

TERRORISM AND INSURGENCY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the issues of insurgency and terrorism and its challenges on socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. The pertinent research question is to what extent has terrorism and insurgency affected the socio-economic and political development in Nigeria. The history of terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria was extensively discuss and the distinction between terrorism and insurgency was clearly examined. A combination of three different theories was adopted to give a clearer understanding to the study. The theories include cognitive dissonance, asset to liability and frustration aggression theory. Acts of insurgency and terrorism are manifestation of unsolved conflict and the inability of the government to overcome the challenges are reflections that the root cause(s) of the conflict are not identified and therefore the government should adopt the proper mechanism to manage and resolve it.

Key words: Terrorism, Insurgency, Socio-Economic, Political and Development,

Introduction

Terrorism and insurgency has been an insidious act and also an activity conducted daily over for a long period of time and has been responsible for the physical and structural violence experienced by many people in Nigeria. The effects of these act of terrorism and insurgency are the threat they posed to national security, peace, unity and development of the country.

Nigeria is a complex society with about two hundred and fifty distinct ethnic groups, five hundred different languages and a rapid growing population of over 170 million people. For most people, the history of Nigeria is that of violent conflict, chaos, and disorderliness and retrogression. Terrorism though not new in Nigeria history, but has become the popular means for instilling fear and conducting violence against the citizens in the country.

Akhin (2012) Insurgency is a threat to the economic, political and social security of a nation and a major factor associated with underdevelopment; because it discourages both local and foreign investments. Also, it reduces the quality of life, destroys human and social capital,

damages relationship between citizens and the states, undermining democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to promote development.

In recent times, Nigeria is experiencing a new wave of violence which is terrorism conducted in different forms, means and places. These includes bombing and killing of persons and targeting certain persons, and places such the worshipping centres, living homes, commercial buildings, telecommunication masts, government installations and infrastructure, kidnapping as well as depriving people of their legitimate entitlements.

It is important to note that over the years, many groups had risen in Nigeria with real militancy approach in prosecuting their objectives. Notable among these group are the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) within Yorubas, Bakassi Boys, Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MAASSOB) among Igbos, Niger-Delta militz.

Scholars and theorists have given different definitions of Insurgency. While some of these definitions are closely related, others are not so related but contain common elements and this still makes the subject technically difficult. Kilcullen (2006) revealed that insurgency is a struggle to control a contested political space between a state (and a group of state or occupying powers) and one or more popularly based non- state challengers, the author also tries to draw a line between classical and contemporary insurgencies thus; while the latter seek to replace the existing order, the former sometimes strive for the expulsion of foreign invaders from their territory or seek to fill an existing power vacuum. In summary, insurgency connotes an internal uprising often outside the confines of state's laws and it is often characterised by socio-economic and political goals as well as military or guerrilla tactics. Put differently, it is a protracted struggle carefully and methodically carried out to achieve certain goals with an eventual aim of replacing the existing power structure.

Terrorism

The term 'terrorism' was coined from the word terror derived from a latin verb 'terrere' meaning 'to fight'. Alao (2011) observes that terror cimbricus was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the cimri tribe in 105 BC. In modern time, it has been adopted to mean a wide range of development of force largely targeted at civilian population by disgruntled elements within the society to direct the attention of government to the plight of militants or to force a change of government. Regardless of the problem associated with the definition, certain attributes of terrorism manifest in bombings, assassinations, armed assaults, kidnappings, hostage situations and hijackings. The study agrees with Cunningham Jr (2003) that a wide variety of actors from individuals like (Carlos Ilych Ramirez- the Jackal, the Unabomber) to groups like (Tamil Tiger, Provisional IRA,

Hamas,) to institutions like (Gestapo, KGB, SAVAK) and States such as (the Taliban) practice what we define as terrorism. The involvement of America in Vietnam, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya and Egypt among others was seen as terrorist act.

In addition, Recich (1998) revealed a strategy of resistance to the modern state, terrorism emerged some half century after the French revolution when the term originated as a description of the state regime of terror.

