

# **INSURGENCY, TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA**

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## **Abstract**

The insurgents who use terrorist tactics such as bombings, shootings, ambush, suicide-bombings, grenades, rockets and poisonous weapons against the civilian population as well as the security agents is undoubtedly one of the greatest security challenges currently bedeviling Nigeria. This unimaginable war crimes against humanity perpetrated by the insurgents vis-à-vis terrorist group include: murder, torture, rape, assassination, forced-marriage abduction, hostage-taking, displacement, arson, poisoning and many more. The focus of this paper is to critically appraise the origin, activities and implications of the prevailing insurgency/terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria. The paper utilized primary and secondary sources of data from the existing literature, including books and journal articles as well as Focus Group Discussion (FGD) for the qualitative analysis of these warrisome situation in Nigeria. The findings revealed that inspite of the efforts of various governments and security agents in Nigeria, more than 25,000 people (men, women and children inclusive) have been killed while over 2.8 million displaced from their home after the escalation of this hineous groups known as insurgents/terrorists since 2009. The paper strongly recommends for multi-dimentional and comprehensive approach for a sustainable peace and socio-political stability, economic reform, good-governance void of corruption. This cannot be gotten through the barrel of gun but dialogue, good governance, equity and justice.

**Keywords: Insurgency, Terrorism, and Insecurity in Nigeria**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Hayden (2007) posits insurgency as “an organized resistance movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgency seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within the country; overthrow established government without a follow-on social revolution; establish an autonomous national territory within the borders of a state; cause the

withdrawal of an occupying power and extract political concession that are unattainable through less violent means”.

Similarly, Amnesty International (2016) contends that “the most dreaded insurgents that commit human rights violations include, Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabab, Boko Haram, Taliban and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). According to the United State Department of Defence (cited in Hellesen; 2008), insurgency is an organized movement that has the aim of overthrowing a constituted government through acts of subversion and armed conflict. The insurgents use terrorist tactics such as bombings, shooting, ambush, suicide-bombings, grenades, rockets and poisonous weapons against the civilian population. The unimaginable war crimes against humanity as perpetrated by the insurgents include, murder, torture, assassination, kidnapping, hostage-taking, forced marriage, abduction, displacement, arson, poisoning, among others.

On the other hand, terrorism represents a new kind of warfare. It is warfare without territory, waged without conventional armies and not limited territorially. Terrorism, according to Chryseston (2007) is “an act of violence waged outside the accepted rules and procedures of international diplomacy and war”. Breaking the rules may include attacking diplomatic and other international protected persons, attacking international travel and commerce and exporting violence by various means to nations that normally would not under the traditional rules be considered participants in the local conflict (Wanek in Chryseston, 2007).

Terrorism is aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear and alarm. Such an atmosphere causes people to exaggerate the apparent strength of the terrorists movement and causes which means that their strength is judged not by their actual number of violent accomplishments, but by the effect these have inflicted on innocent population ranging from threat to taking hostages, kidnapping, hijacking, incessant bombing, suicide bombing, assassination, indiscriminate shooting and sabotage. Terrorist tactics are calculated to revert attention and create alarm. The fundamental issue is fear.

Terrorism, according to the US State Department (in Siegel, 2007) is “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. Though, with slight difference, the similarities insurgency/terrorism in their mode of operation, type of crime and tactics are overwhelming. It is conceivable therefore, that a terrorist may also simultaneously be an insurgent and a guerrilla depending upon the ideology that the terrorists/insurgents want to advance. (Hayden 2007). In this regard, insurgency and terrorism will be treated as same in the context of this research work.

However, insecurity is the state of uncertainty, anxiety about oneself and lack of confidence, the state of being open to danger, threat and lack of protection (Hornby, 2015) This situation can be seen or felt all over the country Nigeria. Evidence abounds of such situation in almost all parts of the country indicating insecurity. Over the previous years (2009), there has been genuine increase in the number of insurgents/terrorists incidents in the country. What makes insurgency/ terrorism more terrifying is the message that, anyone can become the next victim.

Again, Terrorism/insurgency has objectives which are sometimes obscured by the fact that terrorist’s attacks often seem random and are directed towards targets whose death or destruction cannot directly benefit the terrorists/insurgents. Thus, one immediate effect of the growing threat posed by terrorism/insurgency along with other forms of politically motivated violence during the past years in Nigeria is the insecurity threat to the unity of Nigeria nation. After all, people who are terrorists/insurgents to the nation may be freedom fighters to another.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The problem is the effort to define who can be called or labeled a terrorist/insurgent. This is because, despite the irregular ideologies of the terrorists/insurgents would want to advance, it is conceivable that a terrorist may simultaneously be an insurgent and a guerrilla and vice-versa (Hayden, 2007). Most international organization and individuals have not been able to agree on a definition of

terrorism/insurgency, since one man's terrorism/insurgency is often another man's freedom fighter, such as, the Niger Delta militants, Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) as a case in point.

