

**T.C.**

**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY AND  
ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS IN NIGERIA**

**M.A. THESIS**

**GUVERT DABIDGA LANGMIA**

**Department of Political Science and International Relations**

**Political Science and International Relations Program**

**Thesis Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Özüm Sezin Uzun.**

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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**JUNE 2016**

**Guvert Dabidga LANGMIA**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>BH</b>	:Boko Haram
<b>COCIN</b>	:Church of Christ in Nigeria
<b>CLEEN</b>	:Centre for Law Enforcement Education
<b>CNN</b>	:Cable News Network
<b>FDI</b>	:Foreign Direct Investment
<b>GDP</b>	:Gross Domestic Product
<b>GNI</b>	:Gross National Income
<b>IBT</b>	:International Business Times
<b>IDP</b>	:Internal Displaced persons
<b>IFRC</b>	:International Red Cross and Red Crescent
<b>IMF</b>	:International Monetary Fund's Movement
<b>IRIN</b>	:Integrated Regional Information Network
<b>ISIS</b>	:Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
<b>IT</b>	:Information Technology
<b>N</b>	:Naira
<b>NATO</b>	:North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NBS</b>	:National Bureau of Statistics
<b>NHDC</b>	:National Human Rights Commission,
<b>NMA</b>	:Nigeria Medical Association
<b>PDP</b>	:People's Democratic Party
<b>PLC</b>	:Project Loan Certificate
<b>SSA</b>	:Sub-Saharan Africa
<b>SSS</b>	:State Security Service
<b>TI</b>	:Transparency International
<b>UN</b>	:United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	:United Nations Development Program
<b>UNHCR</b>	:United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UNICEF</b>	:United Nations Children Fund
<b>U.S.A</b>	:United State of America
<b>USD</b>	:United States Dollars
<b>UNESCO</b>	:United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNSC</b>	:United Nations Security Council
<b>WIR</b>	:World Investment Report
<b>YTV</b>	:Youth Television

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## BOKO HARAM İSYANININ NEDENLERİ VE NİJERYA'YA SOSYO-EKONOMİK ETKİLERİ

### ÖZET

Nijerya, bağımsızlığını kazandığı 1960 yılından bu yana, son yıllarda ulusal politikalarını fazlaca etkileyen terörizm gibi dahili güvenlik sorunlarıyla karşılaştığı kadar hiç karşılaşmamıştır. Bu tez, Nijerya'da Boko Haram'ın ortaya çıkış nedenleri ve sosyo-ekonomik sonuçlarını analiz etmeye odaklanmıştır. Fakirlik, işsizlik, adaletsizlik, okumamışlık ve rüşvet oranlarının yüksek oluşu ve Kuzey-Güney bölgeleri arasındaki farklılığın fazlalığı Boko Haram'ın ortaya çıkışına neden olan sebepler arasındadır. Sosyo-ekonomik etkiler dikkate alındığında, Boko Haram'ın Doğrudan Yabancı Yatırım, Gayrisafi Yurtiçi Hasıla, turizm sektörü ve ulusal para üzerinde olumsuz etkileri olmuştur. Aynı zamanda, Nijeryalıları yerlerini değiştirmeye zorlamakta, hayatlarını veya mallarını kaybetmelerine neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, siyasal, sosyo-ekonomik ve dini sebepler Boko Haram terörizminin ortaya çıkışına zemin hazırlamıştır. Boko Haram'ın Nijerya'da sebep olduğu sosyo-ekonomik sonuçlar ise birçok katmanda görülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Boko Haram, Terörizm, Nijerya, Sosyo-ekonomik etki, Aşırılık.*

## **CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS IN NIGERIA**

### **ABSTRACT**

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, she has never been confronted with so much internal security issues like terrorism, which have strongly affected its national policy in recent years. The focus of this thesis is to analyze the causes and socio-economic impacts of Boko-Haram in Nigeria. It is certain that Boko Haram remains the biggest unrest confronting Nigeria now and has not only security, but also socio-economic consequences, High rate of poverty, unemployment, injustice, illiteracy, corruption and disparities between North/South regions of Nigeria are some of the causes of Boko Haram insurgency. Regarding the socio-economic impacts, it is seen that Boko Haram insurgency has had negative effect on the Foreign Direct Investment, Gross Domestic Product, the tourism sector, the local currency. In addition, it has led to dislocation of Nigerians, losing their lives and properties. The thesis concludes by stating that political, socio-economic and religious reasons contributed to Boko Haram terrorism to be emerged and its socio-economic impacts in Nigeria can be seen at the several levels.

**Keywords:** *Boko Haram, Terrorism, Nigeria, Socio-economic impact, Extremist.*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Boko Haram fundamentalist Islamic group is the first insurgent organization in Nigeria to be classified as a terrorist organization by the United States of America and its allies (Akpan et al,2014).Boko Haram is made up of a group of disgruntled Muslim youths in Northern Nigeria and they launched war on the Nigerian government in 2009.Boko Haram, referred to by themselves as Wilāyat Gharb Ifrīqīyyah (Arabic: *الولاية الإسلامية غرب أفريقيا*), (Islamic State West Africa Province, ISWAP),and Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād (Arabic: *جماعة أهل السنة للدعوة والجهاد*), "Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad"(bbc,2015) Nigerian security militaries credit Boko Haram's footing to Abubakar Lawan who founded the Ahlul sunnawa jama ahijra group at the Maiduguri University, in the capital of Borno State in 1995. Though, many foreign and local media footprints Boko Haram's root to 2002, the time Mohammed Yusuf turn up as the head of the sect (Onuoha, 2012). According to Onuoha, Boko Haram bloomed as a peaceful crusade until when Mohammed Yusuf shouldered leadership, not long after Abubakar Lawan left for Saudi Arabia to further his studies. The official name of the group is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Liddaawati Wal-Jihad, which translates in Arabic as "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad" (Ekanem et al, 2012, p. 189). Regarding this description, it is clear that the group's ideology is based on Islamic fundamentalists. The sect has however revolutionized under several names such as the Yusufiyyah, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Liddaawati Wal-Jihad and Muhajirun. Though Boko Haram is a religious organization, it is practically impossible to separate the activities of the group with the political, economic and territorial struggles in northern Nigeria, which is often divided on religious lines in spite of a secular constitution. It is a religiously motivated terrorist organization which can be defined as the threat or use of force with the purpose of influencing or coercing governments and/or populations towards saliently religious goals (Gregg, 2014). Important symbolic acts such as the blood sacrifice link acts of violence to religion and terrorism, suicide terrorism, self-

sacrifice, or martyrdom has throughout history been organized and perpetrated by groups with religious motivations (Matovic, 2007).

The social structure of Nigeria has greatly influence the movement on Boko Haram. In Nigerian context, ethnicity or tribalism is defined as social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of a competing communal group(s) seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. The relevant communal factor may be language, culture, race, religion and/or common history. What is peculiar to ethnicity or tribalism is that “it involves demands by one group on other competing group(s)” (Nnoli; 2008). Chinua Achebe in his view describes ethnicity “as discrimination against a citizen because of his/her place of birth” (Achebe; 1997).

In Nigeria, tribalism has been elevated to dominate national discourse, controls how people think and talk, and determines what they oppose or support. It is promoted by the political elites, embraced by the young and the old, passed from generation to generation, and even has base in the constitution. This explains the assumption that conflicts in Nigeria is motivated by ethnic competition. The ethnic diversity of Nigeria has more or less been a threat rather than a source of national pride and development as countries above have experienced. Boko Haram was found in the Northern Nigeria and this goes to explain why most of its members and supports come from the North, most of its members if not all speak Arabic. All the ethnic groups quest for power. Some observers even suggest the activities of Boko Haram has dropped since Mohammadou Buhari a Northerner came to power taking over power from Goodluck Johnathan an era which was characterized by reported BH attacks almost daily, conversely the Biafrans from the East are presently causing problems to Buhari’s administration as vengeance to what BH did to the former government.

Mohammed Yusuf and followers in the beginning revolted against the alarming corruption in Nigeria. As a matter of fact the country was rated the second most corrupt nation in 2002 and 2003 according to Transparency International (Transparency International, 2004) Base on this, the group’s early activities in 2002 it attracted a sensible number of jobless youths who were also unhappy with against the corrupt situation of the country, most especially its police authorities (This Day, 2014). In 2009 when the Nigeria government cracked down on the group arresting their leader and later extra judicially executed him was the turning point of Boko

Haram to radical and extremist violence. In 2009 only, nearly 1000 Boko Haram members were assassinated by Nigerian forces (Sani, 2011). This in return aggravated and deepened Boko Haram's violence and extremism under the leadership of Abubaker Shekau (heir of Yusuf). Under Shekau's leadership, Boko Haram became stronger at same time violent (Barna, 2014).

The implications of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria are not only economic and social but psychological as well. Investors drain and human capital is impeding socio economic development in Nigeria due to the attacks on markets, government departments, parks and banks. The attacks on these businesses or commercial spots have led to the internal and external dislocation of the Nigerian population (Okereocha, 2012). This has scared away foreign investors and has also affected the Foreign Direct Investment of the Nigeria Shiklam (2012) postulates that:

“The Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners are said to have closed their businesses and left the troubled city. About half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city.”

Similar to the economic implications, atrocities caused by Boko Haram never be quantified, the social effects are immense. The schools, churches, clinics, mosques and market are prospective targets of Boko Haram. Most remarkable was the attack on a government girls' college in April 2014 where they abducted of more than 250 girls. These attacks have scare people from visiting public places. This has also cost some students their education dreams; while others have been forced to move to the southern region to continue their studies. Christians are scared to go for their normal Sunday worship services in the church because they are afraid of attacks by the sect.

At this point, before the getting to the causes of terrorism and its socio economic implications in Nigeria, it will be very necessary to first understand the concept of terrorism. It should be noted that the choice of referring to Boko Haram as a “terrorist” over an “insurgency” organization was not by error. The main reason for this, is justified by Hayden (2007) to him, Insurgency is best defined as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow or destruction of a constituted government through the use of subversion, espionage, terrorism and armed conflict. So terrorism is tactics under insurgency and that is exactly the dimension Boko Haram took since

2007. So the thesis focuses mainly of the terrorist tactics used by Boko Haram in achieving its goal.

The origin of terrorism could historically be traced back to the period in history when Jewish zealots used terrorism to resist the Roman's by killing many Roman soldiers and destroying Roman properties. The modern development of terrorism as a means to achieve religious and political objectives began during the French Revolution (1793-1794). State sponsored terrorism was applied by Maximillien Robespierre of France in order to stay in power and suppress opposition to the government. (Hoffman, 1998). To get a broad knowledge about terrorism, this thesis has subdivided the definitions into three sections; Definitions made by states, by international organizations definition and lastly by scholars. The reason for using the stated definitions of terrorism is to give us a broad view of terrorism and this will enhance in understanding this thesis since each of these definitions will man reflect at some point in the research.

#### ❖ **Definition of terrorism by states**

The government of Nigeria defines a terrorist as anyone who causes an attack upon a person's life or is involved in this same act which may cause serious bodily harm or death, kidnapping of a person; destruction to a government or public facility, transportation system, an infrastructural facility including an information system, a fixed platform located on the intercontinental shelf, public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss (The Nation, 2011).

U.S. Department of Defense definitions 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 (Department Of Defense, 2014)

Whereas, the United Kingdom's Terrorism Act 2000 defines terrorism to include an act "designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system".

#### ❖ **Definition of terrorism by international organizations**

UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) gives a definition of terrorism as a "criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death

or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.”

The EU definition of terrorism goes as intentional acts, by their nature and context, which may be seriously damaging to a country or to an international organization, as defined under national law, where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing an act, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization.(EU, 2002)

Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (1998) defines terrorism as “any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize a national resources”( Arab Convention,1998)

Judging from these definitions from international organizations, they have one thing in common which is the issue of inflicting sow fear to the population which is directly what Boko Haram is doing to Nigerians.

#### ❖ **Definition of Terrorism by Scholars**

According to Schmid and Jongman (1988), “Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-)clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators”

Harmon defines terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends."(McCormack &

Breinholt, 2007)

Meanwhile, Laqueur (1987) suggests that "Terrorism is the use or the threat of the use of violence, a method of combat, or a strategy to achieve certain target; it aims to induce a state of fear in the victim that is ruthless and does not conform to humanitarian rule. Publicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy."(Laqueur,1987)

More so, Hoffman defines terrorism when he concluded in his book that that terrorism is "the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change." (Jacobson, 2013)

After going through the above definitions one will agree with that there is no standard definition of terrorism because of its complex nature. Nevertheless, for the sake of this thesis, the definition most appropriate to help understand the root cause and impact of extremist group Boko Haram in Nigeria will be the definition by the U.S. Department of Defense. Reasons for this choice are because the violence executed by Boko Haram remains unlawful and its main objective is to inculcate fear to intimidate the society and the Nigerian government so that the government will give in to their demand which is the implementation of Sharia law in the nation.

### **1.1 Research Objectives and Questions**

To achieve the objective of this research, the following questions will be posed in order to better understand the root causes and socio economic impact of Boko Haram; this will include questions like; 1) what are the motives behind Boko Haram insurgency? 2) Why do most supporters of Boko Haram come from North and not Southern region of Nigeria? 3) To what extent are the neighboring countries interested in /concerned with the Boko Haram uprising? 4) How has Boko Haram insurgency affected Nigeria socio-economically?

The above questions will be explicitly responded to, also will show the evolution of - Boko Haram and its various attacks since it was created, and its impact the bilateral relation between Nigeria and the neighboring countries and the world as a whole. This thesis has as objective to analyze the cause and socio-economic consequences of Boko Haram insurgency, because finding the cause might help in finding a solution to put to an end this insurgency in country.

## **1.2 Data Collection and Methodology**

The research of this thesis is based on the books, international and national journals and official statements bases on English, French and Arabic. Major Nigerian newspapers, such as This Day, Leadership, The Guardian, Daily Trust, Vanguard, The Nigerian Tribune and PM News, alongside popular and reliable international media such as the CNN, Al-Jazeera, BBC, Le Monde, Washington Post and New York Times are utilized. Using these three languages contributes to this thesis to make more comprehensive research about a complex issue.

## **1.3 Limitation of Study and Difficulties Encountered During the Research**

During this research several difficulties were faced. Particularly, the issue of sources was a huge obstacle, most witnesses of Boko Haram attacks prefer to remain anonymous because they are afraid to be targeted by Boko Haram and with this the information is hard to judge if truthful or not. Many sources of this research come from foreign sources or journals such as CNN, BBC etc., since the Nigerian government is not ready to give out exact information to local press and even if the local press gets the right information and publishes, it might get into problem with the government, especially when it comes to number of casualties, almost all the medias in Nigeria have different figures. Also was difficult to get vital and concrete information if the main actors cannot be reached-nobody is ready to meet with the present Boko Haram leader for an interview as to know what is going on exactly.

## **1.4 Outline of Thesis**

This thesis has 5 main chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on introduction into the study with a brief history of Boko Haram relating it to the concept of terrorism.. Chapter 2 is on the theoretical point view, theories will be used to substantiate and relate to the thesis main focus, Chapter 3 explains the evolution of Boko Haram under each of its leader. Chapter 4 shades light on the root cause of Boko Haram while chapter 5 presents a comprehensive scrutiny of the impacts of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria (socio-economically) and finally, the 6<sup>th</sup> chapter, which is the conclusion, findings and recommendations of this research.

## 1.5 Review of Literature

The operation of BH in Nigeria has deepened despite the state of emergency the government declared in Yobe, Adamawa, and Borno states in the northern region, the three severest hit by the insurgency. The group's activities have been of great concern to scholars and researchers who have taken time to write several academic papers, reports and even books on the modus operandi of sect. Firstly, Eme and Ibietan (2012) examine the ideology and origin of the sect, from their evaluation; they suggest that Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad well recognized as Boko Haram is an Islamic terrorist group having its solid holds in the northeast of Nigeria. According to them (Eme and Ibietan), the main ideology of the group is to first of all put a halt on all the secular system of government and replace with the sharia law. Conversely, Lister (2012) rejects accusation that the main goal of Boko Haram is to Islamize Nigeria by introducing sharia law. The pillars of the group are discontented youths bought off by corrupt politicians to initiate havoc in the nation for their egoistic desires (Lister, 2012). Southerners assume that the activities of Boko Haram were more strengthened during the reign of former president Goodluck Jonathan (2010 to 2015) because was a southerner. The prolongation of Boko Haram conflict in Nigeria has been attributed to on high rate of political corruption, poverty, and unemployment. Boko Haram is made up of frustrated youths who lack income and employment, thus they have been despised by the same politicians who used them in achieving political goals. Onuoha (2014) Awojobi (2014); Cook (2013);) altogether proclaim that youths join Boko Haram because of the high poverty rate in the North region. According to in 2011 NBS of Nigeria indicated that the northerners were more poor people than the southerner. Apart from the bombing, kidnapping and killings carried out by Boko Haram, their activities create a burden or impediment to the socioeconomic growth of the country, most especially in the Northern part where most of their operation is intensive. Eme and Ibietan (2012); Oditia and Akan (2014); and Ogochukwu (2013); agree in their studies on Boko Haram insurgency that the sect atrocious actions impede socioeconomic progress in Nigeria.

Usually, the main goal of terrorist groups is to generate chaos and fear resulting to the insecurity in the minds of citizens. Thus, in this light, the effect of Boko Haram insurgency has continuously being a basis of threat to not only property and lives but to the peaceful existence of the country. Majority of Nigerians particularly in the

Northern regions now live in a state of fear from Boko Haram strikes which has become rampant daily. This makes it so ruthless to the extent that almost every day that passes cases of death must be reported. Nwozor (2013) stated that between mid-2009 to January 2012, the Boko Haram has carried out more than 160 attacks with over 1000 deaths recorded (Nwozor, 2013).

Furthermore, Alao, ET al (2015) suggests that North-Eastern immigrants are constantly running away for dire lives from the North in great numbers. They went ahead by stating that, those migrating from the North are not only Southerners but also the Northerners also feel insecure. A good number of migrants from Northern Nigeria are in their prolific ages of trading and farming and (Alao, et al, 2015). So with the threat from Boko Haram they have deserted their profession which is mainly farming and as a result, it has drastically effected food production sector of the country and increased the quantity of food importation into the country. Nkwede et al, (2015) also insist that the plague of the insurgency has resulted to food shortage in Nigeria. This is because northern traders are finding it really difficult to transport their products to other parts of the country (Nkwede et al, 2015).

According to Ogege, (2013) the general impact of Boko Haram on socio-economic development in Nigeria is that the economy of the Nation is quick deteriorating. It has created the trademark of socio-economic development. Though the economy is rich in natural resources, Nigeria is concentrating its spending more on the security sector than on possible human capital development sectors (Ogege, 2013). Obviously, this poses a grim challenge on the domain of job recreation thus leading to unemployment. Similarly, the threat Boko Haram insurgence has tarnished the Image of Nigeria globally. Internationally, the image of the country is greatly damaged as, crime; prostitution; corruption and fraud are the aspects that are damagingly tarnishing the status of Nigerians worldwide (Nkwede et al, 2015).

## **2. THEORETICAL VIEW POINTS**

Many theories analyze terrorism in different dimensions. On the tactical level, most often motives are pretty clear: some expressed social or political, be it the maintenance of a status quo, form of revolution, or the rectification of a particular law or issue law that seems unjust. Boko Haram is wrecking Nigeria in an unprecedented and alarming rate. A glut of theories can possibly be used in explaining the causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. These theories include; Islamic theory, structural theory, Human Development theory, Realist theory, structural conflict theory, relational vengeance theory and many others. Most of these theories provide a persuasive explanation on the Boko Haram insurgency, from different points of view. Out of all these theories, Frustration-Aggression, Human Development and Religious Politicization theories are deemed most appropriate theoretical framework to explain in understanding the Cause of Boko Haram insurgency (1)Frustration-aggression is a theoretical framework which is mostly drawn from a psychological standpoint which explains motivation and behavior. The theoretical framework provides explanation for violent behavioral disposition resulting from the inability of a people to fulfill their human needs. Frustration and Aggression theory portrays how basic human deprivation can bring about psychological reaction which can lead to grievous crisis just as the case with Boko Haram terrorism. (2)Human development theory examines the role of socio-economic aspects along with political system of Nigeria (democratic) and it helps to explain how the socio economic conditions are responsible for the rise of Boko Haram .Finally, Religion Politicization theory, focuses on the role of religion. So with the use of these three theories, every aspect the root of Boko Haram insurgency can be analyzed from different dimensions.