Distinction between Terrorism and Insurgency

Liolio, (2013) posited that insurgency is not terrorism or conventional war, though they share some similarities such as the use of force, or guerrilla tactics to achieve an end which is often political. Basically, the difference between insurgency and terrorism lies in the scope and magnitude of violence. While for instance, terrorism rarely brings about political change on its own, insurgency attempts to bring about change through force of arms. Similarly, terrorists often apply a wide range of damages when compared to insurgents. On the other hand, while terrorism involves adversaries more or less symmetric in equipment or training, insurgency involves adversaries that are asymmetric and weak. Traditionally, insurgencies seek to overthrow an existing order with one that is commensurate with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals.

Theoretical Framework

Acts of insurgency and terrorism are manifestations of unresolved conflicts and the inability of the government to overcome the challenges are reflections that the root cause(s) of the conflicts are not identified and therefore the correct mechanism could be adopted to manage or resolve it. Scholars have propounded so many theoretical modes to explain the prevalence of insurgency and terrorism, but for the purpose of this study, a combination of cognitive dissonance, asset to liability and frustration aggression theories are adopted.

Festinger (1951) developed theory about communication's social influence, referred to as cognitive dissonance which is one of the most important psychological concepts that shed light on insurgency and terrorist behaviour.

Cunningham Jr, (2003) observes that; Men prefer a situation of stability in respect of values, behaviour and their environmental conditions. When people experience a difference between what they perceive and what the desire (cognitive dissonance), they seek to reduce this dissonance by reducing this gap through actions, filtering information or altering perceptions. Cognitive dissonance is therefore experienced whenever there is a discrepancy between

preferred value and actual value states. Such a situation has the tendency to produce hatred, anxiety, fear, and the desire to hurt or eliminate the source. The discrepancies could manifest within economic, social, cultural, political and religious sphere as these issues from the micro level of analysis that could be regarded as the structural background conditions operating at individual level.

Cunningham, Jr. (2003) discusses asset to liability shift theory which serves as a root of terrorist strategy. The theory assumes governments view states and local government areas with its jurisdiction as asset that must be defended against internal and external aggression. It goes further to state that acts of insurgency and terrorism will cost the government valuable lives and money in defending these assets against sustained activities of insurgency and terrorism. The theory assumes that after the government suffers significant losses, the asset will become a liability and the government will decide to forfeit the asset and cut their losses. Hence, the goal of insurgency and terrorism in this instance is to destabilize the country and make it ungovernable as this could lead to a situation of break-up of the country.

The frustration-aggression theory was developed by John Dollard, James Cavies, Feierabend L. K., Betty A. Nesvold and other associates (Oluwatusin, 2007). The premise of the theory is that aggression is always the result of frustration. Frustration is the feeling of annoyance and impatient because one cannot do or achieve what he wants while aggression is the feeling of anger and hatred that may result in threatening or violent behaviour (Hornby, 2005). Frustration is the feeling while aggression results in violence. It should be noted that an individual whose basic desire is thwarted and who consequently experiences a profound sense of dissatisfaction and anger is likely to react to his condition by directing aggressive behaviour at what is perceived as being responsible for thwarting the desire or at a substitute (Anifowose, 1982). This also applies to a group of people like the Boko Haram. The Boko Haram insurgent activities are dissatisfaction against the Nigerian State; their aggressive behaviours directed towards the State are in form of bombing and killing as well as all manners of insurgent activities employed by the group. These insurgent activities are proofs to the sense of dissatisfaction towards Nigeria and anger directed at its institutions. A second variant of this theory is the notion of relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is discrepancy between what men seek and what it seems attainable (Oluwatusin, 2007). It is argued that the greater this discrepancy, the greater their anger, and their propensity towards violence. Frustration-aggression theory can be used to analyse the genesis of Boko Haram and their reasons for engaging in anti-Nigerian State activities. The insurgent activities of the group can be premised on the frustration the members of the group are experiencing or have

experienced in Nigeria based on their inability to be catered for by the country. Feel neglected by the Nigerian State and its political system, the leaders and the members became aggressive which led to the establishment of Boko Haram insurgent group.

