



Dr. Alexander Ngozi Aniche
Dr. Leonard Ugwu Ngwu

A PEEP INTO INSURGENCY, TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

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INSURGENCY, TERRORISM, AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

Aniche Alex N. (Ph.D.)
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/PSYCHOLOGY
GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY, ENUGU.
Email: alex.aniche60@yahoo.com
Phone No: +234 8038355967

And

NGWU LEONARD UGWU (Ph.D.)
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/PSYCHOLOGY
Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu
Email: ngwuleonard@yahoo.com
Phone No: +234 8039632720

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. These 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 qualitative analysis of these worrisome situations in Nigeria. The findings revealed that in spite 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 heinous groups known as insurgents/terrorists since 2009. The paper strongly recommends for a multi-dimensional and comprehensive approach for 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 seeks 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 is 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 States 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 international protected persons, international travel and commerce, exporting violence by various means to nations that normally would not under the traditional rules be considered participants in the local conflicts (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 terrorist’s movement, 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 a 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 a genuine increase in the number of insurgents/terrorist 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 that are sometimes obscured by the fact that terrorist 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 may often be another man's freedom fighter, such as the Niger Delta militants, Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) as a case in point.

The concern of the Nigeria populace since 2009 has been the increasing incidence and seriousness of acts of terrorism/insurgency. Terrorist 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 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 was used for Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to enable us to unravel the reasons behind the activities of these 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 are the effects of these insurgents/terrorists on Nigeria citizens and international community relationships?
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 studies 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's awareness and opinions.

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). A 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 were Godfrey Okoye University Enugu and the University of Nigeria, Nsukka communities totaling two clusters in all. The procedure used for recruitment of the FGD Participants involved to a large extent, a 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

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION.

INSURGENCY: an insurgency is a rebellion against authority. The United States Department of Defense (2007) defines insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. However, this definition did not consider the morality of the conflict or the diverse viewpoints of the government and insurgents. It focused more on the operational aspects of the types of actions taken by the insurgents and the counter-insurgents. An insurgency is a movement within a nation dedicated to overthrowing the government of the country. It is a rebellion.

ETHNIC MILITANT AND INSURGENCY:

It is pertinent to state that ethnic militia and insurgency are similar to each other. According to Ikyase & Egberi (2015), this is predicated on the fact that both of them carry out military acts in the projection of their issues, they destroy lives and property, they destabilize the country and also weaken the economic activities of the state. Notwithstanding the similarities of the ethnic militia and insurgency, there exist some differences. Insurgency responds violently much more quickly and with much greater frequency than ethnic militia, even when holding abuse levels. Secondly, insurgents quickly retaliate in an action but ethnic militia due to the organizational process they delay in their reprisal attack. Ethnic Militia is tribally based while insurgency comprises members from all facets of life to form the group. According to Adejumbi (2002), Ethnic Militias are organized violence-oriented groups populated by diverse elements, cutting across different age strata, but drawing membership exclusively from an ethnic group and established to promote and protect the interests of an ethnic group. Ethnic Militia is an extreme form of agitation for self-determination and occurs when the ethnic group assumes a militant posture. They serve as social pressure designed to influence the structure of power to the advantage of people and call attention to the deteriorating material condition or political deprivation and perceived marginalization of their group or social environment.

TERRORISM: Many definitions of terrorism exist and thus, there is no single definition of terrorism. Terrorism is the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians in the pursuit of political aims. Pearsall & Trumble (2000) defined terrorism as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to coerce a government or community into acceding to specific political demands.

According to Adebayo, Ake, & Olowojolu (2016) the United Kingdom Legislation Terrorism Act (2000) also defined terrorism as the use or threat of action where the action falls within subsection, the use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the

public and the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause. The Act also states that action falls within this subsection if it involves serious violence against a person, involves serious damage to property, endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action, creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public or is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.

Furthermore, Kydd & Walter (2006) defined terrorism as the use of violence against civilians by non-state actors to attain political goals. Also, Igor (1990) stressed that terrorism is the deliberate use of violence or threat of its use against innocent people, with the aim of intimidating them or other people into a course of action they otherwise would not take. Thus, terrorism is an unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objectives. Terrorism in the broadest sense, is the use of intentional violence, generally against civilian for political purposes. In the United states, the law defines terrorism as the illegal use of force or violence to accomplish a political or social goal. Such goals could include changing a government's policy on a particular issue or preventing certain persons from voting in an election. In 1984, the US State Department described terrorism as premeditated or planned politically motivated violence perpetrated or committed against noncombatant targets or civilians who are not involved in fighting by sub national group or clandestine (secret) state agents.

INSECURITY:

Insecurity has to do with the state of being open to danger or threat, lack of protection. It is state of being subject to danger, vulnerability. Insecurity is defined as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethnic, regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property. According to Udoh (2015), insecurity

is a state of being subject to danger or injury. It is the anxiety one experiences when one feels vulnerable and insecure. Several illegal armed groups, ethnic militant groups, religious fundamentalists and fanatics are evidence of insecurity in Nigeria. All these gave birth to series of boomerangs, murder, arson, armed robbery, corruption, injustices that people hear every day. All these are affecting Nigeria negatively in all dimensions

NIGERIA AS A NATION AND CURRENT CHALLENGES.

