

## **Terrorism & its Socio-Economic Effects in Nigeria**

Ugwu Christain Chibuiké<sup>1</sup>, Eme, Okechukwu Innocent<sup>2\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Division of General Studies (Social Sciences Unit), University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>Department of Public Administration and Local Government, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria; okechukwu.eme@unn.edu.ng (E.O.I.).

**Abstract:** The objective of this paper is to examine the socio-economic cost of insecurity on the populace in general and the nation's economy in particular. This is because insecurity and its various multifaceted manifestations like bombings, kidnapping/hostage taking, destruction of life and property, creation of fear among others has become a hydra headed monster which security agents in Nigeria appear incapable of addressing. The study revealed that the insecurity challenge is detrimental to general well being of the people with its resultant effects in the area low quality of life, population displacement and even death, the destruction of business, properties and equipments, relocation and closing down of businesses. The study suggests that the Nigerian government and her security agencies should be pro-active in their responses, improve their intelligence gathering techniques and create more employment opportunities for the unemployed and equip and motivate her security forces better. The grievance theory will serve as our framework of analysis while documentary methods of analysis and content analysis will be used to generate and analyze data.

**Keywords:** *Insecurity, Terrorism, Socio- economic development, Grievance theory and Nigeria.*

### **1. Introduction**

The terrorist organization Boko Haram activities in the Northern parts of Nigeria, Cameroon and Lake Chad basin have resulted to refugee and Internally Displaced Persons debacle which has resulted to a dire humanitarian crisis in the region. Since 2001, Boko Haram has been perpetrating deadly terrorist attacks in the Northern parts of Nigeria. In 2013, the group successively expanded its terror attacks and bombings into Cameroon. Until then Cameroon had been a safe haven for refugees and displaced persons from Nigeria. The attacks in Cameroon have resulted in the huge movement of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP) into both Nigeria and Cameroon respectively. As documented by International Crisis Group (2017), since 2010, when Boko Haram launched its insurgency, fighting in northern Nigeria and the Lake Chad basin has claimed well over 20,000 lives. The jihadist group, which claims to want to build an Islamic state, has repeatedly attacked educational institutions, particularly those teaching a secular curriculum. According to the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF,2017), Boko Haram insurgents have killed some 2,300 teachers and destroyed some 1,400 schools throughout Nigeria's three north-eastern states, Borno, Adamawa and Yobe since 2009. Insurgents have kidnapped hundreds of students, among thousands of other civilians.

The abduction of 276 schoolgirls from Chibok in Borno state in 2014 was the most notorious case of such kidnapping. It aroused global outrage as well as widespread criticism of then President Goodluck Jonathan's government (Habila, 2017 & Obasi& Obe, 2016). Fifty-seven of the girls escaped within hours of their kidnapping, 103 were released following negotiations between the government and insurgents, while four reportedly escaped (This Day, 2017 & ICG, 2018). However four years later, 112 Chibok girls remain unaccounted for. The ordeal of the Dapchi girls, students at the Government Girls' Secondary and Technical College, and one boy, who was reportedly visiting the school, began on 19

February 2018. Insurgents stormed into the dusty farming town, located 100km from the Yobe state capital, Damaturu, riding in Toyota Hilux pickups and a Tata truck. As they invaded the school grounds and began shooting, many of the 906 students, along with several teachers, managed to scale the fence along the school's perimeter and flee. But the insurgents rounded up 113 children, loaded them into the vehicles and headed off into the bush (ICG, 2018).

The captives were aged eleven to nineteen, most of them at the younger end, and many still in their first year at the school. Thankfully, ISWAP returned 107 of them to Dapchi on 21 March. The government claims the release was the result of negotiations and a ceasefire that allowed the militants' safe passage to deliver the girls and return to their bases (Mohammed, 2018). Some of the freed girls said five of their classmates had died of trauma and exhaustion during the long journey to the insurgents' camp. All but one of the kidnapped girls was Muslims. The last girl in captivity is the only Christian, reportedly still held because she refused to renounce her faith and adopt Islam (Sahara Reporters, 2018).

As at April 2015, Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) assessment, set up by the International Migration Organization (IOM) identified 1,491,706 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe with about 6% of this figure attributed to inter communal clashes while the remaining 94% of these figure was caused by Boko Haram attacks. NEMA also recorded an additional 47,276 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Plateau, Nasarawa, Kaduna, Kano, and Abuja Federal Capital Territory (FCT), in February, 2015 (International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2015). This brings the total number of registered internally displaced persons in 2015 to 1,538,982 in northeast states of Nigeria.

Despite the concerned efforts by the Nigerian state to contain the violent activities of the insurgents, they have extended their activities beyond Northeast to even Abuja, Kogi, Niger and its environs. This development indicates that more persons are likely to be displaced if urgent measures are not taken to contain the activities of the insurgents. The most worrisome is the untold hardship faced by these innocent and vulnerable groups in their new abodes. The IDPs who are lucky to be accommodated in the IDPs camps are faced with threats of insecurity challenge as the insurgents had in many occasions beaten the security and carried out suicide bomb attacks in some IDPs camps in Northeast Nigeria. The bothersome development further exacerbates the plights of the IDPs as it exposes them to more psychological trauma and socio-economic hardship.

Majority of these attacks where on soft targets on private citizens, markets, education and religious institutions via armed assaults, firearms, bombings and knives. In terms of economic costs of terrorism, the GTI report of 2014 put it at US\$52.9 billion, compared to US\$32.9 in 2013. In Nigeria, the 2014 figure put it at US\$ 28.48. The GTI reports of 2012-2015 have added currency and impetus to the study which it seeks to fill.

To achieve these objectives the first section of the paper deals with theoretical and conceptual issues. The next segment will examine the socio-economic implications of insurgency.

## 2. Contextualising Terrorism

The use of violence to create fear, often through the targeting of third parties and with the elements of surprise and the undermining of very personal security, is a tool used by a variety of historical and contemporary actors (Large, 2005). Terrorism is a term used to describe violence or other harmful acts. Walter Laqueur in 1999 counted over 100 definitions of terrorism and concludes that the only characteristics generally agreed upon are that terrorism involves, violence and the threat of violence (Laqueur, 2003 cited in Eke, 2013). The etymology of terrorism is derived from Latin words "*terrere*" which means "frighten". Terrorism is a special crime associated with violent, victimization, threatening, frightening, and disruption of socio-political atmosphere in a particular society. It is an act of bombing, killing, kidnapping, maiming and destruction thereby creating socio-political tension, extremely fear, and destabilizing existing government or political opposition. It implies deadly attack on government

agency and functionary, international organization, military and civilian in order to gain international recognition.