### **2.1 Frustration and Aggression Theory (F-A)**

Dollard et al (1939) were the first publishers of the F-A theory in 1939, the was further developed by Miller et al in 1941 and in 1969 by Leonard Berkowitz .The

theory argues that aggression occurs because of frustrating, or blocking one's struggle to attain his/her goal Dollard and associates, state that frustration leads to aggression, but in a situation where the root of frustration cannot be asserted, the aggression gets dislocated onto uninvolved or innocent target. Dollard and scholars are seen as the main proponents of the general notions which explains how frustration constantly spark up aggressive reactions(Berkowitz,1993).According to Borum (2014),some even see the F-A as the main explanation in understanding the principal motivations of human violence. The basic foundation of the F-A hypothesis is binary in nature: The first one states that aggression is always produced by frustration and the second is that frustration always leads to aggression. Frustration, in this sense, was specified as the counter of a goal response, and a goal response, in return, was seen as the reinforcing final operation in a continuous behavior sequence. At times, however, the word 'frustration' is used here not solely to the process of obstructing a person's attainment of a re-enforcer but also it is used as the reaction to such blocking. A such, 'being frustrated' means both that one's access to re-enforcers is being hindered by another party or maybe to a particular situation and that one's reaction to this blocking is one of annoyance. It was later realized that the original claims which stated: (1) that aggression is always as a result of frustration and (2) that frustration always ends up with aggression, were far much generalized. These claims made frustration to be understood as not only a necessity but also sufficient reasons for aggression. Miller (1941) was readjusted the latter part of the proposal. It is obvious that frustrations does not cause aggressive or hostile outcome by necessity. Potential outbreaks may be effectively constrained or happen as alternative actions, such as pursue for other more readily available re-enforcers. So Miller rephrased the second section of the hypothesis to state that: "Frustration can prompts to several types of reactions, amongst which is instigation to some kind of aggression" (Miller, 1941, p. 338). According to this readjustment, frustration arouses forces that are diffuse rather than just aggression. Apparently this modification has not been implemented to the first section of the original Frustration and Aggression hypothesis, Nevertheless. Miller (1941) found the generality of this assertion both useful and defensible. So the revised hypothesis thus reads: (1) Frustration provokes behavior that can or cannot be aggressive or hostile. (2) Any aggressive or hostile behavior that occurs is as a result of frustration. Thus,

frustration is not an ample, but a necessary, condition for aggression and hostility (Zillmann, 1979).

Conclusively it will be much clear to understand that frustration aggression theory basically tries to explain that aggression is not just tackled as a natural reaction or instinct, rather it is the outcome of frustration in a situation where the appropriate needs of an individual is denied, be it directly or by the indirect consequences of the nature of the society. Below this theory will be applied to our subject matter.

### **Applicability and Criticism**

Applying the F-A theory in Nigeria, it will be better understood if the economy, social and political aspects are taking into consideration, if not all at least the economy will be put to test to help digest the theory into the research.

Studies have pointed out that considering Nigeria's income per capita only, really nothing has changed the 1970s. Meanwhile at the same time the country has become richer because of the exploitation of its natural resources. Thus although Nigeria being the biggest economy in Africa, it ranks at 152 out of 187 countries and territories on the scale of the Human Development Index (HDI, 2014). In Nigeria 61 per cent of the population were living on less than One Dollar a day in 2010 as to NBS (2014). In 2010 Poverty in Northern Nigeria (Part which Boko Haram originated) was average at about 66.4 per cent (Aiyedogbon & Ohwofasa, cited in National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Also according to Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics, 2012, the Nigeria's poverty stated as follows; 1980 17.1 million, 1985 34.7 million, 1992, 39.2 million, 1996 67.1 million, 2004, 68.7 million and 112.47 million in 2010 (NBS, 2012).

Moreover, like stated in the theoretical view of F-A situations when a group is blocked at achieving or reaching its target, acts of violence are directed towards innocent citizens (thus terrorism) in order to create an impact of tension and awareness of their grievances. This has been the exact case with Boko Haram as they kill everyone including Muslims as well as Christian, children as old people. So they use these innocent targets like a message to the government.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, NBS, Nigerian's unemployment rate has in the second quarter (Q2) of 2015 risen from 7.5 per cent rate to 8.2 per cent,

which was registered in the preceding quarter. Meanwhile in 2002 when Boko Haram was formed, unemployment was at 12.6 per cent and since then this rate has been increasing after a slight drop in 2005 which was at 11.9 per cent, this figures increased up to 23.9 per cent in 2011. With all these happening, the states witnessing the highest rate of unemployment are the northern states. Taking the year 2011, for example, where unemployment was mostly high in Northern Nigeria in like Bauchi registered 41.4%, Kaduna stood at 30.3%, and Yobe at 35.6%, meanwhile Southern States like Lagos rated at 8.3%, Osun just 3% and Oyo at 8.9% unemployment rates .( Aiyedogbon and Ohwofasa, cited in National Bureau of Statistic,2012). This clearly explains the inequality of the nation and the population are not happy with the situation and this gives ample room for the support of Boko Haram since it is against the government and most youths in such a situation who are jobless will be tempted to join this terrorist group (Boko Haram) because of the frustration the government has put them through thus they become aggressive in order to express their anger.

Further explaining the F-A theory to explain Boko Haram, it should also be recalled that Nigeria is made up of Christians and Muslims and are regionally divided as Southerners and Northerners respectively and most if not all the resources of the nation is found in the southern part of the country and this goes to explain the reason why the southern part of the country is more developed than the northern part. These are in terms of education, administrative, hospital etc, which are well constructed as compared to badly constructed infrastructures in the Northern part of the country. This is probably because of the rich natural resources come from the Southern region, this definitely causes anger from the northerners and they feel frustrated and betrayed, thus aggression is eminent.

More so, the Boko Haram main objective of implementing of Sharia law through Nigeria and the government is strongly against its implementation which leaves the group with some frustration and so has to use aggressive measures in order to realize its goal. Even people will certainly support any group that hold brief against the government in relation to oppression and social injustice. So this explains the reason for its actions.

Similarly, another common variant of the F-A response is evident is the fact that when the Sharia law was reintroduction in the 12 northern states of Nigeria, there

was a general disenchantment at to the method it was implemented, and group's members simply tapped into that frustration. As an expert on Nigerian politics Jean Herskovits, said, "You punish someone for stealing a goat or less but a governor loots billions of naira, and gets off scot-free (Brookings, 2014). "This in other word means the government was fast to react so brutally on the group for implementing this law (Sharia) and in the process killed many of BH members meanwhile state officials like governors embezzle millions and no one reacts to their actions.

Criticism to this theory will come from social learning theories, it is understood that group of people or individual acquire aggressive reactions or responses the same as they learn other different forms of social behaviors (Bandura (1983). Basically with the help of social learning one gets to understand the importance of observable learning processes, which explains how one learns from what he/she has observed without and within his/her society. It is clear and cannot be argued that poverty is a strong challenge to northern Nigeria .Nevertheless, there are several other parts of Nigeria plagued by hardship but the inhabitants of these other regions have not retaliate against the state in the form of terrorism(like Boko Haram). In situations where this happened such as in the Niger Delta region, oppressed actors always direct attacks at dishonest elites and rarely at sectarian institutions. Based on the information by the National Bureau of Statistics (2012), it did reveal that during the peak of Boko Haram violence in 2010, state of Ebonyi located in the south-east witnessed absolute poverty at the rate of 73.6%. It surpassed that of some northern states like Bauchi which was at 73.0%. Relatively, the poverty rate of Edo state located in the central-southern part was at 65.6%. This figure exceeded that of another northern state, Borno, which was at 55.1% absolute poverty, emphasis to Borno state is extremely significant because of its role in the origins and evolution of the BH sect. Moreover, South-west, Ogun state's absolute poverty level was at 62.3%, higher than Kaduna state in the north with 61.5%. This goes to show why one can find so many different ways or measures in dealing with frustration such as peaceful protest, open dialogue, visits a psychologist for counseling and not only being aggressive as the theory suggest. Thus the main critics of this theory will be the fact that not every frustrated group or individual will act aggressively. Linking this to this thesis is the clear fact that although the Nigeria in general and northern

part of the nation is faced with low human development, not everyone has taken aggressive measures.

## **2.2 Human Development Theory**

The human development theory is made up of three components according to Kligemenn, Welzel and Inglehart, (2003) and this includes,- cultural change, and socio economic development which main argument is to widen human choice. Some authors argue that democracy promotes political stability, provides better economic policies and thus is conducive to socioeconomic development (Ersson & Lane 1996; Rowen 1996; Leblang 1997; Feng 1997; Frey & AlRoumi 1999; Olson et al. 2000). While according to Lipset (1959), others hold the claim that socioeconomic development helps to sustain democracy (Vanhanen 1997; Cutright 1963; Bollen & Jackman 1985; Lipset et al. 1993; Burkhart& Lewis-Beck 1994; Helliwell 1993; Barro 1997; Gasiorowski & Power 1998 among others);

Socioeconomic development gives people the means of choice by increasing individual resources; rising emancipative values strengthen people's subjective direction towards choice; and democracy provides legal assurance of choice by institutionalizing freedom rights. Statistics from the World Values Surveys data demonstrates that the connection between emancipative values, individual resources, and freedom rights is comprehensive in its presence across regions, cultural zones and nations; that this human development syndrome is shaped by a very causal effect of emancipative values on freedom rights and individual resources; also that this effect operates through its impact on elite virtue or integrity as the factor which makes freedom of rights effective.(Welzel et, al , 2003).

Meanwhile according to Welzel et, al, 2003, the human development is defined by two linkages: a means-motives linkage that connects individual resources with emancipative values, and a motives-rules linkage that ties effective rights to emancipative values. The Means-Motives Linkage: A public's prevailing value orientations reflect the constraints imposed on human being autonomy by less or more immediate or pressing social situation. These constraints are more pressing in the socioeconomic sense, when scarce resources hinder individuals of many options in their lives. More often, individuals tend to adapt these constraints (Schwartz 1992;

Diener et al. 1995; Cummins 2000; Eckersley 2000; Schmuck et al. 2000). This is known as 'aspiration adjustment' in social psychology (Costa et al. 1987) – has emerged through human evolution because it secured survival (Birch & Cobb 1981; Doyal & Gough 1991; Tooby & Cosmides 1992).

On the other hand, democracy here does not just provide a legal structure that assures fundamental individual right in the society's public and private life but it also represents the institutional component of human choice. Example to this is in Article 23-1 of the UN Human right declaration which states the right to work by everyone, freedom in choosing the type of employment, further in article 23-2, it clearly stipulates that everyone without or favoritism or discrimination (race, faith, gender etc) has the right to equal work and pay (UN, 1948). Thus the political institution has the responsibility to ensure equality among religion and people. In other words, Political institutions (Democracy) give full human rights to choice and consequently represent its rules constituent. This concept could be traced as Mill and Dewey stated that legal guarantee for 'exclusive or individual self-development' as the pillar of democracy (Welzel & al, cited in Macpherson 1977:44-76).

### **Applicability and Criticism**

To apply the Human development theory to this thesis will be very effective, the importance of this theory is firstly, looking at the level of inequality in Nigeria, it is so high to an extent that the Northerners at times feel like they are not a part of Nigeria, this also reflects on the rate of development in the country. Northern states such as Yobe, Jigawa Bauchi suffer most from inequality in Nigeria and these are the areas where Boko Haram is heavily represented (Save the Children, 2014). According to the World Bank, national poverty rate in Nigeria as a whole, in the year 2012/2013 was at 33.1%, of which stood at 44.9% in rural areas (mostly northern states) and was merely 12.6% in urban areas (mostly southern part of the nation). Furthermore, there is the issue of wealth disparity between Nigeria's geopolitical regions, where the northern states suffer far more than southern states. For example, the poverty per head in north-east did increase from 47.1% to 50.2%, rating the north-east highest in terms of poverty in the country, whereas the better industrialized south-west, had the lowest poverty rate, dropped from 21.2% in 2010/2011 to 16% in 2012/2013 (World Bank, 2014).

It could be stated that the Nigeria faces a serious challenge in containing or reducing the increase in income inequality, specifically the void between those regions in Nigeria which are more attractive to foreign and private investors and areas deprived by their lack of what a pulls potential investor, this includes, skilled labor infrastructure, acceptance of consumerism and security. Just like in most developing nations where economic growth has taken place with growing income discrepancy, market forces has been the reason the gap between poor and rich in Nigeria. Factors encouraging inequality in Nigeria is also because of the contrast between the small and slow-growing amount of multinationals and large local base companies able to pay reasonable wages and the vast and fast-growing size of the labor force. Lucrative jobs are concentrated in a few regions, such as Abuja and Lagos and in certain industries, such as banking and the oil sector. All these goes to explain how the northern population (Boko haram base) feels unsatisfied with the structure of the nation. Unemployment is high in Nigeria because the government is reluctant or unable to put in place good enough policies which could promote socio economic development which the people need so badly. This is so much affecting the country to the extent which makes it difficult for educated youth to get jobs, this goes to explain why most of these youths join Boko Haram and instead of using their knowledge acquired from their studies positively in the society of government, they take this knowledge and skills to strengthen this deathly group (Boko Haram).

In addition, according to Vollmer and Ziegler (2009), democratic political institutions are broadly anticipated to have productive impact on human development. They further explain that democracy is considered as a political system whose procedures and structures guarantee the rule of the people and let the people choose and act as they in every domain of the society be it at the level of political competition, free and fair elections, civil liberties and rule of law. With all these components put in place and well respected, the people are said to be more comfortable in their various society as it fosters human development irrespective of the GDP level (Vollmer and Ziegler 2009). Nevertheless, this has not in any way been the case of Nigeria where political institutions are not strong and the government is doing nothing serious to amend this situation because corruption practices which leave the poor masses hopeless. Nigeria was ranked 136 out of 176 countries scoring merely 27 out of 100 on the 2014 Corruption Perception Index; 85

per cent of Nigerians evaluated same year affirmed corruption increased from 2011 to 2013 (Transparency International 2014). This keeps increasing. This could explain the rise of Boko Haram in the sense that, the leaders of followers of the group sees democracy as a failed form of government in Nigeria, instead of the people benefiting from the government as democracy stipulates, the government is doing little or nothing in narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor in the nation. Government officials are getting themselves rich while neglecting the people and in essence leading to a fall in human development, which provokes the people to retaliate against these practice.

As far as the human development theory is concern, what can be considered as main criticisms is based on the affirmations that democracy (or at least “effective democracy”) contributes to advocate political stability, affords better economic policies and so is favorable to socioeconomic growth (Wetzel et, al cited in, Olson, Sarna & Swamy 2000). This is not the case with Nigeria a democratic regime reigns, instead human development index keeps dropping. Secondly, that socio-economic development helps to sustain or establish democracy (Welzel & al, cited in Lipset, Seong & Torres, 1993). This goes to reaffirm what some observers and political analyst always say democracy works effectively for the western countries and not Africa. Thus Nigeria government has to concentrate on building a sound political institution so as to conceive good and solid policies, in order to bring improvement in its Human development index.

### **2.3 Religious Politicization Theory**

Historically, religion has been used as a tool of social cohesion in many societies. At the same time, conversely, religion has also been adroitly contrived into an instrument of violence, “hence its indication in some literature as a double-edged sword” (Sampson, 2012: 104). All religions reek with the blood of human carnage, not because God is blood thirsty but because in the primordial irony, man [sic] created a god limited by man’s own weaknesses; lust for a political power base, and economic dominance (Ibrahim, 1991: 129-30).

At the end of the twentieth century Max Weber and Karl Marx forecasted the passing away of religion and the forthcoming of secularism. They were wrong giving the outbreak of religious violence events in numerous societies throughout the world in the 21st century imply the continued persistence and permanence of religion (Jefferis, 2010: 1). Furthermore, religious-centered wars is demonstrated in the

Sunni-Shi'a war in Iraq ,Arab spring, the recent Yemen armed conflict, the dispute between the Buddhists and Muslims in Sri Lanka, the long lasting war in Sudan, the durable Palestinian –Israel war and the September 11 terrorist attacks (Agbiboa, 2012: 207). Moreover, Hoffman (1998: 89) claims that the belief of suicidal martyrdom and self-sacrifice portrayed in the name of God is evident in many terrorist organizations and has increased rapidly in modern times with significantly larger levels of casualties

Religion can be crooked into a doctrine of hatred and action, where spiritual attainment befalls through destruction instead of individual enlightenment (Baylis and Smith (2001: 495). According to a study carried out in Spain, societies alienated by religious links are more vulnerable to extreme conflicts than those alienated by territorial, ethnic and political differentiations (Sampson, 2012: 104). The preceding events prove that while it is influential for mutual harmony, religion could as well be employed in the achieving certain political and other interests and needs (Sampson, 2012: 104). The political, ethnic and territorial differences in Nigeria are all significant sources of conflicts and could be held responsible for the cause of Boko Haram violence in the country. But, conceivably, the religious aspect has prevailed and thus, justifies the lengthy nature to which religious violence had shouldered in the nation.

### **Applicability**

Religion has been an important aspect in Nigeria. It had gradually become a crucial factor in political dialogue (Adigwe and Grau, 2007).Not only is religion influence limited to politics but it also influences almost all other aspects of life. Political power affects social relation, educational advancement, and economic prosperity. Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion are the three influential religions in Nigeria with all of them having their different ideologies that permit interaction between religion and politics. For example Islam totally condemns corruption which is one of the motives behind Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

The Nigeria religious belief differences have been spotted as categories of violent and exclusion conflicts since in the 19th century when Usman Dan Fodio a political and religious leader of in 1802 introduced a jihad so as to revolutionize what he considered Ungodly rituals of the aristocrats and Muslim leaders whom he classified

as non-Islamic (Maier, 2000:150). Dan Fodio condemned them for what he considered an unjust rule and he had to enforce upon them the law of Sharia as the basis for principle and ethical and leadership (Levitson, 2000: 85). He dethroned them and created the Sokoto Caliphate ( a federation of emirates comprising the states of Kano Sokoto, Kaduna,Adamawa, Niger,Kwara, Bauchi and some parts of Plateau) (Paden, 1981: 24; Kenny, 1996: 339). The creation of the Caliphate system, he laid the pillar for the politicization and dominance of Islam in northern Nigeria. Even though the Sokoto Caliphate later lost its legality during the colonization of Nigeria, the colonialists (British), to an extent, still upheld a mutually valuable relationship with the Muslim rulers by forming an Anglo-Hausa/Fulani hegemony in what is viewed as the Indirect Rule system (Mu'azzam and Ibrahim, 2000: 79). This system privileged the local Muslim rulers over non-Muslims living in the region, since it was a system of ruling by using the local rulers to rule the citizens (Haynes, 1996: 38). Although Christians were displeased with these new settings, they were short of political influence to try any alteration to this system. Christian preaching was banned in Northern Nigeria at the request of local Muslim traditional chiefs. (Haynes, 1996: 38). This goes to explain the reason why at the end of colonial period most Muslim leaders were in positions of religious and political influence to the humiliation of the Christians. There were some sort of political tensions and disagreements between the followers of the two opposing universal religions (Ibrahim, 1991: 116). This could explain why Boko Haram came to existence so as to adopt the same ideology of speeding sharia law all over the Northern states so that Islam will continue to rule in the region.

In 1999 when democracy return in Nigeria, there was hope that the new rule would create the way for unity in the nation and will provide a complex political momentums in country (Hunwick, 1992: 155). Nonetheless this hope was ruined months later. In January 2000 governor of Zamfara (a northern state), Ahmed Yerima implemented Sharia law. With the flow of Sharia adoption in Zamfara State, this instigated other eleven northern States to also do same. Agreeing with Afrobarometer (2009: 4), the Sharia law was used as a strategy by some northern politicians to reclaim their lost political dominion which they had previously benefited hugely from during the decades in which Nigeria was ruled by generals and northern politicians. The implementation of Sharia law was however justified by the

then Commissioner of Justice in Zamfara State, Ahmed Bello Mahmud, therefore: Embracing of the Sharia law by any State that acknowledges the true Islamic faith is not an issue of choice; it is compulsory given the introduction of constitutionalism, federal and a democratic system of government that provides the accurate setting (Mahmud, 2000: 175). However, it is for a fact that the implementation of Sharia law in the religiously mixed twelve northern States exposed the effects and dangers of enforcing religious laws in a multi religious country like Nigeria.

However, this thesis does not directly accuse religion as the cause of Boko Haram violence in Nigeria; rather, it sees religion as a tool to justify Boko Haram terrorism. The clear effect is that the usage of religion for political drives and its subsequent hostility laid the pillar for the insurgency in Nigeria (Afrobarometer 2009: 1), which has recently has metamorphosed into BH insurgency in the Country. Summarily, politicization religious, revivalism and fundamentalism, combined with the demand for the enactment of Sharia law by some Northern states politicians, seeded the birth and radicalization of Boko Haram.