In addition, as argued by frustration-aggression theorists, the relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is discrepancy between what men seek and what it seems attainable is responsible for Boko Haram insurgency. The members are deprived by the Nigerian political system in which there is high level of poverty among its citizens. The rate of poverty in the north is exceptional high. In fact, it has the highest poverty rate in the country. In line with the above, in 2007 the Central Bank Governor, Professor Chukwuma Soludo reported that three northern regions, north west, north east and north central, had an average poverty incidence of 70.1 percent as compared to 34.9 per cent for the three southern regions, south west, south east and south south. Consequently, he referred to poverty as a 'northern phenomenon' based on the facts that all the 10 states with the highest incidence of poverty are all northern states, with Jigawa topping the list with 95 per cent, Kebbi, 89.7 per cent; Kogi, 88.6 per cent; Bauchi, 86.3 per cent; Kwara, 85.2 per cent; Yobe, 83.3 per cent; Zamfara, 80.9 5 per cent; Gombe, 77.0 per cent, Sokoto, 76.8 per cent; Adamawa, 71.7 per cent respectively (cited in Bello, 2008).

Also, the national survey carried out by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2010 confirms the above facts. The national unemployment rate was 21.1 percent of the labour force (NBS, 2010). It showed that 112, 519 million Nigerians live in relative poverty conditions, out of an estimated population of 163 million. Furthermore, the absolute poverty measure puts the country's poverty rate at 99.284 million or 60.9%; the dollar per day measure puts poverty rate at 61.2% and subjective poverty level at 93.9%. Significantly, the North-West and North-East, recorded the highest poverty rates in the country in 2010, with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively (cited in Subair, 2012). This, definitely, would have been on the increase. Since 'good life' seems unattainable, the members of Boko Haram, therefore, take to insurgency to find solace. Therefore, it can be said that the level of insurgent activities of the Boko Haram group experienced in the north is the demonstration of how various governments of the region have deprived the people good things of life, especially social amenities. Based on frustration-aggression theory, it is arguably correct to state that the high the level of discrepancy between what is sought (good life) by the dissatisfied members of the group and what is attainable (the socio-economic condition in the north), the greater the anger of Boko Haram and their propensity towards violence in the region. The greater the anger, it should also be noted, the

greater the numbers of casualties or victims of insurgency and deeper the underdevelopment of the economy of the north and its people. This further sinks Nigeria down the quagmire of national underdevelopment and insecurity of life and property.

Historical development of insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria

While it is true that the most visible and brutal insurgent group in Nigeria today is Boko Haram, it is not the only militant group that has ever evolved in the country. Nigeria has experienced the formation of insurgent groups in different parts of the country; from the south west to the south east and to the central part of the country. While these groups are different in names and methods of operation, the reasons for their formation are almost the same; deprivation by the Nigerian State. These groups take the advantage of the Nigerian State's inefficient actions and inactions in dealing with the fundamental elements of our nationhood among which are internal security, injustice, corruption, ethnicity, nepotism, favouritism, marginalisation, among others. Oodua People's Congress (OPC) is one of the insurgent groups that have emerged in Nigeria. It was established in the South West in 1994 by bitter and indigent Yoruba youths fully supported by the elders to protest the annulment of the June 1993 elections presumed won by M.K.O. Abiola (Emuedo, 2012). The goal of OPC was to defend the Yoruba's interest and aggressively press for their political autonomy from the Nigerian federation.

As earlier pointed out, it is evidently clear that the emergence of OPC was as a result of the dissatisfaction with the Nigerian State. The origin of the group is traceable to political bitterness occasioned by the annulment of June 12 1993 Presidential election, an election which was widely believed to have been won by a Yoruba man. To press home their grievances, OPC was formed as an insurgent group through which agitation for the restoration of Abiola's mandate could be made possible.

Accordingly, this group considered Nigerian federation to be skewed against them then, as their own leg of the Nigerian tripod was irreparably damaged by the annulment. According to Crosdel-Emuedo, the OPC from all intent and purpose was the Yorubas ethnic army (Emuedo, 2012). It then follow that as the ethnic group's army, they carried out insurgent activities to pursue the interest of the Yoruba at the national level.

To pursue their goal, OPC engaged in so many insurgent activities, two of which will suffice to explain this. On 20 February 2001, two police officers and three members of the OPC were killed in clashes between the police and OPC in IkotunEgbe in Lagos after the police tried to disperse a gathering of the OPC that was considered illegal. On 10 August 2001, one alleged robber, Saheed Akanbi, was set ablaze by the OPC in the Agege area of Lagos state. Due to this, members of the OPC and the leaders, Dr. Fasheun and Ganiyu Adams, have been arrested

and detained ten times for these and many other activities (Oyeniya, 2010). Arrest and detaining members of OPC and their leaders simply testify to the fact that it is a group which the State finds its existence inimical to the corporate existence of Nigeria.