Terrorism is the use of violence and intimidation to achieve political ends. Terrorists want to change the way governments and politicians behave. They do not do this by voting or by trying to convince people of their arguments. They do it by frightening people into behaving the way the terrorists want (BBC, Monday July 11 2005). Kydd & Walter (2006) cited in Atere & Alao (2012) define terrorism as actions focusing on harming some people in order to create fear in others by targeting civilians and facilities or system on which civilians rely (Eke, 2013). Terrorism may be viewed as a method of violence in which civilians are targeted with the objective of forcing a perceived enemy into submission by creating fear, demoralization and political friction in the population under attack (Schmid & Jongman, 2005). In most cases, their actions do lead to the loss of innocent lives. Just as non-state actors and rogues states are known to commit terrorism at home and abroad, democratic countries also do the same in order to achieve political, religious, or other objectives (The Punch Newspaper Editorial, May 23, 2012). Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence or, equally important, the threat of violence used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim (Hoffman, 1998). As a form of unconventional warfare, terrorism is sometimes used when attempting to force socio-political change by convincing a government or population to agree to demands to avoid future harm or fear of harm, destabilization of existing government, motivating a discontented population to join a mutiny, escalating a conflict in the hope of upsetting the status quo, expressing an injustice, or drawing attention to a cause. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined terrorism as violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law, appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.

The United States Department of Defense defines 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 pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological”. Within this definition, there are three key elements- violence, fear, and intimidation-and each element produces terror in its victims

Political terrorism is the deliberate use or threats of violence against noncombatants, calculated to instill fear in an audience beyond the immediate victims. He says that because perpetrators of terrorism often strike symbolic targets in a horrific manner, the psychological impact of an attack can exceed the physical damage. He concluded that terrorism is a mixture of drama and dread. Despite the fact that terrorism could not be said to be a senseless violence, rather it is a premeditated political cum social strategy that threaten people with a coming danger that seem ubiquitous, unavoidable and sometimes unpreventable (Kegley, 2011 cited in Raji, 2013).

The U.S. Department of State defines “Terrorism” as “premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (Zumve, Ingyoroko and Akuva, 2013). Terrorism is a failure of political process that begins with in-equalities, corruption and injustice in a given political system, and moves from a frustrated attempt at reform that breed fear and anger, to political confrontation and conspicuously erupted into violence. This can be exploited to rationalize the use of any form of violence against any target. It seems that solutions to terrorism could be found at any stage of the evolving, or deteriorating political and social processes (Dempsey 2006 cited in Isyaku, 2013). For this paper, political aspect of terrorism shall be considered. In terms of political terrorism, Shultz & Sloan (1980) cited in Oviasogie (2013) defined it as the threat and/or use of extra normal form of political violence, in varying degrees, with the objective of achieving certain political goals or objectives. This is to influence the behaviour and attitude of certain groups. It has basically political motives. Cline and Alexander

(1987)) cited in Oviasogie (2013) defined terrorism as a deliberate employment of violence or the use of violence by sovereign states as well as some national groups, assisted by sovereign states in order to attain strategic and political objectives through the violation of law.

In terms of specific strategies, terrorists globally have adopted the following as means of executing their diabolical designs:

1. Arson
2. Mass killing by gunfire
3. Suicide bombing
4. Use of improvised explosives
5. High-jacking of aircraft, ship, etc
6. Hostage-taking (kidnapping)
7. Media propaganda and advocacy
8. Piracy
9. Jail break
10. Forced enlistment/recruitment of combatant, etc.

The New Hampshire Department of Safety suggests 8 signs of terrorism which include the following:

- Surveillance – Someone recording or monitoring activities. This may include the use of cameras, note taking, drawing diagrams, annotating on maps, or using binoculars or other vision-enhancing devices.
- Elicitation – People or organizations attempting to gain information about military operations, capabilities, or people. Elicitation attempts may be made by mail, e-mail, telephone, or in person. This could also include eavesdropping or friendly conversation.
- Tests of Security – Any attempts to measure reaction times to security breaches, attempts to penetrate physical security barriers, or monitor procedures in order to assess strengths and weaknesses.
- Funding – Suspicious transactions involving large cash payments, deposits, or withdrawals are common signs of terrorist funding. Collections for donations, the solicitation for money and criminal activity are also warning signs.
- Supplies – Purchasing or stealing explosives, weapons, ammunition, etc. This also includes acquiring military uniforms, decals, flight manuals, passes or badges (or the equipment to manufacture such items) and any other controlled items.
- Impersonation – People who don't seem to belong in the workplace, neighborhood, business establishment, or anywhere else. This includes suspicious border crossings; the impersonation of law enforcement, military personnel, or company employees is also a sign.
- Rehearsal – Putting people in position and moving them around according to their plan without actually committing the terrorist act. An element of this activity could also include mapping out routes and determining the timing of traffic lights and flow.

Deployment – People and supplies getting into position to commit the act. This is the person's last chance to alert authorities before the terrorist act occurs.

In order to draw attention to terrorism in Nigeria, it is important to conceptualize it within an African context. Although the AU need not maintain a list of terrorist organizations in Africa, its Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism article 1 (3) defines terrorism as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or

may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

- (i) Intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or
- (ii) Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or
- (iii) Create general insurrection in a state.

Conceptualized in this way, the AU is clear on

- (i) Activities that qualify one group or the other as terrorist group;
- (ii) Activities that qualify as terrorist activities.

In the same vein, the UN's convention on transnationality of terrorists' activities holds important place in any discussion of terrorism in Nigeria.

It is worthy for us to note that the economic implications of the growing wave of Boko Haram terrorism can be viewed and measured from different perspectives. The cost can be direct, indirect, short and long term. For instance, the destruction of infrastructure and property and the loss of productivity level among workers is direct while the military expenditure by the government in fighting the group is indirect. This is because the level of security votes been expended have negative impact on the other critical sectors such as health, education and roads respectively. In an updated Nigeria Terrorism Index data that was recently updated on December of 2015 by GTI revealed that Nigeria's balance of trade moved from #1971787.70million from the previous # 1921270 million. Her export dropped from #68808480million from the previous #772218.80 million. Also Nigeria's import reduced from #586048million to #483292.30 million. Nigeria's FDI dropped from the previous #732.49million to #642.87 million. Her external debt soared from previously #9464.11 to #10316.82 million respectively. These data support the thesis that the Boko Haram activities have hampered socio-economic efforts in Nigeria

According to World Bank (2009), the effect of terrorism has been more dramatic in Nigeria where it has been estimated that FDI flows dropped \$6.1 billion in 2010 due to Boko Haram's acts of terrorism. This represents a decline of almost 30 per cent from the previous fiscal year. As developing economies or fragile states are generally more volatile, investment comes at a higher risk. As a result, terrorism in high risk countries drastically lowers investment. These acts also increase the security premium, further increasing the cost of economic activity and leading investors to look elsewhere. This is one reason why acts of terror within developing nations have a more drastic effect on FDI than in developed nations. This is the reason why it is necessary to examine the socio-economic impact of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria.