According to Aniche (2018), the Federal Republic of Nigeria, commonly referred to as Nigeria is a Federal Republic in West Africa, bordering Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the East and Niger in the North. Its coast in the South lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. It comprises thirty-six (36) states and Federal Capital Territory where the Abuja is located. Nigeria that became independence in 1st October 1960 is officially a democratic secular country.

According to Ezeanya (2010:21) the geographical area that is today known as Nigeria was inhabited by people of varied and often conflicting traditional settings, cultural dispositions and socio-political and religious orientations engage mainly in agriculture and internal trading prior to the coming of the colonialist. In their respective domain they cherished what they shared together as a people and fared well among themselves. With the advent of the colonialists and the expatriate missionaries, westernization of the African reality became the order of the day. Divide and rule politics and religious bigotry were used in destroying the Socio-political, economic, cultural and religious systems of the people.

According to Okafor (1997) the colonialists brought the people together against their wish and with time broadly grouped them into two, namely, Northern Nigeria and Southern Nigeria. To further

maximize colonial interests, the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria took place in 1914. The name Nigeria is coinage suggested by Flora Shaw the girlfriend of lord Fredrick Lugard who later married him .

According to Oyeniyi (2010), Nigeria is viewed as a multinational state as it is inhabited by over 500 ethnic groups of which the three largest are the Hausa , Igbo and Yoruba and these ethnic groups speak over 500 different languages and are identified with wide variety of cultures. The official language is English. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians who live mostly in the southern part of the country and Muslims who live mostly in the north.

According to Akinyele (2013), Nigeria is only a geographical entity existing in maps, papers and lips but not in the hearts of its citizens. Thus, Nigeria is not seen as a country or nation. It is a name of a land where five hundred tribes converge. Nigeria makes news in the world media as a country with rich human and natural resources but ranks among the poorest countries in the world.

According to Akinwotu & Olukoya (2007), statistics show that one percent (1%) of Nigerians own and control ninety –nine percent (99%) of the country's wealth, while ninety-nine (99%) of Nigerians own and control one percent (1%) of the country's wealth.

This amazing height of inequality is never headed to in the government policies so far and the effect comes out in the different agitations from different part of the country. Niger – delta region has several militant groups fighting the government with arms and ammunitions in their agitation for justice to be extended to their region from where oil and gas which forms part of the major income earners to Nigeria are gotten. The Eastern region agitates for the Sovereign state of Biafra. Even the Western region also agitates for the Sovereign state of Oduduwa and the Northern region that had produced almost all the presidents of the federation since the independence are also complaining of

marginalization in the distribution of the country's wealth. Thus, the insurgency, terrorism and insecurity are endemic in Nigeria.

INDICATORS OF INSTABILITY IN NIGERIA.

The necessary indicators of instability in Nigeria according to Muzan (2014) are:

a. Political violence – political violence is the use of lethal force or other dilapidating means by a person or persons against others. In Nigeria, political violence has often occurred in anticipation of, during or sometimes, after an election campaign. It has been a feature of Nigerian electoral history recorded as early as pre independence elections in the 1950s. It is usually intended to eliminate, intimidate or otherwise subdue political opponents so as to obtain an advantage in the political process. The violence in response to the 2011 Federal elections, especially in the northern states may well be an indication of a resurgence of violence related to the political process in Nigeria. The recent Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is primarily described to be politically motivated though with religious and ideological colour.

b. Corruption, Nepotism and Tribalism in Nigeria: corruption, nepotism and tribalism are among the major indicators of instability in Nigeria. These three concepts are very deeply rooted in the Nigerian way of life. According to Muzan (2014) corruption is any conduct, including verbal and nonverbal communication which tends to compromise the integrity or to blemish the innocence of the parties concerned. Both nepotism and tribalism are primordial instincts and are corruptive in that they debase or deprecate the high moral and ethical values which sustain competition in the society. Nepotism and tribalism debase the very foundation of any merit system and destroy the competitive spirit and do not assist the lofty dictates and aspirations of the work ethic and values. Nepotism involves acts of

favoritism, especially relating to patronage or benevolence by the public officials and is directed to various categories of relatives. Also, such conducts confer advantages, often unmerited and thereby defeat fair play and denies the competitive rights of similarly situated parties. It denies others the right to compete. It distorts the labour market and thereby disturbs an otherwise even distribution of labour in the market and interferes with the employment of the right personnel for maximum efficiency and productivity. Tribalism is a cultural or ethnic group or subgroup with prominent biophysical ones. Tribalism is conduct, particularly of a public official in a manner that favours inordinately persons or issues which related to nepotism in that their economic, political and social outcomes are similar. Both are discriminatory and legally unjustifiable as they debase the idea of equal opportunity and right. Corruption, tribalism and nepotism are inseparable in nature in that they intertwined, and they evoke dysfunctional social, political, economic and organizational outcomes. They have reached alarming proportions in recent times in Nigeria.