The Niger Delta of Nigeria presents a very good study of insurgency. Over the years, many insurgent groups have emerged in the region. Some of them are the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP); Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force, the Egbesu Boys, Niger Delta Vigilante, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Survival of Ijaw Ethnic Nationality (MOSIEN), among others (Obioma, 2013). These groups have a long history dating back to the Adaka Boro Movement in the 1960s, through to Ken SaroWiwa's struggles. Put together, it is essentially a militant agitation against environmental degradation, unemployment, poverty, deprivation and marginalisation.

Insurgency in the Niger Delta is a response to the 'injustice of oil' the people of the region experience daily. Their land produces the wealth of the Nigerian State but their lives showcase extreme poverty. It is actually the scenario of poverty amidst plenty, want amidst wealth. This is as a result of oil exploration activities in the region with less attention to the welfare of the host community.

The growth and persistence of insurgency in the region is the outcome of activities of oil companies in the Niger Delta with less care about the negative effect on the environment. This has led to environmental degradation arising from "drill cuttings, drilling mud, fluids used in production, chemical injected to control corrosion or to separate oil from water, and general industrial waste" (Anegbode and Alonge, 2011). While these activities are going on daily, the oil companies operating in the region do not pay much attention to the source of livelihood, the aquatic habitat which puts food on the average Niger Deltan table. Therefore, the youths of the region took into militancy and insurgency to press for quality life. Unlike the OPC, insurgent groups in the Niger Delta:

Are famous for hostage taking, kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalization, oil-theft, arson and ambush, Till date, more than five hundred oil workers, politicians, actors, children, and other important personalities have either been kidnapped or taken hostage. Initially, the groups and associations argued that kidnapping and hostage taking were introduced to force experts involved in crude oil exploration in the Niger-Delta areas to pressure Nigerian government to take decisive steps towards ameliorating the environmental, social and political problems bedevilling the area. More recently, the trends and patterns of hostage taking and kidnapping

differ markedly from using it as proxies to get government attentions, as the groups focus more on the ransom paid to ensure release of the oil industry workers (Oyeniya, 2010:8) .

These groups have fought the government forces on many occasions and also sabotaged oil installations. MEND especially has severally demanded the Federal Government to withdraw its troops from the Niger Delta, release imprisoned ethnic leaders and grant oil revenue concessions to Delta groups. This is the pattern insurgency in the Niger Delta has taken. Because of the fact that it attracted international attention and its economic implications for Nigeria, the Yar'Adua Government declared amnesty in the region for members of those insurgent groups who were ready to lay down their arms. This yielded positive results. However, insurgency has not been totally wiped out in the creeks.

In the East, the Bakassi Boys; Bakassi Movement for Self-determination; Igbo People's Congress; and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) are also insurgent groups. As argued by Daniel Obioma, these groups are fighting for equal rights and security of Ndigbo, true federalism, autonomy and political relevance of Igbo people in Nigeria, having been ravaged by the civil war and Abandoned thereafter (Obioma, 2013). The rise of these groups can be attributed to social exclusion and political alienation of the Igbo by the Nigerian State.

MASSOB emerged to resuscitate the failed Biafra Republic bid of 1970. Like OPC, it is an ethnic army of the Ibos as its purpose was and still is to seek for political autonomy of the Igbos from the Nigerian federation (Emuedo, 2012). The group seeks political emancipation of the Igbos from the corporate body known as Nigeria. As a result of this, the members have been engaging in series of activities that are dangerous for the oneness of Nigeria. For instance, the group recently called on all Igbos across Nigeria to sit at home without going to their places of work especially shop-owners across the nation. This action paralysed economic activities not only in Anambra State, which seems to be the headquarters of MASSOB, but also in Nigeria in general.

In comparison to OPC and different insurgent groups in the Niger Delta, MASSOB can be said to be less-violence. However, it is important to take the words of caution of Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED) Report into account. It cautions that: While currently engaging in minimal levels of violence, MASSOB's low-grade activity draws on historically significant issues which resonate with the population in the south-west, owing to the perceived brutality of the Biafran war. While this is unlikely to present a pressing priority in Nigeria's current state of play, should a dramatic deterioration of security occur, or a play be made by one of the other secession / autonomy-oriented actors in the country, this has the potential to

be reignited through moments of opportunism by the group in response to other violent activity within the state (ACLED, 2013:5).