### **3 EVOLUTION OF BOKO HARAM IN NIGERIA**

#### **3.1 The Historical Development of Boko Haram Insurgency**

The origin of Islamist organization should not be perceived as a recent movement because of its recent violent operations in the twentieth century. Boko Haram is an Islamist groups, which strictly stands against man-made rules and laws.

The group's ideology rooted from Salafi Jihadism and its actions are motivated by Takfirism. Salafism has as objective to cleanse Islam of foreign influences and strives for a return to the Islam practised by the "pious ancestors", (Prophet Mohammed) and the early Islamic community (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation, 2008). It stresses devotion to a strict interpretation of the Quran and the Hadith and strives at reforming the personal conduct of every Muslim. Furthermore it has as duty to advise other believers to change their way of life in the same sense. There is only "one specific interpretation of Salafism which centres on the use of violence in order to create such radical change and is commonly known as Salafist Jihadism" (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation 2008: 6). In addition to the Salafi Jihadist struggle is Takfirism. At the heart of Takfirism is the Arabic word takfir – the declaration of an individual or action un-Islamic (Mneimneh 2009). Tak-firism categorizes all non-practicing Muslims as kafirs (infidels) and calls upon its believers to abandon existing Muslim societies and to rather settle in isolated communities, and fight against all Muslim infidels (Shahzad, 2007).

The history of Boko Haram could be traced right back around the early twentieth century with Mohammed Marwa a preacher, born in 1927. At the age of eighteen, he moved to Kano State, what is present day called northern Nigeria, where he began his carrier as a preacher. His preaching was often bizarre and extreme. He preached against western influence in Nigeria and did this so harshly that he was given the name 'Maitatsine', which means "The one who damns" .He went further by

declaring that reading of any apart the Koran was unholy and a true sign of paganism .Close to his grave, he became so close to proclaiming himself Allah's true prophet and not Mohammed (Ford, 2016)

Nigerian politicians at first underestimated and ignored him but his preaching and sermons became more and more antigovernment in nature. The Nigerian government succeeded in cracking down this group in the late 1970s and this resulted to an uprising in 1980 and paved way for Mohammed Marwa's followers in Kano who began rioting against the government. This late to the death 4,000 people in the 1980 riots and Mohammed Marwa himself was amongst those who died (Ford, 2016).

However this didn't stop Mohammed Marwa's followers as just two years later rose up again against the government in Bulumkutu where 3,300 people died .This just didn't end there, as in 1984 Mohammed Marwa's followers rose up around Gongola States in another violence which killed close to 100 people and in the following year similar number was killed in another rising in Bauchi state (Ford, 2016)

Since Nigerian's independence, she has experienced serious strife along religious and ethnic lines. In the south the population is dominated by Christians coming from Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups. In the north story is quite different as it is predominantly Muslims of the Fulani and Hausa ethnic groups. This close to evenly division between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria corresponds to the nation's linguistic and ethnic division which has manifested into a political turbulence. The Mohammed Marwa's crusade was a clear indication that the wind of change was fast approaching with the alarming Islamic fundamentalism which dominated the Middle East in the late 1970s was also gaining grounds in Nigerian soil.

Sharia was the only law in the Northern part of Nigeria between the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The judges remained the <sup>1</sup>qadis .When Nigeria started its switch to independence in 1960, the Shara law was almost totally abandoned as part of the settlement of 1960. So the Settlement of 1960 did trade away the right to impose the law across board in exchange for privileges in different other areas as newly independent Nigeria started outlining it's very first constitution. In this constitution, the Sharia was only applicable in issues of personal or family relations

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<sup>1</sup> A judge in a Muslim community, whose decisions are all based on religious law.

in the North part of Nigeria. This didn't spark much disagreement from the Muslim leaders as most of them were in support of the settlement, greatly believing that abandoning Sharia was vital step towards modernity. Muslim leader, Ahmadu Bello, Northern Region's Premier and the Sardauna of Sokoto, swayed his people that the considerations of the annulations of Islamic criminal law was essential to the progress of the Northern region in the beginning era of self-government in the region. In return, the Muslims gained important benefits such as an esteem new Sharia Court of Appeal (just for the Northern Region) and also got a seat for Sharia Court of Appeal judges on the Native Courts Appellate Division of the High Court, granting them a saying in the development of every aspects law in the Northern Region. Most importantly, the North Ulama (recognized authorities or scholars in the religious hierarchy of the Islamic religious sciences) were strongly consulted at all stage of the discussions making (Ostaien & Fwatshak, 2007). This made the northern Muslims satisfied to an extent but not for so long as in a long run.

In the 1970s, just at the time Mohammed Marwa's movement was gaining grounds and support, Muslims opinion began to change "...This change was due to several factors, partially it was influences by the reaction of Muslims around the world against corrupt capitalism "liberalism" and world arrogance" or Western imperialism. In Nigeria, as other countries, extensive eagerness [sparked up] for revitalizing Islamic law as replacement to the laws and legal institutions copied from the West from the start of its authoritative influence in the nineteenth century. Movements have been instigated in the Muslim countries to execute an "Islamizing of modernity," this means subjecting borrowed institutions from the West to Islamic review and linking them in accordance to Islamic believes. The definite achievement of these notions in Iran and to an extent in Sudan and Pakistan stirred a good number of Nigerian Muslims. By the mid-1980s Muslims came to discover that accepting the 1960 Settlement had been a terrible mistake Muslims started revolting against this constitution (Ostaien & Fwatshak, 2007).

In 1999, the disapproval to the 1960 Settlement increased and manifested in an active tussle to implement Sharia law in the northern states .Nigeria adopted a new Federal Constitution that same year. The 1999 Constitution granted way to the implementation of the Sharia since it granted power to states and putting in place appellate court systems to listen to appeals from Sharia trials courts. The following

years, northern states took advantage and imposed Sharia law in nine states in northern Nigeria.

One cannot deny that Nigeria has always been divided in terms of ethnicity and most evidently economy growth and even in terms of development. This has called for condemnation around the world for being a country with weak and inefficient government, today the case has worsened to the extent that south and north regions are like two different countries completely in terms of differences. It was in this milieu, along with religious rising in the Muslim north and glaring itself in the form of violent uprisings such as Mohammed Marwa's, that Boko Haram was born.

### **3.2.1 Boko Haram under the leadership of Muhammad Yusuf**

Boko Haram was founded in the year 2002 and its leader was Mohammed Yusuf also known as Ustaz, born on the 29th of January, 1970, in the city of Maiduguri under the Borno State government under governor Modu Ali Sheriff. He built schools and religious complexes such as mosques and hospitals and this enticed poor Muslims not only across Nigeria but also its neighboring countries. The objective was to create an Islamic state and also to eliminate the secular system of government and establish Sharia law in the country. This movement in the Hausa language, Boko Haram, is interpreted as "Western education is a sin". Also, the group adopted its official name as 'jama'atu ahlis sunna lidda'awati wal-jihad' which means "People committed to the propagation of the Prophets Teachings and Jihad". Although this organization became known in the international scene only in 2009 following its violent sectarian violence in Nigeria, it has nevertheless, been many times supposed that it has several links with other terrorist groups like al-Shabaab in Somalia, al-Qaeda in Yemen and Boko Haram in Nigeria have varying links to bin Laden's organization, now run by Ayman al-Zawahiri (The Telegraph, 2014).

According to Borno Sufi Imam Sheikh Fatahi, Mohammed Yusuf was tutored by Kano Salafi Izala Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmud Adamu, who he called the "leader of youths". Adamu was a charismatic and famous Islamic scholar. They both sermonized at the Maiduguri's Indimi Mosque, which the deputy governor of Borno attended. The two men shared the same Salafi/Wahhabi religious ideal inspired by the Saudi model. They later separated sometime in 2004 (Brigaglia 2012a).

Boko Haram was at first only an indigenous Salafist organization (a peaceful Muslim movement) which means its activities were peaceful for the first six years of its existence but in 2009 it turned into Salafist Jihadist Organization (An armed Muslim group) when the government started investigating into its activities and due to resistance from this, the group had to arm up (Atim, 2013). It does not only preach against western world, BH also condemns Muslim establishment and the Nigerian government. Yusuf was a well-educated man who lived a luxurious life style and drove in a Mercedes Benz, yet his group publicly stood firm on its ideology against western world (Bartollota, 2013).

Boko Haram member comes from neighboring Niger and Chad and who most of its members speak only Arabic language. The group's head quarter was transferred to Yusuf's own home state of Yobe in the Kanamma Village close to the Republic of Niger Boarder in 2004. Yusuf took advantage of disaffected youth, destitute children, unemployed secondary, and high school and university graduates. He used his good knowledge of the Quran to spell out the witnesses of the government by quoting verses of the Quran and preaching of the prophet, this left the youths touched and started regarding him as the right leader who will deliver them out of their mischievous situation and most especially guarantee their way to the promise land (This day, 2012).

Furthermore, according to a scholar and a key Boko Haram historian Umar Mamodu, Yusuf constructed a mosque and Islamic schools in the northeast Nigeria which served as an inducement for primary and high school youths, these youths in response to his lesions, abandoned Westernized schools they were already attending with the faith that Western education (Boko) is a sin (Haram) and definitely joining the group (Gate Stone institute, 2014).

He also capitalized on the irresponsibility of government officials at every level ranging from insecurity, unemployment, corruption to poverty. It cannot be denied that most Nigerians are striving for positive changes and improvement in their lives, but this grief is greatly felt by the northerners. Yusuf did not collaborate with the local Muslim leaders who did not support the group.

In 2009 Yusuf's proved once more his disagreement with Western education was expressed when he went public to the media in an interview on BBC News, London

31 July 2009, rejected the scientific interpretation for natural assumptions like rain come as a result of sun evaporation of water (Darwinian evolution) and also disagreed with the belief that the earth shape is not accordance to Islamic thought. This goes to show his rejection for science and of course the western education.

Boko Haram's bastion has traditionally existed in the hinterlands of northeastern Nigeria. Home to utmost Muslim communities in the country, but most of them are part of the Sufi group (the inner mystical dimension of Islam) and they do not partake in Boko Haram extremist ideology (TIME, 2013). Though it doesn't mean they are protected by Nigerian military, which have launched multiple attacks against Boko Haram. State security forces are always reported for destroying homes of civilians during these processes, and brutalizing and summarily executing suspected to have ties with Boko Haram without any proves, (IRIN Africa, 2009).

It should be recalled, that at first, Boko Haram not violent when it started and carried out its activities peacefully and not yet violent. In 2009 this changed because the government launched investigation on the group's functioning due to reports that Boko Haram members were arming themselves. Nevertheless, Abuja High Court judge decided to free. He was arrested; his arrest made him a hero as he got more followers (Vanguard, 2009)

The situation became tense when the government passed the law stating that all motorcycle riders must wear helmets when riding. Boko Haram decided not to respect and obey such law with the pretext that it was not Islamic. So some members of the group who were found riding without helmets were arrested. This provoked a revolt and it was at this point Boko Haram had its first major clash with the Nigerian police, Boko Haram fighter allegedly used motorcycles, fuel-laden, bows and arrows to attack the Nigerian forces, this riot left 800 people death. On July 30, 2009 the revolt halted following the arrest of Mohammed Yusuf captured in his residence in Maiduguri he was detained by the Nigerian security forces, interrogated and was later executed extra judicially; Police officials claimed Yusuf was killed while trying to escape. The group was forced to go underground following the death of their leader, while in hiding, it later adopted Yusuf's staunch top assistant in the person of Abubakar Shekau, adopted as the group's new spiritual leader. The group later on

developed new violent strategies: ambushes, targeted assassinations bombings, slitting victims' throats and drive-by shootings (Onuoha, 2014)

Meanwhile, a copy from Yusuf's interrogation during his detention was made public in the Daily Trust newspaper in Abuja

This transcript was translated from the Hausa language into English; Questioned why, he prohibited his supporters from copying western ideas, yet he was using western products, he responded "That is only a matter of technology and westernization is quite different."

On why he owns so many animals, materials used for bomb making and syringes, in his possession, He replied, " Like I told you, to protect myself"

He was further asked why he lived a rich man life, with processing radios, telephone lines and cars, meanwhile most of his devotees were very poor that they lived and had less to wear or eat, he responded, "That is due to their conditions. Every individual has his own circumstances." (Daily Trust, 2009)

According to the transcript, Mohammed could be said to have been a smart fellow who could fool around with his investigator. His philosophy seems to be a miscellany of opportunism and the concept of "do as I say not what I do." And paying for those ideologies with his life, could be interpreted as dying for his followers thus there will no doubt that the group will gain more momentum.

### **3.2.2. Boko haram under the leadership of Aboubakar Shakau**

Following the death of Yusuf, a new leader emerged but his identity name remained anonymous in the beginning. The group started perpetuating terrorist attacks; the first was in January 2010 in Borno. This attack led to the death of four people .As from then the violence has only escalated in terms of both frequency and intensity (Eme & Ibietan, 2012).Boko Haram uses the suicide bombers, abduction and outright shooting in the attacks and activities .The new leader became known in the person of Aboubakar Shekau. A name which sounded familiar to the Nigerian authorities who they believed died in the 2009 break down .He is an adamant proponent of applying terrorist techniques to advance projects. He also tried strengthening ties with other international terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda. Deputy Governor Alhaji Dibal Borno reported claims that Boko Haram had ties with al-Qaeda, but this was cut off when

they decided that Yusuf was a defective person. (wikileaks, 2014). By mid-April, 2012 the group was responsible for more than 1000 deaths in Nigeria (Baiyewu 2013). It was at this point where the Borno State Governor Kashim Shettima stated that “Boko Haram has become a franchise that anyone can buy into. It is something like a Bermuda Triangle” (Baiyewu 2013). Shettima in this statement was simply explaining the fact that since the emergency of Boko Haram, more violent activities have been going on in the country, more theft which has little or nothing to do with the group. So the existence of Boko Haram has also given criminal opportunists to carry out their activities as well as displeased political bosses to commit crimes in the name of Boko Haram.

In April 2014 Boko Haram became an international concern following the abduction of some 276 girls from a school in Chibok a remote village in the Borno state. This went viral so much so some influential people in the world of different denominations and backgrounds took it to the media with the slogan “#Bring Back Our Girls” of which up till date their exact location and conditions still remain unknown. This was confirmed by Tsambido Hosea-Abana the chairman of Chibok Community in Abuja. In his words he said "We are feeling very bad. It is not only that the girls were abducted, the pitiable thing is that we do not even know their whereabouts..." (allAFRICA, 2015) .It's really sad that Nigeria military has not been able to find the kidnapped girls after almost two years now. Meanwhile, according to Vanguard Nigeria, President Buhari in an interview on BBC Hausa service was asked if he had received information about the Chibok girls, he said: “Boko Haram insurgents have guided the girls to dispersed locations. Majority of the girls were Christians and were forced to embrace Islam. BH cruel leaders have married some of the girls, obviously against their wishes”... Some of the girls have been used to serve as slaves to the Boko Haram combatants, other say they have been trained to become fighters for the group, some say they have been used as sex slaves, evidence to this is the fact that one of the girls released in September same year, Miss Susan Ishaya came back with a four months pregnancy. Chibok community Chairman Tsambido Hosea Abana confirmed the story (This Day, 2014).

Besides, BH leader confirmed is a video message from the group leader which he stated “...I abducted the girls from school and that is bothering you? I said education itself should end didn't you hear? I am the one who captured your girls and will sell

them in the market. There is market for selling people. Allah said I should sell them. I will sell them. I sell women”. This abduction gained the pity of many nations who promised to help recover the missing girls.

In May 2013, President Goodluck Jonathan for the third time extended the state of emergency rule in Yobe, Borno and Adamawa, North-east states of and asked the National Assembly to hastily approve this extension. According to Jonathan extending the state of emergency was a decision to respect because the security condition in the disturbed states had not improved. He further stressed that, the security in the three states keeps on daunting in view of tireless attacks by Boko Haram (This Day, 2014).

In reaction to this, Ban Ki-moon the UN Secretary-General said the world must "never forget the kidnapped Chibok girls". The abduction sparked universal anger, with nations like China and the US vowing to help Nigeria in finding the girls (BBC, 2015).

According to a report by Global Terrorism Index, Boko Haram officially became the deadliest terrorist group in the world .The group busted of 6,644 deaths in 2014, while ISIS accounted for 6,073 (Counter punch, 2015). As compared to 2009 when Boko Haram had no sophisticated weapons with the ability to mount certain operations leading to these numerous killings, they used primitive weapons like cutlasses and knives this changed by 2011. As Peter Weber stated, the group’s weapons “shifted from cheap AK-47s in early 2009 to anti-aircraft/ anti-tank guns and desert-ready combat vehicles” (Counter punch, 2015). Femi Falana a Nigerian Lawyer and human rights activist told Agence France-Presse (AFP) that the Nigerian soldiers most often flee from working at guarding checkpoints whenever Boko Haram fighters approach them, this is because they are not as armed as the Boko Haram soldiers. In his own words he said: “...They (Boko Haram) had more exclusive weapons than the unserviceable tool of the Nigerian Army” which prompted the withdrawal (Vanguard ngr, 2015).

### **3.2.3 Boko Haram Funding**

Regarding Boko Haram's financial and arm supports, like any terrorist organization, Nigeria's Boko Haram need finance to carry out its activities so the group had begun breaking banks, stealing huge cash to enable them buy weapons; also they supplement this income by carrying out piracy activities off the Coast of Nigeria and by smuggling drugs into Nigeria.

Boko Haram was officially labeled by The UN Security Council (UNSC) on 22 May 2014 as a terrorist group connected to al-Qaeda. This declaration means that any entity or individual that provides material or financial support to BH, including the supply of arms or recruits will be qualified to be included to the sanctions list of al-Qaeda and will be subjected to the sanctions measures (UN, SC/11410, 2014). Although no clear support links have been brought to light regarding this bond, one may suspect the BH might be receiving underground support from al-Qaeda.

Besides, the group is broadly assumed to have gotten some financial backings from international and regional Islamist groups, the question here is from which organization and how much? The Eli Lake a Daily Beast reporter, testified that in 2002, the Boko Haram received money from Osama bin Laden, through Mohammed Ali a disciple, who was sent to Africa with \$3 million (N493, 650,000) for organizations sharing same ideologies like al Qaeda. In 2011 a Boko Haram spokesman said: "Al-Qaida is our elder brothers. We enjoy financial and technical support from them. Anything we want from them we ask them." (Daily Beast, 2014)

Furthermore the group gets funds through kidnapping in return for ransoms. The hundreds of schoolgirls kidnapped, probably to sell out as "brides," to wealthy men. Also Jacob Zenn at West Point's Combating Terrorism Centre stated "kidnapping has become one of the group's primary funding sources, a way to extract concessions from the Nigerian state and other governments, and a threat to foreigners and Nigerian government officials," This has been a profitable source of income . In 2013, Boko Haram made \$3 million (N493, 650,000) and 16 of its members released in exchange for a French family the group kidnapped in north Cameroon. The group has carried much other abduction in Nigeria "Almost all of the victims are mid-level officials, or their relatives. (The week, 2014).

Also, according to David Doukhan at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Boko Haram has successfully raided hundreds of banks in Borno and two other regions in northern Nigeria, mostly Adamawa and Yobe, also stolen from convoys and successful business men. Estimations posit Boko Haram's annual robbing 'revenue' at \$ 6 million (N987, 300,000). Doukhan added (Naij, 2015)

More so, the Nigerian officials have been greatly criticized for not being able to trace the source of funding that the group has received. Nonetheless, in February 2012, following the arrest of some of the groups officials, it was revealed that though BH originally relied on contribution from members, BH's links with Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) exposed it up to more supports from groups in the UK and Saudi Arabia (Agbiboa, 2013). Moreover, the arrested officials disclosed that additional sources of funding came from the Islamic World Society and Al Muntada Trust Fund. To add, a Boko Haram spokesman revealed that they have been receiving monthly payments from Governor Ibrahim Shekarau of the Kano State and Governor Isa Yuguda of Bauchi State (Aziken et al, 2012).