c. Ill-Discipline and Related Crimes: Muzan (2014) sees ill-discipline, abductions and kidnappings, armed robbery, murder and extortion as other grave problems facing Nigeria as a nation. With the exception of ill-discipline, others are prohibited offences under the Nigerian Criminal Code, which has been in existence since 1943. Also, they are included in the Nigerian Penal Code (for the north) which came into force in 1958. Ill-discipline is an indicator of a flagrant disregard for or a failure of the legal order, particularly the Penal Law. This can result in grave political and insecurity consequences.

d. Terrorism, Insurgency and Insecurity: in Nigeria terrorism, insurgency and insecurity are the major indicators of instability. Since 2010, terrorist attacks in the form of bombing of religious and other targets have been increasing annually at an alarming rate. Terrorism is intended to elicit or maximize fear and publicity, making no distinction as to combatants and noncombatants in a conflict. Terrorism takes numerous forms, including political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious and

ecological issues. Insurgency is one objective of organized terrorism, just as terrorism is one of the several strategies of insurgency. Both terrorism and insurgency may be used by states in their internal and foreign policy operations. Terrorism and terrorist tactics constitute part of the strategies and tactics of insurgency leading to insecurity in Nigeria. The operational tactics are importantly those of guerilla warfare. The object is to intimidate, frustrate and raise the feeling of uncertainty, imminent danger and the loss of hope, so as to cripple or limit all aspects of human activities and normal livelihoods.

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.

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 concerned about what the fallout would be. The problems are 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 kinds of situation manifest in religious intolerance, political violence, corruption, nepotism and tribalism, ill-discipline and related crimes like insurgency and terrorism.

THREE STAGES OF INSURGENCY.

According to Mohan (2016) we have three stages as follows:

1. Organizational, consolidation and preservation of base areas- this means establishing a core cadre as part of the movement. Insurgents generally arrive in remotely located areas and live with the locals. These are usually places where the government has little or no attention. They propagate their ideas and recruit members. This is the conceptual or nucleus stage for the rebels, since the numbers in these areas are small; it is simple for the insurgents keeping tabs on the population.
2. Guerrilla Warfare: The second stage involves the use of military means to heighten political effect, isolated attacks are planned which are meant to serve a political purpose, goals and to forward their propaganda. The purpose is to put a fear of safety in the otherwise comfortable officials as well as attract attention.

3. Decision: this stage involves an all-out war against the government. It may start with the militia taking up arms against a small government structure to gather resources, killing informants, looting etc. This would result in the buildup of massive military force eventually taking over the whole country.

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 Ansaril Musliminati Biladis Sundan (Muzan, 2014). However, this work anchors its discussion on the more blood spilling, violent and human right violation groups, the insurgents/terrorist's groups known as Boko Haram, Herdsmen and so forth

BOKO HARAM IDEOLOGY.

According to Bartolatta (2011) Boko Haram is an indigenous salafist group which only turned itself into a salafist jihadist group in 2001. It propagates itself that not only interaction with the western is forbidden but it is also against the Muslim establishment and the government of Nigeria. The group publicly extols its ideology despite the fact that its founder and former leader Muhammed Yusuf was himself a highly educated man who lived lavish life and drove a Mercedes Benz. The members of the group do not interact with the local population and have carried out association in the part of any one who criticized it including in the Muslim Clerics. Ideologically, Boko Haram opposes not only western

education but also western culture and modern. According to Bartolotta (2011), Yusuf Mohammed who is believed to be the leader of the group, Boko Haram, said that the world is spherical in shape and is a shape contradiction to Islamic and rejected the dariomisam and the theory that rain comes from water evaporation by sun. A psycho-analysis of the adherent of the sect shows that other major belief is in the full implementation of sharia law is in their respective states. With Sharia fully implemented, there will be social justice, economic prosperity equality, fairness and a room big enough for all to live in the long run. Western education is not really their problem. They wrongly assumed that their leaders are improvising them through the instrumentality of western education. Those who are entrusted with our common wealth are fiddling with it yet, poverty continued to ravage the land like a big affliction. Having realized this massive penury, the proponents of the Boko Haram insurgence were able to brain wash a couple of young men into believing that they can wipe out the current infidel in their midst for them to live a fulfilling life.

CATEGORIES/GOALS OF TERRORISTS.

Terrorism is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Terrorism has objectives which are sometimes obscured by the fact that terrorists' attacks often seem random and are directed towards targets whose death or destruction cannot possibly benefit the terrorists. According to Igor (1990) the motivations behind terrorist's attacks vary greatly. In general, terrorist groups fall into six main categories:

1. National or Ethnic Independence movements
2. Political Economic Warfare,
3. State Sponsored Terrorism,

4. Social Causes

5. Individuals with grievances

6. Religion (https://encyclopedia.com, 2019).

1. National or Ethnic Independence movement: around the world, many different people who are citizens of one nation would prefer to find a separate independent country. These new countries might be based on speaking the same language, practicing the same religion, or belonging to the same ethnic group. Terrorism has been widely used as tactic to achieve independence.