Arewa People's Congress (APC) is another insurgent group in Nigeria which is based in the North. It was in existence before Boko Haram was formed although it was different totally from Boko Haram in operation and method of engagement. APC emerged in 1999 in the North ostensibly to prevent "national dismemberment" by the Yoruba but actually as a reaction to the killing of northern elements in Lagos and other Yoruba towns by OPC cadres. Its emergency may be considered "copy-catism" as the actions of the Hausa/Fulani constituted the reason for the formation of OPC and MASSOB (Emuedo, 2012). This group has not been vociferous as other groups in asking for separate existence in Nigeria.

In addition, APC claimed that the harassment of northerners in the south west was part of a Yoruba plan to secede and establish an O'oduwa Republic (Omotosho, 2009). They argued that President Olusegun Obasanjo was sympathetic to OPC's goal and that the North would go to war if necessary to prevent national dismemberment. APC, it can be argued, worked to spoil the separatist agitation of other insurgent/militia groups in the country. However, this goes to show that no region or part of this country has the monopoly of violence, militancy or insurgency. Each of the geo-political zones has had its fair share of insurgency and insurgent activities.

Nigeria therefore has demonstrated a high propensity for ethnic, militia and insurgent groups in the recent times. These groups have unleashed varying degrees of terror and violence in a bid to pursue their interest and show their grievance on certain injustices they experience in the Nigerian State. This is becoming worrisome especially with the 'high dimension' manner that Boko Haram is carrying out its activities.

It is, therefore, on this historical antecedent that Boko Haram insurgency evolved. In every part of the country, there has been trace of insurgency named to pursue the parochial interest of the ethnic group. Boko Haram could not have found a better 'fertile land' to germinate.

There are many versions regarding the exact origin of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The group called Boko Haram (usually translated loosely as —Western education is forbidden) is an Islamic sect that believes in establishing an Islamic state in the north with strict adherence to Islamic law called Sharia. Even though some accounts traced the origin of the group to 1995 when the group operated as Shabaab Muslim Youth Organisation under the leadership of Mallam Lawal (Okemi, 2013), Popular account has it that Boko Haram's original leader was Mohammed Yusuf. It was reported that around 2002, Yusuf was co-opted by the then Borno state

gubernatorial candidate, Ali Modu Sheriff for political support in exchange for full implementation of Sharia and promises of senior state government positions for his followers in the event of an electoral victory. Sheriff has repeatedly denied any such arrangement or involvement with the sect but his appointing a member of the sect into his cabinet would contradict such claim. Mohammed Yusuf fell out with Ali Modu Sheriff when his government refused to implement full Sharia. While Yusuf became increasingly critical of the government of Ali Modu Sheriff and official corruption, his popularity soared, and the group became emboldened to expand into other states, including Bauchi, Yobe and Kano. Boko Haram is therefore a creation of —political instrumentalisation‖ at least in part. The State Security Services (SSS) arrested and interrogated Yusuf a number of times. Boko Haram soon became violent. A series of clashes between Boko Haram members and police escalated into an armed insurrection in 2009. Nigerian troops crushed the rebellion, killing hundreds of followers and destroying the group's principal mosque. Yusuf was captured, handed over to the police and shortly thereafter extra-judicially executed. Boko Haram went underground and a year later launched attacks on police officers, police stations and military barracks, explicitly in revenge for the killings of Yusuf and his comrades. The group has repeatedly demanded prosecution of those responsible, release of their detained colleagues, restoration of the mosque and compensation for sect members killed by government troops. The group's campaign has grown, targeting security forces, government officials, politicians, Christians, critical Muslim clerics, traditional leaders, the UN presence, bars and schools.

The challenges posed by insurgency and terrorist activities on socio-economic and political development in Nigeria.

Terrorism and insurgency has various dimensions and manifestation across nations. In Nigeria, the various activities of terrorism and insurgency has carried out their attacks in the form of abductions, bombings, suicide bombings, assassinations, armed assaults amongst others over the years of its uprising.