### **3. Theoretical Framework of Analysis: 'Grievance' Perspective**

With much written about the movement over the past years, this paper will focus on the role of economic and political marginalisation in fostering violence as its framework of analysis. For over a decade, Oxford Research Group has sought to analyse what may be termed "revolts from the margins", and there may be a sense in which Boko Haram relates to this concept. This thesis supports. Stewart (2008) who argued that there is a link between horizontal inequalities and armed violence. Sanusi(2011) adds:

With a population of 165 million, Nigeria is Africa's largest country in terms of demographic size. With a GDP of US\$415 billion, it is the

second largest economy after South Africa. Nigeria holds the record for being the largest oil producer on the continent and the sixth in OPEC. The country is well endowed with petroleum, gas and yet-untapped mineral resources. Its agricultural potentials are considerable, although the country remains a net importer of food. Over the last decade growth has averaged 7.4% and is projected to be 6.9% by year's end 2012.

With the above potentials, Nigeria remains a paradox, if not an enigma, to many observers. A recent World Bank study depicts the country's development trajectory in terms of 'jobless growth'. Massive revenues from oil earnings have gone into consumption and recurrent expenditure, with little left to finance the yawning gaps in physical infrastructures. Corruption is widespread in public life while capital flight is an endemic feature of the political economy. As a result, the vast majority have no access to electricity, water and basic social services. Life-expectancy stands at 51 years, which is well below the average for sub-Saharan Africa (Sanusi, 2011).

Walton (2010) also sees armed violence (including terrorism) as a response to relative deprivation or exclusion. This theory supports the findings of Omale (2013) which argues that many people in Nigeria call for the restorative justice paradigm because they are 'aggrieved and hurt' socially, politically and economically; and could not explain why 'a people who stand in plenty of water should wash their hands with spittle'. Similarly, the grievance theory appears to support the assumption of some people in Nigeria, that the violent dimension of Boko Haram is a reaction to job creation opportunities granted to the Niger Delta militants in the Amnesty Programme. For this reason, the unemployed youth in the north are aggrieved and want to benefit from same.

Supporting these theses, Fareed Zakaria's concept of 'illiberal democracy' perhaps best describes Nigeria's current governance situation, where the culture of impunity reigns supreme and the rule of law and constitutionalism remain very much work in progress. Nigeria is an ethnically diverse country, with some of the most ancient civilisations known to man. In the context of widening inequalities, joblessness and poverty, it is inevitable that social tensions — most of which are exploited by politicians — will tend to find expression in ethno-religious conflicts. It is clearly obvious that the basic assumptions of the are similar to that of frustration-aggression and relative deprivation theories theorists who have identified that the absence of these basic needs generate deprivation of which causes conflict. Abraham, Maslow identified physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs (Maslow, 1970).

Just like Gurr's thesis on relative deprivation, Max-Neef (cited in Faleti, 2005:52) believes that the tension between deprivation and potential are main issues addressed by the human needs theory because when important needs are not sufficiently satisfied, economic and political problems will continue to grow. Nnoli (2006:9), probably had the human needs theory in mind when he argued that political exclusion, economic marginalization and social discrimination threaten the security of citizens to such an extent that they regard the state as the primary threat to their survival. In desperation, the victimized citizens take the laws into their own hands as a means of safeguarding their fundamental values from the threat of unacceptable government policies.

In short, poverty, displacement of persons and Boko Haram Insurgency motorized each other given that they enjoy a symbiotic relationship in that region. Kwaja (2011, p. 1), for example, argues that 'religious dimensions of the conflict have been misconstrued as the primary driver of violence, in fact, disenfranchisement and inequality are the root causes. Corroborating this view, Saleem (2012) noted that it is Nigerian government inability to manage corruption, the rising inequality between rich and poor, the gross violation of human rights, and inaccessible education, could also be responsible for the high level of radicalization. Categorically, Saleem (2013, p. 53) stated that:

Due to ineptitude and corrupt practices, the political leadership of Nigeria failed judiciously to utilize the naturally endowed resources to address the many social problems facing the country. The poor became poorer, while a small fraction of the political elite became wealthier, which generated many social problems, including religious bigotry, mass illiteracy, poorly-funded administrative institutions, the unavailability of basic health care for most, and fraudulent elections. Given this myriad of problems (e.g., excruciating poverty, unemployment, and mass illiteracy), especially among the religiously-inclined vulnerable youths in Northern Nigeria, individuals like Muhammad Yusuf were able to seize the opportunity to seek relevance by preaching an alternative platform for disenchanted, vulnerable youths and consequently radicalize them to attack the system which, they believe, is largely responsible for their situation.

The above assertion tied the rise in Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast strictly to the high level of poverty occasioned by bad governance and corruption in Nigeria particularly in Northeast Nigeria which has made many persons to be displaced. Going further, Achebe (2012) described Boko Haram as a product of economic deprivation and corruption in northern Nigeria. He noted that economic deprivation, corruption, and social inequities in a population, which in turn fuel political instability. In his analysis, Mustapha (2012, p.3) opined that:

Boko Haram is the symptom of the failure of nation-building and democratic politics in Nigeria which has yielded to high rate of displacement of persons in Nigeria most especially in Northeast region. It is the misguided cry of a disgruntled youths crushed by the socio-economic system on the one hand and then repressed by the state on the other.

The situation has not changed. Today, incursions by the Boko Haram militia and combat between government forces and government have not ended. However, humanitarian aid organizations are still negatively affected by insecurity, and parts of the population are still suffering from inter-community tensions and crime. Security varies depending on the place and the season (pastoral migration, incidents linked to certain groups of criminals, etc.). This is made worse by the poverty and the general lawlessness that prevail throughout north eastern Nigeria. IDPs currently have the choice between three solutions: integration, relocation and return. The main criteria in their decision include: security in their home village, access to land, access to basic services and economic opportunities. Decisions also depend on age, ethnic origin, village of origin, the reason for displacement (following an attack or to avoid an attack), and means of livelihoods in the home village and at the IDPs site. The diversity of criteria makes it difficult to establish categories (by village of origin, for example) and match them with the choices made. Quantifying these choices is also a challenge as humanitarian aid workers do not have reliable data covering the entire region, with a breakdown of persons opting for each of the solutions. The context is also constantly changing. For example, since 2013 have been a bad crop year, a factor that may also influence the choices of IDPs as to where they will relocate (Eme, Azuakor, & Mba, 2018)”

From the foregoing analysis, it is obvious that the human needs theory is very relevant in our efforts to understand and explain the causes of insecurity and Islamic activities in Nigeria. The theory surely links the numerous problems and causes of insecurity in the country to a cause. This is why the paper attributes the high level of insecurity (as exemplified in political violence, killings and



assassinations, ethnic, communal and religious conflicts, Niger-Delta crisis, kidnapping, armed robbery, etc.) in the country to the frustration experience by some of its deprived citizens who accordingly resort to violence and aggression in an effort to satisfy their needs. More than this, the proposition and insights gained from the theory will be of great help in our efforts to propose strategies towards addressing security challenges security budgets have failed to address in the country.

