

Full Length Research Paper

The Impact of Ethnic Militancy, Internal Terrorism, and Nigeria's National Security

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Received 11 September 2019; Accepted 24 November, 2019

The paper examines the impact of ethnic militancy, its metamorphosis to internal terrorism and how it affects national security, not only that, how it assumes international outlooks, with the bombings of the United Nations office in Abuja. The primary and secondary sources of data will be used to evaluate the evolution of ethnic militant groups to the rise of a more violent Boko Haram. Primary sources of data include written documents such as government publications, letters, correspondence, documentaries, and newspapers. But largely, it depends on secondary sources of data such as books, journals, conference proceedings, and internet sources. It will also explore why internal terrorism occurs in Nigeria and the factors which facilitate it. Moreover, it will look into the Nigerian security environment and the counter-terrorism policies which the Nigerian government pursue to maintain

national security from 1999 to 2015. The problem of internal terrorism and its implication for national security, analyze the implication of internal terrorism for Nigeria in the international community. The anomie theory, strain theory of deviance and the frustration-aggression hypothesis theory would be used as the point of studies, is to say the paper explores relevant and suitable concepts and theories that explain violent activities, perpetrated and inspired by some variables in Nigeria. And, to further give detailed explanations on how conflict can be managed. However, the paper concluded that unemployment, poverty and high rate of corruption in Nigeria has been identified as a major cause of violence in the country.

Keywords: Boko Haram, militancy, terrorism, Nigeria national security

INTRODUCTION

In a multi-ethnic society, that cut across the six existing geopolitical regions not only that incorporated under a single political system, means bringing together the basic problem of ethnic conflict. This is to say that Nigeria as a country is characterized by an intense ethnic polarization and conflict. This is understandable from the submissions made by various ethnic and regional groups to the Human Rights Violations Investigations Commission (HRVIC) set up in June 1999 as the country returned to democratic politics after so many years of military dictatorship. Complaints of genocide, political, economic, social strangulation and marginalization of so many ethnic groups was made by their leading elite organizations.

Consequently in the time of insurgency and terrorism, the Nigerian state moves to articulate itself as a domain of security for the citizenry. The presidency, lawmakers and security agencies openly condemn terrorist attacks as illegitimate action used by non-state actors. Appropriately, the Nigerian governments, through the National Assembly (NASS) embarked on legislative pathways to criminalize terrorism via the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act in 2002. Nevertheless, the inchoate nature of counterterrorism provisions in the Act led to the exploration of a more comprehensive legal framework, and in turn to the presentation of the prevention of the Terrorism Bill to the

senate in 2006 (Isaac, 2011:42) after five years, the Terrorism prevention Act of 2011, was passed by the Senate and House on June, 1, 2011 and on June 2, 2011 and finally signed into law on June 3, 2011 (Punch Newspaper, November 22, 2012).

The year 2009, the internal strife conflict or terrorism in Nigeria moved from ethnic militancy to suicide bombings a condition that has claimed over 3000 lives, which led to the declaration of state of emergency in five northern states and the sack of the defense minister, police chief and National security adviser (Olalekan, 2012). The unpopular national phenomenon of suicide bombings have suddenly become dominant in the country, with several attacks on the elected political leaders and traditional rulers in North-Eastern regions of Nigeria, the nation's capital, Abuja, the commercial city of Kano in North western axis and formerly serene Plateau state in North-central region (Tony and Kolade, 2012). With the bombings of the UN Building at Abuja on Friday, 26 August 2011, which killed about 21 and wounded 60 people the nature of internal terrorism in Nigeria has taken an international dimension. The international community aggrieved, as suicide bombing rocked the St. Therese's Catholic Church, Madalla, Niger State on Christmas Day, Killing innocent worshippers (Olalekan, 2012). There were a lot of other bombings, of other several places-mosques, churches, public infrastructures and civilian gatherings in Kano, Kaduna, Okene and other local government councils in the northern parts of the country.

Nigeria ranked 2nd with 593 deaths in 2011 from terrorist killing on the African continent, second to only failed state of Somalia, and on the global level, Nigeria was placed 5th in the ranking of causalities (Country report on terrorism, 2010).