2. Political – economic warfare: people have used violence to achieve a wide range of political and economic goals. On a smaller scale, workers have turned to violence to demand higher wage while employers have used violence to keep from paying workers more. Also, revolutionaries have used terror to overthrow a government and completely change a political system.

3. State – sponsored terrorism: terrorism could be a form of underground warfare secretly conducted by one government against another.

4. Social causes: terrorism has often been used to support social causes. A social cause is a policy regarding a specific behavior that some people believe should be changed. In Nigeria, much terrorism has resulted from conflicts over the country's many ethnic, religious and tribal differences.

5. Individuals with grievances: some individuals turn to terrorists acts to achieve their social and political goals. The assassinations and bombing are the most frequently used tactics. At times. There are individuals seeking revenge for an act by the government.

6. Religion: religion has long been a leading source of terrorist activities in Nigeria. There has always been constant clashes and conflicts between Muslim and Christians in Nigeria ending in killings and

destruction of property in different parts of the country. More recently, believers in a radical fundamentalist version of Islam have resorted to terrorist attacks to achieve their goal of Islamic rule in Nigeria as is the case in the Middle East and beyond.

NIGERIA AND BOKO HARAM.

According to Dunn (2018) Nigeria as a nation, is affected by several conflicts based on overlapping ethnic, religious, political and regional divisions including over resources in the Niger Delta, Christian – Muslim divides in the middle of the country, and most recently, the rise of Islamist Groups in the north, most importantly, Boko Hara, which emphasized that western education is a sin, was founded around 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State and largest city in the Northeast of Nigeria. According to Perouse (2014) at least its inception, the main tenet among its followers was a regime change in Nigeria as they believed democratic and secular rule is in contradiction to Sharia. According to Reinert (2014) in July 2009, the Boko Haram uprising began in Bauchi and spread to other northern states, leaving hundreds of Nigerian Law enforcement officers and civilians dead. The following year, attacks in the Northeast and other parts of the country including bombings, mass shootings, and executions began to rise. In May 2013, the President declared a state of emergency in the states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. The entire population of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States were directly impacted by the Boko Haram insurgency.

CHIBOK SCHOOL GIRLS KIDNAPPING AND BOKO HARAM.

According to Jacob (2014) on the night of 14 – 15 April 2014, 276 female students were kidnapped from the Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria. Responsibility for the kidnappings was claimed by Boko Haram, an extremist terrorist organization based in Northeast Nigeria. According to CNN (2016), 57 of the school girls managed to escape over the next few months and some have described their capture in appearance at international human rights conference. A child born to one of the girls and believed by medical personnel to be about 20 months old also was released according to the Nigerian President's Office. Since then hopes were raised on various occasions that the 219 remaining girls might be released. According to Lamb (2016), News Paper Report suggests that Boko Haram was hoping to use the girls as negotiating pawn in exchange for some of their commanders in Nigerian jail. According to BBC News (2016) in May 2016, one of the missing girls, Amina Ali was found. She claimed that the remaining girls were still there but that six had died. A further 21 girls were freed in Oct 2016 while another was rescued the next month. According to Busari & McCleary (2017) another was found in January 2017; 82 more girls were freed in May 2017 and Associated Press (2018) one of the girls was rescued in January 2018. According to BBC News (2014) the Nigerian Military had four hours' advance warning of the kidnapping but failed to send reinforcements to protect the school. Nigeria's Armed Forces have confirmed that the Nigerian Military had four – hour advance notice of the attack but said that their overextended forces were unable to mobilize reinforcements. Also, Hill (2014) pointed out that Boko Haram kidnapped these girls after coming increasingly under the influence of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and asserts that the group's goal is to use girls and young women as sexual objects and as a means of intimidating the civilian population into compliance. Hill (2014) described the attacks as similar to kidnapping of girls in Algeria in the 1990s and early 2000s.

DAPCHI SCHOOL GIRLS KIDNAPPING AND BOKO HARAM.

According to BBC News (2018) on February 19, 2018 at 5.30pm, 110 school girls aged 11 – 19 years old were kidnapped by the Boko Haram terrorist group from the Government Girls' Science and Technical College (GGSTC). Dapchi is located in Bulabulin, Yunusari Local Government Area of Yobe State in the Northeast part of Nigeria. According to Onuah (2018), the Federal Government of Nigeria deployed the Nigerian Air Force and other security agencies to search for the missing school girls and to hopefully enable their return. According to BBC News (2018) the Governor of Yobe State, Ibrahim Gaidam, blamed the Nigeria Army Soldiers for having removed a military check point from the town. Dapchi lies approximately 275km or 170 miles North West of Chibok where over 276 school girls were also kidnapped by Boko Haram in 2014.

