
TERRORISM AND BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A PROGNOSIS

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Abstract: Since the emergence of the nascent democracy in 1999, the contemporary Nigeria Society has been engulfed by terrible acts of terrorism. The Country which had hitherto been one of the most relatively peaceful in Africa has been deeply enmeshed and suffused in political and ethno-religious conflicts characterized by genocidal attacks, bombing, maiming and killings of several persons, loss of business investments, and properties worth several billions of naira. These acts of terrorism have seriously caused untold hardship to the Nigerian populace. Terrorism has been a global menace which affects economic, political and social status of the country experiencing it. Since the inception of the president Goodluck Jonathan Political regime, Boko Haram has been disrupting and destabilizing government activities mainly in Northern Nigeria. The political implication of terrorism has been deadly in Nigerian democratic governance. The challenges of terrorism and insecurity have been traumatizing president Goodluck Jonathan's administration in Nigeria while many political gladiators hide under the Siege of Boko Haram insurgency in terrorizing existing political regime in Nigeria which makes it difficult to actualize governmental policies and programmes in Nigeria. It would seem that democracy has increased the culture of impunity in some people while political differences are believed to have fueled some of the violence that have erupted. The discourse of the argument put forward in this paper is that contemporary terrorism in Nigeria is a product of prolonged failure of the Nigerian state to show characteristics or fulfill the purposes accepted as normal or beneficial to the totality of her citizens. The thrust decimal of flawed political and ethno-religious conflicts with a view to pinpointing its nature, causes and proffering solutions for Nigeria's democracy to thrive.

Key words: Terrorism, Boko Haram, Relative Deprivation, Corruption, State Neglect, Democracy.

Reference to this paper should be made as follows: Moses .M. Adagbabiri, & Ugo .C. Okolie (2017), Terrorism and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A Prognosis. *J. of Social Sciences and Public Policy*, Vol. 9, Number 3, Pp. 45-60

INTRODUCTION

More than anything else, the greatest obstacle to the nascent democracy is the pervasive insecurity of lives and property, as evidenced by the spate of armed robbery attacks, assassinations, ethnic and religious conflicts, coupled with the seeming helplessness of security agencies to handle criminal acts (Ojo, 2010). The situation is worsened by the increasing number of unemployed Nigerians some of whom are ready recruits for criminal activities (Nigerian Tribune, 2002). The contemporary Nigeria has become a theatre of genocide, bloodshed and insecurity over the past five years to the carnage activities of terrorist groups. Terrorists of various groups and camps unleash havoc on the Nigerian populace. Though these groups are numerous, the most noticeable and deadly are the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram sect. Terrorism which has become a global phenomenon is a deliberate and systematic use of violence to destroy, kill, maim and intimidate the innocent in order to achieve a goal or draw national/international attention or demands which ordinarily may be impossible or difficult to achieve under normal political negotiation or on the battle field against a government army. Terrorism whether internationalized or localized is always politically motivated (Chukwurah, Eme and Ogbeje, 2015).

Though, it may also show other auxiliary motives include religion, economic or social reasons. These motives constitute the ideology of a case for which terrorism seeks solution or sympathy of all terrorist groups that have ravaged Nigeria. The Boko Haram is undoubtedly the most blood thirsty and destructive both in terms of its demonic brutality, mindless savagery and increasingly in scope of operations (Akpan et al., 2012). There is a conflicting body of literature over the horrible acts of these terrorist groups both in print and electronic media (official and private) facts about the horrendous acts of terrorism by these terrorist groups are constantly being