As earlier observed, terrorism is not a strange or a new thing; having experienced the activities of Maitatsine movement which become violent in the early 1980's during the regime of the first democratically elected civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. The movement was actually a quasi-Muslim fringe group that preached Islamic doctrines that were contrary to the teachings of the Quran and Hadith. Mohammadu Marwa Maitatsine, the leader of the sect, was from Marwa town in northern Cameroon, who migrated to Kano, Nigeria (Danjibo, 2012). The ideology of the Maitatsine sect was appealing to the poverty – stricken youths who sought an opportunity to confront the conservative traditional ruler ship and state governments. The directives by the federal government to the police force to crush the sect, which had large followership of unemployed youths, led to clashes with the police in Kano. By December 19, 1980; the sect took over strategic places in the city, including the Fagge mosque, some schools, a cinema house and the Sabon Gari market. For about nine days, the police was unable to bring the sectarian riots under control. It took the Army two days to dislodge the sect; the leader of

the sect was also killed. More than 1000 members of the sect were arrested and detained in the prison. The crisis lasted for 11 days, 4179 people died and hundreds of houses and shops were either touched or destroyed (Danjibo, 2000). This crisis, which has some element of religion, took a denominational dimension in Zaria Maiduguri, Yola, Bauchi and Gombe etc.

THE THREAT TO NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

Thus, national security becomes the subject of discussion in and through which terrorism is mediated as a threat which invariably make the state to create and implement national security policies. It is truly to say that, not only international or global terrorism that threatens Nigeria's Security, internal terrorism is equally perceived to threaten directly the national security of Nigeria. That is to say the threat requires the Nigerian government to protect the citizens but also to defend the constitution and its national interest, including its interests and allies abroad.

Terrorism, as believed to be a systematic use of violence or the threat of violence, against governments or individuals to attain a socio-political objective, terrorism has been practiced throughout history and the world over. Terrorism is a long-standing political and religious strategy that has gained renewed international awareness following the devastating and unprecedented attacks in the United States (US) on the 11th September 2001 (9/11). Although, the event of the day have come to represent a turning point in international concern with the issue, the 9/11 attacks were not isolated events. Nor did these events reflect an unexpected new threat they were the representative reaffirmation of a tendency that have been apparent for several years. Where terror had previously been a painful accessory to anarchism, liberation wars counter-insurgency campaigns and the battle fields of the cold war, the events of that day took terrorism to a new, global level.

Historically, no terrorist group has ever emerged in a vacuum; there are dynamic contexts-political, social economic, temporal, and spatial even religious that must be taken into account. Thus, a considerable amount of emphasis is placed on identifying the array of environmental conditions and grievances among members of the local population that facilitated opportunities for internal terrorism in Nigeria to master support and orchestrated acts of political violence. The government of Nigeria has struggle to deal effectively with these grievances and source of tension throughout the country and there is a pervasive belief particularly among Nigerians that the government continually fails to address critical needs of those who aspire for a better future. While resources are surely constrained, it is the inequitable distribution of those resources, and the widely acknowledge levels of corruption among elites, that

detract from the government's effectiveness. In turn, patronage and corruption fuels a general perception that government officials (to include law enforcement agents) cannot be trusted and this further undermines the government's ability to influence the behaviour of local community members in positive directions away from the lure of radical extremist ideologies like that of Boko Haram. Internal Terrorism has a long history in Nigeria. Both the southern and northern parts of the country have experienced acts of terrorism some of groups that posed the greatest challenge to Nigerian security between 1999 to date include the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Odua People's Congress (O.P.C), Bakassi Boys, Boko Haram and the Niger Delta Avengers, among others. These groups adopted various strategies which include arson, kidnapping, extra-judicial killings, looting, unlawful detention, disappearances and at worst, suicide bombings. While some of these groups received considerable support from the local people, the fact is that their tactics sometimes constitute terrorism and pose special challenges to Nigerian military.

Since the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria has been battling with series of violent agitations from various geopolitical zones in the country. These violent agitations which have taken terror dimensions have contributed to national security threat that is capable of disintegrating the country. Terrorists attacks have resulted in the killings of hundreds of people and wanton destructions of property that worth billions of naira through bombings. The strategic implication of these terrorists' acts on Nigeria's national security is the major thrust of this paper. While literature abounds on the terms terrorism, national security, more research is needed to unravel the connection between terrorism and national security in Nigeria. Outright confrontation with police and military officers, violent attacks on the populace, pipeline vandalization, bombing of oil installation, armed resistance, against the agents of the Nigerian State and the transnational oil companies operating in the region, kidnappings and hostage taking have serious implication for Nigeria in international community. Since the activities of these terrorist groups especially since 1999 have not only constituted a major security threat to the nation, but has also make the country one of the most dangerous place to live in the world.

