed, but it happened in Nigeria.

#### **(v) Terrorism as a Weapon in Ethnic Conflicts**

The collapse of the former communist empire in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union simultaneously created new opportunities and security dilemmas for a large number of ethnic groups. The removal of the iron hand of centralized Communist Party dictatorship made them conscious of long-supported threats and rivalries from other national groups.

#### **(vi) Terrorism as a Weapon of Extreme Left Ideology**

Most of the terrorist groups that emerged in the early 1970s professed some variants of Marxist ideology and saw themselves as part of a wider coalition of revolutionary "anti-imperialist" movements. This was not true only of the various Red Army or Fighting Communist Organisations but also of the major "national liberations" groups using terror as a weapon. These groups included the: ETA, PFLP and DFLP, and PKK.

#### **(vii) Extreme Right Terrorism**

Since the ending of the Cold War, there has been a worrying escalation of terrorism and other forms of political violence by ultra-right groups throughout Europe and the former Soviet Union as well as in the United States.

### **The Socio-Economic and Political Development Implications of Boko Haram Terrorist Sect in Nigeria**

The killing and maiming of civilians, calling for the expulsion of Southerners and Northern Christians by the Boko Haram members are damaging the North politically. This could mar

the political ambition of persons from the area to become the president of Nigeria. Also, the impact on hospitality is so much that the investors in social life in the North are gone. People have relocated to other places. Commercial and businesses activities have crumbled and some have fled, because of the high level of insecurity.

Banks and their customers are operating under difficult situations and have reduced their businesses hours for protection reasons. If the businesses activities are could be paralyzed in Bornu State that has border links with three international communities, the domino effect on the nation would be grave and inevitably catastrophic. Even Kano, the hub of business and commercial activities in the 19 Northern States and beyond is badly affected. 80% of industries have been shut down which led to the scourge of unemployment rate. The Igbo people who dominated small and medium scale businesses in the core north have relocated to Abuja. The textile merchants in Kano do not fared better.

The Jos Museums, Jos Wildlife and Amusement Park are not attracting tourist like before. The Bishop of Kaduna Diocese of the Church of Nigeria Anglican Communion, Rev. Josiah Idowu-Feron, asserted strongly that businesses have dropped and the standards of living have fallen drastically (Vanguard Newspapers, July 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012). All these puts together have made the socio-economic and political development implications of terrorism in Nigeria deep-seated calamitous, systemically endemic and monumentally debilitating. Many people have lost their lives and several others rendered homeless. There is no way they could contribute their quotas towards the all-round developmental process in the country.

The farmers in the North could no longer do their work, the prices of the food items from the area have increased beyond the reach of the common man. This has affected the National Gross Products (NGP). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Nigeria explained 6.60% in the first quarter of 2013; Nigeria GDP growth rate averaged 6.81% in December of 2010 and recorded a low of 4.50% in March 2009 (CBN Report, 2013).

Economically, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) has drastically reduced in Nigeria. FDI capital to Nigeria declined to \$6.1 billion in 2010 from \$8.28billion in 2009. The \$33 billion, a net capital inflow projected by the government remains a mirage due to the astronomical and exponential upsurge of the destruction of lives and properties of Boko Haram, the terrorist Islamic Sect in Nigeria. The details below are the direct consequence of the already highlighted socio-economic and political development implications of terrorism in Nigeria.

Several attacks have been made on the citizens of Nigeria before and after independence under the guise of fighting for the institutionalisation of Sharia Law in the country: we had witnessed Kano riot and Warri crisis in 1953, Abuja riots in 2001, Jos crisis in 2001, Yelwa massacre 2008/2010, Abuja Bombing; May 2011 bombings of Abuja Police Headquarters and United Nations building bombing; November 2011 Damaturu attacks; December 2011 Damaturu clashes and Christmas Day Bombing. Till date, Boko Haram terrorists' attacks in Nigeria have recorded lots of casualties.

Precisely, on the 5th and 6th of January 2012, Christians churches and businesses were attacked in north-eastern Nigeria followed by the attacks on police stations and government offices in the north on the 20th January 2012, over 180 people were killed.

On the 25th December 2011, a church was bombed in Abuja, consequent upon this, 3 days ultimatum was handed on the Christians to leave Yobe and Bornu states. To prevent the outbreak of law and order, President Ebele Goodluck Jonathan declared state of emergency in several towns in those states. Furthermore, on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> January 2012, the Boko Haram sect members stormed the city of Mubi in Adamawa State, where people gathered to mourn three killed Christians by gunshots the previous evening. At least 18 people were killed including a Nigeria Red Cross officials at a separate ambush of Christians leaving a church service in the state capital of Yola left at least 8 people dead. Most of the victims were Igbos.