manipulated. The public is therefore left to wallow in confusion thus creating more frustration, fear and despair. This disparate information about the damaging effects of terrorism creates more tension and makes efforts to combat it practically impossible. In most cases identified sponsors are left unapprehended due to their position or status in the society. How then do we tackle this menace? The distortion of information about the negative effects of these acts of terrorism further indicate that planning for ways of rehabilitating the victims or their families will be an impossible task (Zumve, Ingyoroko and Akuva, 2013). "The Boko Haram group was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in the City of Maiduguri with the aim of establishing a sharia government in Borno State under a religious complex that included a mosque and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria and from neighboring countries enrolled their children". From the beginning, the group made its manifest known: Rejection of Western education, institutions, and agencies that go with it, including government institutions. It prefer to have a sharia law applied all over the country, but if that is difficult to grant, they would rather have a separate Islamic State Carved out of Nigeria, where they can practice their religion unhindered. If this is not granted Nigeria will be made ungovernable (Innocent & Ibietan, 2013). Government saw these demand as treasonable, unreasonable and unacceptable and in an attempt to purge the group of its excesses their leader Mohammed Yusuf died in 2009 from that year onwards under the assumption of a new leader named Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram reinvented violence and began what can best be described as the bombardment of the Northern Nigeria with such frequency and intensity that are quite unprecedented in history of violence in Nigeria. Those who escape death by day, sleep with one eye open by night. The summary of this discourse is that economic deprivation, marginalization, frustration, poverty, and desperation experienced by the greater population of Nigerians is the underlying cause of terrorism in contemporary Nigeria. It is against this background that this paper discusses the effects of terrorism and Boko-Haram insurgency on democratic governance in Nigeria.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Terrorism is not unique to the modern era, the terms "terrorists" date back to the eighteenth Century (Lacquer, 1987), prior to the 1960s, most terrorist activity was localized. It was either confined within a specific geographical

jurisdiction or limited to certain regions. However, the rapid advances in transportation and communication technology associated with globalization have brought about a shift in the nature and scale of the terrorist threat. The age of modern terrorism might be said to have begun in 1968 when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an EISA airliner en-route from Tel Aviv to Rome. The largest act of international terrorism occurred on September 11th, 2001 in a set of co-ordinated attacks on the United States of America where Islamic terrorists hijacked civilian airliners and used them to attack the World Trade Centre Towers in New York City and the pentagon in Washington DC. Other terrorist attacks have also occurred in New Delhi (Indian Parliament attacked), Bali car bomb attack, London Subway bombings, Madrid train bombings, Mumbai hotels attacks etc. terrorism has been described variously as both a tactic and as strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression an inexcusable abomination (Zumve, Inyoroko & Akuva, 2013). Terrorism is a complex issue that has been studied and debated for several decades. In fact, there are dozens of competing definitions of the term, not only among scholars but among policy makers and government agencies as well. But one thing holds constant terrorist attacks do not occur in vacuum, but are instead a product of complex interactions between individuals, organizations, and environments (Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje, 2015). Obviously, a lot depends on whose point of view is being represented. Moreover, there are many different kinds of terrorism, defined primarily by ideological orientations like ethno-nationalism, left-wing, religious, and so forth. And just like there are many different kinds of terrorism, there are many different kinds of contexts in which terrorism occurs (Forest, 2012). Terrorism is increasingly understood as a political act meant to inflict dramatic and deadly injury on civilians and to create an atmosphere of acute fear and despair (generally for a political or ideological, whether secular or religious, purpose), but the term is notoriously difficult to define. The use of violence to create fear, often through the targeting of third parties and with the elements of surprise and the undermining of very personal security, is a tool used by a variety of historical and contemporary actors (Large, 2005). Wilkinson (2006) suggests that terrorism can be distinguished from other forms of violence in the following way:

- It is premeditated and designed to create a climate of extreme fear;
- It is directed at a wider target than the immediate victims;

- It is considered by the society in which it occurs as 'extra-normal', that is, it violates the norms regulating disputes, protest and dissent;
- It is used primarily, though not exclusively to influence the political behavior of governments, communities or specific social groups.

Wilkinson further provides typologies of terrorists movements or groups: Ethno-nationalist groups, that is, those identified by ethnicity and political motivation; ideological terrorist groups this includes terrorist groups that want to create a state based on an ideology (e.g A Communist State); the other categories are the religious-political groups such as the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria, which aims to create an Islamic Republic (Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva, 2013). The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate Governments or Societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological. Within this definition, there are three key elements-violence, fear, and intimidation- and each element produces terror in its victims. Terrorism is a special crime associated with violent, victimization, threatening, frightening and disruption of socio-political atmosphere in a particular society. It is an act of bombing, killing, kidnapping, maiming and destruction thereby creating socio-political tension, extremely fear, and destabilizing existing government or political opposition. It implies deadly attack on government agency and functionary, international organization, military and civilian in order to gain international recognition (Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje, 2015). Terrorism in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence or, equally important, the threat of violence used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political ends. Terrorism may be viewed as a method of violence in which civilians are targeted with the objective of forcing a perceived enemy into submission by creating fear, demoralization and political friction in the population under attack (Schmid & Jongman, 2005). The U.S. Department of State defines "Terrorism as "Premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influences an audience (Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva, 2013). Terrorism is a failure of political process that begins with in-equalities,