The concern of Nigeria populace since 2009 has been the increasing incidence and seriousness of acts of terrorism/insurgency. Terrorists tactics for example, lie in surprises, excessive and savage use of violent force; both of which are designed to kill the target person and to destroy property, but also to leave behind, the picture of horror in order to instill fear. The fact of its national magnitude, its negative impact on international communication and diplomacy, economic and political sabotage, the exacerbation of ill-feelings between states and finally, its undermining of the 1948 declaration of Human Rights has threatened the National Unity of Nigeria and spell out the impending disaster facing National Community (Meron, 1986).

The above picture of the state of Nigeria nation culminated to create unprecedented insecurity in the country, especially in the areas of loss of lives and property, socio-political instability, economic drawback, loss of international trust and confidence, good governance and trade exchange necessary for national development. The negative consequences on Nigeria economic development cannot be overemphasized. It is against this backdrop according to Lubuva (2004) that the delivery of safety and security is considered a justifiable public service to be provided by the joint efforts of the communities and government. Hence the following interview schedule were used for Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to enable us unravel the reasons behind the activities of this clandestine groups, their nature and extent, as well as damages.

1. What are the major causes of Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism?
2. Could religious intolerance be the baseline for this heinous behaviour of the insurgency/terrorism?
3. What has been the impact of their activities on the National development of Nigeria?
4. What is the effect of these insurgents/terrorists on Nigeria citizens and international community relationship?

5. How could we classify the ideologies of the insurgents/terrorists with regard to the contemporary Nigeria communities?
6. Generally, how could all these activities of insurgency/terrorism be lived to the insecurity conditions of Nigeria nation?

## **METHODS**

The study design adopted in this study was a flexible qualitative survey. This is because the research design can cover a wide spectrum of the society which study such phenomena like people's perception pattern in terms of achievement service delivery and so forth (Obikeze, 1990). The method is appropriate when seeking to understand people awareness and opinion.

The research consulted extensively and made use of primary and secondary sources of data from the existing literature including books and journal articles as well as focus group discussion. (FGD). Snowball sampling method was used to recruit participants. Semi-structured interviews were used as a means of data collection (Robinson, 2013). The researcher personally interviewed all the participants totaling twenty (20) participants, Ten (10) from each selected cluster. The relevance of discussing the insurgency/terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria and the implication for national development in Nigeria appears to have encouraged the participants to consent to the interview (FGD)

The areas covered in the study was Godfrey Okoye University Enugu and University of Nigeria, Nsukka communities totaling two clusters in all. The procedure used for recruitment of the FGD Participants involved to a large extent, simple random sampling plan. The systematic sampling methods were used to select the clusters, and the respondents for FGD. Simple percentage (%) was used to analyze the data collected with the formula ( $\frac{x}{N} \times \frac{100}{1}$ ).

## **RELEVANT LITERATURE REVIEWED**

Hayden (2007) avers that “guerrillas are the overt military aspects of the insurgency” Guerrillas as a sub-component of insurgencies work overtly towards the letter's counter-regime goals. Each of the

five goals of an insurgency as stated in the introduction of this work are the violent arm of a given resistance movements which centres on attacking the regimes. Similarly, the goals of the terrorists are not specific to governments but rather focus on broader ideological intentions. The terrorist may not feel the need to target government instead; they may choose to attack societies directly in order to achieve a particular end. Insurgents use ideology to target government but terrorist target government (or societies) to advance ideology (Hayden, 2007). Notwithstanding the differences within these irregular warriors, it is conceivable that a terrorist may also simultaneously be an insurgent and a guerrilla; depending upon the ideology that the terrorist wants to advance. For example, ideologically-motivated terrorist envision regime change as an integral component to their strategy (Hayden, 2007).

Morris (2005) in his work *“Al-Qaeda as Insurgency”* argued that “Insurgencies combine violence with political programmes in pursuit of revolutionary purposes in a way that terrorism cannot duplicate. Terrorists may pursue political even revolutionary goals, but their violence replaces rather than complements a political programme. Typically, insurgents organize their forces in military fashion as squads, platoons, and companies. Terrorist units are usually smaller and comprised of isolated teams not organized into a formal military chain of command. Insurgent forces are often more overt in nature as well, especially in the sanctuaries or zones which they dominate.