In addition, the group gets its funds from stealing or robbing banks. To cite as example, on 12 January 2010, Commissioner Umaru Abubakar reported that four Boko Haram members tried to rob a bank in Bakori Local Government Area of Katsina State (Leigh, 2011). Also Bauchi Police Commissioner Ikechukwu Aduba on 4 December 2011, made claims that Boko Haram members raided local branches of Intercontinental Bank PLC and Guaranty Trust Bank PLC (Ibrahim, 2011). Again Mohammed Abdullahi, Central Bank of Nigeria spokesperson claimed that "Not less than 30 bank attacks ascribed to BH have been reported this year" (Onu & Muhammad, 2011). Apart from individual financiers and bank robberies, there have been reports that Boko Haram is involved in illicit weapons trafficking, although there has been no strong proves to confirm such claims. Conclusively all these are hard to prove as no clear evidence has been seen as funders of the group

## **4. CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA**

The rise of the Boko Haram cannot be attributed to any a particular cause, rather it's as a result of the social, economic, political and religious factors. In this section of this thesis, causes or instances which led to the rise Boko Haram will be examined and this will be done in three parts which includes; Political, Economic and Social.

### **4.1. Political Causes**

#### **4.1.1. Bad governance**

It will be advisable to first of all understand what governance is and after the analysis, it will prove how bad governance in Nigeria led to the rise of BH.

According to Rotberg (2009), “governance is the delivery of extreme quality political goods to citizens by government of all kinds . . . political goods includes, safety and security, rule of law, human rights and participation, human development and maintainable economic opportunity”. Thus, the ability of the government to take care of its citizens’ satisfaction and basic needs remains the vital objective of government. So when sovereign nations suffer from constant internal turmoil and inability to provide needs to the public, the nation tends to fail (Rotberg, 2004). Burgoon (2006) goes further to explain that social welfare policies such as provision of employment, health care, social security, and education would reduce poverty, general insecurity, religious and political extremism , thus dropping violent militancy in countries.

Looking at the case of Nigeria, since independence, Nigeria has been involved in seven military coups and civil war. But for the purpose of this thesis, the first coup d'état will be analyzed to show how the government failed leading to more coups and counter coups. Then a close examination will be made as from 1993 when President Ibrahim Babangida can to power also how the transition of power unfolded to demonstrated how it provoked and led to the terrorism tendencies. The other coups will be ignored because they all have same objectives which are struggle for power which has been clearly explained below in the 1966 coup d'état.

It all started in August 1965 when the coup plotting began when a group of officers (five in number four Igbo and one Yoruba), the coup d'état plotted against then Prime Minister Abubakar Balewa. The main reason for the coup was because from the Majors' (plotters) point of view, the top men or officials were ruling Nigeria so poorly with their corrupt ways and their inability to uphold law and order and assure the safety of lives and property. The Ministers were living luxurious lifestyles and stealing public funds leaving ordinary citizens lavish in hardship (The Nigerian voice, 2014). On January 15, 1966 coup d'état began in Nigeria. It all started when Kaduna Nzeogwu led rebellious Nigerian soldier in assassinating eleven major Nigerian politicians along with two Nigeria soldiers and kidnapped three others. The plotters of the coup lunched attacks on three cities- Kaduna, Lagos and Ibadan. They blocked the Benue and Niger River for two days. General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi a senior Army officer, capitalized on the coup as an excuse to annex power, putting an end to Nigeria's emerging democracy. It is this event amongst others those that led to the Nigerian Civil War (The Nigerian voice, 2014).The coup d'état crashed the government of Prime Minister Tafawa and President Nnamdi Azikiwe thereby reshaping the political, social and military history of the country, though the coup was not fully successful, it laid the basis for further counter coups and coups in Nigeria.

The main reason the January 1966 Coup d'état did not succeed; was because the young officers who plotted it were politically naive and were still to grasp how to plan and execute a coup. Due to this inexperience that Kaduna and gang, never succeeded in taking over state power. Consequently, the major commander in chief of the army General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi became the first military ruler in Nigeria. Another cause of the coup could be associated to the fact that soldiers were used to suppress unrest in the country, for example the riots among the Tiv people (Nigerians living on both sides of the Benue River) in the northern region, also the appeals on the military in the supervision of the 1964 elections. These gave the military more grounds .Most of those killed during this coup were northern and so northerners saw the coup of January 1966 as an challenge by the Igbo people from the east to control the federation. Nevertheless six months later a successful countercoup led by northern soldiers proved the extent to which soldiers had transformed in politicians in uniform (Photius, 1991).

Bad Governance could be held responsible for the rise of B.H in Nigeria (Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012). In 1993; President Ibrahim Babangida overthrew General Sani Abacha through a coup. It is seen as one of the fallouts of incompetent administration since the restoration to democracy in 1999. Generally Nigeria administrations have been very corrupt; thus this has forced citizens have become desperate and they feel hopeless as they get poorer every day. According to record Nigeria in the sixth in oil production country in the world, yet majority of Nigerians are live below poverty line (one dollar) per day (Eregha, et-al, 2007). According to Statistics, regarding poverty distribution in Nigeria, the north is worst affected most especially North-East (Danjibo, 2011). Apparently, it will be fair to say that poverty in Northern Nigeria coming political injustice, poor governance, and inequality in resource allocation is culpable for the rise of BH.

It was due bad administration of previous presidents General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida and Sani Abacha military dictatorship in Nigeria between 1985 and 1998 respectively created ardor or eagerness in the masses for a democratic form of government. Reasons for this includes; General Ibrahim Babangida receiving of loan from IMF and the introduction of its harsh conditional ties, which almost all Nigerian were not in support. This was the first instance by the administration undermining the will of the people (Nwachuku & Uzoigwe, 2004). Furthermore he annulled M.K.O Abiola's victory at the presidential elections in June 1993 because to what he termed as "flagrant abuse of the electoral laws" (Mahmud, 1993). Meanwhile the 1993 election was described by most Nigerians as the most free and fair in the political history of the Nation. Many other atrocities carried out by Gen. Sani Abacha starting with the overthrowing of the Ernest Shonekon's Interim National Government and the detention of MKO Abiola, killed the hopes of the people and further worsened the already hazardous society. The reign of Gen. Sani Abacha up till his death in 1998, was characterized with political failure in Nigeria as political parties functioned weakly, with apparently no serious intention because of his puzzled political agenda (Egwemi 2010). After the death of Gen. Sani Abacha, on October 1, 1999, Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, assumed leadership and passed over power to Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo as official president of Nigeria. Faced with all these menace in the country, Obasanjo was welcomed as a savior. Obasanjo become president because of to the PDP zoning arrangement which stipulated that power was

supposed to be shifted to the south (Obasanjo was from the South), to somehow compensate for the pain caused by the previous military regime, mostly on the south-west. He became so tribalism person as to him, his election as a President was a compensation to the Yoruba (a state in the south west Nigeria) people. He made critical appointments, appointing people from his tribe and kin (Egwemi 2010).

Following the PDP zoning agreement, after eight years in power, it was time for the South (Obasanjo) to hand over power to the North. This didn't work out quite well because the person choose by Obasanjo to replace him was Alhaji Umaru Musa YarAdua, though from the North, the Northerners rejected this choice stating that he (YarAdua) was too sick to be president, he was nevertheless made president on 29 May 2007 and he died three years later precisely on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 2010 in Saudi Arabia where he went for treatment. He was succeeded by his vice president Godluck Johathan who promised to finish up the work of his late job. He failed to respect his promises and brought forth the argument that the zoning agreement was not in the constitutional issue, rather a gentleman's arrangement, so he again stood for what was supposed to be the second term of a northern president. This betrayal could be related to the cause of Boko Haram insurgency because northerners were not happy with it (This Day, 2012). Earlier before the election in May 2011, some people did promise to make Nigeria ungovernable. In this line, some politicians (from the angry Northern part) might have employed some Boko Haram fighters to attack and destabilize the government (Anonymous, 2014).

On the inauguration day of President Goodluck Jonathan (October 1, 2011), there was a bomb blast in Abuja, the place of the inauguration. Gen. Owoeye Azazi the National Security Adviser accused BH on attacking the PDP. In his view, the People's Democratic Party politics of fielding candidates against the desires of its majority member's accounts to the problem Nigeria is presently encountering (Osuni, 2012).

The case of Nigeria and B.H could to an extent be related to what happened in the North Africa (Arab spring), it was due to bad governance and also the people were tired of authoritarian system. Although the Arab Spring did not have as objective to implement a specific set of order or beliefs, like Boko Haram which seeks to impose the Sharia law throughout Nigeria, they were both driven by political motives. B.H it

is more violent and understanding its main objective is quite confusing as it kills innocent people including Muslims rather than attacking the corrupt government officials. Though generally speaking it seen as a result of the battle against bad government .Take for example, when Al Qaeda terrorist gang attacked strategic the USA in September 11, 2001, the American government perceived this as a war against it, without acts of double thinking, they engaged into hunting of Al Qaeda leaders, finally killing their most prominent Osama Bin Laden 10 years later. This is not the case with Nigerian government; the corrupt government officials have little or no concern because they have enough money and security mechanisms that defend them. There is no seriousness in the fight against Boko Haram, because the officials seem satisfied having enough room to loot from the government funds at expense to its citizens.

#### **4.1.2. Politicians funding Boko Haram**

Former Nigeria President Goodluck Jonathan in January 2012 stated that some of BH condolers were not just members of the executive, judicial and legislative of his administration, but were in the national armed forces as well. Although intelligence reports in 2013 suggested that the group's support source was generally weak, prior periods were highly symbolic of the passive, yet serious role that political individuals might have played in supporting B.H. The group was presumed to be under the control of major political personnel's before 2009(Bello, 2013). Certain political elites in Borno state have been suspected to be the founders of the group. Such individuals were known to be politicians who relied on the popular backing which Yusuf could assemble in favor of the electoral success during in 2003 and 2007 elections. Indeed, during this period, Alhaji Buji Foi, was appointed as Commissioner of Religious affairs in Borno he was an influential partner of Yusuf's group. Before his assassination by security forces, in 2009 was as he was regarded as a main sponsor of Boko Haram (This Day, 2010).

It was stated that those who supported Boko Haram in previous years did so merely because they trusted the radical ideology of the group. Nevertheless, when this ideology resounded among individuals that it could be a path to resources and power, it certainly benefited the group's operational scope (Bello, 2013).As most Politicians who at a point associated with Boko Haram took advantage of the group's ability of mobilizing wide support from its members. Definitely this support was based on

Yusuf's resources accessibility, which part of it was invested in the purchase of dozens of buses, motorcycles and taxis which he distributed to jobless youths who joined his group. These( buses, motorcycles and taxis ) generated money daily which went to the group's coffers, the teeming population of unemployed youths were also attracted to Yusuf (Bello,2013).

#### **4.1.3. Corrupt leaders**

According to Transparency International, there exist is a deep connection between insecurity and corruption. In situations where a country has weak institutions, its security forces are no longer trusted and its borders become weak, same is the case in Nigeria; this gives terrorist organizations room to prosper. This is borne out in academic research, specifically on Nigeria but also on other regions.

In the early spring of 2014, before to the Chibok girls kidnapping, Nigeria's Central Bank Governor revealed to Goodluck Jonathan then president of \$20 billion worth of oil revenue owned by Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation and have failed to transfer on to the government. Not long after this revelation, central bank governor was sacked as he was accused by President Jonathan of "misconduct and financial recklessness." These are the type of decisions that led Transparency International to rank low in transparent government. A 2012 Gallup poll revealed that 94 % of Nigerians believe corruption is rampant in their government (The Nigerian Observer, 2015). Also, T.I in 2013 viewed the Nigeria as one of the most corrupt nations in the world, she was ranked 144th in Corruption Perception Index out of the 177 countries measured (Transparency International, 2015). From this, one can better understand some the conditions that could lead to anti-government groups such as Boko Haram. In 2002 when BH emerged in the penurious northern region, it provided supports such as job training and health facilities and well-being services to youths zealous for support. The government violent resistance against the goal of Boko Haram which was the transformation of Nigeria into a "pure" Islamic nation based on the Sharia law. This angered most of the northerners especially those who benefited from the services Boko Haram rendered. Boko Haram then capitalized on the country's malfunctioning security system by training and arming their own fighters to be prepared for their opponents (government) and so many northerners backed their activities (Brooks, 2014)

It should be recalled that corruption was one of the reason why the northerners got aggressive against the government. According Sarah Chayes a senior associate in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, when she visited Nigeria, she carried out interviews with citizens and some government officials. Following the several civil servants she interviewed, revealed that public procurement invoices are often grossly exaggerated. “In Nigeria when it comes to a job that has a good salary and attracts much money”, a defense ministry IT worker said, “Only the director and the deputy director have knowledge of the real terms of the deal.... If it's 10 million, the director says, ‘Put it 12 million.’ Procurement will add, ‘why not make it 15 million.’ And the permanent secretary says, ‘Raise it to 25” (Chayes, 2016). This means the officials play around with the figures at their own convenient and expect the government to fund these invoices. Originally the real term is 10million but at the end the invoice gets to 25million meaning 15million goes into the pockets of these authorities in charge.

With respect to the nation's tumbling revenue, such tales of corruption are dreadful. Most Nigerian are hurt by the lack of investment in healthcare, agriculture, schools and basic infrastructure, not to cite bullets and guns for the military and by the harsh culture nurtured by high-level theft (Los Angeles Times, 2016). For example according to Index Mundi, adjusted savings on education expenditure (% of Gross National Income (GNI)) in Nigeria was 0.85 as of 2013. Its highest value over the past 43 years was 5.00 in 1982, while its lowest value was 0.85 in 1991. Corruption in Nigeria starts from the level of police to the registrar of public deeds to primary, nursery school teacher and even university lecturers, many government officials encountered in Nigeria request to be “settled” (a common word used by officials asking for bribe) with a payoff (The Nigerian Observer, 2015).

This has caused many to see in such practices as the root of the biggest menace to Nigeria's security: Boko Haram. According to Kemi Okenyodo, director of an organization that advocates for justice-sector reform “Boko Haram initially had the principle of fight back against corruption of the state,” Undeniably, at first, Boko Haram went after the most notorious perpetrators of corruption such as police and some government offices. It is only recently that attacks on civilians been prevalent (Chayes, 2016). So that explains the reason for their violence and their main targets being the corrupt officials.

Looking at the Political narrative as to the cause of BH, some striking questions could be raised like; to what degree political factors could have led the cause of Boko Haram insurgency? If really Politics is the cause of Boko Haram, then why countries like Cameroon in Africa which has known just two presidents since independence in 1960 both came from the French speaking region of Cameroon not witnessing extremist crisis coming from within the nation? For this reason, the Socio-economic influence causes will be put to test as well.

## **4.2. Socio Economic Causes**

This section will try to examine socio-economic reasons that stimulated the drive towards recruitment and support for Boko Haram terrorism in Northern Nigeria. Economic dislocation of livelihoods and poverty has extremely reduced the opportunity for majority of northern Nigerian youths. As structural violence paradigm states, individual and group grievances, such as economic marginalization, discrimination unemployment, illiteracy and poverty, can be used as mobilizing tools by malevolent groups to seek support and employment for terrorist activities. To better address this, four sub-topics will be analyzed. They include: Abject Poverty and Inequality, secondly Unemployment, Education Challenges and lastly North-South disparities. Recruitment and support for Boko Haram.

### **4.2.1 Poverty and youth unemployment**

The assertion that poverty is the main cause of terrorism and insurgency is one of the highly argumentative concepts in global security studies (Geo Currents, 2014). This thesis will clearly proof out the reasons why Poverty is considered as one of the causes of terrorism in Nigeria. The U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry in May, 2014 attributed the cause of Boko Haram to Poverty he stated that, "Most of these challenges are as a result of poverty where young people are snatched at an early stage, offered a little bit of money..."(Lewis 2014). According to the World Bank (2014) definition, Poverty as whether an individual or household has have sufficient resources or better still the abilities to meet their daily needs, these are measured in terms of "One Dollar per day".

Numerous teenagers and women previously arrested and detained either suspected to be relatives of Boko Haram or members of the group were released in May 2003.

Some of the released revealed they had received N5, 000 (\$25) from Boko Haram members, and that they were given drums of fuel to burn down schools in Maiduguri (Ibrahim & Matazu, 2013). This indicates the level of poverty portrayed by hundreds of youths who have been exposed vulnerable by the weaknesses of Nigeria's leadership over the years. According to a US Peace Institute sponsor survey in 2013 in the States of Kaduna and Kano,(which aim to find out factors behind youths radicalization and recruitment in Boko Haram), it revealed that 83% and 92% of the youths in these respective areas accepted that poverty and unemployment were among the main reasons why they involved in religious based violence.(Onuoha,2014:4).Meanwhile the Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS),measure of relative poverty is most eminent in the northern states. As compared to the southwest and southeast zones, which have relative poverty rates of 59.1% and 67.0% respectively, the north-west and north-east zones have greater figures of 77.7% and 76.3% of relative poverty accordingly.

Several former and present world leaders such as George Bush, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Tayyip Erdogan, Jordan's King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein all spotted poverty to be the source of terrorism. Tony Blair, on occasions has terrorism to poverty. Example to this is in 2001, he said "The dragon's teeth of terrorism are planted in the fertile soil of wrongs not righted, of disputes left to fester for years or even decades, of failed states, poverty and deprivation (Piazza, 2006). Relatively Turkish Tayyip Erdogan after his visit to the U.S. in 2004 stated that "poverty is one of the major reasons for terrorism", meanwhile Hamas Gaza leader Mahmoud a-Zahar stated, "It is enough to see the poverty-stricken outskirts of Algiers or the refugee camps in Gaza to understand the factors that nurture the strength of the Islamic Resistance Movement" (Geo Currents, 2014). In 2013 this point was further stressed by Senator Ahmad Ibrahim Lawan of Nigeria ,he said the government must also make available the necessary financial resources to fight poverty, particularly in Borno and Yobe states, the two regions that have witnessed numerous of brutal attacks by Boko Haram militants in recent years. Senator Lawan suggested that poverty is the reason behind BH insurgency. He further stated; "This is an insurgency that knows no bounds or limit. But I suggest while we are fighting BH in the Country; I believe that Borno and Yobe particularly need to have better resources from the federal government to also fight against poverty. If we are targeting insurgency, we must

also be battling the source of the insurgency, and it has been established by people across this country and even people from beyond that poverty is in the mix of this crisis. And there I believe that the federal needs to come up with a special financial package for Yobe State and Borno State too” (Butty, 2013)

Furthermore, Piazza (2006:159) stated “other forms of political violence and terrorism are product of poverty”. Piazza connotes that since the US was attacked 2001 by terrorist group(al Qaeda),the presume connection between material need and terrorist activities activity has been cited by many political analyst around the world and has found its way into the mainstream of international security and economic development policy. Example to this is at the 2001,two months after the attack, UN General Assembly seating in New York ,forty –one(41) heads of states and governments who attended urged the world body to poverty and underdevelopment issues, which they believed are the major issues igniting international terrorism. In March 2002, George Bush the then President of the United States at the Monterey Development Summit voiced “We fight against poverty because it is an answer to terror” (Kresisler, 2001; Jai, 2001; Blustein, 2002)

In another view, unemployment could be seen as one of the factors responsible for insurgency in Nigeria. Firstly according to the World Bank (2014), unemployment is defined as the share of labor force that is without work but is ready and seeking for employment. Regarding the NBS, annually around 1.8million youths in Nigeria enter into labor market and the government needs to see into it that the economy provides job for them (NBS, 2012).

Many studies have related unemployment, poverty to terrorist motives among youths in the world(Urdal, 2006, 2012). Ucha (2010) pertinently put it as “unemployment is the main factor contributing to poverty in Nigeria. When individuals are unemployed, their means of livelihood drops over time, thus the cost of living increases while standard of living decreases. There are many people in Nigerian lacking the opportunity of being employed” (Ucha, 2010:51- 51)

According to Danjibo(2010:15-16) “A good number of unemployed youths wander about the streets in Nigeria paying the dues of discipleship in the form of scavenging and begging .They are prepared to involve themselves in any form of violence at any

cost"... Some receive as low as \$2 from Boko Haram to bomb business spots and many of these youths are not happy doing this but they are left with no choice since the money collected can help take care of their basic needs; an amount which the government cannot provide (Danjibo 2010:15-16).

Unsurprisingly, so youths from North Nigeria have intentionally torn their school certificates mostly students from Maiduguri University (Onuocha, 2010) to unite with BH. This could be attributed to brainwashing of these graduates who see no hope from the government in gaining employment; the inability of the government in providing employment to bunch of graduates roaming the streets hunting for job opportunities could clearly provide reasons for Boko Haram insurgency. These graduates roam along the streets with nothing doing. In Nigeria gaining employment is not about merit rather it is based on how connected a person is to people in power or how ready an individual is ready to bribe the employee so as to get a job. Consequently, it leaves many and highly qualified people in absolute poverty since nobody care to know their capabilities of achieving (Onuocha, 2010). The level of poverty among youths in Nigeria is an ample advantage for BH's recruitment. Many jobless youths in the country are educational certificate holders or graduates are pushed to extreme crimes (Edward, 2011). A World Bank report in 2009 on 'Employment and Growth', cautioned that, "despite Nigeria's robust growth over the years, the share of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 outside the labor force is growing "(Allafrica,2010).These jobless youths are been sweet talked by the extremist members to fight back against the government.