Adding currency to the “grievance hypothesis” that this paper supports Omale(2013) that posited that modern Nigerian youths are becoming politically conscious and aware of their political right which have been constitutionally disfranchised. Unlike Uganda where a 19 years old girl won election into the National Parliament in 2012, Section 65 Sub-sections (a) and (b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria states otherwise that ‘a person shall be qualified for election to the National Assembly if he has attained the ages of thirty five years (for the Senate) and thirty years (for the House of Representative). These constitutional provisions automatically disqualified potential youths electable into the National Assembly. By implication therefore, Nigerian youths are only good to be used as thugs and dumped by politicians but not as electable politicians themselves. Such political attitude can fuel a militarized sense of “we will do it ourselves” when provoked by the failure of government to provide for them in the mist of plenty.

This theoretical discourse is relevant to Nigeria where people already feel that our democracy is anorexic (people do not feel the dividends of democracy) or as the Governor of Imo State-Chief Rochas Okorocha put it: Nigeria’s democracy is suffering from “democratic kwashiorkism” (a situation where power is concentrated at the top and the head feeds fat while the lower extremities are extremely malnourished (Omale,2013:103).

As stated earlier, Boko Haram’s support stems from three specific aspects of the Nigerian situation: the relative economic neglect of the Moslem north, a country-wide issue of very serious divisions of wealth and poverty (in spite of the oil wealth of the Delta), and an endemic problem of corruption, especially within the political system. Boko Haram does appear to be developing into a substantive and coherent movement, and is now tending to be active away from its original heartland in the north into central and possibly even southern states of Nigeria. The economic context is dramatic. What is particularly relevant is that the relatively high levels of economic growth in Nigeria in recent years – the country has the third fastest rate in the world - have not involved an improved sharing of the fruits of that growth. Indeed, the evidence actually suggests a greater concentration of wealth in fewer hands, at a time of a growing cohort of young people with minimal employment prospects – some 40 million 18-25 year olds are unemployed - resulting in disempowerment, resentment and anger (Rogers,2012) .

This has been powerfully captured in the 2012 Poverty Survey by the National Statistical Bureau (NSB), which shows that 69% of Nigerians are defined as poor - 112 million people – a huge increase from just 17 million in 1980. These figures are serious enough, but the future population trends are alarming. The current population of 163 million is expected to rise, on current trends, to 389 million by 2050 and over 700 million by 2100, according to UN estimates. At present as many as 71% of Nigerians are said to be in relative poverty. An increase of 17% in 6 years. Nigerians’ own perceptions of their poverty are higher still. The NSB report states that: “In 2009/2010, the perception index of households living in poverty had risen to 92.5 %.” The effect of poverty on health and education in Borno State, where Boko Haram had its origins, is startling. Alain Vickery, in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (April 2012) reports: “Only 2% of children under 25 months have been vaccinated; 83% of young people are illiterate; 48.5% of children do not go to school.” The statistics as a whole bear out the well known relative poverty of the north. However, what is perhaps most remarkable is the evidence of rising widespread poverty across the whole country – and how it has increased in recent years across most of the country (NBS, 2009, 2010 & Rogers, 2012).

This goes some way to explaining the huge nationwide protests at the proposed reduction in fuel subsidies in January 2012(Rogers, 2012; Eme,et.al,2012 &2015; Eme,2014). One of the key findings of a World Bank report in 2000 of dialogue with Nigeria’s poor is that they see poverty not just in material terms but as an overwhelming denial of the right to a quality of life which is enabling and empowering.



The level of resentment at endemic corruption and the massive misappropriation of the nation's wealth cannot be underestimated. The Research Director of the Nigerian Economic Summit Group (NESG), Dr Sope Wiliams Elegbe, who we consulted on the poverty statistics, says that:

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 statistics 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 (Rogers,2012).

#### 4. Socio- Economic Implications

For the past eight years, North Eastern Nigeria has been under serious terrorist attack from a barbaric violent sect known as Boko Haram. However, their activities which seems to be financed by both local and foreign elements has led to thousands of people losing their lives and livelihoods, tens of thousands had been rendered homeless while properties worth billions of Naira has been destroyed as a result of the Boko haram attacks, while more attacks are still going on daily. The terrorism has also affected Nigeria's economy negatively.

Within the last few years, heightened social insecurity in Nigeria has arguably fuelled the crime rate, leaving unpalatable consequences for the nation's economy and its growth. The rates of terrorist bombings, kidnappings, armed robbery attacks on banks as well as other violent crimes in recent months, have led to a prevalent massive loss of the nation's human capital. This ugly trend poses a threat to the future of the nation's agricultural productivity and real sector levels, private sector investment volume, petroleum sector growth rate, manpower and overall economic development.

In 2013, the National Population Commission said that the rate of unemployment in Nigeria Rose from 21.1 per cent in 2010 to 23.9 per cent in 2011. The NPC, in a report on its website, said the nation's economic growth had not translated into job creation. It said, "Figures from the National Bureau of Statistics clearly illustrated the deep challenges in Nigeria's labour market, where the nation's rapid economic growth has not translated into effective job creation. The NBS estimates that Nigeria's population grew by 3.2 per cent in 2011, reflection rapid population growth. In 2011, Nigeria's unemployment rose to 23.9 per cent compared with 21.1 per cent in 2010(NBS,2012).

It said the labour force swelled by 2.1 million to 67,256,090 people, with just 51,224,115 persons employed, leaving 16,074,205 people without work. The NPC said the lack of sufficient jobs resulted in additional 2.1 million unemployment persons in 2011, up from 1.5 million unemployed people produced in 2010. It added, "Unemployment was higher in the rural areas, at 25.6 per cent, than in the urban areas, where it was 17 per cent on average. In the light of the country's fast-growing population, efforts to create a conducive environment for job created in 2011 was reported as 209, 239 by the Federal Ministry of labour and productivity 54% of Nigerian youths unemployed in 2012-The National Bureau of Statistics. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in late in December last year said that 54 per cent of Nigerian youths were unemployed in 2012. This fact was contained in the "2012 National Baseline Youth Survey Report" issued in Abuja by the NBS in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Youths Development. "More than half, about 54 per cent of youth population was unemployed. Of this, females stood at 51.9 per cent compared to their male counterpart with 48.1 per cent were unemployed," the report said. It said out of 46,836 youths recorded against different types of crimes, 42,071, representing 75.5 per cent were males, while the remaining 24.5 per cent were females. Among the 32 different crimes committed, Marijuana (Indian hemp) smoking has the highest figure, representing 15.7 per cent.

This was followed by theft and murder with 8.1 and 7.4 per cent, respectively. The least committed crime was Immigration/Emigration representing 0.04 per cent (NBS,2012).

According to the survey, the population of youths aged between 15 and 35 years in Nigeria is estimated to be 64 million, while females are more than males in all age groups. The report said the objective of the study was to provide useful data for the design and development of youth-focused programmes by the Federal Ministry of Youths Development and other partners in the country. The study was aimed at generating empirical data to inform policy decisions and guide their implementation.