Osini Muzan (2014) observed that Nigeria is on the brink of insecurity and a dreadful precipice. He believed that observers of the country Nigeria and everyone with any interest in it must be very concern about what the fallout would be. The problems are a complex blends of social, political, ethnic, legal and constitutional problems which now be-devil the country in proportions never before experienced in the turbulent and checkered history of this potentially great nation. These kind of situation manifest in religious intolerance, political violence, corruption, nepotism and tribalism, ill-discipline and related crimes like insurgency and terrorism.

## **HISTORY OF INSURGENCY/TERRORISM IN NIGERIA**

Boko Haram Insurgency/Terrorism is a Nigerian Militant Islamist group that seeks to foist Shariah Law or its radical interpretation of Islam on the Northern States of Nigeria and ultimately to other parts of the country. The word “Boko” is a Hausa word Meaning “animist” or “western”, otherwise, non-islamic education and the Arab word “Haram”, figuratively means “Sin” or literally, something “forbidden” (Olugbode, 2010). Dunia (2010) cited in Onifade, et. al. (2013), maintains that the Boko Haram group opposes not only Western education but also western culture and western science.

Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism began in 2009 when the Jihadist rebel group Boko Haram started an armed rebellion against the government of Nigerian. In 2012, tension within the Boko Haram group resulted into gradual split of the group between Salafist Conservative Faction led by Abu Usmatul Al-Ansari, and the more dominant, violent faction led by Abubakar Shekau. By 2015, part of the group split into Al-Qaeda affiliated Ansaru, and Shekau’s faction became ISIL’s West African Branch (Wikipedia Asia, 2018)

The Boko Haram emerged as a religious movement to address the social injustice as claimed by the sect leader Shekau. Their objective is to Islamize the Nigeria State and termed themselves as Jama’atu Ahlussunnah Lidda’awati Wiljihad meaning “people committed to the propagation of the Prophets Teachings”. They targeted civilian population, security forces, religious and traditional leaders, prominent politicians and opposing Islamic scholars that failed to subscribe to their ideology. The United Nations classified Boko Haram as one of the most dreaded insurgents group in the world due to gross violation of human rights (Usman, et. al., 2017).

According to Amnesty International (2016), the most dreaded insurgents/terrorists that commit human rights violation include, Al-Qaeda, Al-shabab, Boko Haram, Taliban and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). There exist other less violent groups/freedom fighters, such as, The Declaration of

Niger Delta Republic, the Nigerian Civil War (Secessionist Biafra), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta Region, Oodua People Congress, Northern Arewa Groups, Jama'atu Ahl'il Sunna Lidawati Waljihad (Boko Haram) Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimin Biladis Sundan (Ansaru) (Osini Muzan, 2014). However, this work anchors its discussion on the more blood spilling, violent and human right violation groups, the insurgents/terrorists groups known as Boko Haram, Herdsmen and so forth.

### **CAUSES/REASONS FOR INSURGENCY/TERRORISM**

As terrorism expert Jerrola (1990) observed, “political terrorists/insurgents are driven to commit acts of violence as a consequence of psychological force, and their special psychology is constructed to rationalize acts they are psychologically compelled to commit. Some other experts believed that their activities had a political undertone, claiming that Osama’s bin Laden’s anger (September 11. 2001) was an outgrowth of America Middle East Policies. Others saw a religious motivation and claimed that the terrorists/insurgents were radical Muslims at war with the liberal religions of the West. Another view was that bin Laden’s rage was fueled by deep-rooted psychological problems. Another view is that terrorists/insurgents hold extreme ideological beliefs that promote their behavior. At first, they have heightened perceptions of oppressive conditions, believing that they are being victimized by some groups or government. Successful terrorists believe that their “self-sacrifice” as in Durkheim’s Altruistic suicide (cited in Haralambos, et.al., 2013) “when individuals were so strongly integrated into their society that they would make the ultimate sacrifice for the benefit of others” outweighs the guilt created by harming innocent people. Terrorists/insurgents, therefore, requires violence without guilt, the cause justifies the violence.