corruption and injustice in a given political system, and moves from a frustrated attempt at reform that breed fear and anger, to political confrontation and conspicuously erupted into violence. This can be exploited to rationalize the use of any form of violence against any target. It seems that solutions to terrorism could be found at any stage of the evolving, or deteriorating political and social processes (Dempsey 2006 cited in Isyaku, 2013). The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined terrorism as involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnaping (Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje, 2015).

The British Government (1974) uses this: Terrorism is "the unlawful use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public, or other harmful acts. Terrorism is the use of violence and intimidation to achieve political ends. Terrorist want to change the way governments and politicians behave. They do not do this by voting or by trying to convince people of their arguments. They do it by frightening people into behaving the way the terrorists want (BBC, Monday July 11, 2015). Terrorism in Nigeria is the ultimate prices that we (as a society) face for producing a colony of depraved, deprived and frustrated youths as a consequence of official corruption and a dysfunctional Nigerian State. Terrorism and corruption are similar in the damage they do to our people and society; one kills immediately while the other kills by perpetuating poverty and committing ethical genocide for generations to come (Farouk, 2012).

Theoretical Exposition

In this paper, system theory and relative deprivation theory shall be adopted as the framework of analysis. The system analysis of the political system popularized by David Easton tis adopted as a theoretical approach underpinning the study. The system theory is an analogy that if all the parts are working effectively the overall objectives can be achieved. A system can be open or closed. Nigeria is an open system. A key feature of open systems is their interdependence on the environment which may be relatively stable or relative uncertain at a particular point in time. This feature is of

considerable importance to political and economic system which needs to adapt to the changing environment if they are to flourish. Nigeria needs the Northern economy to achieve her economic objectives. The focus of the approach is on the analysis of factors and forces that engender stability and instability in the political system strengthens its relevance to explaining the deep linkage between the dysfunctionality in governance and the challenges of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Nigeria. The political system within the Eastonian framework is an input and out-put mechanism which deals with political decisions and activities and performs integrative and adaptive functions relevant to the transformation of the society (Johari, 2011). Moreover, the mix of the environment, citizens' demand and support (inputs), and the policy output from the system are core factors that affect the structures and processes involve in the authoritative allocation of values and are thus fundamental to the stability and survival of the political system (Johari, 2011). The centrality of citizen's demand and support (inputs) and policy output to the failure of democratic governance in Nigeria and the attending social tensions and security threats it provokes is the major concern of the study. The inputs in the political system according to Easton consist of citizen's demands on the policy and the support they extend to the system. Supposedly, inputs in this context refer to those demand made by the Boko Haram.

Demands made upon the political system by the political elites and leadership is within inputs. Meanwhile, supports entail the structures that enable the political system to manage demands output related to those demands that are converted into authoritative policies and decisions. Importantly, obtaining a balance these critical variables of the political system is germane to its capacity to overcome inevitable challenges pose by the various forces from within, as well as the maintenance of stability and survival of the polity. Conversely, the inability of the political system to address critical demands from the Boko Haram, or respond positively to important feedback from its policy outputs have the capacity to undermine support for it.

Moreover, intra-elite conflicts regarding policy articulation or allocation of scarce resources, preference for elites demands and inability of the structures and institutions of the system to manage citizens' demands equitably can engender popular distrust instability and stresses of the political system

(Johari, 2011). The political leadership is characterized by blatant personalization of power, predatory, prebendal and patrimonial dispositions (Jega, 2007). These ills no doubt undermine popular participation and the critical role of the masses in setting the political elites in setting, shaping and articulating governmental policies at the expense of the general interest of the populace erodes public support in democratic governance with representing the interest of the ruling elites (Olaniyi, 2001). The fact that in most cases the outcome of the elitist imposed policies consist of widespread unemployment, corruption and poverty tend to worsen the peoples' sense of alienation and frustration in the political system, which often translate into disobedience of the state on the resort to violence as a means to challenge the legitimacy of the state. This explains in part the Boko Haram militancy in the North. It is within this context that the worsening social tensions, economic inequality, poverty and increased spate of insecurity in the country since Jonathan's administration. Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them (Davis, 2011). Some scholars of social movements explain their rise by citing grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as 'values' to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behavior when means do not match their goals. Relative deprivation theories holds that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieve welfare leads men to violence (Claire, 2011). Claire went further to provide a psychological approach to explain how collective discontent is manifested in violence.