METHODOLOGY

Historical research method was used in carrying out this study. A critical examination of the dramatic evolution of ethnic militant to the rise of a more violent Boko Haram, was analyzed using findings from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include written documents such as government publications, letters, correspondence, documentaries and newspaper. Moreover, this study depended on secondary sources

such as books, journals, conference proceedings and internet sources which are to be explored to enrich this work.

Recent Threats of Boko Haram on National Nigerian Security

Ethno-religious violence has bedeviled Nigeria as a sovereign and independent country since its return to democracy in 1999. The Boko Haram insurgency has continued to pose a serious threat to the country's security system and corporate political entity (Zenn, 2014). Since the violence re-emergence of the Boko Haram in 2010 the attacks and suicide bombings carried out by the group was increasing beyond the national boundary. The sect also engages in kidnapping of foreigners, and the recent tactics of kidnapping women. The group kidnapped of foreigners, and the recent tactics of kidnapping women. The group kidnapped more than 250 school girls in Chibok town of Borno State. According to Anyadike, (2014), the changing dynamic of the operations and tactics of the group confused many scholars and analysts. Of its initial campaign of violence targeting security personnel and their formations have now expanded to include civilians, nongovernmental targets and the entire Nigeria populace.

The major violence started in 2009 between the Boko Haram and Nigerian security forces. This violence has claimed the lives of more than 1000 people with over 700 killed in Borno State capital Maiduguri (Umar, 2012). This single show of nicked violence has exposed the weakness of Nigerian Security System by its inability to curb the crisis on time. Subsequently, the group carried out another attack, when it orchestrated a large prison break in Bauchi in 2010 which freed more than 700 inmates including the sect members. This prison break shows how capable the group is in undermining the security of the country and exposes its weakness to the international community. The sect claimed responsibility for police headquarters attacks that was believed to be the first suicide bombing in Nigeria in 2011. This attack shows how powerful the group is, its ability and strategy to attack such an important place (Blanchard, 2014). Equally on Friday, 26 August 2011, the same year, the group carried out another suicide attack on United Nations Headquarters in Abuja in which twenty people were killed and more than sixty were injured (Nossiter, 2011).

The attack drew the attention of the international community about the threats of the sect that is now beyond the national issue. "The Boko Haram attacks since 2011 have featured improvised explosive devices (IEDS), car bombs, and periodical suicide bombing. The members of the group cause a lot of damages and unpleasant moments to the people by continuing burning and destroying the communities using arms and arsons

(Plouch, 2011). This made the United States security department to designate Boko Haram and Ansaru as foreign terrorist organizations (FTO) in November, 2013. Subsequently, the United Nations Committee on al-Qaeda sanction blacklisted the group on 22 May 2014. The United listing entry describes Boko Haram as an affiliate of Al Qaeda and organization of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Nicholas, 2014).

Furthermore, there were a lot of incidents that happened while soldiers are fighting the group that exposed the weaknesses of Nigerian security for tackling the menace of the group. These incidents are; on 14 May 2014, some of the battlefield soldiers fighting the group in Maiduguri attempted a mutiny by firing off their commanding officer. The soldiers had complained that the insurgents outgun them as a result of more sophisticated weapons used by the sect members. This problem shows endemic corruption within the Nigerian security system, where billions of Naira was allocated to defence ministry for the fight against terrorism, but the outcome has not yielded any achievement. In a related issue, a group of soldiers fighting the group in Maiduguri had refused to go to the battlefield until modern weapons are provided to them. The Nigerian Army officials are not ready to fight Boko Haram; a Nigerian soldier said, the soldiers fighting the insurgents have no sophisticated weapons and adequate arms and ammunitions which made it difficult to confront the insurgents (This day Newspaper, 2014).