INSURGENCY, TERRORISM, INSECURITY AND SOCIO – ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA.

According to Olabanji (2014), Nigeria after independence in 1960 up till today still ranks among the poorest countries in the world. Also, Nigeria ranks low in all socio – economic indicators such as life expectancy, death rate, access to water, poverty rate, mortality rate and crime rate and still carries the tag of a developing nation and giant of Africa. Nigeria as a nation in the midst of abundant human and natural resources is still tagged a poor country. Thus, the scenario has contributed to security challenges that have bedeviled the country since independence till today with grave effect for socio – economic development. In the annual history of nations, there is no nation that can achieve socio – economic development in the situation of social and physical insecurity. The increasing challenge of insecurity, terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria have also been linked to failure of leadership to carry out

good governance and secure the welfare of the masses on the principle of freedom, equality and justice base on human rights. According to Ali (2013) the ruling elites, both during the military and democratic rules in Nigeria are dependent, parasitic and very corrupt in nature and mal-administration.

The inability of government to provide a secure and safe environment for lives, property and conduct of business and economic activities has led to various resentments among the ethnic groups in Nigeria and this has resulted in ethnic violence, communal clashes and religious conflicts in different parts of Nigeria. This has resulted in destruction of lives and property, disrupted economic and business activities and also retarded socio – economic growth and development of the country. In such a situation, no investor will be motivated to invest in an unsafe or insecure environment. No foreign investor is willing to invest in Nigeria at this present dispensation because of insurgency, terrorism and insecurity in the country. Thus, this has negative effects on socio – economic development in Nigeria and the masses are suffering beyond expectation. Indeed, every aspect of human endeavour, be it health, environmental, food, economic, political, social and physiological etc. stand to be greatly affected by the state of insurgency, terrorism and insecurity of that nation.

CAUSES/REASONS FOR INSURGENCY/TERRORISM

As terrorism expert Jerrold (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: What could motivate these spates 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, nepotism, 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).

STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING THE MENACE OF THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA.

According to Shehu (2014) two major strategies were recommended and they are as follows:

A. Strategy of Coercion- Shehu (2014) stressed that the former Chinese leader, Mao Tse Tung defined coercion as force or intimidation of a victim to compel the victim to do some act against his or her will by use of psychological pressure, physical force or threat. According to him, the might is always right that is to say, he who wields the instrument of coercion is the political sovereign. Over the years, the most preferred option for combating or fighting such societal problem has been the coercion method, the armed confrontation. To a great extent, this largely explains why President George Bush Junior instantly declared war on terrorism in response to the terrorist attacks on the United States on the memorable black Tuesday of September 11, 2001, United States adopted the coercive method to avenge the attack. Several other countries in west have often employed this approach in solving their political problems in order to avoid political instability in the country.

Just like other sovereign states, Nigerian government has tried to exhibit or show its capacity to protect the lives and property of its citizens, citizens have to encourage their successive to adopt military or coercive confrontation in tackling terrorism through the establishment of joint task force and declaration of state of emergency in the state the terrorism is operating with high force. The government therefore, believes in the principle of tit-for-tat as a form of different measures and the terrorism is not a matter subject to be negotiated and won. Nevertheless, experience has shown that coercive action or method can easily provide ameliorate solution and often becomes counterproductive hatching more terrorists in the process.

B. Strategy of Dialogue and Negotiation

Dialogue is a discussion between two or more people or groups, especially one directed towards exploration of a particular subject or resolution of a problem. According to Uzoegbunam (1999) dialogue is a delicate process. Many obstacles inhibit dialogue and favour more confrontational communication forms such as discussion and debate. But dialogue remains the best option in combating terrorism in the world because it involves peaceful strategies in curtailing crime. Dialogue is best option for it ensure safety of life and property. In pursuing a stable economy free from form of social vices and to maintain a peaceful co-existence in the society, the dialogue approach is often recommended to the federal government for adaptation. This approach is also referred to as the diplomatic approach. Diplomacy can be seen as the application of intelligence and tactics to the conduct of official relations between the government and independent states. This is seen as one of the most effective investment of curbing societal problem. Diplomacy in the modern world has become very fashionable as an effective means of pursuing national peace. However, the Boko Haram sect has bluntly refused the offer for dialogue because the group has continued to carry out more attack in the country.

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

Sharia-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 operandi" (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 cybercrime 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 paralyzed 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, anywhere, 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.
8. **Security:** one of the basic needs of man according to Aroh (2014) is security, freedom from poverty, want, diseases, hunger and danger but insurgency and terrorism bring all these, most serious of them being security from danger. The attacks and bomb explosions cause not only death of the soldiers but also of innocent civilians. Life is full of insecurity and uncertainty under terror/ Fear has become part of the people as everyone thinks of next targeted area of the Boko Haram.
9. **Environmental Effect:** the environment has always formed a central part of the development focus. The conflict has led to environmental degradation, poverty and hindered rapid economic growth and development. The following include consequences of the conflict on environment: a. Pollution by war equipment/bomb on the environment by gases, chemical and toxic, Radio-actives.

b. Scaring away of foreign and conservation experts. c. Refugee problems to neighboring countries and cities and its consequences effect on their own environment like over population, destruction of their forests, over cultivation and grazing of their lands, social and cultural breakdown, economic cost on the host communities and countries like Chad, Benin Republic and the towns closer to Maiduguri will testify better. Whichever strategy the government decides to use, all that matters is for this Boko Haram to stop and go away. NO one is thrilled with its activities and their impact on the psyche of Nigerians and their foreign friends.