The Challenges on Economic Development

Nigeria is a country endowed with natural and material resources, all competed favorably with one another in securing a big chunk of foreign exchange earnings for the country in the early 60s, the discovery of oil and the unprecedented wealth accrued from it in the 70s soon emerged Nigeria as a major foreign exchange earner. In spite of the natural and mineral resources with which the country is endowed coupled with numerous governmental policies and programs to foster peaceful co-existence among the multi ethno-religious entities which make up Nigeria,

the country has virtually become a battle field where incessant ethno-religious and political crises are staged. The implication of the crisis on economic development is that the instrument which is supposed to be used for sustainable development is conversely being used for destruction and vandalization purposes (Mohammed, 2002). In essence, it gulped the Nigerian government millions of naira to put in place numerous amenities which were destroyed during crises. Resources which could have been used to improve these amenities and embark on other developmental project would have to be used on restructuring and replacing what had been damaged during the crisis.

In most cases, government compensated victims of these crises and this gulped millions of naira which could have been used to develop the economy. Apart from the fact that many virile men of the nation are seriously affected in the crises which consequently led to their death. The country's source of revenue is equally affected by crises. The Niger Delta for example, had shaken the country's economy to her root.

Since no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It therefore implies that Boko Haram menaces are bane to economic development. Looking at it internationally, Boko Haram crisis has added to the fear of foreign investors that are in Nigeria. The cases of kidnapping of expatriates in Nigeria are no more news. One wonders how foreign investors could decide to establish in the War Zone. Apart from the fact that the image of Nigeria has been dented globally as a country which breeds social miscreant and criminals, these crises have also made investors to flee the nation's troubled spots particularly Plateau State. Also neighboring states have had their economies disrupted by the influx of the crisis. As a result of these blasts, the citizens mostly those who come from other parts of the country have relocated from their states especially those from different ethnic regions. This does not mean well for the economic development of the country. The greatest of these scenarios is the amount of funds being diverted to security issues and related matters. The aim is to enable the country meet the challenges of the present threat in the country. These funds can be best utilized in providing infrastructure in the country. There are no good roads, electricity and other vital amenities yet the Federal Government has to raise funds to take care of the little established institutions. The irony is that while the country is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram menace is crumbling all its effort (Leadership Newspaper, 2012).

Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. If a

targeted country loses enough FDI, which is an important source of savings, then it may also experience reduced economic growth (Joshua and Chidozie, 2014:359.) In terms of finance and investment, though direct and indirect losses are unquantifiable, a World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of insurgents going by the name, „Boko Haram“. And, these conditions create fears making investment chances for Investors narrow (Eme and Ibietan, 2012). UNCTAD report indicates that, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to \$6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 percent from the \$8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year. It is observed by Hilker et al (2010) that states often fail to provide adequate security for citizens or undermine democratic governance through acts committed in the name of security calls into question top-down approaches to reducing violence. This ugly development has some implications. Governance in times of insurgency presents a challenge to economic progress where development is arrested because of the absence of peace (Dasuki, 2013).

The cost of insecurity in Nigeria could also be seen on the percentage of annual budget allocated to security agencies on a yearly basis. Infrastructure and human capital development are almost foregone alternatives; hence, capital expenditure is struggling from the rear. As observed by Kantiok (2014:23): Many governments justify excessive expenditures on security as intent to secure the homeland. Many governors, particularly in the northern part Nigeria have justified their non-performance and lack of development of their states to the fact that they are fighting terrorism in their various states. Huge sums of monies are designated security votes and have been embezzled by these governors while failing to secure their various states. More often than not, they justify the expenditure on equipping the police and the manning the various checkpoints in their states. The same thing can be said of the federal government in its huge expenditure on defence, yet not fully equipping the security forces with the needed equipment. That the insurgency sometimes outguns the security agents tells on the dilapidated equipment that they use in trying to contain the terrorism.

Also, the food industry in the north is under great strain over a number of reasons, with the main issue being human mobility. With the increase of Boko Haram attacks, those employed in the industry have decreased their movement outside protected areas over fears of attacks carried out by the insurgents. Many farmers in the states of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe now fear being attacked while many local processing companies have lost workers after families opted to leave the conflict area. Traders have also limited their movements as Boko Haram militants have increasingly targeted major markets across the region. The agricultural sector

has effectively developed into a target for those militants in need of supplies, with many stealing food, equipment and money. The heightened attacks across north-eastern Nigeria have also made transportation of food riskier and more expensive, which in turn has placed greater pressure on the economic output. (<http://www.msrisk.com/nigeria/boko-harams-threat-northeast-nigeria-addressing-five-year-crisis/>).