According to him, the primary source of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration aggression mechanism. The anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities. In the words of Omer Taspinar (2012), Relative deprivation is the gap between high expectations and missing opportunities. To him, social, cultural, political and economic awareness grows at the heart of relative deprivation and this in turn fuels expectations. When these expectations are not forth coming, the deprived could resort to violence to seek redress. All the views expressed boils down to the major thrust of the relative deprivation theory which holds that 'when people are deprived of

things which they deem valuable in the society whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the aim of redressing their grievance'. When applied to the Boko Haram insurgency in the north, we submit that the loss of a spiritual leader in the person of Mohammed Yusuf deprived the sect members of a role model, source of inspiration and a spiritual guide whom the sect boldly needed at the formative stage to nurture and grow the new faith. The arrest and subsequent death of some sect members in the hands of security agents was to the group, a deprivation of the right to life of their loved ones and brotherly love and affection which those deceased provided while they were still alive. Furthermore, the refusal of the Federal government to fully abolish western education and allow for an Islamic model was to the sect, a deprivation of the right to home of education which will conform to the custom and tradition of the Islamic faith. The refusal of the federal government led by Dr. Goodluck Jonathan to sign and thus make way for the immediate establishment of the Islamic state for the entire north was to them, a deprivation of the right to self-governance/rule as Jonathan's presidency was seen by them as an imposition of an unbeliever to rule over the Muslim territory. Also, the refusal of Christian minority to leave the north was to the sect, a deprivation of the right to a territorial integrity devoid of sinful infidels who according to the sect pollute and profane a holy territory of 'Allah' the only God (Ckukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje , 2015).

Terrorism and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A prognosis

We posit that, economic deprivation, frustration and desperation are the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria. However, religion, ethnic Chauvinism, ethnic identity and ethnic politics factors cannot be ignored. Other factors are governance failure, poverty and inequality. The ideology behind the formation of Boko Haram terrorist sect and the kidnapping Criminal gangs in the Niger Delta region also justifies our proposition. Boko Haram (Hausa: Lit "Western education is Sinful"), is a Jihadist militant organization based in the North-East Nigeria. It is an Islamist movement which strongly opposes man-made laws and modern science. Founded by Mohamed Yusuf in 2001, the organization seeks to establish Sharia law in the country. The group is also known for attacking Christians and bombing churches (Bravo & Dias, 2006) Ideologically, Boko Haram proposes that

interaction with the Western World is forbidden, and also advocates the establishment of a Muslim State of Nigeria (Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva, 2013). Basically, Boko Haram strongly opposed anything Western, which it sees as corrupting Muslim. Even though the greater percentage of Boko Haram attacks victims are Christians, the group equally kills Muslims who criticize it. The Boko Haram has created widespread tension across Northern Nigeria and between various ethnic communities, interrupted commercial activities, frightens investors and generated concerns among Nigerians Northern neighbours. The unprecedented state of terrorism by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria has ruined the tranquility of the northern atmosphere and high rate of insecurity pervading northern region in particular and the nation in general is alarming and is a cause for serious concern to well-meaning Nigeria (Chukwurah, Eme & Ogbeje, 2015). The Boko Haram linked the level of poverty in the country especially in the north, its stronghold, to corruption. Corruption to the Boko Haramists is considered a Western value and legacy. The group (Boko Haram) at the onset appeared to have had its operational bases located in the poorest parts of Northern Nigeria. It is in such places where people who have been denied opportunity to go to school and meaningful economic sources of livelihood are making recruitment easier. Poor governance and corruption have provided a rallying cry for Boko Haram (Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva, 2013). There is a colony of lumpen proletariat majority of whom are not in regular employment who gain their subsistence mainly from crime. These colonies of destitute who are desolate become major reservoir of foot soldiers for the Boko Haram sect. the grunts that blow themselves up along with innocents around them are drawn from this pool of poor underclass, idle youths with few prospects for employment. Significantly, the North-West and North-East recorded the highest poverty rates in the country in 2010 with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively (Awoyemi, 2012).