IMPLICATIONS OF INSURGENCY, TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA.

According to Udoh (2015), there are many implications of insurgency, terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria as a nation. These include:

- a. Political implication- the current security situation in Nigeria has forced the political leaders to a rethinking national security. This situation demands Nigeria Security Agencies to rethink and refocus our national security resources on the unique character of threats in Nigeria. Nigerians are daily becoming more and more apprehensive about the security situations in the country before, during and after the elections. The growing insecurity challenges in Nigeria are signs of the growing popular discontents with the national political system and indications that past elections were not free and fair.
- b. Religious implications- the tendency to hijack any form of violence and branding it religious is possible. Based on this, the outsider of religion will give it a bad name in order to hang it. Religious worship places are being desecrated through blood shedding resulting from indiscriminate bombing of religious worship centres. It scares members away from regular

religious fellowship and worship. Insecurity in a country can assist in spreading or promoting fake religious faith and practice. An insecure situation drives people into different religious groups not base on reason of believing but for security purposes.

- c. Cultural implication- according to Udoh (2015) it is expected that the continuous growth and development of ethnic communities into an integrated society based on Islamic solidarity cemented by increased interdependence and harmonization of shared values and goals will bring about transformation of the relationship between the various ethnic groups. But in a situation where there is insecurity, this desire cannot materialize. The incessant killings through bombing, shooting and other types of violence render the sanctity of life which people's cultures uphold to be baseless. Also, the problem of suicide bombing which is condemned culturally has become very pertinent way of destroying lives and property in Nigeria is an act and practice which is condemned culturally in Nigeria. Life is valued in all cultures and countries. Thus, suicide and bombing are abhorred because of the value placed on life. Thus, the danger and implication of insurgency, terrorism and insecurity cannot be over emphasized in Nigeria.

COMBATING INSURGENCY, TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

According to Adebayo, Ake and Olowojolu (2016), the Nigerian government has made numerous attempts and efforts towards combating insurgency, terrorism and insecurity. Such domestic measures include the deployment of troops to the affected areas, joint task force by the neighbouring countries, declaration of state of emergency and encouragement of public and media

to provide intelligence supports. The international actors use economic sanctions to punish the state sponsors of terrorism, the deployment of security assets abroad, the monitoring of the expanding scope and diversity of facilitation networks.

Upon all the approaches that were adopted in curbing insurgency, terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria, the incidences have continued to be intensified and thus, the need for calling for international collaboration and multi-dimension approaches against the insurgency, terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria.

CITIZENS PERSPECTIVE ON SOLUTIONS TO END INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA.

According to Enough is Enough Nigeria (2014), on solution to end terrorism, on Monday 14th April, 2014, Nigerians woke up to news of another heart – rending carnage at Nyanya Motor Park after a bomb detonated. Over 100 people were injured and over 70 died. According to Jacob (2014) the same night, over 200 school girls were abducted in Chibok, Borno State. This was enough to jolt most citizens out of nonchalance. Thus, tired of mere condemnations and the usual blame game, according to Enough is Enough Nigeria (2014) people on Social Media Platforms responded to a call for suggestions on ways to deal with this surge of terror. Over 1000 opinions were got in two days on ways to end terrorism trending on Twitter on both days. A further review of the suggestions and internal discussions were made and has resulted in essential 10 key Action Points and perspectives from the citizens in Nigeria on how to deal with the issue of terrorism and insurgency as follows:

1. Financing the security apparatus: the Nigerian public is seriously concerned that the resources allocated to our security apparatus, for instance, 22 billion naira in 2012, 1 trillion

naira in 2013, 845 billion naira in 2014 and beyond do not seem to correspond with the results delivered by those at security at the frontline to prosecute the war against terror and insurgency. While it is understandable that security operations are mostly classified, citizens believed that some elements of transparency and accountability of disclosure are essential to gaining public confidence and achieving optimal outcome. (a) Agents on the field: people are concerned about the size, strength, training and will of our security agencies to effectively and efficiently fight insurgents and terrorists. Furthermore, citizens want to be assured that the welfare of our soldiers is given utmost priority by the government and military leadership. This includes but not limited to provision of (1) premium life insurance cover for security agents deployed to fight terrorism and insurgency. (2) Adequate compensation for the families of agents killed in the line of duty. (3) Adequate care and support for agents injured in the line duty. (4) Adequate reward for gallantry. Also, the reports indicate discontent between the troops on the ground and the command centre. The ground troops need the most empowering base support functions to be effective with their counter insurgency role and it is expected that they should be fully supported morally and with adequate resources