Abu Gaga, who claimed to be the spokesman of Boko Haram claimed responsibilities of the incidence highlighted above and the subsequent shooting a church service in Gombe that killed at least 6 people. In Maiduguri, a Christian couple was also gunned down, the sequel to this, hundreds of Christians fled the northern cities.

On 20<sup>th</sup> January 2012 after Friday's prayer, some gunmen in police uniforms entered five police buildings and freed all the arrested Boko Haram members in the office of the State Security Services (SSS) in Kano. On that same day, the Boko Haram sect members drove around the city in cars and motorcycles, shooting indiscriminately at the pedestrians and battling with the police. A channel television reporter, Enech Akogwu was shot while covering the terrorist attacks in Kano on that faithful day. The Kano State government swiftly reacted to the attacks by ordering all hospitals in the area to treat the victims free of charge.

Consequent upon this, the Chairman of African Union, Jean Ping condemned the attacks in all its ramifications, so also, the United Nations Secretary - General Ban Ki-moon. As at 23<sup>rd</sup> January, the death toll had risen to 185 people out of which 150 were civilians and at least 32 police officers including 3 members of the secret police, local security forces announced they had found 10 unexploded car bombs and 3000 smaller locally made bombs around the city of Kano. For the deep concern of the Governor of the State, Rabiu Kwankwaso and the Emir of Kano, Ado Bayero led a prayer for those who lost their lives in the said attacks.

According to Shehu Sani, twenty persons including two university professors, namely, Professor Ayodele of the Chemistry Department and Professor Andrew Leo of the Library Department were killed on Sunday attacks on St. Stephen Catholic Church, Bayero University, Kano (The Vanguard Newspapers, 22 June, 2012)

Alhaji Lateef Adegbite, the Secretary - General of Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (SCIA) unequivocally said that "Terrorism in Nigeria is beyond religion, it is against the people of this country, and the people of this country must ensure that it does not degenerate into a situation like that of Afghanistan, Somalia and Mali. We are too sophisticated for that and therefore we must stop the drift arrest it. The government is doing its best because these

are faceless people, that the issue can be resolved through dialogue”. He therefore called on Nigerians to view terrorism as a total challenge and war against all Nigerians: Muslims, Christians and Non- believers. “They are in a kind of mutiny against the people. So they are not easy to identify. They are waging Guerrilla war but the people know them”.

On Friday, June 22 2012, President Ebele Goodluck Jonathan sacked his Defense Minister, Dr Bello Haliru and National Security Adviser, Retired Gen. Andrew Owoeye Azazi following the reprisal attacks on Muslims because of the church bombing which killed 19 people.

Furthermore, High Commissioners of Trinidad and Tobago, Rwanda and Mali who visited the FCT Minister, Senator Bala Mohammed in his office, sought improved security around the diplomatic community in Abuja and appealed to the minister to ensure the protection of lives and property of diplomats in Abuja. The three diplomats are: Ambassador Nyahman Obika, Rwanda High Commissioner; Joseph Habineza, the Malian Ambassador, and Mahaneme Amadou Maiga of Trinidad and Tobago.

These are supplementary panoramic views of Boko Haram insurgent spasms: Boko Haram carried out dastard attacks as being revealed by the Sahara Reporters, New York: On the 18<sup>th</sup> June 2013 Boko Haram killed 9 final year students writing examinations and 13 fishermen in Maiduguri. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2013 the residents of Bama and Gwoza communities were sent away from their domain when a seven - day ultimatum was handed to them through threat letters that Government officials and civil servants should resign. Before this, on the 5<sup>th</sup> May 2013 fifty - five people were killed including twenty-two police officers. In the same vein, on the 6<sup>th</sup> July 2013, Boko Haram Storms Boarding School in Yobe, killing 30 students of the Government Secondary School, Macanudo around 2am. On the same day, police facility was destroyed at the Karim Lamido Divisional Police Headquarters with Impoverished Device (IEDs) and a First Bank was robbed too. On the 30<sup>th</sup> May 2013 the Nigeria Army links Boko Haram to Hezbollah due to discovery of weapon cache found in the home occupied by Lebanese foreign nationals in Kano. The Vanguard Newspapers, 30<sup>th</sup> July 2013 reported that 29 feared dead, scores injured in Kano multiple bomb blasts by the Boko Haram members. Thisday, 29<sup>th</sup> July 2013 revealed that 25 civilians JTF were killed when they had clashed with the Boko Haram sects in Borno.