The threats posed by the group recently are undermining the existence of Nigeria as one political entity. The group captured more local government in the affected state of Borno Yobe, and Adamawa. And about 500 Nigerian soldiers and refugees flee Boko Haram to Cameroun (Sahara Reporters, 2014). Moreover, the sect's leader Shekau declares areas under the sect's control as new caliphate that would be governed according to strict Islamic codes (Sahara Reporters, 2014). All these have exposed the weaknesses of Nigerian government to curb the problem of the group, despite the country being the giant of Africa. According to Onuoha (2014), also Boko Haram has become a threat to and also impacted regional security. These threats can be assessed from at least four dimensions. Namely, the group expansion in the form of recruitment, training equipment and funding its target, the increase problems of border attacks, transnational implications of these attacks, as well as diminishing the potential of Nigeria as defector leader of West Africa. An evidence of Boko Haram's reached beyond the national borders of Nigeria, expanding international network that enables it to recruit and train members from the country of Sahara-Sahel region. The United Nations report was quoted to have linked Boko Haram with al-Qaeda in the land of Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Onuoha, 2014). The groups have a good connection with one another, and Boko Haram was influenced by the ideology and tactics of the (AQIM)

(Nossiter, 2011). According to the report, many of the group members were trained in Sahel alongside (AQIM). This connection continues where a large number of Boko Haram in Sahel alongside (AQIM). This connection continues where a large number of Boko Haram members attended an (AQIM) training centre in Timbuktu Mali during the summer of 2011. These members later came back and became the influential figures of the Boko Haram.

Boko Haram dispatched some other members to far away Somalia to join Al-Shabaab run training camp, where members were taught on how to construct and detonate improvised explosive devices, and how to carry out suicide bombing. Before the June 2011 suicide bombing, there was little attention to the connection between Boko Haram and other Jihadist groups in the African region. Also, the groups run an international network of recruitment, training and indoctrination camps in different countries Gao and Kidal in Mali, Cameroun, Chad, Sudan and some cells in Central African Republic. This shows how the group has well connected with major African Jihadists, which are all allies of Al-Qaeda and shows how dangerous the connection will be to the entire African countries. Subsequently, the expanding of the cross-border attacks by the group poses a serious threat to neighboring countries in the region, among which are Cameroun, Chad and Niger Republic. Nevertheless, the threats of the group have transnational implications; the deteriorating nature of the violence affected economic, humanitarian and diplomatic stability of the affected countries. The Boko Haram insurgency has reduced the power and influential role of Nigeria as defector leader of the West Africa and the entire Africa, this violence posed a serious security threats that hinders the country to continue its influential role in peacekeeping operations in many countries. Consequently, the Nigerian and U.S government's long bilateral relation had broken when the later refused to render military hardware assistance to the former (Guitta and Smicox, 2014). Government of United States would not work closely with Nigerian security forces as doing so would violate the 1997 "Leahy law" which prevents the U.S defence and state departments from providing assistance if there is credible information that (a foreign security force) has committed a gross violation of human right (DeCenzo, 1997).

What are the threats of Boko Haram Insurgency on Nigerian Security System

This question was to answer research question one of study. The escalation of attacks and bombings, as well as direct attacks on public institutions and security formations is quite different from any ethnic and religious of yester years. Question of the questionnaire revealed that Boko Haram has posed the challenge of weapons armament and another ballistics possession.

Report shows that Boko Haram fighters possessed more superior equipments that are far better than those wield by the security agents of the country.

The remaining as documented pointed to the challenge of gathering accurate and timely intelligence and security tips that could assist security organizations in fighting has really made effective security a difficult task to provide as this is not unconnected with a high level of corruption within top-ranking officers of the organizations, poor and outdated weapons, problems of logistics and many other internal security issues.

Furthermore, the respondent revealed that Boko Haram has several affected the Nigerian security formations. About 90% of the respondents opined that Boko Haram remained faceless within mainstream Nigerian population.

Hence, the targeting of security officers even on private life has placed the men of these services extremely in danger.

The security has also been affected in terms of spirit and morale of it agents in facing the enemies squarely. With this evidence has shown that more of them are fleeing and abandoning their post or turning to mutiny. And, as a result, Nigerian military hierarchy has sentenced about 200 of the military personnel to death, and about 300 have been expelled from the service, a situation that negatively affected the Nigerian security formation.

Subsequently, the research also asked the respondents on how the crisis has affected the Nigerian security system: A great majority of the respondents agreed that Boko Haram insurgency has seriously affected the nation's security in the high degree.