This argument is further reinforced when we take a critical look at the social and economic conditions in some countries of the globe. It is not surprising that the poorest and most corrupt countries in the world have become hotbeds of terrorism. In Africa for instance, Chad, Sudan, Niger and Somalia are areas where terrorism flourishes. Middle East and South Asia, Pakistan and Yemen are considered the most dangerous countries in the world. The connection is not difficult to make. For people living hand-to-mouth, life is

a series of struggles often ending in tragedy, anger, resentment, and despair are volatile combinations in the minds of young men and women who see little hope of escaping their situation. For recruiters of terrorist organizations, these young minds can be manipulated to pick up arms. By stoking latent frustrations at the injustice of poverty and promising a sense of community, brotherhood, and commitment to a higher cause, a recruiter can more easily convince a teenager to become a suicide bomber or a kidnapper (Zumve, Ingyoroko & Akuva, 2013). The Niger Delta, the main center of Nigeria's economy, is the stronghold of terrorist gangs that carry out kidnapping, host taking and hijacking, until October, 2010, the movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) confined its horrendous terrorist activities of kidnapping, hostage taking and hijacking in the Niger Delta region. In fact, MEND's stated goals are to localize control of Nigeria's oil and secure reparations from the Federal Government for pollution caused by the oil industry, Basically MEND was conceived and operated with the focus of "Total control" of the Niger Delta oil wealth. A brief examination of the socio economic conditions of the region which is the main center of oil activity, the center of Niger's economy will be relevant to drive home our point of argument. The area referred to as the Niger Delta region was limited to the geopolitical zone occupied mainly by the minorities of Southern Nigeria, which currently comprises the six states of Akwalbom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers. In recent years, the region was politically redefined and enlarged to include all the nine contiguous oil-producing states which incorporates new states such as Abia, Imo, and Ondo (Akpan, 2010). It is disheartening to note that the people in this geographical zone, just like other parts of Nigeria continue to live in pristine conditions and in most cases without electricity, pipe borne water, hospital, housing and schools in spite of the enormous wealth the government derives from this region.

It is the state neglect of people in this region that set the stage for violent terrorist acts of kidnapping, hostage taking and hijacking. The Niger Delta Region (NDR) is characterized by widespread poverty. About 70% of the populations live below the poverty line, this might have increased in recent years when so many graduates have been turned out without jobs. The pervasive poverty is due largely to the low level of industrialization. This has been made more difficult by the activities of Transnational Corporations

TNCS, which have adversely affected the traditional economy of subsistence fishing and farming. The modern transport infrastructure is inadequate and often hampered by a poor road network and harsh conditions especially in the coastal areas. Health care is less than desirable while the schools are ill-equipped; hence they serve more as youth restive factories than institutions of learning. These harsh conditions provide a fertile ground for social unrest, conflict and instability (Idumange, 2011). Various reasons are given by members of MEND why they carry out these terrorist acts of kidnapping. These range from the general liberation struggle to economic to a political tool and a new habit of crime (Akpan, 2010). The authors of this paper however, subscribe to the new habit of crime school. The main objective of these terrorist acts of kidnapping and hostage taking is for economic gains. The creek militants who are mostly jobless and poor youths carry out these nefarious activities for material gains. Historically, when youths are not engaged in meaningful work and are lacking the basic necessities, they bring attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behavior (Marke, 2007), this underscores the importance of Human Needs Theory.⁴ This view point substantiates the argument of this paper that when youths cannot bear their poverty (particularly lack of basic needs), caused or worsened by political corruption of most African leaders. (who appear to be above the law themselves) anymore, they react by engaging in conflict, with its negative effects, which stunt development.

Eight Signs of Terrorism

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

- **Surveillance:** - Someone recording or monitoring activities. This may include the use of cameras, note taking, drawing diagrams, annotating on maps, or using binoculars or other vision-enhancing devices.
- **Elicitation:**-People or organization attempting to gain information about military operation, capabilities, or people. Elicitation attempts may be made by mail, e-mail, telephone, or in person. This could also include eavesdropping of friendly conversation.
- **Tests of security:**-Any attempts to measure reaction times to security breaches, attempts to penetrate physical security barriers, or monitor procedures in order to assess strength and weaknesses.