On 4th June 2013, President Ebele Goodluck Jonathan proscribed Boko Haram, pinned the label terrorism on the group through the instrumentality of the Order issued according to Section 2 of Terrorism Prevention Act 2011.

In addendum, the Nigerian Tribune, 13<sup>th</sup> August 2013 documented the number of people that were killed inside the mosque to be sixty-three while twenty-six people were injured. The ugly incident happened in Ngom and Konduga areas of Mafa and Konduga Local Government Councils of Borno State.

Comparatively, the trend of terrorism in Nigeria is somewhat different from the much more ungodly activities of an international terrorist group like the al-Qaeda. In a way, Nigerian

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru told the visiting Austrian Foreign Minister of Foreign Minister, Dr. Michael Spindelegger, that the modus operandi of the perpetrators of these heinous acts is not only new but strange and alien to Nigeria and is why all necessary measures are being taken to secure our borders against infiltration of undesirable elements. This has led to unabatedly intractable massive killings of innocent Nigerians and monumental loss of properties caused by Boko Haram. (The Punch, Tuesday, 11 July 2012) quoted “The Boko Haram members thanked God for the success of their attack on Barkin Ladi and Rayon communities where Christians, Security Agencies and Members of House of Representatives, Senator Gyang Dantong and Fulani died of exhortation”. Said by the Boko Haram spokesmen, Gaya, who equally confirmed that over 100 Nigerians were killed in the recent Jos attacks, and further said that the only solution to peace is for all Christians to accept Islam. Gaya, the Boko Haram spokesman said that the new National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki lied claiming that he had a dialogue with them. He said further that they would continue to do what they did in Rijiyar Zaki in Kano (killing and burning). The Special Task Force (STF) confirmed that 86 civilians were killed and 2 policemen were equally shot dead in the attack of Tse and Shung villages that were set ablaze where gunmen fired sporadically and indiscriminately.

### **Reasons Adduced for Terrorism in Nigeria**

According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2009, 2010, 2011), the National Unemployment Rates for Nigeria between 2000 and 2011: 31.1% in 2000, 13.6% in 2001, 12.6% in 2002, 14.8% in 2003, 13.4% in 2004, 11.9% in 2005, 13.7% in 2006, 13.6% in 2007, 12.6% in 2008, 14.8% in 2009, 21.1% in 2010, and 23.90% in 2011 while the inflation rates rose to 9.1% year-on-year. This foregoing analysis has brought untold hardship to the people in Nigeria.

Furthermore, in the Northern part of Nigeria, 72% of the population live below the poverty line compared to only 28% in the south. According to the UN Report, This Day Newspaper, 28<sup>th</sup> June 2013, Nigeria has the highest number of HIV children worldwide.

Also, in the Failed State Index, Nigeria was 14<sup>th</sup> in 2011 worldwide. In the same vein, on the Terrorism and Political Mapping conducted between 2010 and 2011 Nigeria was 156<sup>th</sup> out of 186<sup>th</sup> countries. In a study by the Economic Intelligence Unit that used probable welfare of children and the chance for a safe, comfortable and prosperous life ranked Nigeria as the worst place for a baby to be born in 2013.

According to the Transparency International Report in 2012, Nigeria was 35<sup>th</sup> most corrupt country. It came 139<sup>th</sup> out of 176 countries. Also in 2011, Nigeria was 143<sup>rd</sup> out of 182 countries and became the 37<sup>th</sup> most corrupt country. “Corruption is a major threat facing humanity. Corruption destroys lives and communities and undermines countries and institutions. It generates popular anger that threatens to further destabilise societies and exacerbates violent conflict” (TI Reports, 2012)

### **General Therapeutic Remedy against Terrorism**

These are efforts being put in place to eradicate any forms of terrorism.

Firstly, these precautions must be anchored on just war theory: the need to rethink the moral status of the use of force. The ever - growing discourse on the phenomenon of terror must gain momentum in civilian moral discourse, though in military contexts there was a significant effort to stimulate moral discussion in the 1980s, first in response to the truck bombing of the Marine Barracks at Beirut airport and later in connection with the larger phenomenon of low - intensity conflict.