b. Weapons, Intel and Logistics: according to Jacob 92014) the misinformation around the abduction of school girls in Chibok raises serious concerns about information sharing within the security agencies. Among others, the citizens want to know the technical capacity of our security agents to prosecute the war on terror and insurgency. Citizens request that an independent committee comprising members of the senate and house committee on defense as well as eminent retired military personnel be established to conduct an audit of the Joint Task Force responsible for fighting insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria. The objective of the audit among others should include to ascertain the state of weapons, intelligence gathering and logistics in executing the war on terror and insurgency.

2. Local Security Governance: while state policing is operational in different parts of Nigeria, people believe that government and the military leadership have not maximized the opportunity of well-designed local community participation in combating against terror and insurgency. Local communities should be encouraged to set up community safety groups neighbourhood watch groups. This is in the believe that community members know their communities better than the security agencies. They need to take an interest and connect with security organizations. Also, there is the need for support and protection for the communities that are supporting the security agencies. The citizens call on government and the military to design a robust plan of action and negotiate a unified template with local communities for participation in the security and intelligence gathering.

The plan should adequately provide for:

- A. Anonymous reporting of suspicious people or situation
- B. Protection of informants who feel threatened
- C. Rapid response to actional intelligence
- D. Feedback between the military and communities, and
- E. Measures to mitigate abuse of mandate by civilians.

Governors have critical roles to play as they currently support federal security agencies but there is room for more collaboration and streaming of efforts. This issue of state policing must also be addressed urgently by the National Assembly and National Conference.

3. Conclusive Prosecution: all the members of Boko Haram, Boko Haram financier and Boko Haram Supporters are labels that have been thrown around in a political war to embarrass certain citizens. The ease with which these labels are used, especially from the government,

belittles the seriousness of the security challenge we face and the attendant death of innocent citizens. The Senator for Borno South was once charged but the result of the case remains inconclusive. The government has a duty to promptly prosecute alleged sponsors and must be seen to be serious about it. It is not adequate to promise action while citizens watch themselves killed on a daily basis. Citizens encourage the Executive and Judiciary to work closely together on speedy trial for the critical impact of deterrence.

4. Protocol of Engagement with Citizens:

Furthermore, there has to be a defined protocol for obtaining information and sharing information with Nigerians. During such cases of domestic terrorism, a public system through which information can be passed between people and the security forces must exist.

The presence of such a protocol is essential and necessary to the protection of people's lives. It is unacceptable that in the last 4 years, despite many discussions, Nigeria still does not have an adequate and efficient functional nationwide emergency number. Furthermore, Nigerians need to be assured that when they share information, they will not be arbitrarily assumed to be members of Boko Haram and be intimidated and victimized. In addition, it was suggested that a monthly meeting between security operatives and community stake holders in communities most affected by these acts of violence be conducted on regular basis. Also, an alternative that encourages more collaboration and information sharing to bridge the gap of communication. For the larger populace, the National Assembly should host Quarterly Public Hearing to keep citizens reasonably updated on the status of counter insurgency operations.

5. Follow the Money:

The violence is being financed with cash. Terrorism involves the transfer of money in order to fund the procurement of equipment and manpower. The government must make efforts to ensure that financial services such as the banking sectors know – your customer initiative is tied to its anti-terrorism strategy. Of course, through such efforts, government might be able to cut off the financial supply and trace the sponsors.

6. Immigration and Citizens' Identification:

The Nigerian Borders are porous, and Nigerians do have family and allegiances to nationals of Niger and Cameroon. As a matter of urgency, the government need to streamline the different types of data we have into a comprehensive database Sim-Card registration (NCC) immigration, National Identity Card, civil service commission, Driver's License and License Plates (FRSC), Voters' Register (NEC). A central database where the identities of all Nigerians can be easily verified must exist in order for Nigeria to significantly make progress.

7. Respect for the Dead:

The Nigeria's Constitution assures us that the security of lives and property is the major or primary responsibility of government. Thus, given that lives have been lost to terrorism, the government need to demonstrate respect for the citizen who have lost their lives in this act of violence. The appropriate agencies of government should within 48 hours of any attack, publish the names of many victims as possible using formal and informal identification. Also, the National Human Right Commission as a matter of fact, should be given adequate resources and support to create and maintain a data-base of victims of violence. Reporting victims as mere

statistics is dehumanizing our dead brothers and sisters and desensitizing our society. Thus, Nigerians must learn to remember these victims as part of our nation.

8. Risk Calculation and Mitigation:

For our public spaces prone to attacks, such markets, schools, and parks, a standard package of protection should be designed to protect people. Once they are made public, equally be very vigilant to ensure that their space have the expected and required services.