The Challenges on Social Development

During the colonial era, Nigerians lived in peace with one another; this is because the colonial masters merged under the hegemonies suzerainty of colonial masters. The social background of Nigerians then can be surely said to be peaceful until the exit of the colonial masters when things started falling apart. The people of Nigeria faced one another with serious enormity, hatred and they did not want to see one another again (Aborisade, 1999). The social background of Nigeria turned from peaceful to chaos which finally gave birth to a cankerworm that ate deep into the very fabric of Nigerians social system. The implication here is that to attain social development in Nigeria became impossible because the people living in the northern parts are no longer in unity. Imam (2004) revealed that education is very vital in attaining social development. The nation has been striving to put in place amenities for the purpose of elevating the education standard of the country. This is, however, hampered by incessant closure of schools and institutions in the northern parts of the country. Many schools had been burnt down while many were forced to close down for months in particular University of Maiduguri which in effect made the interaction of innocent youths impossible and created a very bad opportunity for parents of different ethnic groups to withdraw their children from school. The education of innocent youths was equally disrupted under tumultuous situation created by the Boko Haram sect, as many were forced to emigrate from the crisis area and this emigration took two patterns temporary and permanent emigration. Those who emigrated on temporary basis came back after several weeks or months; however, those who opted for permanent emigration were mostly indigenous suffered losses and felt their continued stay in the crises areas is like casting one's life into prediction. Every social gathering that attracts individuals especially the elites in the society is prone to attack. The issue of bomb scare is worthy to note in this aspect. From past occurrences, it is no longer a new thing to witness in on-going activity been disrupted due to security reasons. In the last campaign towards the last general election, bomb threat was constantly a factor to reckon with, though, this are not directly traced to Boko Haram sect, the argument here is that most people may pretend under the guise of the sect of perpetuate evil in the country. The fear of Boko Haram now becomes the beginning of safety. The resultant factor

is that the Boko Haram group directly or indirectly has contributed towards the disruption of social activity in the country.

Also, a survey shows that a lot of students have vowed never to participate in the compulsory one-year National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme if posted to the northern part of the country. Those who were inadvertently posted to the north redeployed immediately after three weeks of mandatory camping. This development therefore defeats the core mandate of setting up the Act of NYSC in 1973 (see:<http://www.myfinancialintelligence.com/professional-services/cost-and-effect-insecurity-nigeria>). In a region in short of personnel in the education sector, many teachers have lost their lives to the insurgency. According to Olukoya (Quoted in *The Nation*, October 8, 2015), "it is on record that over 600 teachers lost their lives to the terror attacks. These include 308 in Borno, 75 in Adamawa, 18 in Yobe, 25 in Kaduna, 120 in Plateau, 63 in Kano and 2 in Gombe. This is in addition to 19,000 teachers displaced". Beyond the Boko Haram attacks that sow fear and terror amongst the local population, girls' education is already facing many social and economic constraints in northern Nigeria, resulting in low attendance and high dropout rates. Overall, the number of children out of school in north-eastern Nigeria is 30 times higher than in the country's south-east. With the frequent attacks on schools by Boko Haram and this case of abduction of female pupils, there are rising fears of further deterioration of the already dire state of girls' education in the region (Barna, 2014:16). In a country that is struggling with educational infrastructure and qualitative manpower to improve on the standard and quality of education, the Boko Haram insurgency is further compounding its challenges. Certainly, this is affecting adversely the present and future development of this country. Indeed, terrorism and other forms of militia activities can impose costs on a targeted country through a number of avenues (Joshua and Chidozie, 2014:359).

As noted in *The Punch* (2012:13) editorial: Investors are wary of coming to a country where their lives and investments are not safe: Nigeria has been on a steady decline in the Global Peace Index. Out of 158 countries surveyed, the country was 117th in 2007, 129th in 2008 and 2009, 137th in 2010, 142nd in 2011 and 146th in 2012. Even a country like Chad is more peaceful than Nigeria. We are only better than such countries as Syria, Pakistan, North Korea, Iraq, Sudan, Congo Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, Libya, Israel, Russia and Somalia-riah states or nations on war footing. A recurrent issue in the Boko Haram literature is the extent of relative poverty and inequality in the north which has led some analysts to argue that underdevelopment is the main reason why extremist groups like Boko Haram rebel (Agbibo, 2014). Today the north of Nigeria is undoubtedly poorer than the south in almost every

conceivable measure. Combined with limited resources and deteriorating environmental factors, such as a rapidly shrinking Lake Chad, parts of northern Nigeria are economically destitute environments. Poor leadership and corruption have contributed to the socio-economic situation, and generate an environment lacking viable job prospects for large numbers of youth (Mahmood, 2013:5).