Secondly, the application of strategic intelligence is central to curb any act of terrorism. In the United States, the clandestine services are in trouble. The intelligence agencies have already begun to take some modest steps in the right direction, with more attention to revamp the NSA's antiquated eavesdropping technology. The CIA and Congress have come to a better understanding recently to manage the evils of terrorism in the United States.

Thirdly, human activities should be reframed. International Law, Rights and responsibilities should take its due course on persons in terms of judgement and political socialisations. According to Cook, D. (2013), the only way to deal with global terrorism is through justice. We need international institutions such as a fully empowered and credible world criminal court to define terrorism and dispense justice with impartiality. The world is heading towards disaster if the sole superpower behaves as judge, jury and executioner when dealing with global terrorism.

### **Conclusion**

No doubt, synoptically, terrorism can be the upshot of quagmire upsurge of unemployment and illiteracy among the people, paradoxical poverty in the midst of plenty, illogical marginalization and mutual suspicion between and among the diverse ethnics in the country, acute relative deprivation, politicization of the military and polity in its entirety, endemically massive corruption, bifurcated patriotism, unprecedented social injustices, asymmetrically skewed policies, structures and institutions cum ambiguous constitution that intractably persist daily in Nigeria. Incontrovertibly, the foregoing cataclysmically snowballed into an insurrection of Boko Haram terrorist attacks and its attendant negative socio-economic and political developments implications in Nigeria.

### **Policy Implication**

To the former Aviation Minister, Femi Fani-Kayode “The on-going amnesty proposed for the members of Boko Haram should stop. It lacks precedents. It is a resolute act of cowardice on the part of the Federal Government of Nigeria. What do we tell the family of those slaughtered by Boko Haram? He said further that it amounts to the Federal Government wobbling on its ineptitude and unwarranted pacification and colossal rewards for terrorist anti-social behaviour” (Vanguard, May 6<sup>th</sup> 2013).

There is the need to break the chain of command of Boko Haram members. It is illustrative to look at why Osama Bin-Laden was killed? The reason is to starve the al-Qaeda funds and leadership so that the group would be helpless by all standards.

The US drones and American marines have killed leaders of Hamas. The Taliban in Afghanistan is not an exception. People should be antagonistic to the creeds of terrorism to primarily instil fear to achieve political ends by going about their normal businesses. The Government should carry out airstrikes to attack the hiding places of the terrorists. This singular can terminate, dislodge or force them to leave the country. More soldiers should be deployed to terrorist's prone areas in the country. Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria is faceless. The heavy presence of soldiers would incapacitate and make them inactive and possibly hide or run away.

“Prevention is better than cure”. Boko Haram terrorist dastard act can stop if governments at all levels should provide employment opportunities for the unemployed youths, make quality education available, and provide quality health care system, stable electricity and other infrastructural facilities. In tandem with the Transparency International Reports, 2012, “Government need to integrate anti- corruption codes into all aspects of decision making. They must priorities better rules on lobbying and political financing, make public spending and contracting more transparent, and make bodies more accountable. Furthermore, the salaries of the serving politicians should be reduced and consequently be utilized for developmental projects and programmes. Why should Nigerian Senators earn more than American Senators? By the same token, the flagrant display of wealth by the rich should be curtailed.

In addendum, those in charge of justice dispensation should follow due process. Extra-judicial killing is barbaric and should be avoided. Our law enforcement agents should always follow the rules of engagement when performing their duties. Selfless and non-partisan National Conference devoid of ethno religious prejudice should be convened. This will be a veritable platform where shades of opinions and a plethora of national questions emanating from diverse pluralities of cleavages can be effectively redressed.

Top Muslim Imams/clerics and other religious figures in the northern region of Nigeria should make strong and collective efforts to teach the large Muslim population that Islam does not support the killing of one person by others.

“In the spirit of “an injury to one is an injury to all”, embedded in the doctrine of collective security, the international community should adopt the present approach in use against ISIS sect in Syria in the fight against Boko Haram or better still, an ECOMOG like forces be established, to be funded by the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN) to not only fight Boko Haram in Nigeria, but other terrorist groups that exist on the continent of Africa or globally.

Above all, governments at all levels should take care of peoples' needs and adore justice because he who must come to an equity table must come with a clean hand. Nigerians should obey the tenets of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigerian and always embrace dialogue to resolve controversial issues such as terrorism.



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