According to NBS in Nigeria, unemployment rate in 2006 was at 14.60 percent right up to 2011, when it reached its highest rate of 23.90 percent. In early 2013 NBS figures publish disclosed that, despite agreeable economic growth in the nation, poverty rate skipped in 2004 from 54.7 percent to 60.9 percent .Almost 100 million of the Nigerian population of lived in absolute poverty and in 2011, 12.6 million were moderately poor .The youth are those greatly affected by these calamity, most especially in northern Nigeria and they are those who make a majority of Boko Haram members. The U.S. Institute of Peace authorized a study from the CLEEN Foundation, a non-Governmental organization in Nigeria in 2013 to examine the contributing factors to young population radicalization and recruitment into armed groups. According to the, survey participants quickly identified the high poverty and

unemployment that prevail in the state of Kaduna and Borno as the second most important reason why youths involve themselves in religious motive violence. The first being the ignorance of the full doctrine of their religion persuaded youths to adopt extreme religious views. In Kaduna, 83% and in Kano, 92% of the surveyed revealed that poverty and unemployment are striking causes (Onuoha, 2014).

Although it can never be argued that poverty and unemployment the main causes of youth radicalization, hardship and other frustrating conditions of life render youth highly vulnerable to manipulation as well.

#### **4.2.2 Educational challenges**

As John F. Kennedy (1961) stated “We should think of education as the means of developing our greatest abilities, because everyone of us have our individual hope and dream which, if fulfilled, can be translated into benefit for everyone.” From the on the above definition and quotation, it is clear that education does not only give hope but also is a great ability to develop critical reasoning. Educational challenges especially the Northern part of Nigeria dates far back to the British colonial days. Before the British colonized Nigeria, Northern Nigeria was often been acutely influenced by religion. When Nigeria was under British colonial rule in the early 1903, the Sokoto Caliphate (Islamic institution) and Borno Sultanate ruled parts of what is today Northern Nigeria and it vehemently resisted Western education. This forced the Western schools which were operated by Christian missionaries to move to the south where these schools were happily welcomed. The reason behind this resistance or reluctance was just because Western influence in the government and administration and government was perceived as the spread of Christianity in Northern Nigeria, a region where Islam was the dominant (Owolade, 2014). For this reason, the British colonial authorities were forced to rule Nigeria separately, that is between southern Nigeria (the base of most Christians) and Northern (the base of most Muslims) separately.

Till date there has been no much change from the colonial days in Nigeria, as the rate of education between Southern Nigeria and Northern Nigeria are still high evident. Looking at primary school for example, completion ratio in Northern States of Adamawa, Yobe, Taraba and Bauchi is less than 10 percent, compared to Lagos State in Southern Nigeria with a net primary school completion ratio of 70.6 percent. Same

applies at secondary level of education. Sadly, Northern Nigeria's poor education has also tend to discourage investors who seek skilled labor (Nwabobo, 2013) by so doing it has caused investors to tend to invest more in the South than in the North of Nigeria.

It is true that Nigeria's educational history greatly affected Northern Nigeria up till date due to its resistance to western education, yet the failure of government to visualize policies that will promote most citizens in Northern Nigeria to be educated is the main reason for this situation. It is generally agreed that any strong political institutions or true democracy (like the case of Nordic countries) have positive impact on human development such as education .Nevertheless, this is not the case with Nigeria were its recent and previous government have not been able to foster education in most of the Northern States made up mostly of Muslims. Apparently, the history of socio-political instability in Nigeria such as historical resistance to education combined with series of civil war in the 1970s, Nigeria has been portrayed as a weak State (Uzonwanne, 2011).Thus contributing to the high rate of literacy in the region. This leave the northerners limited in terms of knowledge and are easily convinced to follow whatever Boko Haram leaders tell them is necessary for their own good.

The lack of schools and educational system in the North of Nigeria as stated above has led to an increase in the level of illiteracy in the Northern states and has greatly influenced the growth of terrorism in the area and the Nation in general.In June 2014, Nigeria's Minister of State for Defense Senator Musiliu Obanikoro blamed illiteracy as the main cause of the country's rebellious group, Boko Haram. Obanikoro suggested that to eradicate this group in the North, education transformation must be implemented to fill the educational void, which "Boko Haram is exploiting to pursue its subversive ideologies."Furthermore he blamed rampant illiteracy and the politics of underdevelopment in the North as the cause of the Boko Haram insurgency. Obanikoro went further quoting figures that proved the states in northern Nigeria, with the worst education for young girls and with the highest female illiteracy rate in the Country. These girls are easily brain washed to act as suicide bombers, transportation of weapons used by Boko Haram, since they have little or no knowledge they are getting themselves into. Obanikoro insist the real root cause of Boko Haram is illiteracy and poverty, the issues that must be focused more closely

upon in present dissertation. “People killing innocent souls are misguided people who have never read and has no knowledge of the Holy Qu’ran,” said Obanikoro. (Eells-Adams, 2014)

On the 27 of May 2015, Former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo called on African countries to provide quality education to ensure peace and tranquility in the continent. Obasanjo insisted that the low level of education in Northeast Nigeria is responsible for Boko Haram insurgency currently being agonized by the region. He was speaking at the International Symposium for the launching of African Initiative for education, peace and development. Furthermore he said the worse affected part of the country North Eastern region, was the least educated .He cited that the insurgents were able to infiltrate the region due to level of education.

Statistically, the formers president compared the level of literacy between the geopolitical zones in the country, he stated that while the North East had only 18.1 per cent, South East achieved 66.66.8 and South West the most educated region as at 2010, had 77.9 per cent of literacy,

Meanwhile regarding the literacy level among women within same period, Obasanjo said the North East only 15.4 per cent, South East, 69.6 per cent and South West had achieved 79.9 per cent.(Ugwuanyi, 2015)

Finally Obasanjo urged on participants at the symposium to look for solution to the lingering crises in parts of Africa, be it cultural, religious or political .He proposed that religious, political and traditional leaders to create organizations to train youths on crafts. He said this will make them become self-satisfied and will prevent them from joining terror groups like Boko Haram. (Ugwuanyi, 2015)

If the suggestion that poverty brought about the existence of Boko Haram violent in Nigeria was correct, then one will need to stop for a while and ask a very significant question; who is responsible for that is poverty ruing not just the northern region of Nation, but also country as a whole? As mentioned before, Nigeria is an oil producing nation with abundant natural and human resources. Attained independent in 1960 from the British, of the fifty-six years of independence, president and Military head have come the south and northern region of the country. The Northern leaders rather than taking advantage of their offices to better the country and

especially North for greatness, instead they brazenly loot the common legacy of Nigerians. They were corrupt, dishonest and incompetent. These leaders transformed Nigeria to a predatory nation, and inflicted lingering and acute poverty by misusing the income from oil. These leader would relied on oil revenue instead of developing more sectors that could generate income for the country, this led Nigeria in the 1980s to seek for IMF loan after the drop in oil prices. So the poverty issue lies directly on the door steps of these leaders (Harnischfeger 2008: 31).

In addition, to discredit poverty as an important factor leading to the BH violence, never for ones has any leaders of Boko Haram justified their violence to poverty. All they have always declared and maintained is the imposition of the Sharia Law in Nigeria. So, the issue of poverty as the cause is irrelevant. Some peculiar evidence has proved that most of those involved in terrorism are well informed about how on how the operations ought to be and how to go about achieving their goals. They are well educated and most of them live over poverty line. Osama bin Laden for example the leader of Al Qaeda before the U.S killed him on 2 May 2011, came from a very affluent and prominent background .Nigerian, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab known popularly as the “Underwear Bomber”, on 25th of December 2009 tried to detonate hidden plastic explosives concealed in his underwear on a flight to the USA, he was from a very wealthy background, and he had a sound educational background as well. He studied at British International School in Lome, Togo and University College, London the UK, a country where most of the population is above poverty line. Another example is the suicide bomber who drove into the Headquarters of the Nigerian Police in Abuja with his car loaded with explosive, reports said he had given his family around fifteen thousand dollars (\$15, 000) as what is called “pocket money” before leaving for Abuja from Maiduguri to carry out his task. So how did he get that much money if he was poor and not educated to be wise enough to leave back the money to his family? Besides, the founder of Boko Haram Mohammed Yusuf owned was living in riches and owned Mercedes Benz before he was killed during the sect’s first uprising .

Even though one cannot absolutely deny the fact that socio-economic situation is Nigeria is the driving force of Boko Haram, for a moment, the input variables which Tarrow and Tilly called mechanisms in contentious politics could be examined. Jackson, et al., state it thus, “In short the level of poverty alone cannot really explain

reasons why terrorism occur, which does not mean poverty should not be tackle in its own right.” To conclude, looking at data from the World Bank, 1.4billion people on earth live below poverty line, thus if poverty is truly the cause of terrorism, then everybody could envisage what the world would have been like (Jackson, et al.: 2006).For this reason, Religious ideologies and disparities between the northern and southern in Nigeria will be examined to see how it contributes to the raise of Boko Haram.

#### **4.2.3. Religious ideologies and North/South differences**

In the politics of Nigeria religion, regionalism and ethnicity are amalgamated. Virtually all the Hausas are Muslim and largely located in the North. Nearly all Igbos are Christians and are geographically located in the East. On the other hand, the Yoruba are half Muslims and half Christian concentrated largely in West of Nigeria. Politics of the nation had been bedeviled since Nigeria got independence in 1960 by religious sectarianism, (Muslim versus Christian), and regional (North vs. South) and ethnic disparities (Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba). Islamic movement “Boko Haram” is made up largely of young Hausa in northern Nigeria. The movement indicates a kind of radicalization different from that which triggered the Shari’a movement in northern states in the 1990s. The revival of the criminal law attributes of Sharia in Nigeria was first precipitated in 1999 in Zamfara state (Mazrui et al, 2012).

Most often, researcher strain religious identity of Boko Haram as the root cause of the sect’s violence Nigeria. This view could be supported by historical evidence. Certainly, historical patterns to Boko Haram could be traced since in 1802 when an ethnic Fulani herder and religious teacher called Uthman dan Fodio, proclaimed his jihad to purify Islam. In the process instituted the Sokoto caliphate which exist day. More so, the 1980 the Maitatsine uprisings in Kano, Bulumkutu and Kaduna in 1982, Yola in 1984 and Bauchi in 1985, represent efforts to enact a religious ideology on a secular Nigeria, similar to the way Boko Haram is trying to force the Nigerian society to consent sharia law across all 36 states. As a result of this, 28 religious clashes were reported between 1999 and 2008, most prominently the repeated violence between Christians and Muslims in Jos (a city in the Middle Belt of Nigeria) of 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2008(Solomon, 2013).

Looking at Nigeria's religious pluralism, it makes an exciting case study for analyzing the role of religion plays as an identity marker and a factor of mobilization. The jumble of ethnicities and religions coupled with the complicated politically important identities and a history of continuous and seemingly incurable instability and conflicts qualifies Nigeria as one of the most acutely divided nations in the continent of Africa (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005: 4).

Religious demography in the Nation is evenly divided between Muslims and Christians with just a slight edge difference population wise (Ekot, 2009). Muslims make up 50.5% of the nation's population and Christians constitute 48.2% of the population. Other religious complete the remaining 1.3% (Okpanachi, 2009). Apparently, Christianity and Islam are the main religions in the country, and almost the entire scale of political, social and economic relations rotates around these two religious identity formations (Kukah, 1999: 99). In the Islam is the predominant religion while Christianity has its grounds in the southern region (Kukah, 1993: 6). Amalgamation of the south and north of Nigeria in 1914 brought both religions closer as Christians and Muslims and began to participating in the projects of the national state (Falola, 1998: 1). Due to the religious influence in Nigeria, it is clear that religion significantly defines the identity of its citizens. Nigerians were ranked the most religious population in the ten nations polled in 2004 (BBC News, 11 November 2005).

It is relevant to understand Islam's point of view in relation to the society. It is religion that does not admit any authority of any form outside that of God 'Allah'. According to Islam, God's sovereignty of is absolute and those authorities that do not obey or respect this Supreme Being is perceived as ungodly and illegitimate. As a religion Islam opposes the division of spiritual and secular jurisdiction. According to Bernard Lewis, "The very notion of a secular authority is seen as sinful" (Lewis, 1990). For this, it is obligatory for true believers or devotees of Islam to fight for the enforcement of the authority of 'Allah' in their various society or communities. Thus liberal-democratic or Democracy structure is adversative to the Islamic norms. An Islamic State has no parliamentary form of government where people elect a particular group of people who proclaim laws and impose these laws upon people, neither does an Islamic State has a presidential form of government of which a

president is elected by the people, along with his other collaborator, who pass laws and enforce them upon society (Moaddel & Talattof, 2002: 247).

Consequently, it act of faith that a real Muslim engages in jihad – which is one of the fundamental conditions in Islam – Thus whenever a system is perceive as a hindrance or an impediment to the implementation of the rule of Allah .Nonetheless there is much questions as to which groups or states function strictly according to Islamic Law; Sharia is the official basis for state laws countries such as: Yemen, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania and Sudan. The case of Nigeria is that the constitution stipulates that states may vote to use Shari'a laws and courts, however non-Muslims are not obliged to submit to Shari'a territory and adherence varies by state.

This ideology has been embraced by Boko Haram sect in its opposition against the secular authority in Nigeria. The group perceives the Nigeria government of as ungodly and not “pure” and like the fundamentalist decide not to negotiate or agree with the government because their belief is absolute and supreme they see it impossible to compromise on their belief. Due to the adamant nature of fundamentalism, dialogue is forbidden. Thus violence is the only way to express their grievances.

The main issue to note here is the Boko Haram before getting violent made their point well defined and that was to spread sharia law throughout firstly in Northern Nigeria and later to the nation as a whole and when the Nigerian military kicked against this, then they starting arming themselves against the government. Till date the largest targets of Boko Haram are the Christians in the Muslim north. The second targets are Muslims who do not flow along with the radical Muslim's version of 'Pure' or strict Islam. Boko Haram is strongly against Western education which to them undercuts Islam.

Boko Haram movement leader Imam Abubakar Shekau said on video that everybody knows that Nigerian constitution and democracy is paganism. He went further to say Christians should stop believing that Jesus is the Son of God. Christianity is not the religion of God. “It's paganism. We are doing our best to force you to welcome Islam because that is what God commanded us to do” (Sahara Reporters, 2012).To Shekau,democracy in Nigeria is against the will of Allah and is seen as a sin, so

implementing Sharia law will be the only way to save the nation from this predicament just as the Almighty Allah wants it to be.

It will be fair to say understanding Boko Haram's intra-Muslim solidarity has inspired its brutal violence. Anyone outside the group is considered a justifiable target, reasons been that the illegitimate targets are those the group terms as Muslim, that is only members of the group or those who share the group's beliefs. This all become confusing when Boko Haram kidnaps not only Christians but Muslim school children and executes Muslims who refuse to be part of the group. Though it cannot be denied that religious ideologies is one of the causes of Boko Haram violence in Nigeria, it will be unfair to agree religious ideologies can completely explain the reason for the rise of this sect without examining the regional disparity of the nation.

Concerning regional disparity, in Nigeria, the southern states are more flourishing economically than the Northern states. The economic shift from North to south of Nigeria started following oil exploration in the 1970s, in the south region where around 80 percent of oil is at the southern River State territory .Furthermore, remittances from the Yoruba, Igbo and other petit southern tribes who live abroad (Mostly in the west) has also contributed greatly to the economy of southern region to the detriment of the Northern states. To worsen things for the North, the Nigerian government has abandoned agricultural pastoral economy of the North, rather her focus is on oil revenue .Consequently, the North region has suffered from de-industrialization and this has caused many state owned companies and enterprises that existed in the region to close down due to government negligence coupled with competition from abroad (Khadkiwala & Mishra, 2014). This has contributed to the motive behind Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria; frustration has led a good number of youths in Northern Nigeria to join Boko Haram while hoping that an Islamic state in Nigeria will redress the social and economic problems in the region.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of the south doubles that of the north. The north has a GDP of about US\$718 while the GDP of South, South west and south east stands at GDP of US\$2010,US\$1436 respectively. Of all the six official zones in Nigeria, the worst poverty rate of the country is exactly the operational milieu of Boko Haram (North East), this also goes in terms of infrastructures. In Borno where kidnapping has happened most, has per power supply of seven (7) watts, the lowest in the country. The north also have social disparities at the level of

health care, example to this is that in Borno and Yobe(Northern States) less than 10 to 19 percent of children under one year old have access to all necessary vaccination. Looking at a study by Nkechu Catherine Onwuameze, as far as educational disparity is concerned between the two regions, the northeast bottoms in the rate of numeracy assessments and reading (27.15 and 16.18) percent respectively, meanwhile, the southwest region tops at 88.01 and 87.07 respectively. So to conclude, from the figures, it is obvious that children from the South in a greater extent are likely to achieve numeracy and reading than those from the north (Khadkiwala & Mishra, 2014). This shows that North-east where Boko Haram crisis rooted from and the North-west region where it has spread are padding behind in terms of access to basic human needs such as clean drinking water, electricity and medical facilities. So those states lacking basic facilities are in no way satisfied with their situation. This goes to explain the reason why most of the members of this group come from these poorly equipped regions who are desperately in need of improvement.

#### **4.2.4. Lack of Civil Liberties and Injustice**

Some researcher and prominent individuals attribute the rise of Boko Haram crisis to lack of civil liberties and injustice. Amongst them includes; the acting Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Dr O.B.C Nwolise, who cited that injustice to the Boko Haram sect has been the main cause of numerous bombings being witnessed today in Nigeria. He insisted that injustice executed by the Nigerian government and its intimidating agents against the sect when some 700 members of the group alongside former leader Yusuf Mohammed were extra judicially murdered by the Nigerian police yet none of the executor(policemen) have been brought to book. Nwolise orates "...Mohammed Yusuf, and about 700 of Boko Haram members were killed in cold blood, with the state doing nothing to apprehend and try the policemen accountable. Yet, we claim to be a democracy, practicing the rule of law..." Thus to him there wouldn't have been any Boko Haram violence today, if our government gave justice to the sect and dialogued early enough (Nairaland, 2012).

In 2011, President Jonathan signed the counter-terrorism law after the US allegedly pressured Nigeria to do. Nonetheless, the legislation comprises provisions that could breach international human rights. However, on April 25, 2012, Daniel Benjamin the State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism revealed to the US House

Committee on Foreign Affairs that Nigeria's triumph against BH "will need long term work and engagement ... while maintaining esteem for rule of law and human rights." He went further by saying "We recognize that military measures alone will not halt the terrorist threat in the region," stressing that the US have to assist Nigeria in solidifying rule of law and civilians institutions in "addressing the basic circumstances that lead to violent extremism and terrorism."(Human Right Watch, 2012)

Furthermore, Nigeria former Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon singled out injustice in the country for being the reason behind the activities of BH. Gowon during a seminar organized by Public Complaint Commission (FCT) in Abuja stated "I stand to confirm that unrestrained general injustice would naturally lead to serious financial and other related crimes and eventually the evil of corruption. Regrettably, corruption in Nigeria today has become a monster and has brought about humiliation to the country. All hands must be put together to tackle and eliminate this monster not only individually but collectively."(Pointblanknews, 2012)

Looking at the Nigerian Constitution of 1999, under Section 33, it clearly points out and places civil and political rights over cultural, economic and social rights. It states, "Everyone has a right to life, and no one shall be depressed intentionally, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria...." Furthermore, Nigeria is a signatory to African Charter on Human and People's Rights article 4, which avows, "Human rights are unfringeable. Every human shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person." Again, Article 6 (1) of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which Nigeria a party openly articulates, "Every human being has the natural right to life. The right shall be protected by law. No one shall be subjectively denied of his life" (UNDP, NHRC and NORAD Report 2005 /2006; Falana in Adejumobi 2010)

The above rights include freedom of religion, right to life, freedom of speech right to fear hearing, freedom of movement, freedom of association, right to personal liberty and dignity, freedom from discrimination amongst others. Nevertheless, these rights also inflicts on the government to insure that the "security and welfare of the people shall be the primary responsibility of the government." For years, these rights has greatly been reduced and abused by consecutive governments in Nigeria because in

Section 45 of this Constitution provides its restriction “in the interest of defense, public safety, public wealth or public morality for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other persons” (Falana in Adejumobi 2010). In spite of these rights by the constitution guaranteed, the Nigerian law enforcement and security agencies have persistently disregarded the importance of human life. Several cases have been recorded of politically motivated killings and judicial murders by same security agencies that ought to uphold and safeguard the rights of all citizens. Quick example is concerning motorists who deny parting with their money for bribery demanded by the police on check points are at times robed as criminals or even killed on made-up evidence. Abrupt executions by the police without any court trial of criminal suspects are rampant and even in cases of trial, fair public trial is denied. The judiciary system with the responsibility of upholding hope for its citizens pieced with corruption. There is domineering influence from the executive on the judiciary and most of the time it leads to exploitation and breakdown of justice. Although the constitutional provision warranties freedom of speech, yet journalists are if not detained and are accused with sedition for reports written against the state or government, some even killed. Civil society units are violently repressed and suppressed when they try to converge without the police permission, an act declared by the court as illegal, and when they try to get such permits, they are refused (Human Right Watch; Amnesty International; NHRC, NORAD and UNDP Report 2005 /2006 ; Falana in Adejumobi 2010). Another example is seen on June 7th and 8th of 2005, when six energetic young Nigerians who refused to bribe the police were killed at Apo District in Abuja by the Nigerian Police, however police report declared they were arm robbers, later investigation disclosed that they were mere innocent citizens murdered because they failed to comply to the demands of police (BBC; Falana in Adejumobi 2010).