Consequently, some concerned Nigerians are also asking the. What could motivate these spate of terrorist/insurgent acts of destruction of lives and property in Nigeria particularly, in the Northeast. If it is not shooting, bombing and kidnapping in the Niger Delta regions by the militants, it is the Boko



Haram in the north east and north-central geo-political zones of Nigeria. Shooting, armed robbery and kidnapping in the south east and south west Geo-political zones as well as herdsmen all over the country. In Nigeria context, the remote causes of terrorism/insurgency could be attributed to the prevailing ‘social inequality’, poverty, discrimination, unemployment, political marginalization, religious and ideological discontent, corruption, weak judicial system, open borders of Nigeria, Narcotics, slavery in Nigeria, ethnicism, bad governance, imbalance in developmental projects, loss of socio-cultural and communal value system, ignorance and the increasing radical nature of Islam locally and internationally. The Maitatsine killing of 1980s- all fueled the backlash of increased violence that spread across other northern cities (Martin, 2013; Adesoji, 2010). Book Haram seeks the establishment of an Islamic State in Nigeria which opposes the Westernization of Nigeria society and the concentration of the wealth of the country among members of a small political elites, especially in the Christian south zone of the country (African Argument Editorial, 2011). Also, when Yusuf tried to escape from the prison custody, he died and the death of the extremist had unintended consequences and he was succeeded by Abubakar Shekau.

#### **NEXUS OF BOKO HARAM ACTIVITIES:**

“Boko Haram” which is interpreted as “ western education forbidden” advocates for the creation of Islamic State in Nigeria and decried the Westernization of Nigeria country. The Boko Haram, in their extent of activities had no definite pattern of operation. Sometimes, their action will be religious, other times, political or economic set back, socio-psycho trauma, etc. Their method had no direction – they attack the government, innocent poor citizens, attacking unarmed soft targets such as women, children, elderly people, schools, churches. According to Jurgensmeyer (2000), this group have deep-rooted psychosis, emotionally disturbed individuals based on the level of perceived oppressive conditions.

Since the beginning of the upspring in 2009, it has been estimated that more 25,000 people were killed between 2009 and 2015(Moore, 2015, Usman, et al, 2017) and upward of about 2.8 million people have been displaced from their homes within the period under review. This was as a result of corruption in the security services and human right abuses committed by them or for other reason (HRW, 2013; Glenn Kessler, 2014). In addition, more than 1500 men, women and children as well as the 276 school girls from Chibok have been abducted since 2009 in different locations (HRW, 2014; BBC, 2015; The Huffington Post, 2015, Norwegian Refugee Council 2016).

## **CONSEQUENCES OF INSURGENCY/ TERRORISM VIS-À-VIS INSECURITY IN NIGERIA**

The consequences of insurgency/terrorism particularly, in the Nigeria since 2009 cannot be overemphasized. Thus, while the Niger Delta militants are fighting for resources control (freedom fighters), compensation from the oil companies and governments, the terrorists/insurgents are fighting, according to them, for the Islamization of Nigeria state, at least, the 12 states in the North where Saharia–Panel Code exists. This move could be interpreted as a secession move which the defunct “Sovereign State of Biafra” tried to do, but was not allowed by Nigeria constitution to secede(1967-1970). Furthermore, social analysts viewed Boko Haram terrorist method as complicated and confused. This is because their “modus oprendi” (ideology) is both political, religious, economical, social as well as inhumanity to man – inhuman massacre of their own brothers and sisters with bomb and shooting. Other negative consequences are:

1. **International Consequences:** Evidence abounds that the position of insecurity in Nigeria today tend to scare away foreign investors. Our reputation in the community of nations has been questionable. For instance, many international agencies and countries issued warning to their citizens about the dangers involved in travelling and doing business in some parts of Nigeria. Precisely, the United States of America warned American citizens of the risks of coming to Nigeria

(Carson, 2012) and this has grave consequences for the economic development of the country. Many foreigners have been victims of kidnapping and cyber crime by this clandestine groups.