The security organizations were totally changed in combat operations, tactical and strategic approaches to security. The security system has been weakened by its ability to win the war is seriously affected, as some of them were turned into helpless force with no clear focus or blueprint on how effective to stop the insurgency. This can be validated in recent cases of mutiny and fleeing of Nigerian soldiers to neighboring countries and the consequent trials of many soldiers in Military court martial where many soldiers has either sentenced to death, or expelled from the service.

Furthermore, the security system has been exposed to public knowledge, as it is no longer a secret that they are being overrun and defeated in some instances. This has affected the public confidence towards security matters. In short, most of the respondents as they are security men, believed that the conflicts have affected them individual as well as within their respective security agencies.

Only one of the respondents thinks that the impact of the insurgency on security agencies is still very minimal and low.

This could be linked possibly with increasing men who still want to be in the service.

THE RADICALS CONCEPTIONS OF CONFLICTS

Karl Marx and Ralf Dahrendorf's Perspectives and the Nigerian Experience

However, one of the most powerful socioeconomic explanations of social conflict is that of Karl Marx, who posited a class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie inherent in the capitalist-industrial society. This conception is powerful in being dynamic, instinctively convincing, and appearing to fit well with history. It is powerful in providing in one package a description, an explanation, and a prediction of contemporary problems, and a remedy. The historical events and trends notwithstanding, the sociological outlines of Marx's approach have much value. His emphasis on conflict, on classes, on their relations to the state, and on social change was a powerful perspective that should not be discarded. The spirit, if not the substance, of his theory is worth developing. For Marx, the division between classes will widen and the condition of the exploited worker will deteriorate so badly that social structure collapses: the class struggle is transformed into a proletarian revolution. The workers' triumph will eliminate the basis of class division in property through public ownership of the means of production. With the basis of classes thus wiped away, a classless society will ensue (by definition), and since political power to protect the bourgeoisie against the workers is unnecessary, political authority and the state will wither away. Overall, according to Marx (cited in Rummel, 1977) there are six basic elements of class conflict.

- (i) Classes are authority relationships based on property ownership.
- (ii) A class defines groupings of individuals with shared life situations, thus interests.
- (iii) Classes are naturally antagonistic by virtue of their interests.
- (iv) Imminent within modern society is the growth of two antagonistic classes and their struggles, which eventually absorbs all social relations.
- (v) Political organization and Power is an instrumentality of class struggle, and reigning ideas are its reflection.
- (vi) Structural change is a consequence of the class struggle.

Consequently in Nigeria for instance, there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor emanating from the contradiction that exist within Nigeria capitalist mode of production, distributions and services. Several time Nigerian have complained about dubious and exploitative activities of some investors such as the Oyinlola sue case against "MTN, a telecommunication service provider" serve as a reference point and the Nigeria Communication Commission (NCC) banned on MTN, Globacom, Airtel, Multilinks, Visafone, Intercellular and

others (The Nation Newspaper, 29th January, 2013; 18, Feb, 2012; Oct, 18, 2012 and 2014), and other unethical and corrupt cases by some companies such as British Airways, Virgin Atlantic and Halliburton case (The Guardian Aug., 16 2011). Concluding this section in view of Marxian's postulations vis-à-vis Nigeria situation, however, one notable force that came with modernization is capitalism, and the main effect of this has been the wholesome destruction of communalism, collectivity, and the spirit of togetherness found in most Nigerian communities. Today, what we have in the place of these noble virtues are selfishness, individualism, parochialism, sectionalism and greed for material possession. Since corruption is a short cut, it is easier to get rich quickly through it, and most people prefer this avenue to the slow policy and insincerity of the government. Corruption has become an issue that leaders in Nigeria enjoy and celebrate which has further prompt the Nigerian youth to engage in act of violence and indiscipline in the Nigerian political system, the recent presidential pardon given to Diepreye (formal governor of Bayelsa State guilty of money laundry in UK and decided disguise himself and escape from UK prison) and others serve as point of reference. Conversely, however, the philosophy of Marx generated a lot of intellectual debate between and among scholars especially the prophesy that underline his thesis; much of it is polemical and political, but some writers have tried to avoid the historical or empirical errors Marx committed, to learn from changes since his time, and to apply the spirit of his sociology to contemporary industrial society. One of the best of these efforts is that Ralf Dahrendorf's *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Dahrendorf, 1959). He sees Marx's defining characteristic of class (as property ownership) as a special case of a more general authoritative relationship. Society grants the holders of social positions power to exercise coercive control over others. And property ownership, the legitimate right to coercively exclude others from one's property, is such power. This control is a matter of authority, which Dahrendorf defines, according to Weber, as the probability that a command with specific content will be obeyed by certain people. Authority is associated with a role or position and differs from power, which Dahrendorf claims is individual. Authority is a matter of formal legitimacy backed by sanctions. It is a relation existing between people in imperatively coordinated groups, thus originating in social structure. Authority, however, is dichotomous; there is always an authoritative hierarchy on one side and those who are excluded on the other. Within any imperative group are those who are super-ordinate and those who are subordinate. There is an arrangement of social roles comprising expectations of domination or subjugation. Those who assume opposing roles have structurally generated contradictory interests, to preserve or to change the status quo. Incumbents of authoritative roles benefit from the status-quo, which grants them their