9. Promotion of Peace Education:

The government, religious institutions, private sectors and civil society group should invest adequate resources in promoting peace education. The peace education will assist to redress the culture of violent orientation on every Nigerian. The peace education should also be integrated in the educational curriculum of Nigerian primary to tertiary education. Also, youth radicalization and extremism could be curbed through proper and adequate sensitization and enlightenment programmes using special designed television and radio programmes and group discussions. Furthermore, a robust countering violent extremist programme should be made part of peace education. The private sector is expected to play a major role in providing financial assistance for the programmes.

10. SOCIAL WELFARE:

a. Specific Programme to Educate and Empower Women: Generally, there is a direct and clear link between uneducated and unproductive women and poverty. The statistics shows that 2/3 of the 102 million poor people in Nigeria live in the Northern region of Nigeria and women are the least literate and empowered. Furthermore, the North East and North West areas have half of all the poor people in Nigeria, with more than 50 million people living in abject poverty and the insurgency and terrorism have increased the gap the more. Over half of the women in the North are even married

off before they reach the age of 16 and start childbirth within their first year of marriage. Of these 16 million births by the girls below the age of 18, 9 out of 10 of them are married. The poor human development indices just portend massive economic development cost for current and future generations. Thus, government at all levels need to consciously invest in Nigerian women in order to increase productivity, promote sustainable growth, their children's wellbeing and also engender healthy livelihoods and establish peace, stability and security in our local communities.

b. Creation of Job Opportunities for Nigerian Youths: our government must embark on effective and adequate poverty alleviation and human capital development programmes so as to empower its large population of youths that are most vulnerable to recruitment and radicalization for violent extremism, insurgency and terrorism.

c. Design and Delivery of Rich Programmes for the Destitute and Children: our government has to fund appropriately National Council for the welfare of the destitute to enable the agency to formulate and implement rich and robust rehabilitation programmes for the destitute children. Government should partner with credible civil society organizations not only to design but implement effective reorientation programmes to reconnect these destitute children with their parents and guidance or provide them the essential training that will assist them function effectively in the society. Researchers have shown that children who were not brought up by their parents are more prone to using violence in propagating their religious views and others.

d. Enhanced Provision of Education and Literacy Programmes: as a result of high illiteracy in Nigeria, majority of our young people are easily susceptible to manipulation and recruitment into criminal and extremist groups. Even though the right to education is one of the major areas of emphasis in our constitution and all Nigerians are supposed to have access and entitlement to education as their rights but it is hardly attained. The opportunities are blocked and the right to education is difficult to attain in Nigeria. Thus, in order to minimize the number of people who are

prone to fall prey to recruitment into terrorist and insurgent groups, our primary and secondary education should be made free and compulsory for all; children in Nigeria. The local and state government should muster sufficient political and economic will to deliver quality and accessible education to children in the Northern Nigeria through enhanced allocation and judicious utilization and management of funds in the education sector as expected of them.

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 undertaken 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 Maiduguri, 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 infidels one were able to kill, the person will be rewarded with seven virgins in heaven. The participants refer 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 extremist's 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 defenseless 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/terrorist's activities on the National Development of Nigeria, fourteen (70%) member Participants in an FGD session, observed that:

To a large extent, the insurgents/terrorist's 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 diver stating destruction to economic, socio-politico 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 take 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 (4) (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 opinions (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, skrill 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 problem 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 conditions 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 hold...

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 contend that:

the insurgents/terrorist's 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/terrorist's 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 ideology of the insurgents/terrorists as:

Very brutal and complicated. In fact, 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 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 require violence without guilty because the cause justifies the violence (cited in Haralambos, et. al .,2013). To this effect, the Boko Haram spokesman, 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 lives 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, AREWA 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. More so, 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 halfhearted 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.

4. Accurate and up to date statistics are essential for efficient and effective development planning in Nigeria in order to better the welfare of the masses and our government should do something about the issues.
5. There is need to provide adequate and modern communication equipment at different levels by the government for dissemination of information to appropriate quarters in the country for quick and urgent actions against terrorism and insurgency groups.

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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 in Nigeria is undoubtedly one of the greatest security challenges currently bedeviling Nigeria. These unimaginable war crimes against humanity perpetrated by the insurgents vis-à-vis terrorist groups include: murder, torture, rape, assassination, forced-marriage, abduction, hostage-taking, displacement, arson, poisoning and many more. The focus of this work is to critically appraise the origin, forms, causes, activities, consequences and implications of the prevailing insurgency/terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria and also suggest realistic solutions. The work 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 worrisome situations in Nigeria. The work strongly recommends for multi-dimensional and comprehensive approaches for sustainable peace and socio-political stability, economic reform, good-governance void of corruption.

Dr. Alexander Ngozi Aniche was born in Amokwe in Udi Local Government Area of Enugu State, Nigeria. He is working with Godfrey Okoye University where he is the head of Department of Sociology and Psychology.

Dr Leonard Ugwu Ngwu obtained PGDE in 2009 from Imo State University, Owerri and Ph.D. in Criminology in 2014 from Kogi State University.



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