- **Funding:**—Suspicious transactions involving large cash payments, deposits, or withdrawals are common signs of terrorist funding. Collections for donation, the solicitation for money and criminal activity are also warning signs.
- **Supplies:**— Purchasing or stealing explosives, weapons, ammunition, etc. this also includes acquiring military uniforms, decals, flight manuals, passes or badges (or the equipment to manufacture such items) and any other controlled items.
- **Impersonation:**—People who don't seem to belong in the workplace, neighborhood, business establishment, or anywhere else. This includes suspicious border crossings, the impersonation of law enforcement, military personnel, or company employees is also a sign.
- **Rehearsal:**— Putting people in position and moving them around according to their plan without actually committing the terrorist act. An element of this activity could also include mapping out routes and determining the timing of traffic light and flow.
- **Deployment:**—People and supplies getting into position to commit the act. This is the person's last chance to alert authorities before the terrorist act occurs.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusively, terrorism which has become a global phenomenon is a deliberate and systematic use of violence to destroy, kill, maim and intimidate the innocent in order to achieve a goal or draw national/international attention or demands which ordinarily may be impossible or difficult to achieve under normal political negotiation or on the battle field against a government army. Book Haram Insurgence is an ethnic political tool aimed at causing political chaos by political elite in Nigeria. We assert that economic deprivation, frustration and desperation are the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria. However, religion and ethnic factors cannot be ignored. The pull-down political syndrome should be shunned for the sake of general well-being of the citizenry which serves as a bedrock of statecraft. Based on these insights we hereby make the following recommendations:

1. The government should put in place more precise measures to deal with corrupt bureaucrats and politicians. There should be a shift from rhetoric to practical ways of punishing identified corrupt public officials and sponsors of terrorism.

2. The Boko Haram Crisis is already having domestic domino effect concerted effort is needed at this stage so as to foretell a spillover effects to the other region. The economic cost of government's inaction would be utterly calamitous. To this end, a fact-finding commission, involving all major stakeholders should be convened to interact with to Boko Haram so that the spate of violence can stop.
3. There is also urgent need to make leadership in the north to show deeper concern for the problem at hand. They must reach out to Boko Haram leadership who live among them and find ways of talking to them to drop their guns and bombs. This is important because the economy in the North and indeed Nigeria is under great threat and the time to act is now.
4. Since poverty and unemployment are among the root cause of Boko haram insurgency there is an urgent need for a robust social protection scheme with special preference for the north. Food, shelter, health care and employment creation should be the bedrock of this scheme. Woman, children and youths should be the target they should be empowered through vocational training. While mosque, churches and Naos should be utilized. The North need to know that the president is going extra-ordinary length to fix their problem.
5. Government should redouble its effort at Nation building, take a hard look at the root causes of the current problems in order to find lasting solution to Boko Haram insurgency and other terrorist group.
6. An improved intelligence gathering is needed to curb future violence. What we are witnessing in Nigeria are the consequences of lack of National intelligence security system that fails to recognize that contemporary system demands more reliable and timely intelligence than guns and armoured personnel carriers.
7. Government should as a matter of urgency review its current approach and expand it effort to combat the militant activities and be more responsive to issues of security by genuinely tackling them to minimize their dangerous implications, thus improving the investment climate.
8. The popular claim by the top northerners that disgruntled and unscrupulous extremists from chad and Niger constitute the majority of the sect members should not be treated with kid gloves. With regards to this; the federal government must strengthen our custom

- service to tighten our borders and solicit for the cooperation of the government of Niger and Chad to check border movements.
9. There is need for a comprehensive national data base to capture relevant data which would aid in documentation and monitoring of the general populations.
 10. Government will have to develop a new social compact with its northern citizens and evolve an economic recovery strategy to complements its security strategy.
 11. We reject in its totality the call for amnesty for the Boko Haram sect as it will send a bad signal to other militia group like OPC and MOSSOB to the effect that the government of Nigeria understand only the language of violence and they will want to toe the same line.
 12. We support the current state of emergency declared in the most affected states. However, the defense headquarters must ensure that their operations are in line with internationally recognized best practices to avoid gross violation of human rights.
 13. Government should revitalize the Nigeria's economy. A vibrant economy will create job opportunities for the youths and change their lives in the positive directions.

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