2. **Economically:** Conflict and war leads to dislocation of people from their base and this leads to disruption of economic activities. Financial activities have also been paralysed as everyone live in fear. The fear of Boko Haram terrorist/insurgent crisis added to the fear of investors coming to Nigeria (Agbonyi, 2006). In Maiduguri, Borno State, Yobe where the sect originated, the frequent bombing and clashes between Boko Haram terrorist/insurgents and security agents have seriously weighed down on commercial and business activities in the city. Many businesses have reportedly crumbled, while many people have fled the state. The government now spend huge amount of money to maintain about 2.8 million Internally Displaced People (IDP) both in food supply, medicare, accommodation, etc. Also, the government invested heavily in security equipment, spending \$5.5 billion which was about 20 percent of their overall budget on bomb detection units, communication and transport;\$470 million on a Chinese CCTV system for Abuja which has failed in its purpose of detecting or deterring acts of terror(Herskovits, 2012; Owen, 2012; Ibanga Isine, 2014). In addition to all these, many personal buildings, government establishments such, offices, hospitals and schools have been destroyed and will require huge sum of money for rebuilding them and a host of others.
3. **Politically:** the Boko Haram insurgency/ terrorism is threatening the one hundred and five years of political amalgamation of Nigeria (1914-2019) by their demand for “Islamic State”. For example, two days after the declaration of the state of emergence in the three states affected by the insurgence, Boko Haram terrorists released an ultimatum to southern Nigerians living in the Northern part of Nigeria, giving them three days to leave the northern states. Three days later, they began series of attacks on Christians and members of Igbo ethnic group (Obateru, 2012; Oboh, 2012) in which 178 were killed in Kano, Nigeria). The extremist also infiltrated both the military, police and civil service to the extent that one may not know what will happen when he gets to his

office, bus stop, coffee bar, school, death itself may be sitting down next to each and every one of us. There was fear in school, church, market, public places and so on.

4. **Socio-psychological conditions:** The above situation threw Nigerians into socio-psychological trauma. People became security conscious in the churches/mosques, school, markets and people expect “death” any moment, any where, especially, those living in the core Northern state, particularly Northeast and North Central.
5. **Education:** The major target of the Boko Haram insurgents/terrorists is to frustrate the western education, which, to them is a “sin” and should be “forbidden”. Schools (primary, secondary and tertiary institutions) have become dreadful area and not functional.eg , the abduction of 276 Chibok girls.
6. **Agriculture:** The land which is very essential for agricultural products have become battlefield or occupied by the Boko Haram. Almost all parts of Borno State and other parts of northern Nigeria which is the major food supply to the country have been fled from by the people. Hunger and squalor therefore, is imminent in Nigeria with the herdsmen ravaging agricultural farm product with their cows.
7. **Religiously:** Christians have been the major victims of Boko Haram insurgents/terrorists sects, even when they were at incubation period. That is, when they were training and organizing themselves until they came into the limelight in 2009. For instance, Mohammed Yusuf who founded the sect in 2002 opened a school that attracted Muslim families across Nigeria. The centre had the political goal of creating Islamic state and recruiting centre for Jihads (Farouk, 2012). They existed for seven years and withdrawing from society into remote North-Eastern areas. Prior to the rising of “Boko Haram” they had been operating under religious extremist, for example, between the period 21/02/2000 – 29/11/2008, about 11,506 people were killed in Kaduna, Jos, Miss world propaganda, Yelwa, Shendam, Kano Massacre, cartoon crisis in Maidugari and Jos riot – all based on religious riots before the advent of Boko Haram Insurgency/terrorism in 2009.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study was anchored on Frustration-Aggression theory. Ugwuoke (2015) posits frustration-aggression theory as the “state that emerges when circumstance interfere with a goal-response, often leads to aggression. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking or frustrating a person’s effort to attain a goal. It explains further that frustration causes aggression but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target (such as Chibok school girls, men, women and children in the churches and markets). The relevance of the theory derives from the thesis that the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism are the by-products of various frustrations encountered in the socio-cultural, economic and political environment. Ugwuoke avers that the activities of the restive members of the Islamist sects can be explained as the out pouring of accumulated frustration and grievances motivated by unemployment, poverty and illiteracy.

For John Dollard (1939) frustration –aggression theory seems to be the most explanation for violent behavior stemmed from inability to fulfill needs. It explains the difference between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction (Davies, 1960). When expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those responsible for frustrating their ambitions. Therefore, frustration-aggression provides that aggression is not just undertaking as a nature reaction or instinct as realist and biological theorist assumes, but that is the outcome of frustration and that is in a situation where the desire of an individual is deemed either directly or by the indirectly consequence of the way the society is structured. The feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed to those he/she holds responsible (Akwem, 2011). Mayor (2011) cited Bishop Mathew Kukah as saying that Boko Haram terrorism “is a product of poverty, bad government and corruption fueled by tribal politics”. Thus, standard of education is very poor that graduates are often unfit for employment. The government’s poor responses to the northern

desire on economic and security conditions which has fueled resentment making many young men vulnerable to Boko Haram insurgent recruiters. Olojo (2013) believed that one significance factor that has stimulated the derive towards violent extremism, recruitment and support for Boko Haram are economic deprivation. Several scholars believed that poverty and longstanding economic disparities in the North-East part of the country made the youth join the sect. Similarly, Adesoji (2010) stresses that in Nigeria the marginalization and imbalance distribution or implementation of the resources made some radicalized scholars to preach against the government and democratic setting, which later gave birth to the present Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism.