Massive loss of human resources and its effect as well as government's unimpressive response to the various forms of crime do not offer hopes that the nation is likely to realize its short and long term economic targets. Bomb explosions and attack of innocent citizens by gunmen have been frequent. The Nigerian militant group, Boko Haram, conducted a series of bombing attacks and armed assaults on January 20, 2012 in the northern city of Kano, leaving at least 250 people dead. According to the Vice-President of Nigeria Labour Congress, Mr. Issa Aremu, 25 workers died in Kano. The 2012 Report from Amnesty International indicates that Nigeria recorded 215 deaths from violent attacks by suspected members of the Boko Haram sect between June and December 2011. It adds that more than 200 people died in communal clashes in Plateau State alone during the year while hundreds of people were killed in rioting and violent attacks in northern and central Nigeria following the presidential elections.

According to the Human Rights Watch, about 2,800 lives were lost to terror-related violence between 2009 and 2012. Within the first nine months in 2012, 815 people were killed in 275 suspected attacks by the Boko Haram group and this represents more than the total number of deaths recorded between 2010 and 2011 combined. The organisation states that 211 police officers were killed while over 60 police stations in at least 10 northern and central states were attacked by the terrorist group apart from the police headquarters that was bombed in Abuja. Beyond the tragic loss of lives, terrorism took a staggering economic toll on Nigeria. In 2013 it was estimated that terrorism cost the Nigerian economy US\$28.48 billion—a number that has likely increased in light of the escalation of the ferocity of attacks in 2014. While the origins of terrorism are undoubtedly complex, economic conditions are often cited as an important determining factor in the spread of terrorist groups. Over 20 million young people are unemployed in Nigeria, and as the economy continues to be hit by the falling oil prices and the subsequent inflation that follows from a depreciating currency, things are likely to go from bad to worse.

The tourism sector which ranked first in the country Nigerian and generates approximately N80 billion annually has been held stand still. The famous Argungu fishing festival, Yankari Games Reserves, the Mambila Plateau, the tomb of Othman Dan-Fodio, all of which attracts tourists from within and outside the country have been paralyzed alongside the various economic activities within value chain (NTDC, 2012).

The infrastructural sub-sector of the northern economy has been devastated. This is because a good number of foreign and local contractors across the various northern states engaged in the construction of roads, bridges, housing estate development, the dams, National Integrated Power projects and rail way track rehabilitation have either abandoned sites or relocated to other states. This represents real setback to the economy of the region and pushes unemployment higher as thousands of youth who would have been engaged by them now sit idle.

The commercial sector which was once booming now witnesses a dwindling fortune. The commercial sub-sector which covers the small and medium scale enterprises, local markets, road side shops and stores within the affected states have been closed down because most of these businesses are owned by southerners most of whom are Igbos. Chinedu (2012) noted that 73.3% of business has partially closed operations in northern Nigeria because of this insecurity. This represents huge capital flight from northern economy in both human and financial terms. The most affected states in this regard are Borno, Yobe, Kano and Sokoto. Kano for example serves as a commercial nerve centre not only for the north but also neighbouring Countries like Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Western Sudan for past 500 year before evolution of Nigeria. Obeche (2012) noted that some \$15 billion do

flow through Kano's market each year and two million traders used to arrive daily from Nigeria and neighbouring countries selling goods from factories in the south or imported from Asia. It has the oldest and biggest multi billion naira textile market known in the sub-Saharan African – The Kanti Kwari market. But now because of the Boko Haram activities the market is stifled. Kano economy has crashed, Business is fizzling, and income generated has dwindled. People find it difficult to make ends meet. Most times people come to market without selling anything. (Babajide, 2012) (IRIN News, 2012; Eme and Ibietan, 2012). In the core service sector, schools, hospitals, hotels, parks and recreational outfits are going down. Foreign students are relocating down to the south; many doctors have transferred to other peaceful states, hotels and parks now records low turn-out of visitors. All these portend losses to northern economy. Before now there are more than enough Human resources for business and production including professionals in different service sectors. But now some of them have lost their lives resulting in mass exodus from the north to the south for safety. As of now, there is no direct evidence that those who migrated because of insecurity have returned to the northern states they fled. The Health, banking and insurance, and Education sector have crumbled. Even vacancy announcement with attractive salary and benefits are not responded to (Madlion, 2012). In Yobe state for instance, government said it has spent well over N7 billion on securities in the last three years. About 209 classrooms worth over N2.5 billion, private houses worth N629 million and other public structures were destroyed in the insurgency attacks. To ensure that pupils and students were not left out of school, Yobe state government rehabilitated most of the schools destroyed. The argument is that ordinarily, these resources would have been channeled into providing the people with water, healthcare services, roads, schools and other services (Eme et al, 2015). This attracted series of calls by prominent sons and daughters of the sub-region and, others from various states on the federal government to, as a matter of deliberate and urgent policy, provide these states with a 'Marshall-plan' like assistance to assist them recover from the devastating loss suffered by the affected state governments, organizations and individuals. The Agricultural sector is not left out. Most northerners are known to be engaged in this sector. Agricultural output is dwindling greatly. Farmers in Kaduna, Plateau, and Sokoto no longer go to farm for fear of what will happen to them. Presently, the northern economy is crippled. It will take 20 years to recover from the current predicament the north has found itself (Chiendu 2012).

Specifically, their activities have reduced Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product: the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country is the sum total of all the goods and services produced in the country within a specific period of time usually one year, by both citizens and foreigners in the country alike; Nigeria's GDP especially from the Northern part of the country have drastically reduced over the years due to the effects of Boko Haram sect. People no longer invest in productive activities in the north as a result of fear; while businesses that would have contributed to the GDP of the country are being destroyed with bomb blast in various locations up north.

Investors from other countries who are willing to invest in Nigeria are afraid to come set up their businesses here due to fear of the activities of the Boko Haram sect that have also included Nigeria in the list of terrorist countries; rather They prefer to invest in neighbouring countries like Ghana and this also have affected the economy negatively.

## 5. Recommendations

The Presidential Committee on security challenges in the North East Zone had identified security lapses, inter-service rivalry and lack of collaboration as factors that have encouraged the proliferation of security crises in the Northern part of the country. It also blamed the security breaches on high level of poverty, unemployment and other social ills. This paper is however of the considered opinion that serious security collaboration and intelligence sharing must be urgently evolved to arrest security breaches and these needs to go beyond the shores of Nigeria. The federal government must build inter-agency cooperation through diplomatic channels/pacts, and international intelligence to ensure that crime of whatever scale is nipped in the bud. The current Lake Chad Basin countries' collaborations are

a welcome development. Again, there is the overriding need to promptly move to demilitarize the Nigerian society and reduce the heavy influx of small and light arms and ammunition in the country which have unfortunately gone into the wrong hands. To this extent, the Customs and Immigration Services, in tandem with the Ministry of Interior should work round the clock to protect and police the porous Nigerian borders. Related to the above and more fundamental is the need to reduce, if not totally eliminate the existence of private militias that were established, funded and used by politicians and individuals who later dumped them after having been trained to handle arms.