The Challenges on Political Development

It is an undeniable fact that a nation that witnesses crisis almost on an annual basis could not be said to be politically stable. The Boko Haram crisis which dichotomized the country's Police Forces was said to have been responsible for the outbreak of the Abuja Police Headquarter bombing leaving six (6) people dead including Police Officers and civilians. In essence, Boko Haram crisis breeds unstable government which is very crucial to sustainable political development (The Nation News, 2011). Consequently, the Federal Government now spends more time seeking how to deal with the menace of Boko Haram. Because of the sensitive, dangerous, and very deadly nature of Boko Haram activities, attention is now focused on them. Boko Haram has seriously threatened the adequate, efficient and effective implementation of the transformational agenda. Indeed, the transformational agendum has been Boko Haram by the violent group. This is seriously a wrenching development (Leadership Newspaper, 2012). The insurgency of Boko Haram has negatively affected the relationship between Nigeria and other nations of the world because of bombing, kidnapping and hostage taking of foreigners. The United States of America and other European countries regularly warn their citizens to stay clear of volatile zones in Nigeria. UN also black listed and later delisted Nigeria as a terrorist country (Omankihalen and Babajide, 2012 cited in Awortu, 2015:218). The insurgency has re-shaped and redefined the classification of Nigeria in many peoples' minds all over the world. The country's name is now being mentioned along with those of other countries that have had long standing terrorism challenges. Ordinary Nigerians have also redefined their views of the security situation in the country. Issues that used to agitate the minds of the people, in the immediate past, such as armed robbery and kidnapping have been downgraded given the scale of destruction and devastation caused by Boko Haram's indiscriminate targeting of civilians. Taking a wider perspective, Persson (2014:45) opines that: The unrest in Mali and the crises in the Central African Republic (CAR) and South Sudan, together with the ongoing violence in Northern Nigeria, all have implications for the broader sub-Saharan region. Chad, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Niger and Cameroon, all of which are already worried about the spread of Islamist militancy from North East Nigeria, are among the

countries affected by the larger patterns of conflict and insecurity. With its powerful position, large economy and leading role in regional organisations, Nigeria plays a key part in the security challenges in West and Central Africa.

This role is further accentuated by the centrality of Nigeria to tackle the challenge of piracy and maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea. The ability of Nigeria to manage its security threats will thus have a great impact on the entire region and will also set the conditions for more effective regional measures. The bulk of Boko Haram's membership, the indiscriminate and cruel characteristic of its attacks, the complexity of the Nigerian religious and ethnic context, the sheer weight of the Nigerian state in an instable neighborhood – Cameroun, Niger, Chad, Mali – and its proximity to the jihadist battle front in the Sahel convert it into an immediate and infectious regional threat (Karmon, 2014). However, the biggest concern to the international community is the large number of violations of human rights and international law that the military has perpetrated in its fight against Boko Haram and which have largely been denied. The military is accused of massive retaliations and brutality, including burning down villages and conducting extrajudicial killings. In the case of the 2014 attack on the Maiduguri barracks, Amnesty International reported over 600 detainees killed. Due to the lack of intelligence, the military tends to enter hide-outs „all guns blazing“, killing civilians in crossfire. Other allegations include torture, extortion and corruption (Barna, 2014:13).

Conclusion

Terrorism and insurgency are two major activities that has been a threat to the economic, political and social security of the nation. Nigeria is experiencing a new wave of violence. Insurgency and terrorism has been conducted in different forms, means and places and and also perform in different ways such as bombing and killing of persons and targeting certain persons, and places such as the worshipping centres, living homes, commercial buildings, government installations and infrastructure, kidnapping as well as depriving people of their legitimate entitlements.

Basically, the different between terrorism and insurgency lies in the scope and magnitude of violence. The aim of insurgency is that it attempts to bring about a change of government through force of arms, while terrorism rarely brings about political change rather it functions as a distraction to the government.

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