Thus, the killing of the sect leader, Muhammed Yusuf in Maidugari, and more than 700 other members as well as their inability to enshrine Islamic tenets in all the northern regions resulted in their frustration. The failure of these groups to peacefully achieve their goals lead to aggressive attacks to the public and government facilities in order to force the hand of the government to allow them to have their way. Frustration-aggression theory is therefore relevant for use to justify the reason why the Boko Haram insurgency/Terrorism has continued to bomb innocent people and public properties in Nigeria thereby creating unmitigated sense of insecurity which has to a large extent impacted on Nigeria socio-economic and political development.

## **RESULT ANALYSIS/FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)**

The Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were conducted with carefully developed FGD guides. The FGD contained question on some of the issues raised in the statement of the problems. This was meant to provide in-depth knowledge with regards to insurgency/terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria.

For the qualitative data, a total of two focus group discussion were conducted with six(6) and (4) persons comprising males and females respectively in each group to maintain the sampling procedure adopted. In each session, FGDs were held with all six males and all four females of about 35 years old and above giving a total of 20 respondents in all. Group A of the FGD team covered

University of Nigeria Nsukka; while Group B covered Godfrey Okoye University Enugu. We have six questions A-F as contained in the statement of the problem for use in the FGD session.

In answering question A, “the major causes of Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism”, 15 (75%) out of the twenty member participants in an FGD session

attributed the cause of the insurgency/terrorism to religious intolerance. In a unified opinion, they made reference to the ideologies of the group which states that they are “People committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teaching”. The participants believed that they propagate the teaching in ignorance, with the conviction that as many infidel one were able to kill, the person will be rewarded with seven virgins in heaven. The participants refers to such belief as “ignorance and barbaric”. Five (5) (25%) of the participants on their own parts, attributed the cause of insurgency/terrorism to bad governance, poor economic condition and socio-political instability.

Furthermore, on question B which states “whether religious intolerance is the baseline for this heinous behaviour of the insurgency/terrorism” 15(75%) of the participants in an FGD session from the two selected clusters were unanimous in saying that:

To a great extent, religious intolerance is the major cause of the extremists activities. This is because according to Otman Dan Fodio, “Islam will rule from Sahara to the sea in Nigeria”. On this premise, the uninformed and brain-washed fundamentalists are making effort to actualize this dream by trying to Islamize Nigeria. They use all the available arsenal within their reach to cause mayhem. This include kidnapping, abduction, assassination, suicide-bombing involving the ISIS, Taliban and other foreign partner to join in killing their own brothers and sisters. This shows that they are not actually Nigerians. They also forgot the principle of freedom of worship, conscience.... as enacted in Nigerian constitution of 1999 (as amended).

Another young male, one person (5%) from Godfrey Okoye University avers that the insurgents/terrorists claimed:

They are fighting the injustices being perpetrated by the political class to the poor in the North. The participant argued that the insurgents/terrorists do what they do because of their emotional problems, including but not limited to self-destructive urges, disturbed emotions combine with problems with authority and inconsistent and troubled parenting.

On the contrary, other four (4) (20%) participants in an FGD session claimed that they:

Could not see anything wrong in what they are doing because they are fighting for their rights. Except for the killing of innocent and defenceless men, women and children, they are freedom fighters demanding for independence as “Islamic states with Sharia law governing them, rather than the “Western system of law which they considered “forbidden”.

A cursory glance at question (C) bordering on the impact of the insurgents/terrorists activities on the National Development of Nigeria, fourteen (70%) member Participants in an FGD session, observed that:

To a large extent, the insurgents/terrorists activities are affecting the National development of Nigeria. For example, business activities in the North east of Nigeria have been grounded, agricultural activities stopped, schools, government offices closed, about 172 industries closed down in Kano and about 2.8 million people displaced from their home. Similarly in Plateau-Jos, Benue killings and Fulani Herdsmen problems rocking devastating destruction to economic, socio-political and lives of people.

Another respondent, a man from University of Nigeria, Nsukka (5%) had this to say:

Despite undermining National Development, the activities of these clandestine groups are threatening the unity of Nigeria nation. Severally, the southerners living in the North were given ultimatum to leave the North or else..... Sometimes, their businesses are vandalized in a little misunderstanding. All these takes us back to the history of 1966 program that resulted to Nigeria-Biafra Civil War after the first military coup in Nigeria.