Also, the various security agencies, beside the need to be technologically equipped and funded to carry out their assigned tasks, would need to be restructured. The structure and duties of our security agencies must be revisited so as to ensure that each organ very well knows its specific roles and function, while the laws establishing these agencies must be made clear on who does what. The government at all levels, particularly the federal government, urgently needs to carry out reforms in the security sub-sector to eliminate inertia created by inter-agency rivalry and react decisively to security threats with dispatch. On their part, the citizens must cooperate with the security agencies by supplying them with prompt, useful and relevant information on likely security breaches. This can be facilitated by the existence of a well-coordinated biometric database of Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike indicating where people live, their nature of jobs and background. This will assist in fishing out the bad eggs in the society. Finally, decisive steps should be taken to cripple Boko Haram Sect and their funding, operations as well as end their menacing reign. If anything, a safe, secure and peaceful environment is what the present democracy needs to be strengthened and sustained as such the government and people of Nigeria cannot afford to leave this to the whims and caprices of miscreants.

## 6. Conclusion

This study has shown that terrorism is a crude political weapon. To corroborate this thesis, the English Dictionary describes terrorism as: "Political violence: violence or the threat of violence, especially bombing, kidnapping and assassination carried out for political purposes." So, the symbiotic relationship between politics and terrorism started long ago. Hence, it becomes the norm for desperate politicians to hire, retain and use thugs in their struggle for absolute political power at all costs. By all standards, give it any name you like, thuggery is the criminal perpetration of violence. And violence of any kind is an act of terrorising or subjecting the innocent and law abiding citizens to trepidation and dehumanisation. So, today, terrorism has become a vicious problem in Nigeria. And it thrives because it is financed by those who have access to public funds. And it also gets foreign support sometimes in the name of oil, religion or ethnicity. All of these criminal attributes give terrorism terrifying worldwide recognition. At present, Nigeria is facing the devastating experience of the Islamic sect, Boko Haram, mostly in the northeastern part of the country. The challenge for the Northern states, today, is to make primary and secondary school education free and widely available in the region, while the Federal Government does all it can to assist them, because of the enormity of the problem. This is an important shared responsibility, which does not call for throwing of unhelpful brick brats and public castigation of the affected governors, former president or the current president.

For the majority of Nigerians, the greatest desire is for the authorities to end this mindless insurgency. One thing that is certain is that the measures so far adopted to confront terrorism in Northern Nigeria are not enough. It has become necessary to re-tool the campaign against Boko Haram to end the menace and restore peace in the affected parts of the country.

## References

- Abdu, H. & Umar, (2002). Hope Betrayed: A Report on Impunity and State-Sponsored Violence in Nigeria. Brussels: World Organisation against Torture. pp: 93.
- Abimbola O. A. (2011). Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State. *Africa Today*, 57(4): 99-119.

- Abiodun, F. (2012). Democracy and National Identities: The Travails of National Security in Nigeria. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 9(2): 126-140.
- Abubakar, A. (2013). Business Day (2012), Boko Haram: What cost for the Northern Economy. Available from: [www.businessdayonline.com>news>latest](http://www.businessdayonline.com/news/latest).
- Achebe, C. (2012). There was a country: A personal history of Biafra. London: Allen Lane.
- ACLED, (2013). Country Report: Nigeria. Available from: [www.acleddata.com](http://www.acleddata.com).
- Adamu, A. (1990). Redefining West African Security. Paper Presented at the Seminar on Global Changes and Challenges to Sub-Regional Maritime Security. NIIA, Lagos, December.
- Aderenle, A. R. (2012). Boko Haram in Surgery in Nigeria as a Symptom of Poverty and Political Alienation, *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(5).
- Adi, F. (2010). Kaduna: A Divided City. *The NEWS*, Lagos, 15 March.
- Agbiboa .D. (2013). The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram Versus the State Stability; *International Journal of Security & Development*, 2(3):
- Akaeze et al, (2014). Monster in the Marketplace. *TELL* August 4, 2014. pp: 30-32.
- Ake, C. (1984). Parameters of Nigeria's Defense Policy in M.Vogt and S.C. Ukpabi, *National Interest, National Security and Defense Policy*, Minna: Tradoc.
- Akinlade .M. and Ibitoye .M. (2012). Eliminating Terrorism and Sustaining Democracy in Nigeria; Political Science Department College of Education, Ikere-Ekiti, Ekiti State, Nigeria.
- Akpan et al (2012). Terrorist Activities and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Early Warning Signal. *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 5(4).
- Akpan, B. Onwuka and Onyeizugbe (2012). Terrorist Activities and Economic Development in Nigeria: An Early Warning Signal. *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 05(04).
- Akpomera .E. and Omoyibo .K. (2013). Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: The Paradox and Challenges of Big Brother Foreign Policy. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 2(1): Serial 5.
- Alao .D. and Atere. C. (2012). Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria: the Challenges and Lessons. *Singaporean Journal of Business Economics, and Management Studies*, 1(4).
- Alozieuwa, .S. (2012). Contending Theories on Nigeria's Security Challenge in the Era of Boko Haram Insurgency. *The Peace and Conflict Review*, 7(1): University of Peace.
- America <http://unitedblackamerica.com/boko-haram> Amnesty International. (2009). Killing At Will: Extrajudicial Executions and other Unlawful Killings by the Police in Nigeria, London: Amnesty International. Available from: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR44/038/2009/en/f09b1c15-77b4-40aa-a608-b3b01bde0fc5/afr440382009en.pdf>
- Amnesty International (2018). 'They Betrayed us' women who Survived Boko Haram Raped, Starved and Detained in Nigeria. London: Amnesty International.
- Amnesty to Boko Haram and Implication for Nigeria Economy, Business Day, Nigeria.com/amnesty-boko-Haram-and-implication.nigeria.
- Ayamkpan, C. (2013). Arewa Youths urge Northern Governors to Grant Amnesty to Boko Haram, Retrieved Thursday, June 6.
- Azar, E. (1994). Protracted International Conflicts: Ten Propositions. Quoted in Rabie, M. *Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity*. London: Praeger.
- Babajide, J. (2012). Boko Haram Affects Northern Economy, *African Newspapers of Nigeria Plc*.
- Badejogbin .T. (2013). Boko Haram: An enquiry into the socio-political context of Nigeria's counter-terrorism response. *Law Democracy & Development*, 17, University of Cape Town
- Bamgbose .J. (2013). The Boko Haram Crisis and Nigeria's External Relations. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 11(2).
- Bamidele .O. (2012). Boko Haram Catastrophic Terrorism -An Albatross to National Peace, Security and Sustainable Development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(1) BBC, Monday July 11 2005.