Moreover, the tactical approach of mentioning social injustice as a recruiting weapon into the group is obviously working. The unemployed and young Nigerians, who hardly eat more than one meal a day, speedily join the group because they perceived social injustice by the governing elite. Even the Nigerian Secret Service disclosed that some communities are sheltering Boko Haram members (Yemi, 2012), which makes it inevitably very difficult for the law enforcement body to limit activities of the group. Most people aggrieved about the persistent nature of these elites are easily

recruited to act against the government, especially when such calls are made on of religious motives.

Again it points out the injustice nature of the Nigerian authorities which has angered most of its citizens yet it is believed to be a democratic nation. This definitely will explain the reason for the raise of this group Boko Haram especially when the former leader Yusuf was also a victim of this injustice.

After going through the above examination to the exact cause of Boko Haram, one will be forced to conclude that not only political and religious ideology is responsible for the rise of the sect but Social and Economy factors also take responsibilities

Now what will be questioned next will be what the impacts of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria are? Like any nation dealing with terrorist organization, there are always repercussions on the state in question be it direct or indirectly. Example the Pakistan perishing in the hands of the Taliban, Kenya troubled by “Al Shabaab”, France affected by ISIS and many other nations, Nigeria is going through same trend. Below, the impacts of terrorism in Nigeria will be analyzed.

## **5 IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA**

This thesis will never be complete if the socio-economic impacts of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria are not examined. The impact is very important to this thesis because just like explained above, the act of terrorism always have an impact on the nation in question be it directly or indirectly , positively or negatively and this will be analyzed at the level of economic and social, to understand to what extent the existence of Boko Haram has impacted Nigeria.

### **5.1 Economy Impacts**

In 2014 Nigeria was declared the giant of Africa Economy wise, it became Africa's largest economy. Regrettably, the celebration was short-lived because in the subsequent months, the rapidly escalation Boko Haram insurgency exposed country's failures that had been hidden in previous years by the swelling oil revenues. Though apparently separate events in nature, the declaration of Nigeria's recent economy status and the existence of the insurgency are closely related.

Generally, terrorism has a very cruel impact on economies and studies indicate that terrorism at no point it has done good to any society in the world. It will be incomplete to talk of terrorism without the mention of Boko Haram. The expansion in terrorist activities in Nigeria has according to analysts, twisted the business atmosphere in the country and made it unfavorable for investors. Impacts of this despicable group has been so severe on Nigerian economy to the extent that Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman Minister and Deputy Chairman of National Planning Commission (NPC), stated in an observation that activities of BH sect has created so much distortion or alteration in the economic activities in Nigeria and the northern region most especially (International Business Time (IBTimes), 2014). According to the World Bank Investment Climate Assessment Report of 2011 fiscal period, business atmosphere in Nigerian remain hostile, despite the ongoing reforms in the nation. Reports suggest investors are losing 10 per cent of their revenue as a result of

the hostile investment climate, poor quality infrastructure, crime, insecurity and corruption (IBtimes, 2014).

The economy impact of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria will be examined using the following parameters for better understanding;

- Changes in the rate of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Gross Domestic Product (GDP).
- Changes in the value of the local currency and Inflation levels.
- Unemployment levels and Changes in government defense spending.

#### **5.1.1. Changes in the Rate of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P)**

Terrorism or national insecurity in general is no doubt very costly not just because it retards growth of FDI but also the progress of any country witnessing it. Particularly on FDI, terrorism has been said to have so many effects. In the case of bilateral trade, the countries involved are hardly into conflict with each other, this contrariwise means that countries in dispute, they are unlikely to create a trade relationship (Dixit, 2009). This argument goes to explain in other words that nations witnessing violence or national security issue will tend to scare away investors, decreasing production capacity, draining resources rising production cost and eventually will take away lives just like is Nigeria. The reason for this is based on that fact that generally, every investor's goal is to make profit, definitely when expenses exceeds income, investor losses. This is the inevitable effects of situations like Boko Haram that rocks Nigeria (Gassebner, 2005).

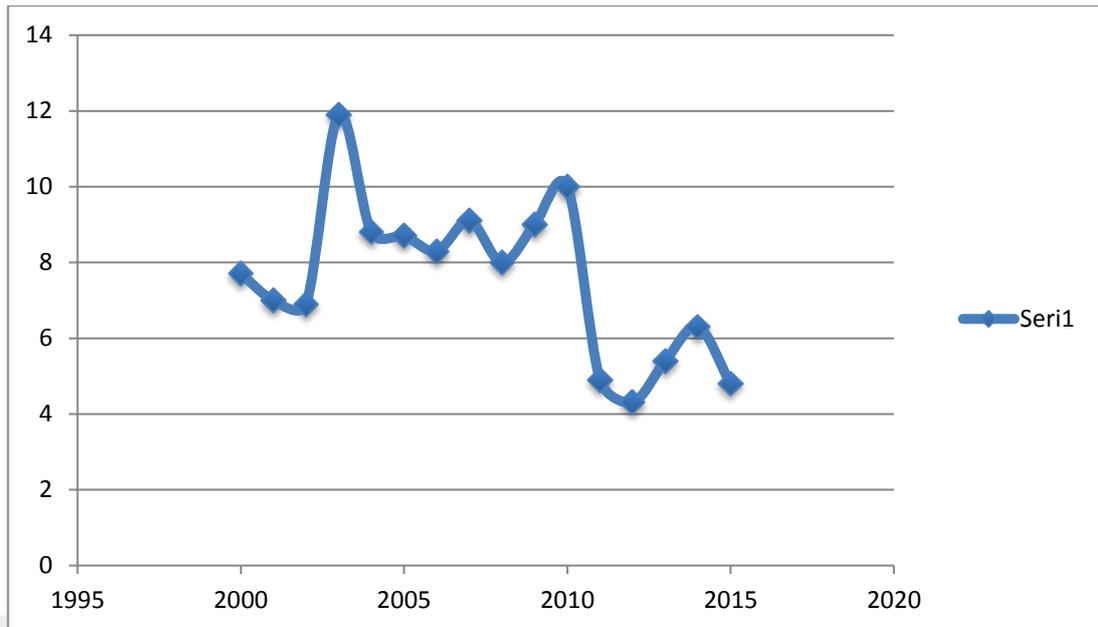
According to Akpan et al. (2012), terrorism affects FDI and delays the rate of production. The indexes linked with this include high incidence of poverty, lost in man-hours of productivity, breakdown in industrial production, wastages, poor capacity utilization, decline in economic growth, at same time occurrence of an inhospitable atmosphere for investment. According to Management experts Boko Haram, has badly affected businesses throughout the country and that foreign investment inflow to Nigeria has also being negatively affected (Awoyemi, 2012). Evidence to this is from Mr. Chukwudi Owo, former head of General Services

of Shell Petroleum Development Company, and presently president and chief executive of Resource field Inc. and, a policy management consultancy company, clarified that Nigeria is losing large amounts of FDI daily as a result of Boko Haram violence. This, according to him has made the Nigeria insecure for any kind of investment. “The reality is that investors do not segregate. They mostly go towards the direction where they think their investments will flourish and also places where there are competitions for investors. These investors can create jobs for our crowding youths. Sadly, the crisis in the country is taking its toll on businesses. Our company was about to sign a business funding investment in the real sector to the tune of \$1.2 billion to build houses in Lagos and Abuja ; sadly, the Independence Day bombing scared the investors away. Several other such investments have been lost to insecurity and this does not augur well for the country,” he stated (Transparency Ng, 2012). This explains if the bombing didn’t take place then the project would have been realized but it’s rather on fortunate that the Islamist group would not stop bombing any time soon.

Since the emergency of Boko Haram in Nigeria one of the major obvious economic worries was the immediate fall in FDI. Regarding the 2013 World Investment Report (WIR), FDI flows into Nigeria declined by 21% within a year from \$8.9 billion in the year 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012 for a country desperately in need for money losing \$1.9 billion was a stunning blow (African Business Journal, 2015). Between 2009 and 2012 Nigeria lose more than 93% of its human capital. Also a World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) assessed that the domestic economy lose an enormous N1.33 trillion FDI, all due to the of Boko Haram insurgency. (Transparency Ng, 2012). FDI inflow into Nigeria has impact on trade, not just securing progress in economic development in the Nation; it also increases the existing domestic capital by motivating the efficiency of domestic investments but with the existence of terrorist Boko Haram sect it make it almost impossible for progress. The Nigerian economy has potentials to be the economic paradise in the continent of Africa. This is a nation blessed with comparative advantage in numerous aspects of resources, yet these blessings are gradually turning to a nightmare for the Nigerians as a result of economic mismanagement, ethno-religious and socio-political issues in the form of Boko Haram.

The Oil production sector has also been shaken .To justify this, Nigeria used to produce approximately 3.4 million barrels of crude oil daily between 1999 and 2008.Compared to present day, the petroleum production cost in the country is higher than it was prior 1999 this is because of the increase in security expenditure needed these days. So Boko Haram insurgency and its violence have led to an increase in the unit cost of establishing business in the Country .Besides the rise in the cost of production and drop in output, many companies and industries have been forced to relocate far away from the Northern region where Boko Haram started or more eminent. And some of these companies have been forced to leave the country completely. Example includes Michelin and Dunlop (Otto, 2008).Thus leading to a fall in FDI.

Investors do not just invest in a country without calculating their benefits for investing, according to Okorie (2011), around \$1.4 trillion investment capital streams each day round the world. This indicates that capital in the world economy is unstable. Investors consider so many indices before deciding whether to invest in a country or not, and one of such index happens to be security. Insecurity in any country is perceived by investors as warning sign to carry their investments to another country with adequate security. FDI are needed to arouse the emerging economy of Nigeria. Still, if the warning signals keep coming, the investors become frightful about investing in country. Also, as Odeselu cited in Shadare (2011), the air transportation sector in Nigeria has been greatly affected negatively by existence of Boko Haram. It demoralizes passengers. It prompts for numerous levels of security checks points at the airports coupled with the stress on the public transport plane.



**Figure 5.1:** Nigeria Annual Growth Rate from 1995-2015

**Source adopted from:** <https://knoema.com/tkaorsc/nigeria-gdp-and-unemployment>

According to Central Bank of Nigeria, the above chart shows that Nigeria Annual Growth Rate rose from 6.9% to 11.9% in 2003, which was exactly when the Nigerian economy was taking shape, the same year Boko Haram was founded. As from 2003 up till 2016, the Nigeria Annual Growth Rate has not yet achieved the rate it had in 2003, and the reason for this is because of the rise of Boko Haram. Since the global economic crisis in 2007/2008, coupled with the existence of Boko Haram, the GDP of Nigeria has suffered tremendously. Like already stated above, this nation is blessed with so many natural resources to stabilize the economy as good as some western countries, but this has not been easy because of insecurity in the nation. In 2007, when BH started its violent activities, this impacted the nation so negatively due to the shutdown of many local companies, banks, and shops. The worst of it all was in 2012 when it dropped by 4.3%. This drastic drop could be attributed to the declaration of a state of emergency by President Good Luck Jonathan on the 31st of December 2011, in Borni, Niger, Plateau, and Yobe States, and also ordered that borders to Niger and Chad be closed. All due to threats from Boko Haram insurgency.

Empirical evidence to the impact of BH insurgency in Nigeria according to most analysts is the fact that entrepreneurship /human capital drain is debilitating the economy of the northern states and there are concerns that it is spreading to the national macro-economic milieu. This is because aside the bombings on churches and schools, business/ commercial such as parks, markets, banks and government agencies are being attacked. In one of which they reaped huge sum of 41 million Naira, as revealed by a staunch member of the group, Abu, while in detention in 2012(Transparency Ng, 2012).

Mr. Labaran Maku then Minister of Information responding to these incidences, stated terrorism in places such as Kano, which represents the commercial back bone of not just the Northern region, but neighboring nations like Northern Cameroon, Niger Republic and Chad, is destroying the economy Northern region and Nigeria in as a whole.

“The attack on Kano is so symbolic because this city has for long been the commercial center of Western Sudan for the past 500 years, ever since before the evolution of Nigeria. So, when you disrupt peace in Kano you threaten the foundation of economic and social well-being of the northern region,” Qada grieved (Transparency Ng, 2012).

Concurring to this, Mr. Ethelbert Onuoha, Secretary General of the Kofar Ruwa Traders Association, Kano State chapter, “The volume of transaction has dropped drastically as many buyers are afraid to come to Kano because of the security situation”. Onuoha alluded.

It goes to show the value of Kano state ravished by Boko Haram and has cause fear for many business people who usually visit the area in the pass and also affecting Nigeria’s relation with neighboring countries, thus affecting the economy of Nigeria.

Beside, following the threat of Boko Haram in, the Nigeria of 2012 budgetary allocation was as such; Science and Technology - N18.31 billion, Land and Housing - N26.49 billion; Transport - N54.83 billion; Aviation - N49.23 billion; Water Resources -N59.66 billion; Health - N282.77 billion; Agriculture - N78.98 billion; Education - N400.15 billion; Works - N180.8 billion; Power - N161.42 billion; and the Security sector emerged with the lion share of N921.91 billion. State senators unanimously condemned the N921.91 billion billed to security. Reacting to this,

three ministers - Godsdai Orubebe (Niger Delta) Bala Mohammed (FCT) and Mike Onolememen (Works) showed up before the respective committees to defend their budget and rejected their allocations for being too little. Senator Ayogu Eze the chairman, Senate Committee on Works, particularly declared complete discontent following the N180 billion allocated for road projects in the budget, stating that there is no way the country can progress with that amount of money giving the shape of roads in the nation (Transparency, 2012). All these can be well understood but giving the security questions posed by Boko Haram, the government has no choice but to spend more on security. This affects other sectors in the country negatively.

More eminently, up till date, the three northern states of Yobe, Adamawa and Borno are still under a state of emergency due to the growing violence in the region. Business activity has dropped by 80% in Kano since around 2011 according to the local chamber of commerce estimates. Owner of a textile business in Kano Mr Sa'id Dattijo Adhama said: "Lots of projects are being abandoned in the region because people are afraid. They are fearful that factories can become targets; commuters to work can also become targets; and this is impacting everybody here. "Most women working who used to work here cannot anymore. It is too unsafe for them; employers do not want to employ them for same reason (BBC, 2015). In most of the northern states, the group's bombings and serial killings have wrecked commercial and economic activities. For example, Inuwa Bwala, the Commissioner of Information for Borno State (where Boko Haram originate from), told Equal Times that it will take the state 20 years to recover from the impact of the insurgency. He gave the example of the "Monday market" in Maiduguri: "Traders have abandoned about 50,000 stalls and shops in the market and have fled the city. "Many Banks and their customers are also functioning under difficult circumstance and have cut down their business hours for security reasons against being struck by the sect members. "There is no doubt that the crisis has taken its toll on our economy, resources, and our business". Bwala confirmed (Equal Times, 2012) .It is obvious seeing people scared to work in places of serious threat because of Boko Haram and the women are more understood, especially after over 200 girls were kidnapped in Chibok, now the women fear they could be the next to be abducted by this group or even killed, so this slows the economy as labor is threatened by the extremist and of course productivity declines drastically.

The emergency of extremist Islamic militancy in Nigeria coincided with the period when oil prices dropped in the global market to \$55 a barrel, posing more threat to the country's economy. According to an Africa economist at Capital Economics Jon Ashbourne, the oil sector accounts for about 90% of the nation's exports and roughly three-quarters of government total revenue (BBC, 2015). Thus a fall in oil prices means government spending has to be cut down, since the government cannot do anything to bring up the prices in the global market, attentions will be turned to the spending more on security to stabilize the economy.

Nigeria accounts for up to 80% of food supply in neighboring North Cameroon. Reports, from Amchide the border town, suggest that the usual busy trade with Nigerian business people is at a halt. Ibrahim Ahmadou a local Imam confirmed that Cameroon militants shut their border with Nigeria ahead of the beginning of the 2015 Ramadan as a security approach against BH militants (Naija, 2015). It should not be forgotten that the terrorist group has been afflicting some areas of Cameroon in recent years with kidnappings, theft and weapons' smuggling. According to Ahmadou, this has made traders are worried and nervous. "80% of our rice is imported. It is very unsafe for a businessman to carry [import] rice knowing that there is going to be a problem"...Furthermore, Halirou Kakoy a shoe vendor in Amchide told Daily live reporter that some food stuffs like sugar, nowadays sell for 50% higher than it formerly cost and other products are just not available. The closure of border is ensuring inflation has hit household incomes of the country and also it's a loss for the Nigeria businesses as goods which were supposed to be shipped or sold to neighboring nations will be forced to consume in Nigeria and it will lead to fall in prices and lost to the economy.

Furthermore, Tourism industries are one of the sectors that breed that provide employment opportunities and generate income in many countries globally. Nevertheless, it remains the most vulnerable to social up rises when compared to other business sectors (Krol, et al, 2000).As observed by Tribe (2010) crisis, may possibly affect tourism in terms of damage to properties employment redundancy, poor business strategies and poor infrastructures. This is in accordance with Butler's (1980) thoughts that rate of tourist visitors to a specific destination may drop because of social crisis. BH terrorist attacks in recent years have affected business places, citizens and public properties in Nigeria. It has affected important states in Nigeria

most especially the northeast region such as, Yobe, Borno, Adamawa, Bauchi, Taraba and Gombe States. This violence has hugely affected business events, economic and human developments with great stress on the tourism sector of this region and Nigeria as a whole.

Any country or area with a history of terrorist attacks encounters a cut down in number of tourists due to fear of further Attacks occurrences (Deemua, et al, 2013). BH attacks in Nigeria have led to the annulment of many events both national and international in the country. Major example is English top-flight club in English Premier League (EPL) “Arsenal FC” planned tour to Nigeria was annulled in 2012. Moreover, at the national level, the Nigerian premier leagues (NPL); among different Nigeria clubs also suffer related problems such as the cancellation of football games between Ocean Boys (Eastern base club and Jigawa Golden Star (a Northern club) (Deemua,et al,2012). The BH conflict in Nigeria also caused the annulment of international football game between Samba boys of Brazil (Brazilian national team) and Nigeria super eagles (Nigerian National team) in 2012. Similarly, in Kano the “Durbar Festival “which usually attract international and local tourists was call off in 2012 and this caused huge revenues lost for state government from this particular decision. These annulments unfavorable impacted the tourism sector, since sport or entertainment tourism contributes meaningfully to the growth in the national economy.

Terrorist attacks like Boko Haram creates psychological impact on the tourists and notably those who have experienced the attacks in the past. For example, countless of the attacks happen in public spots like the United Nations Building 2012, eagles square 2012, churches and mosques in Bauchi state 2011 and 2012, the Kano Bus station blasts in 2012 and several attacks on banks. All these have had a major effect on the people. In Bauchi, streets and main roads were consequently closed; hotels, restaurants, transportation services, and some other services were closed, causing serious economic hardships and insecurity for the people. It has to be reiterated that regardless of the reasons act of insurgence and terrorism, and no matter what form it takes, it may have serious harmful impact on tourism sector in any country thus affecting the economy of the nation in question.