Similarly, another participant in an FGD session, a woman (5%)

Decried the loss of lives and properties. She said that about 25,000 people had been killed and about 2.8 million displaced from their homes since the beginning of the insurgencies/terrorism in 2009. Four (20%) of the participants in an FGD session were indifferent on this question of ‘the impact of Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism’ and did not make any input.

The researcher went further to elucidate the activities of the insurgents/terrorists. Question (D) focused its search on the ‘position of Nigeria, International Communities and insurgency/terrorism’ activities.

One of the opinion (5%) a woman in an FGD session posits that:

Nigeria is gradually losing her fame and trust before the International communities Nigerians have been denied the use of some internet facilities because of their criminal



dispositions, such as, two-check-out, skril and stripe. Nigerians were banned from internet financial services because of our corrupt nature. For example, pay-pal allow Nigerians to send-out money through them but cannot receive. Other internet operators do not permit Nigerians to have access at all. Investors no longer have confidence to establish businesses in Nigerian because of lack of enabling environments, there abound cases of kidnapping foreign investors, suicide –bombers, and so forth. This condition of insecurity contributed to Nigeria borders being porous, hence these insurgents/terrorists from outside the country now move in and out freely. This is a serious insecurity problems for Nigerians.

To buttress the above views on Nigeria and International Communities, another group of participants (12) (60%) in an FGD session spoke on the direction of “making Nigerian an unstable nation”. They believed that:

those in the Northeast, North-Central and some Middle-Belt States are being subjected to serious psychological depression and fear as one cannot determine if the person standing by your side or next door neighbor is carrying bomb or is a suicide bomber. Recently, many Nigerian soldiers lost their lives to Boko Haram insurgency through sabotage by their own members.

Similarly, 7 (35%) of the participants were of the opinion that:

The insurgents/terrorists have heightened perceptions of oppressive conditions, believing that they are being victimized by some groups or government, once these potential terrorists recognized that these condition can be changed by an active governmental reform, effort that has not happened, they conclude that they must resort to violence to encourage change. Violence need not be aimed to a specific goal, but terror tactics must held...

With regard to question (E) which is based on “how to classify the ideologies of the insurgents/terrorists with regard to contemporary Nigeria communities”, sixteen (16)(80%) of the participants in an FGD session contends that:

the insurgents/terrorists extremists subscribe fully to the ideology that it is only when a state runs on the Sharia model that peace; order and equity can be guaranteed. For Walker (2012), the insurgents/terrorists sects dreamt of a society devoid of corruption and whose purpose was to remain close to Allah (God). The group maintained that the mainstream Nigerian society had been polluted by Western values which was a deviation from the principles of Sharia. In the face of leadership by Muslim who had not behave in a benevolent way and used their leadership to oppress, it was accepted to

Allah for individuals to withdraw from the corrupt system and fight with violence (Odo, 2015:50).

This may be the reason for the political instability in Nigeria, especially during president Ebere Jonathan's regime. It is apparent therefore, that the underlying purpose of the insurgents/terrorists groups is to withdraw from the existing secular State of Nigeria society and establish Islamic state. In their view, the present state of Nigeria is corrupt beyond redemption. Oyibo (2013) quoted Danjibo(2009) summarizing the sects overriding ideology as thus

their ideology of God depicts a God who does not abhor killing of fellow human beings, whom they label as infidels and seek their forceful conversation; he is a God who punishes person who are morally and ethically bankrupt such as corrupt government official; their ideologies shows that any Muslim who participates in governance with non-Muslim is hell-bound and one is saved if one dies as a martyr fighting the cause of God. In their eschatology, this God rewards them with Aljana if any member fought and died for the cause of an Islamic /shariah state by destroying modern state formations and government establishments.

In the same vein, 4 (20%) of the participants in an FGD session saw this ideologies of the insurgents/terrorists as;

very brutal and complicated. Infact, they have a disorganized ideological planning. The group has no dint of conscience nor sympathy in the way they destroy lives and properties. The insurgents/terrorists believed that their strong attachment to the their communities would influence them to make the ultimate sacrifice for the benefit of others. This belief outweighs the guilt created by harming innocent people. They requires violence without guilty because the cause justifies the violence(cited in Haralambos,et. al .,2013). To this effect, the Boko Haram spokes man, Abubakar Shekau said, "we are doing what we are doing to fight injustice, if they stop their satanic ways of doing things and the injustices, we would stop what we are doing ( Olalekan, 2012).