- Barau, AS (2018). Boko Haram: protection issues for displaced and distressed women and children in Northern Nigerian cities ,IIED, London. <http://pubs.iied.org/10842IIED>
- BBC News (2004). New 'Taliban' clashes in Nigeria, (January 7). Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3376979.stm>; and "Nigerians 'crush' Islamic uprising," BBC News (January 5, 2004). Online at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3368627.stm>.
- BBC News (2004). Nigeria police kill 27 Taliban, (Sept. 24, 2004), online at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3685280.stm>.
- BBC News (2004). Nigerians 'crush' Islamic uprising, (January 5). Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3685280.stm>.
- Boko Haram Attack Cripple Northern Economy [www.dailytrust.com/.../508.29-boko-haram-cripple-northern-n](http://www.dailytrust.com/.../508.29-boko-haram-cripple-northern-n).
- Burton, J. (1979). Deviance, Terrorism and War: the Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems, London: Macmillan.
- Burton, J. (1990). Conflict: Human Needs Theory, London: Macmillan.
- Busch, G.K. (2012). Boko Haram and Nigeria, Nigerian Village Square.
- Central, Bank of Nigeria (CBN) (2012). Statistical Bulletin and Annual Report and Statement of Account (Various Issues) as Cite in Adeleke (2011). Taxation, Revenue Allocation and Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and Policy Options, Economic Annals, 54, 189.
- Chinedu, A. (2012). Economic Implications of Insecurity in Nigeria.
- Cronin, A. K (2010). When Should We Talk to Terrorists? (Special Report, May 2010)
- Danladi .S. (2013). 21st century questions: the state of Nigeria democracy in peril? Violence and democracy in Nigeria: "Mapping the Rootsage". European Scientific Journal, 9(14).
- Dasuki, S. (2013). Nigeria's security challenges: The way forward, Leadership Newspaper Nig.
- Dudouet, V (2010). Mediating Peace with Proscribed Armed Groups by (Special Report, June 2010) Washington: UNO Publication.
- Eke .C. (2013). Terrorism and the Dilemmas of Combating the Menace in Nigeria; International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 3(4).
- El-Rufai .N. (2012). Between Terrorism & Corruption – Implications for Nigeria; lecturedelivered at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.
- Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business, 3(8).
- Eme .O. and Anthony .O.(2011). The Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition.
- Eme, O. I. (2004). Insecurity Question in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition. The Academy, 4(4): 8-9.
- Eme, O. I. (2009). Ethno-Religious Identities in Nigeria: Implications for Good Governance in Nigeria. A Paper Submitted to the Editor-in-Chief of a Book Project on Islam and Governance in Nigeria.
- Eme, O.I, and Ibieta, (2012). Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter), 2(2) September.
- Eme, O.I. (2013a). Insecurity and Nigeria's Business Climate. Unpublished Mimeo.
- Eme, O.I. (2013b). Security Challenges and Security Votes in Nigeria, 2000-2013. Unpublished Mimeo.
- Eme, O.I. et al (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria. AJBMR, 1(9) April.
- Eme, O.I., Daniel, C. C. and Ogbeje, E. N. (2015). Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism on Northern Nigeria. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 6: 371-3769
- Eme,O.I (2013). Insecurity and Nigeria's Business Climate. Journal of Policy and Development Studies, 7(1): 81-98
- Eme,O.I., Azuakor, P.O and Mba, C.C (2018). Boko Haram & Population Displacement in Nigeria: A Case for Psychological Input. Practicum Psychologia, 8: 75-96.
- Esanbor-Ojo, M. (2011). Security takes Lion's share of ..... African Examiner, December 13, P, 4.
- Fayeye J. (2010). Ethnic Militia: National Security, Democracy and Development; Department of Sociology. Ilorin: University of Ilorin.

- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). Abuja: Federal Government Printers.
- Feleti, S.A. (2005). Theories of Social Conflict, in Best, S.G. (ed.) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Forest, J. (2012). Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria; Published by Joint Special Operations University, 7701 Tampa Point Boulevard.
- Forest, J.F. (2012). Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria, (JSOU Report 12-5), 7701 Tampa Point Boulevard: Joint Special Operations University
- Frazer .E. & Hutchings .K. (2008). Political Theory Revisited Political Theory Revisited; Journal in Politics and International Relation, Palgrave Macmillan Publisher.
- Freedman, L (1998). "International Security: Changing Targets; Foreign Policy, 110:48-63.
- Global Peace Index (2014). Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism, New York: GPI.
- Gottesman .R. and Brown .R. (2008). Violence in America: An Encyclopedia; published by Charles Scribner's Son, An imprint of the Gale Group, New York.
- Gur, T.R. (1970). Why Men Rebel, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gusau, I.U. (2009). Boko Haram: How it All Began, Sunday Trust, (August 2, 2009). Available from: [http://sundaytrust.com.ng/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=825:boko-haram-how-it-all-began-&catid=3:people-in-the-news&Itemid=110](http://sundaytrust.com.ng/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=825:boko-haram-how-it-all-began-&catid=3:people-in-the-news&Itemid=110).
- Gutowski .J. (1998). Domestic Political Violence: Working Towards an Answer to a Timeless Question; published by Illinois Wesleyan University.
- GVPT (2007). What is Politics; publisher not Indicated.
- Hoffman, B. (1998). Inside Terrorism; Colombia University Press.  
Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3368627.stm>.
- Human Rights Watch (2008). Nigeria: Arbitrary Killings by Security Forces in Jos. Available from: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2008/12/19/nigeria-arbitrarykillings-Security-Forces-Jos>
- Human Rights Watch (2011). Corruption on Trial: The Record of Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. Available from: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2011/08/25/corruption-trial>.
- ICG (2014). Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency. Available from: [https://www.ecoi.net/file\\_upload/1926\\_1396951718\\_216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1926_1396951718_216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf).
- Idowu, S.O. (1999). Media in Nigeria's Security and Development Vision. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- IDMC (2014). Nigeria-multiple displacement crises overshadowed by Boko Haram. Available from: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharanafrica/nigeria/2014/nigeria-multiple-displacement>.
- IDMC (2015). Nigeria IDP Figures Analysis 2015. Available from: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/nigeria/figures-analysis>.
- International Crisis Group (2018). Preventing Boko Haram Abductions of Schoolchildren in Nigeria, Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°137, 12 April 2018.
- IOM (2015). Nigeria emergency operations: Situation report. Available from: <https://nigeria.iom.int/dtm>.
- IOM (2016). Nigeria: Data tracking matrix round IX-UNHCR emergencies, report. Available from: <http://data.unhcr.org/SahelSituation/download.php?id=1942>.
- Insecurity and Nigerian Economy Business Day Newspaper (2012)
- Johnson, T. (2011). Boko Haram, Council on Foreign Relations, (November 7, 2011). Available from: <http://www.cfr.org/africa/boko-haram/p25739>.
- Joshua .S. (2013). Democracy and Violent Conflicts in Nigeria: Implications for National Development; African Research Review. International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia, 7(3): Serial No. 30.