### **5.1.2 Changes in the Value of Currency and inflation**

According to The Economist, currency devaluation promptly hits consumer purchasing power and lowers wages. Consumption or buying of foreign goods rapidly falls because prices of imported goods quickly rise. The adjustment pace will depend on how speedily domestic companies turn toward import substitution and exporting (The Economist, 2015). The drop of oil price in Nigeria has affected the national Nigerian currency (Naira) negatively; it dropped 7.5% against the dollar in recent years. Mr Ashbourne stated that "The currency wearying is also disturbing. Nigeria imports so many goods, including food and fuel, so the cost of the necessities will increase" (BBC, 2015). The drop in naira will force export of local goods, which is not available in the required quantity as of now, and it will create an extra burden on the public, reason being that the cost of consumer's goods will escalate across the board.

This has urged President Buhari to consider privatizing refineries and putting an end oil subsidy. This according to some further deepens the country's current economic crisis. The lack of refineries in Nigeria means that the country has to export around 90% of its crude oil and in return import petroleum products at international prices. The Nigerian government will then sell fuel to citizens at subsidized prices to balance the imports (ibtimes, 2015). The insecurity level in Nigeria will definitely make this almost impossible to balance import to import giving that Boko Haram has destroyed many industries in the country and even the main export product of the nation is also suffering from global price fall. Besides there is great fear in the country that the oil sector of the nation will soon be a target of the insurgency and this has been a major concern to the government (This day, 2014).

On the other hand, the increase in inflation rate has been another issue in Nigeria. To economists inflation is the general rise in price level over a period of time. This is monetary occurrence that can either be desirable or undesirable, depending on its impact on other macro-economic variables such as distribution of wealth, unemployment, balance of payments output, among others. Whereas, for "the man on the street" inflation is when he/she can no longer afford what he/she usually purchases with same amount of money due to an increase in price of the commodity. There are several measures of inflation. The most significant quoted and most commonly ones are the Retail Prices Index (RPI) and Consumer Prices Index (CPI)

(This Day, 2014). The Financial Derivatives Company Limited (FDC) experts, who noted the increase in the inflation level in Nigeria, claimed that “We expect the recent trend inflation to prolong as the insecurity in the north continues to impact negatively on food prices. The inflation rate is projected to exceed the upper limit of the CBN’s target of six to nine per cent in 2014” (This Day, 2014).

The National Bureau of Statistics in Nigeria reveals that inflation level in December 2015 increased to 9.6% as related to the 9.4 % in November same year. The report also stated that the pace of increases recorded by CPI which increased for the second consecutive month. For example, the CPI which was at 7.80 % in March 2014, increased to 7.90% in April, 8% in May, 8.20 % in June, 8.30 % in July and in August 8.5 % in same year (This Day, 2014). The Index rose by 9.6 per cent (year-on-year), 0.2 % points more from rates registered in November. This index is pushed up partly by increased prices within the key sectors which contribute to the index. Particularly, imported food items within the food and non-alcoholic beverages divisions, kola and tobacco and clothing, transportation, footwear and alcoholic beverage all had impact in the index. Since 2000, the inflation level in Nigeria has been on constant increase (NBS, 2015). Nigeria is currently witnessing this and attributions have been directed to the rise of Boko Haram. Agriculture which employs above 35 percent of youths aged 18 to 35 and also accounts for about a fifth of the nation’s GDP is in difficulties (ibtimes, 2014). This is because the terrorist group has already created fear in the citizens and most farmers have abandoned their farms, because they fear to be attacked by Boko Haram.

### **5.1.3 Unemployment Rate and the Performance of Stock Exchange Market**

One of the biggest socio-economic challenges Nigeria is faced with presently due to Boko Haram terrorism is Unemployment. As stated before, the government’s greater fraction of the budget is devoted or invested to law enforcing agencies and security not to creation of jobs, causing unemployment even more dreadful. In addition because of Terrorism, there is a lack of FDI inflow in Nigeria since investor’s confidence is reducing, this also makes job opportunities saturated and limited.

In Nigeria, the rate of unemployment measures the number of people actively in search of jobs as a percentage of the labor force. Insecurity caused by BH in Nigeria has hindered the capacity of the industrial sector to employ youths by the continuous decline in the sector, thereby further increasing the number of people available for criminality. In 2009, over 837 factories and private shops were closed, destroyed or collapsed. Roughly half of the surviving functioning firms have been categorized as “ailing”, a condition that creates serious danger to the survival of the industrial sector in the nation in the coming years (Okafor, 2011).

Regarding one Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) survey carried out in January 2010 revealed that 837 firms were shutdown 2009. Usually, the survey covered five manufacturing communes into which the nation is parted in terms of industrial activities. The areas surveyed included; Lagos, south-south, northern, southeast and the southwest. According to the survey a 176 companies crumpled in northern region, mainly from Kaduna and Kano. Also in the southeast states of Enugu, Anambra, Abia and Imo, 178 companies stopped operating. Meanwhile the south-south, comprising of Cross River, Rivers and Akwa Ibom states, about 46 industries stopped functioning. The southwest region states of Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Ekiti, Kwara, Kogi and Osun states 225 companies crumbled. Lastly in Lagos region made up of Ikorodu, Ikeja, Apapa state, 214 manufacturing industries collapsed (Okafor, 2008;2011). Most of these industries have identified insecurity due to the emergence of Boko Haram, poor power supply, among other reasons for been the driving force behind the fall in the industrial sector. If terrorism and crime rate goes on further this figure will likely increase. All these leads to unemployment increases as labor forces will stay idle.

## **5.2. Social Impacts**

Although the economic impact of terrorism stretches from marginal to moderate, this is not the same case with social impact. The social effects can be far-reaching and more pronounced, affecting several different aspects of the society.

### **5.2.1 Educational impact**

Since Boko Haram emerged in Nigeria, the list of attacks on education system is endless. They have created terror and fear in the minds of the parents, citizens, teachers, education administrators, students and the government of the country by so

doing affecting the education system in Nigeria. So to say the education for all objectives seems to be a distant expectation.

According to Enrico Fermi an Italian theoretical physicist “it is of no good to stop knowledge from going forward, ignorance is never better than knowledge” (Brookings, 2014). This is the reverse in Nigeria because of Boko Haram insurgency. BH through their deadly attacks on students and schools aims at stopping knowledge from progressing in Nigeria and at the same time pressing Nigerians to accept that knowledge is less important to ignorance. To attain their aim, BH, has engaged in endless attacks on schools at every level – primary schools, secondary schools, polytechnics and even universities in Nigeria. It is due to education that societies attempt to upgrade and preserve the accumulated skills, attitude and knowledge in its heritage and cultural setting in order to promote continuously the welfare of mankind and assurance of its survival against the unpredictable (Nwangwu,1976).Boko Haram is against western education. This denial has huge effects on education since education is like a life wire of every country.

In general, it has noted that the insecurity created by the continuous fighting and attacks in north-eastern Nigerian states has pushed most parents to either withdraw their kids from schools or make them travel out of the town to more peaceful regions, thus disrupting these children’s education (Amnesty International, 2013). In 2013, according to records made available by the director of Secondary and Basic Education, north-eastern schools registered the least number of pupils who did apply and were admitted into secondary schools in the nation. In addition, one teacher in fear from a village in Borno state, hiding for his safety in Maiduguri, disclosed to Amnesty International that there is no chance for children in villages to pursue their education after the school was forced to close. He, said, “Children no longer attend school now. Those who were writing exams were forced to hide their uniforms in plastic bags before leaving their homes. Students from the village who attend school in Maiduguri had their school uniforms tore by insurgents. BH warned all students to stop attending western schools, but could attend Islamic schools”. A teacher from Bama primary school, grieving;

The entire town was locked down. No movement is allowed in or out. The army has banned the use of all forms of transportation even within the town. So teachers

cannot go to school; parents cannot send their children to school because you have to walk, regardless of the distance” (Amnesty International, 2013).

With its capacity to launch hits shrunken by Nigeria military, the group is redressing the battle lines by focusing more on weaker targets. The attacks on schools reaffirms the extremists' ideology which is against western institutions at the same time also providing a route of possible new recruits as terrified parents are forced to pull out their children from education. Again, Manuel Fontaine UNICEF's West and Central Africa regional director said in a report that "Schools have been targets of attack, so children are scared to go back to the classroom” (Nbs News, 2015).

It is definitely no surprise given the recent attacks by BH on the educational sector in Nigeria that children in northeast region have a more tough time enrolling and attending school. Though it baffles how a country with so much oil revenues valued at more than \$50 billion in 2012 is lacking so significantly in the establishing a secure a sound educational system or atmosphere for its population? Certainly Boko Haram activities and presence does not only obstruct the implementation of education in Nigeria, but also echoes the high rate of illiteracy and the lack of opportunity of its citizens. Nigeria has the largest number of school dropout or out-of-school youths in the world according to UNESCO. This is mainly due to the terrorists' activities (The Global Fund for Children, 2015). In 2013; Boko Haram killed about 30 teachers and destroyed or burned down 50 schools and in Nigeria, leaving thousands of children on the street and at homes unable to school (Brookings 2014). Sadly these attacks magnify the extensive challenges that the country has yet to overcome regarding its education system.

Furthermore, another factor compounds the educational challenges is the religious ideology of BH. Boko Haram goes with the meaning western education is forbidden and the group has succeeded in spreading to Muslims in Nigeria and it is obvious that the members of the group will not allow their children to attend schools; instead they encourage early marriages for the girls. Moreover, a rapidly growing population with about 11,000 births everyday will put cumulative pressure on the education sector in upcoming years (Brookings 2014). These facts are intimately tied to the country's security concerns, giving the negative feeling that many challenges in Nigeria are self-reinforcing and pushing the nation down a disastrous path. Yet offering excellent education might very well be the way to disrupt this cycle and startup movement

toward attaining positive outcomes. Although this will not be easy to achieve since the group's activities keeps multiplying on daily basis.

In 2013, Abubakar Shekau leader of Boko Haram released a video promising to carry out more attacks on schools, few days after his militants murdered 46 students in an attack on a dormitory terming western education a "plot against Islam",. In the 15-minute recording released at the Shekau weekend, he said they will continue to target schools "until our last breath".

"Teachers who teach western education, we will kill them! We will kill them in front of their students, and tell the students to henceforth study the Qur'an," he stated (The Guardian, 2013).

In April 2013, two strikes on a university campus left 16 dead and in June same year, another 16 students were shot in consecutive raids on secondary comprehensive schools in Borno and Yobe, on the night of 14–15 April 2014, 276 school girls were abducted from Chibok. Northern states in Nigeria have the highest number of school dropout rates in the country and the world in general. In Yobe capital of Damaturu at one of the checkpoints, one soldier revealed that the rate of hawking children on the streets had multiplied.

"Children stopped schooling what they do is hawk around selling boiled groundnuts and on the long cue of cars created by the stop-and-search," the soldier said. He went further by saying "We know they are paid by the Boko Haram to spy on us" (The Guardian, 2013). This is to say these children are not actually out there to sell but rather acting as spy for Boko Haram

The social effect of terrorism in Nigeria by the attacks of Boko Haram has both emblematic and ideological impact on education which aggravates the physical effects of individuals. According to Vernor Munoz (2009), a special correspondent on the right to education claims that the emblematic effect is the spreading of terror, subordination those terrified while the ideological effect is the deletion of right to education and the rejection of its purpose. The burn down of numerous schools and sexual assault against schoolgirls is a denial of women right. The outcome could downgrading of position of women in society and general abandonment of education by teachers, students and governments and as a result dilapidation of educational

instructions and infrastructure and decreasing of skills on a scale that brings set back in national development loss of trust in government.

### **5.2.2 Psychological effect**

According to National Center for Biotechnology Information (NCBI), Terrorism is meant to incite or provoke collective uncertainty and fear. This fear can expand rapidly and is not narrowed to direct victims of the event—also affected include victims and survivors ‘family members, and others exposed through broadcast or news cast images. Psychological torment is usually more dominant than the physical damages from a terrorism act. Terrorist attacks are harmful, threatening events. Substantial facts from psychological findings indicates that negative information are more remembered, closely attended, have a stronger impact on judgments and evaluations than positive information(Shavrit et al, 2005).Therefore, since terrorist attacks are incidents or events extremely negative, they can bring about changes in people’s attitudes and beliefs.

According to Gorski, the outcome of terrorist attacks and in the existence of the constant threat of new attacks, many experts believe a radical upsurge in the number of people facing severe problems with prescription, alcohol, stress-related, drugs problems and mental health. This could develop in greater than expected expenditure for additional mental health and health care facilities that can strain further an already unhealthy economy (Gorski, 2002). For example , it is very obvious that spectators and athletes and most especially psychological impacted by the BH insurgency, no one is willing to risk his or her life under the umbrella of either by going to stadiums to watching or supporting teams or partaking in sports events in Nigeria. It is very easy to cause chaos but so difficult to heal, people live with the shock or trauma inflicted by terrorism for a long term if not throughout the whole of their lives. This also causes citizens their normal lively pleasures.

Following sequences of bomb attacks in Northern part of Nigeria by Boko Haram terrorist group; medical experts articulate Nigerians countrywide might have become subjected to the psychological impacts of terrorism. Dr Idris Omede, National President of the Nigeria Medical Association (NMA), stated that though friends and relatives of victims of the terrorism are more expose to psychological effects, the

general health implication on Nigerians in the form of psychological syndromes, was further far reaching than predicted(Vanguard, 2012).

Furthermore, Dr. Richard Adebayo, Psychiatrist counselor at the Federal Neuro-Psychiatric Hospital Yaba, cited that the increase of terrorism could stimulate serious psychological impacts such as acute stress and shock reaction. As a possible solution, Adebayo advised Nigeria government to tight up or brace up in all ramifications the indirect and direct victims, the injured or survivors of terrorism, those who were nearby or present where the incident happened, those traumatized while attempting to help victims, society communities, governments and corporate bodies face psychological effects. He recounted that many Nigerians would be faced with increased level of arousal, sleeping disorders, headaches, cognitive confusion, eating problems , memory difficulties, poor concentration, nightmares or distressing dreams, intrusive images or thoughts among others(Vanguard, 2012).

Examining the psychological impact of BH insurgency without stating testimonies from direct victims will leave this thesis incomplete. From the beginning, the proof describing Boko Haram as a fear/terror motivator among its direct victims derives from personal testimony of terrific experiences, which they went through. To show this burning trauma, anxiety and fear that had troubled Nigerian, stories of horror recounted by some BH's victims mostly from Northerner states as cited by Agbedo et al (2013) reported by the Compass newspaper here below:

“On the 4th of November 2011 when Boko Haram attacked us, it was like the end had come for Christians in this community. Bullets were fired haphazardly into our houses. My family and I locked ourselves in my house. Bullets were falling on our rooftops like ice blocks. The trauma my 10-year-old son had as a result of the loud sounds from explosions and guns has not left him, as he has refused to eat ever since the attack”... Rev. Idris Garba (Daily trust, 2011).

“It was disastrous. Wallahi, I thought it was the end of the hour because I have never heard such a disturbing explosion before... My heart kept thumping each time there was an explosion...an elder of Cherubim and Seraphim church stated.”

“I went to out buy a ram for the Sallah festivity when a friend murmured into my ears that the town had been occupied by Boko Haram. Before I could know it, my wife had called me and warned me not to come home and that I should stay wherever

I was and. I was obliged to enter the bush crawling like an animal, and each time I heard the sound of bomb blast my heart to jump. It was dreadful!”... Yakubu

Terrorism Survivor Uche, also narrated her story following the 25, December 2011 bombing “My husband got operated four times and was hospitalized for almost two months, because he had shrapnel lodged in his legs and arms. My son who was barely one and a half year old at that time was traumatized. He is getting to four years old presently, yet even today, if he sees a plane or helicopter, he will scream, “Bomb!”

“I helped a policeman escape by giving him my clothes”. “I saw a lot of them (policemen) naked, crawling on their stomachs like reptiles some were climbing trees; there were many of them without their uniforms in our hiding place. What I saw was terrible. I pray it would never to experience this again... Bulama

Laurent Duvillier UNICEF's spokesman for Central and West Africa confessed on NBC News that

Children are being hunted by BH fighters from village to village, he also stated. "They've seen with their own eyes at times their brothers and their sisters snatched away, parents killed, ... Many of these children cannot speak, eat or sleep normally again because they are seriously affected by what they've seen with their naked eyes"(NBC New,2015)

Boko Haram strategies also include Kidnapping and Rape .The group uses both methods as weapons of war on its victims. On April 15, 2014, BH raided a Chibok, Borno government girls’ school where they kidnapped about 250 female students. Apart from just kidnapping, some of the kidnapped women are being sexually assaulted and in some cases, BH’s foot soldiers married some of these girls forcefully to quench their sexual desires. The high rate of rape around villages close to Sambia forest has caused some women to flee their residence to neighboring countries like Cameroon, Chad republic and Niger(Research Gate, 2015). According to Harwood’s (2004) study, Perpetrators and Motivation: ‘Understanding Sexual violence and Rape in War’, he sees rape and sexual violence as a tool of war or conflict in order to intimidate, punish, destabilize and to push away people from their home land. This is exactly the scenario in the northeast part of Nigeria where BH

militants dominate. Leaning & Gingerich (2005) opined that Rape implants fear in women and deters them from free movement during conflict.

Dialogues in northeast Nigeria with psychosocial counselors confirmed general sexual violence against girls and women held by BH. A counselor testified that a girl who succeeded to escape recounted how Boko Haram troops sexually abuse her, saying to her 'you are the kind of girls we like'. One more interviewee told Office Of The High Commissioner For Human Rights (OHCHR) that she witnessed the extremist fighters rape of girl as young as 15(OHCHR, 2015). According to Rape Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN), Sexual violence or rape can have physical, psychological and emotional effects on survivors. It is always not easy to do away with these effects.

### **5.2.3 Dislocation of population**

State terrorism, ethnic conflict and wars cause many individuals to flee their homes in order to seek refuge in a safer region, be it within the state, neighboring country or even overseas (Human Rights World Wide, 2006).

According to the report from UN children agency, UNICEF, BH's Islamic insurgency has forced 1.4 million children to flee in within Nigeria and neighboring countries in 2015. BH has been pursuing for its goal of creating an Islamist state in the northeast of Nigeria since 2009 that has displaced about 2.1 million people, majority of whom are children .“In northern state of Nigeria only, close to 1.2 million children - over half of them under the age of 5 years - have been obliged to flee their homes,” UNICEF stated, also added that an extra 265,000 children have also been displaced in Chad Cameroon and Niger.

A vast portion of northeastern Nigeria was controlled by BH in early 2015 but was hard-pressed out by Nigerian militants with the support of Chad, Niger and Cameroon. The most internally displaced persons (IDPs), are in host communities or camps in the capital Maiduguri, Borno state, the place of origin of the insurgency. Although the Nigerian army has freed some towns held by Boko Haram, the IDPs are hesitant to return home (the guardians, 2015).

Furthermore, Christians living in the north where majority there are Muslims have continuously being on the run to the Eastern region of Nigeria where Christians make up most of the population. From January 2012 to June 2015, over 5,000 Christians

were murdered by BH extremist and the hostility shows no signs of giving up. According to Christian Solidarity international (CSI), thousands of Christians have abandoned their homes in the north of Nigeria for safer areas, mostly to Enugu, in the southeast a Christian-majority zone. “Lots of refugees we have come in contact with ran for their lives as Boko Haram was attacking, leaving behind everything but their children and their clothes they wore” It states. This comes as no surprise because the group is a Muslim group and is against the western culture, Christianity to them is a western religion.

Moreover, UNHCR reported in January 2016 that the conflict in Nigeria has pushed over 220,000 people to seek refuge in neighboring countries since 2013, counting 138,300 in Niger (Nigerians and Nigerian). Above 2.2 million people are also displaced internally, largely in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. In Niger, insurgent attacks have displaced an approximately 50,000 people inside the nation, but this figure is now likely to increase as BH attacks still prevail (UNHCR, 2016). Tens of thousands are suffering from severe malnutrition and starvation some of their refugee camps have been acutely affected by cholera (bbc, 2015).