Finally, discussing question (F) which anchors on "the condition of insecurity in Nigeria", 18 (90%) of the participants in an FGD session unanimously said that:

the ultimate insecurity conditions Nigerians are facing includes, uncertainty of life and properties. On the situation of insecurity, anxiety about oneself and lack of confidence; people being open to danger, threat and lack of protection abound under insecurity, corruption, marginalization, attempt to secede such as IPOB, Community clashes,

Fulani herdsmen, kidnapping, armed robbery, political violence/instability, assassination, oil bunkering, embezzlement of public fund, and a lot of it abounds. The populace live in fear; who will be the next victim of bomb blast. Foreign investors are afraid to come because of uncertainty. We can go on and on enumerating but for lack of space, those advanced above will suffice.

On the contrary, 2(10%) of the participants in an FGD session view the situation of insecurity as the by-product of many factors, rather than insurgency/terrorism alone. They attributed the situation of insecurity in Nigeria to innumerable cases of land dispute, community clashes, IPOB activities, Niger Delta militant activities, political instability, kidnapping, unemployment, armed robbery, IRIWA youths of the North and so forth.

## **FINDINGS**

It is apparent from the above that among all the factors that causes insurgency/terrorism, the major factor is religious intolerance which 15(75%) out of the twenty member participants in an FGD session attested to, while 15(75%) of the participants opined that the baseline for this heinous and unmitigated behaviours of insurgency/terrorism is religious fanaticism.

Furthermore, 14 (70%) of the total number of the participant avers that the negative impact of the insurgency/terrorism to national development of Nigerian cannot be overemphasized, while, 12 (60%) maintained that the position of Nigeria before international communities is actually bad. Nigeria is seen as a corrupt, lawless and unsafe country to establish any business. Moreso, 16(80%) of the participants argued that the ideologies of the insurgents/terrorists are incomprehensible. It seems as if they do not know exactly what they want, the route to follow in pursuing it and how. The whole thing is a bunch of scattered ideologies.

Finally, about 18(90%) of the participant in an FGD session maintained that the activities of insurgency/terrorism are the bane of insecurity for Nigerian citizens. On the contrary, only 2 (10%) of

the participants attributed the position of insecurity to so many other factors, not insurgency/terrorism only.

## **CONCLUSION**

Thus, crimes in all ramifications are not a natural phenomenon that consists of inevitable episodes which cannot be foreseen or guarded against. The truth is that we address these horrendous tendencies called “crime” with cosmetic and half hearted approach (Ngwu, 2014). In this regard, we need to re-structure our socio-economic, and political values to curb fanatical mentality as well as bad governance and religious intolerance. It is pertinent to note that all these myriads of crime, including Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism cannot be abated through the barrel of gun, suicide bombing, religious intolerance or imprisonment but with a determined change of heart towards our value system. There is no better time than now for **Change**. One Nigeria has come to stay despite our **Unity in diversity**

## **RECOMMENDATION**

To a great extent, the most preferred option for combating such clandestine organization should be by coercion, the armed confrontation, but, as I stated earlier, Nigeria type of terrorism/Boko Haram insurgency is a warfare without territory, war waged without conventional armies and not limited territorially”. In this regard, the barrel of gun alone is not enough to win the war. But diplomacy, dialogue and conscience conscientization should be added to the win the war programme. In addition;

1. Employment opportunities in the region should be improved, school enrolment increased to address the issues of illiteracy in the area. The sect should be denied operating space to carry out its attacks by preventing the group from organizing or re-organizing, recruiting unemployed youths and launching attacks, block all forms of socio-economic or financial support from any, in or outside organization, protect the porous border network through which the group get weapons and

material support from other Islamic movements like the ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Al-shabab, Taliban, Boko Haram insurgency/terrorism.

2. Set up a strong Neighbourhood Watch/Joint Task Force (JTF) in every streets and communities. Neighbourhood Watch is very active in detecting unfamiliar faces in the environment and make report to the appropriate authorities who will in turn apprehend and investigate such person.
3. The Churches/Mosques, NGOs, Media Houses and National Orientation Agency should join in conscientizing the conscience of Boko Haramists by educating them on the pains they cause to their fellow poor citizens. Those people they kill in market, churches/mosques, schools, are poor people like them. The poor did not cause the existing economic hardship in the society. Why then should they kill them like animals. Such beastly and heartless acts cannot be justified by the ideology they may claim.

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