- Kayode, J.F. & Fummi, O. (2008). Nigeria, in Alan Bryden, Boubacar N'Diaye and 'Funmi Olonisakin (eds.), *Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa*, Geneva: Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (June 2008). pp: 246.
- Kusimo, O. T. (2012). Precision, Boko Haram Menace, others slow Insurance Industry Growth, *National Mirror*.
- Large J. (2005). *Democracy and Terrorism: The Impact of the Anti*; published by International IDEA.
- Leadership Editorial (2012). Nigeria: Budget 2012: Budget of National Security (1), *Leadership Newspaper*, December 20. pp: 8.
- Madike, I. (2011). Boko Haram: Rise of a Deadly Sect, *National Mirror*, June
- Madlion, S.(2013). Boko Haram: Without Amnesty Nigeria World Import Food –Analyst Warns Posted to the net by Channels Television on April 15, 2013. Retrieved on June 1.
- Maiangwa .B. (2013). Killing in the Name of God? Explaining the Boko Haram Phenomenon in Nigeria United Nations University, Institute for Sustainability and Peace, Tokyo Volume 38, Number 1.
- Maslow, A. (1970). *Motivation and Personality*, New York: Macmillan.
- Modia, S. M. and Aliu, M. (2013). Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on Nigeria the Nigeria, Fourth Republic. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(4).
- Morten .B. (2012). Nigeria: the challenge of “Boko Haram II”; Published by Open Democracy New Hampshire Department of Safety: What is Terrorism?
- Moulaye, Z (2006). *Democratic Governance of Security in Mali: A sustainable Development Challenges*, Abuja: Friedich Ebert Stiffing.
- Muhammed, K.I. (2010). Militant Islamist Groups in Northern Nigeria, in Wafula Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (eds.), *Militias, Rebels and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crises in Africa*, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.
- Murray L. (2007). Muslims and Christians in Nigeria: An Economy of Panic. *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. pp: 605-616.
- National Bureau of Statistics (2009). *Labour Force Survey*, Abuja: NBS.
- National Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Report of the National Bureau of Statistics Harmonized Nigeria living Standard Survey (HNLSS)*.
- National Bureau of Statistics (2012). *The Nigeria Poverty Profile*, Abuja: NBS.
- News and Articles (2013). *The Economic cost Terrorist Attacks in Nigeria*, News and Articles Personality Profile Publications.
- Nigerian Economy in the First Half of 2012 and Revised Economic Outlook for 2012-2015, Nigeria village square.com/dr-geng.k/.../book-haram-nigeria.html.
- Niworu (2013). Boko Haram Sect: Terrorists or a Manifestation of the Failed Nigerian State. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 6(2); 2013 ISSN 1913-9047 Published by Canadian Center of Science and Education.
- Nwangwu, N. (2013). Analysis: Understanding Nigeria’s Boko Haram radicals, IRIN the Humanitarian News and Analysis of the United Nation’s Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.
- Nwozor .A. (2013). National Security, Religious Anarchism and the Politics of Amnesty in Nigeria. *Covenant Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 1(1) (Maiden Edition).
- Obeche, O. (2009). Boko Haram: will Jonathan’s Carot and stick end the siege the Economy Magazine.
- Obioma, J.D. (2009). Boko Haram, Domestic Terrorism and the future of Nigeria, *The Economy Magazine*.
- Ojukwu .C. (2009). The Reign of Terror in Democratic Nigeria: A Review of Socio Political and Psychological Implications; *Journal of Humanities, Social Sciences and Creative Arts*.
- Okoronkwo, J. (2012). Boko haram: Beyond the Boom-Boom CBN Report, *Business Report*.

- Okpaga, A., Ugwu, S. C., and Eme, O.I. (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question In Nigeria, *Oman Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 1(6): 77 -99.
- Oladesun, E. (2009). 780 killed in Nigeria clashes, says Red Cross, *Daily Nation*, 31 July
- Oladesun, E. (2012). Can Jonathan restore security? *The Nation*, Friday, July 20. pp: 43.
- Olanrewaju, T. (2013). Blame Poverty for Boko Haram – CBN the Sun Newspaper, February 16, 2013.
- Omale, D.J. (2013). Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in Nigeria: Theoretical Paradigms and Lessons for Public Policy. *Canadian Social Science*, 9(3): 96-103.
- Osewa, O. (2013). Consequences of the Boko Haran’s Activities on the Nigeria Economy-Politics-Niraland.
- Oviasogie .F. (2013). State Failure, Terrorism and Global Security: An Appraisal of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria; *Journal of Sustainable Society*, 2(1),
- Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 7th International Student Edition; Published by Oxford University Press.
- Paden, J (2008). Faith and Politics in Nigeria: Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World. Baltimore: John Hopkins Uni. Press.
- PM News, July 2, 2012
- Quinney, N. and Coyne, H. A. (2011). Talking to Groups That Use Terror. Baltimore: John Hopkins Uni. Press.
- Raji .R. (2013). Nigeria Anti - Terrorism Law and Global Security. Department of Political Science Yobe State University Damaturu, Nigeria Sahara Reporter, April, 25 2012.
- Rogers, P (2012). Nigeria: The Generic Context of the Boko Haram Violence. Oxford Research Group Monthly Global Security Briefing – 30 April.
- Sanusi , S. (2011). Conflict and Insurgency in Nigeria: Impact on Dev. Prospects and Nationhood. Time, Washington DC, 12 September.
- Schimid and Jongman (2005). Political Terrorism; Published by Transaction Publisher.
- Schwartz, S. (2010). Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic Extremism, (Peace Brief, May 2010), Washington: UNO Publication.
- Smiths, D. (2008). A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stewart, S. (2012). Boko Haram Militants Remain a Regional Threat, STRATFOR January 26, 2012. United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
- Utebor, S. (2013). Jonathan Forgive Boko Haram. Available from: [www.punch.com>news](http://www.punch.com>news).
- Vanguard Editorial (2009). Nigeria: Boko Haram Resurrects, Declares Total Jihad, 14 August.
- Velitchkova .A. (2012). A Habitual Action Theory of Political Violence. Available from: <http://www3.nd.edu/~avelitch/VelitchkovaHabitualActionTheoryViolence> Woodrow Wilson Centre for Scholars.
- Walker, A. (2012). What is Boko Haram? Washington: UNO Publication.
- Why Boko Haram persist – by FG. Daily Sun Newspaper, January 1, 2013. Available from: [www.businessdayonline.com>Analysis](http://www.businessdayonline.com>Analysis) > Editorial.
- [www.irinnews.org/.../analysis.understanding](http://www.irinnews.org/.../analysis.understanding) -Nigerian-s-boko-haram-radic.
- [www.spyghana.com/ecoimplication-of-security](http://www.spyghana.com/ecoimplication-of-security) in Nigera.
- [www.thenationonlineng.net/.../388.60-boko-haram-is-threat-to-nigeria,2012](http://www.thenationonlineng.net/.../388.60-boko-haram-is-threat-to-nigeria,2012).
- Zabadi, S.I. (2005). Understanding Security and security sector Dynamics Baltimore: John Hopkins Uni. Press.
- Zartman, W and Faure, G. O. (2011). Engaging Extremist Baltimore: John Hopkins Uni. Press.
- Zumve.S. Ingyoroko .M. and Akuva.I. (2013). Terrorism in contemporary Nigeria: a latent function of official corruption and state neglect; *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8): 1857 – 7881.