#### **5.2.4 Loss of lives and properties**

Almost every terrorist attacks leads to damage of properties and loss of lives. In the year 2014, 32,658 people were killed due to terrorism according to the Institute of Economics and Peace report. The institute released this Global Terrorism Index with complete evaluation of terrorism activities in 162 countries. The Islamic State (ISIL) and Boko Haram accounted for 51% of total terrorism deaths. BH edged out ISIL slightly for the hateful title of the world’s deadliest terror group, having openly taken responsibility for a few hundred more casualties (Daily mail, 2015)

Boko Haram directed its attacks principally on government officials and security forces, its campaign has expended to attacks on critical Muslim clerics, traditional leaders, Christians, suspected collaborators, bars, UN offices and schools. BH’s terrorism campaign ranges from targeting health workers involved in polio vaccination to students at state(secular)schools(Mantzikoz, 2014). So below points will be pointing out most prominent attacks carried out by Boko Haram from 2003 to September 2015 in chronological order and the number of lives and property loss will be clearly seen;

- 23 to 31 December 2003, 200 gunmen raided the towns of Geidam and Kanamma (Yobe State) in which Police vehicles and weapons were seized, BH fighters and Police were killed in the counter-attack.
- In June 2014, BH tried to prison break of its arrested members in the capital of Yobe (Damaturu). Three months later, BH attacked police patrols and stations in Bama and Gwoza, in this attacks, six people were killed (four policemen and two civilians). BH lost 28 of its members while others fled across the border to Cameroon.
- As from July 26-30 in 2009, BH attacked police stations in Maiduguri and Bauchi towns. In this attack and other attacks 22 BH militants, at least 50 civilians, one prison officer and two police officers were killed. The government later ordered the military to help the local police and at the end of the day 800 and above people were killed, of which most of those killed were civilians and not members of the BH, so many other members of the group were arrested and this included the leader at that time, Mohammed Yusuf and he was executed on 30 July (Daily Trust, 2012).
- On September 5, 2010, a retired cop Zannah Kyari was killed by Boko Haram members riding on motorcycles; another village was shooting in the leg, and then abandoned the victim to death (Daily Trust, 2012).
- September 21, 2010, in Maiduguri BH members on motorcycle killed a trader and local chief
- On October 6, 2010 Gunmen riding motorcycles fired the house of the speaker of the Borno State house of assembly Ali Modu's house killing one police, meanwhile Awana Ali Angala, the national vice-chairman of the Nigerian People Party (ANPP) was killed in his Maiduguri residence. Similar attack took place on the next day where Mamman Zannah, a senior staff of Bama local council was killed by men suspected to belong to BH group. Still in this sad light, two days later, an Islamic scholar Mustapha Sheik Bashir was killed in his home while a Wahhabi figure, Bashir Kashara was also assassinated in separated attacks (Mantzikos, 2014).
- December 4, 2010 Members of Islamism sect (BH) clashed with Nigerian army on where two of BH members and three civilians died.
- On the 29 of December 2010, police patrol team suffered attack from Islamic group Boko Haram in Maiduguri, about 8 persons were killed and eight others

wounded. Same day, HB launched a bomb at a relaxation spot in Abuja and four people were killed. (Mantzikos, 2014)

- On January 19, 2011, a police constable Amos Tangurda, linked to COCIN church, left the watch man with injuries. Ten days later deeper life Christian church pastor was also killed including three of his neighbors (Mantzikos, 2014).
- BH on March 7, 2011 killed more than 200 people including Women, men and children in an attack of villages of Zot, Tatsat and Dogo Nachawa (Mantzikos, 2014).
- April 2011, there were two bomb explosions at two polling stations in the town of Maiduguri, not less than ten people were injured at Unguwar Doki polling centre, and meanwhile six casualties were registered at the Independent National Coalition polling centre (Reuters, 2011).
- 26 August 2011 the UN building in Abuja. 76 people wounded, U.N. officials said (Reuters, 2011). This goes to reiterate the group's hatred for westernization and this also helped the group in gaining international recognition.
- December 22-23, 2011, gunshots and explosions in Maiduguri, Potiskun and Damaturu. Military sources in Maiduguri claimed Boko Haram attacked JTF operatives in not less than six places within an hour. This continued for four days, and it registered at least 10,000 internally displaced persons and unconfirmed number of members killed (Trust, 2012).
- On the 25 of December 2011, there were several attacks against Churches and Christian worshippers all over Nigeria these included St Theresa's Church in Madalla, close to Abuja and killed 35 (BBC, 2011). There is no surprise BH attacking churches and most significantly on the Christians feast day of Christmas where celebrations were going on.

These attacks by Boko Haram throughout the year of 2011 pushed President Good Luck Jonathan to declare a state of emergency on the 31st of December 2011, in Borni, Niger, Plateau and Yobe States and also ordered that borders to Niger and Chad be closed. He further directed ranked security officials to step up counter-terrorism unit to combat the threat growing from Boko Haram (The Telegraph, 2011). Nevertheless the attacks continued as early January the next year (2012)

- On January 17, 2012, two soldiers and four attackers were killed in Maiduguri on a military check point. BH was suspected for this attack. An army outpost in Borno state was also attacked by BH killing two people (Mantzikos, 2014).
- On 26, April 2012, Boko Haram suicide attacked the Nigerian newspaper office in Abuja (This Day) and four people were killed, similar attack was suffered by this same newspaper office in Kaduna same day .The bomber was identified as Umaru, from Borno state, and precisely from Maiduguri in the base of Boko Haram. According to the SSS and witnesses , at around 11 a.m. (1000 GMT) the Mustapha drove into the daily's office in a jeep, exploding himself and two others .This Day magazine has its holds in southern Nigeria and was largely supportive of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration-one of the main Boko Haram's target (Reuter, 2012).
- On February 13, 2013, Boko Haram kidnapped a French family of seven from Northern Cameroon were and taken to Nigeria. The family was released after two months in exchange for a \$3 million ransom after secrete negotiations between the Cameroon Government and the Group. Although the French president François Hollande has denied that a ransom had been paid. The kidnappings marked the very first time Westerners were taken captive in the Nigeria (BBC, 2013).
- On 29 September 2013, the Collage of Agriculture in Gujba, about 30 kilometers from Damaturu's capital of Yobe suffered BH militant's gunshots in its dormitory, which led to the death of forty students ,Lazarus Eli, area military spokesman confirmed. The Nigerian military described the attacks in schools as a sign of nervousness by Boko Haram, the military claimed they group have the capability to hit only soft targets (Capital, 2013).
- On April 15, 2014 about 200 female students were kidnapped from their dormitories by BH in Chibok. The kidnapping and the May 7 attack that led to the death of about 300 villagers in Gambarou-Ngala saw Boko Haram made headlines on international media for the very first time (Vanguard [Lagos], 2014).
- On 7 May 2014, 300 villagers killed by Boko Haram militants in Gamboru Ngala a village near Cameroon-Armed with RPGs and AK-47s, the fighters raided the town on two reinforced personnel carriers, retrieved from the

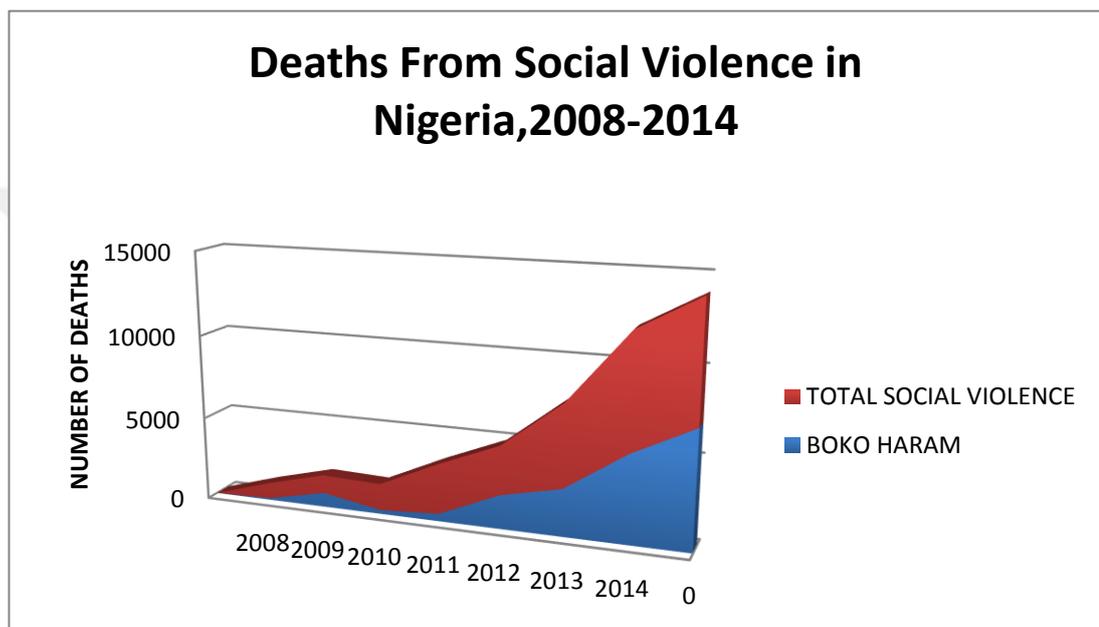
Nigerian military some months ago, pick-up trucks and motorcycles. The attack happened in the night when residents were still asleep. The militants set homes ablaze and the militants gunned down all residents who tried escaping from the fire (The Huffington Post, 2014)

- On January 2, 2015, 11 people were killed and six others were injured in Waza Cameroon border to Northeast Nigeria- Boko Haram militants opened fire on a bus. Residents said. The Islamist increasingly engaged attacks out of Nigeria, targeting civilians and Cameroonian military forces. Mijiyawa Bakary regional governor in Far North Region Cameroon confirmed the group killed at least 23 people in an assault in the Mozogo district (CNN, 2015). More attacks in Cameroon could symbolize the Nigeria militants are dominating in the fight against Boko Haram forcing the group to move out to neighboring countries.
- On February 2, 2015, there was a blast in Gombe near Pantami International Stadium, less than five minutes after President Jonathan had left the stadium where was campaigning for his re-election bid. A female Boko Haram fighter is said to have masterminded the attack which left eighteen injured and at least one person death (This Day, 2015). The main target here could be said to be the president and this caused more tension in the elections which was due to be held few months later.
- On September 6, not less than 881 people were killed; also 376 others were injured during attacks carried out by the Boko Haram militants. According to Daily Trust, among the death were 841 civilians and 40 insurgents, the suicide bombers included. This attacks happened in six states namely in six states of Plateau, Borno, Gombe, Yobe Kaduna and Kano. Within the past 100 days (Daily Trust, 2015).

There are many attacks attributed to Boko Haram but the above listed are those the group has admitted to be responsible for .Although they have claimed responsibility for more than the listed, for the purpose of this thesis, just those above was deemed relevant as it demonstrates how the group has been involved in all sorts of violence or acts, from kidnapping to massacres and crossing the boundary to other countries.

Institute of Economics and Peace report ranks the level of terrorism in 162 countries - representing 99.5% of the world's population - by measuring the number of attacks,

injuries, deaths and property damage as a result of terror attacks. Most of the deaths in 2014 (and every year) are in the Middle East and Africa. Nigeria, Afghanistan Iraq, Syria and Pakistan together account for three-quarters of the overall. Western countries have grieved of fewer than 3% of deaths in the past one and a half decade. According to the Institute for Economics and Peace Boko Haram accounted for more than 6,600 deaths (excluding military targets). That is more than any other terrorist group in the world.



**Figure 5.2:** Number of deaths recorded in Nigeria between 2008 and 2014 from social violence

**Source:** Figure and data adopted from SAIS African Studies Program.

The above chart explains the number of casualties attributable to BH has been escalating over year after year, but this rise has been exceptionally sharp in recent years. The data shows that about 100 people died in attacks related to Boko Haram in 2008 that was the last death recorded since the creation of the group as compared to the previous year which was less than 1,900. These deaths account for above a quarter of all the registered deaths in the previous 15 years in Nigeria. More than 5,000 people died in 2014 making it the deadliest year of social violence and Boko Haram extremist. This numbers has kept on increasing since 2013.



## **6 FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION**

### **6.1 Findings**

This thesis reveals that key factors which contributed to the rise of BH to a top terrorist group includes; the struggle for Political leadership, misconception of religion, disparity between the North and South region, Lack of Civil Liberties and Injustice and Poverty. Campbell (2013) cites reasons why youths could be attracted to join Boko Haram:

- ❖ Governmental and Inter-religious violence: The historical background between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria
- ❖ Kinship: Some Nigerians in the north, some politicians may unite with BH members if they are related to them.
- ❖ Financial inducements: Some followers are paid to assassinate security agents or government officials and attack police stations and army barracks. Some rob banks; steal motor bikes, live stocks and cars for Boko Haram.

Furthermore, struggle of power between the North and South can also be aligned as another strong reason for the group's extremist activities. The northerners have the feeling they have been betrayed by the Southerners giving the agreement within the People's Democratic Party (PDP) termed 'zoning'. The umbrella of this agreement was that power was supposed to alternate between the South and North, but the death of Umaru Yar'Adua (from the North) a former President put the agreement in jumble, not only did his then vice president Goodluck Jonathan a southerner in 2011 contested and won the election.

In addition, the injustice showed to the former Boko Haram leader yusuf also triggered violence as he we murdered under police custody without any trail. One

could see this as the key issue behind the actions of this group because it was after the death of Yusuf that they started most of the killings. Injustice is even seen in the corrupt nature of the rulers as the nation has always been in the top ten ranking of world most corrupt nations, leaving the masses in abject poverty. Moreover, Religious motives also play a role in the rise of Boko Haram.

Also, the uneven distribution of wealth between the north and south is another issue, the northern state are poor in every aspect including; infrastructures, roads, school, health care facilities, among others while the South is well developed with a sound educational system, no doubt most lucrative jobs in Nigeria are given to Southerners.

The terrorist group has caused many death, dislocation of families, destroyed many facilities, offices, school, hospitals and many other infrastructures and has impacted the unemployment rate to an increase in the country, it has and has left victims with psychological effects that will take year for them to get over it and even more decades to rebuild the destroyed properties and soils for farming due to numerous bombing to be good again for cultivation.

On the other hand, the media plays a very big impact in this conflict, there are so many exaggerations on the media about the group, although the group has carried out some activities which calls for global attention such as the bombing of the UN compound in Abuja and the abduction of about 300 girls in Chibok, yet a single attack a local village is painted as the whole nation is on fire, by so doing creating tension in the country and scaring away investors. At least 95% of the group's attacks have been solely in the north. In Lagos, there are still areas where BH is virtually unknown. Julian Hardy a car dealer in his new car showroom proudly shows to potential customers his top-selling car model, the "Porsche Cayenne S". They each cost above 100,000 euros and the German motor manufacturer began selling these cars in Lagos in March 2012. According to Julian Hardy BH hasn't had any effect on business at all. "I intend to sell 55 Porsches this year, double the number next year, and between 200 and 300 the year after and beyond," he said(DW, 2012).

It should also be noted that despite the BH violence in Nigeria since 2003, it has not thoroughly upset the GDP negatively. It should be retained that Nigeria surpassed South Africa as the largest economy in Africa after it renovated its GDP data for the very first time in more than two decades. Regarding the Nigeria's statistics bureau figures, the country's GDP stood at \$503bn in 2013 – almost double the previous estimates and well placed ahead of South Africa at around \$350bn (Nigeria's statistics bureau).

Many will be worried why political impacts are not motioned in this thesis. That is because the activities of the group have had little or no serious impact on the political functioning of the nation. The point where many expected the group will act most in the political sense was during the 2015 presidential elections, instead everything went well and peaceful with minor complains recorded.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

Boko Haram has been able to gain power and control over the northeastern segment of Nigeria, where the army and police have actually lost control. Boko Haram has absolutely been able to extract discontent youths in northern Muslims, who have not been content with the implementation of Shari'a since the year 2000. Transition of BH into the use of suicide bombers indicates that the group may have links with other Salafi-jihadi groups, either al-Shabab or AQIM, both use this approach. It is however interesting that no major or particular ideological statement can be associated with BH.

It can be said that Boko Haram activities cause a serious menace to the progress of Nigeria. Apart from the socioeconomic impacts, the thousands of lives loss are of great concern to every Nigerian. Every individual is responsible for security in a nation and not limited solely to the government. Although some Nigerians will ridicule at the idea of the dialogue and ceasefire with Boko Haram leader but they should not forget that it was due to massive concessions and dialogue initiated by Umaru Musa Yar'Adua a former President that brought the Niger Delta insurgency to end. There might be some Boko Haram leadership members who will vow to continue perpetuating violence. But they should have in mind that just fighting and

killing, without some achievable objectives, is waste of time and energy. Truly what everyone sees as objective of the group is the spreading of Sharia law throughout the northern states or creating a Sharia state in Northern Nigeria, yet they kill Muslims, not only Christians .Sharia is supposed to be a Muslim culture, yet Muslims who do not welcome BH are killed this make so their ideology or motive is quite confusing. Besides they say they are against western culture and educational system, yet they use cars, walking-talking, media, guns and other western created instruments or tools. There may as well be some individuals in the government who might feel government is submitting to a terrorist organization. The truth is that the government is actually failing in this war against Boko Haram and the government shows no competence to win it even in the long run, it's been over 2 years now since the Chibok girls were kidnapped and their whereabouts is yet to be known, as a fact, judging by its present temperament, it is time to unite on this, and not squander it away in a battle that is fast taking its toll on it.

According to Olojo (2013) one important factor that has enthused the move towards violent extremism; support and recruitment for BH are economic deficiency. Different scholars hold the opinion that lost-lasting economic disparities and poverty in the northeast part of Nigeria persuaded the youths to join the group. Moreover, unemployment rate in the nation has continuously been on an increase ride despite the ample available natural and human resources in Nigeria. Unemployment has is perceived as a key problem perturbing the lives of the Nigerians and this creates menace the country.

Thousands been displaced because of persisted confrontations from the terrified Boko Haram.It is time for the government to wake up from its laziness and act to put an end to the insurgency once and for all. Nigeria cannot afford to continue losing its citizens on a day-to-day basis from coordinated bombings of BH. It is time to put a stop to terrorism in Nigeria so that every Nigerian can live freely in any part or state in the country without the distress or panic of being harassed by anybody or group of persons. Above all, the time has come for all Nigerians, especially those great influence and respected by the people with impeccable integrity, leaders and the ulama(a body of religious leader or Muslim scholars)to come in between Boko Haram insurgency and the government help in a ceasefire measure.

Finally, this study was based on qualitative research on the root causes of Boko Haram insurgency and the impact on the socioeconomic situations of Nigeria. Therefore, a quantitative research method is needed for further study to examine the actions taken by the Nigeria government, regional and international organizations in putting an end to this insurgence rifting Nigeria and neighboring countries apart.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The government of Nigeria needs to initiate severe policies that involve Political and socio-economy situation in the country.

First of all, regarding governance, Nigeria needs to construct a robust political institution that will be answerable to the need of people. It will be recommended that Nigeria shift from formal to real democratic institutions just as in the western countries like France, England, Germany and others where basic general needs of its populace such as creating jobs/employment, a rational sense of regional evenness in reality and free education .The reality is that Nigeria has the financial resources necessary to make this work because the country is gifted with natural resources. Nevertheless, as a requirement to attain success in all these, the government has to be financially transparent and also to severely punish all corrupt persons. By so doing, this will develop trust between the public and the governments.

Furthermore there is a crucial need to execute a regional development plan of say 4-9 years. It should focus mainly on the creation of employment since it has been spotted that low rates of employment have misled and lured youths to BH. Actually creation of job will trim down the abnormal poverty rate in northeast Nigerian.

However, it is very essential to implement a tactics in order to nurture Northern Nigeria children and youths to go back to school and this should be “western education” because everyone who have been through this educational system knows the value of it, without this it will be tough for them to get employment and this will further stretch the disparity between the south and north as the southerners see no problem with western education and are they make up majority employed in the country .Education is a necessity in life. Thus, the government needs to launch a wide sensitization campaign to enlighten the public on the importance of “western”

education. Before that there need to be some peace in these areas so that this campaign will not be interrupted .Main targets should be parents because they can easily influence their children to school.

The government should at least identify the sponsors of Boko Haram and hunt them down, especially since the former president Goodluck Jonathan clearly stated that some members for the government are sponsors of the group, yet couldn't bring out those suspensors. More needs to be done to bring down these individuals.

Moreover, Nigeria needs to reinforce its borders by putting in place more security men on guard so as to control and check on weapons transportation into the country and also stop recruitment and resourceful room for any act of terrorism. Also, local and regional governments need to collaborate with their communities and religious heads so as to bring in reports of any suspected terrorism case. Thus the population needs to be sensitized concerning the harms of radicalism. Meanwhile, at the international stage, Nigeria needs to collaborate with member states of Gulf of Guinea Commission and its neighboring nations to communicate necessary information about any suspected uprising or security danger since an attack or threat to one may be a menace to the others.

Besides, the government should start up a dialogue network in order to know what the main grievances of the group are and see how to negotiate with them.

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