power. Those toward whom this authoritative power is exercised, and who suffer from it, however, are naturally opposed to this state of affairs. Super-ordinates and sub-ordinates thus form separate quasi-groups of shared latent interests. On the surface, members of these groups and their behaviour may vary considerably, but they form a pool from which conflict groups can recruit members. With leadership, ideology, and the political (freedom) and social conditions of organization being present, latent interests become manifested through political organizations and conflict. Summarily, for Marx's conceptions, it is people distributed on the bases of differentiated property ownership and sources of income; for Dahrendorf, it is differential power, norms, and roles. Class struggle or conflict, the active opposition of classes, is of course the meat of class theories. The utilization and importance of political power in the struggle is also recognized. Moreover, the three theories equally recognize the importance of the superimposition of class interests in contributing to the intensity of the struggle. Marx puts this in terms of the generalization of separate factory-specific class conflicts, and the increasing homogenization of classes; Dahrendorf refers to the superimposition of role incumbents, such that the same people are generally in the same authoritative relationship across organizations.

The Anomie Theory of Conflict and the Nigerian Experience

Anomie is a term meaning "without Law" to describe a lack of social norms or normlessness. It describes the breakdown of social bonds between an individual and their community ties, with fragmentation of social identity and rejection of self-regulatory values. It was popularized by French sociologist Emile Durkheim his influential book *Suicide* (1997). Anomie occurs when there is discrepancy between common social goals and the legitimate means to attain those goals. Moreover, an individual suffering from *anomie* would strive to attain the common goals of a specific society yet would not be able to reach these goals legitimately because of the structural limitations in society. As a result the individual would exhibit deviant behaviour. In other words, Anomie occurs as soon as there are no clear standards to guide behaviour in a specified area of social life. In these conditions, people feel at a complete loss and worried; a state of 'normlessness' sets in and the people begin to do whatever they like. Consequently, this situation described the failure of Nigerian government to conduct free and fair election, policy failure (such as Poverty Alleviation Programme, Scholarship Packages for students, low pay of government officials such as the Nigerian Police, Civil Servants and so on), tribalism, Nepotism, etc, these and among others have triggers Nigerian youths to take up arms against the Federal Government of Nigeria. These

forementioned scenarios have bred prostitutions, arm-robbery, thuggery, hooliganism, kidnapping, these and among others have tend to legalized corrupt actions in the country. This state of affair has led the Nigerian Police to be inefficient and ineffective. Policemen are ill-equipped to function effectively and ill-remunerated to be able to resist attempts to corruption. The effect is that first transgressors are not apprehended either because the Police are bribed to look the other way or because there is not resources. However, the Nigerian Judiciary, which is touted as the hope of common man, has not lived up to its billing. The wheel of justice grinds slowly and with an unsure gait, which aggrieved parties find both frustrating and expensive. The breakdown of order in society makes people call for extreme solutions such as “Bakassi Boys, Odua Peoples’ Congress, Egbesu Boys, Arewa Peoples’ Congress” (vigilantes) in Nigeria and military repression. But such solutions may only make things worse by weakening the State and diverting attention from the need to improve basic institutions of governance, notably the police. At the long run some of these ethnic militias become a menace to the government such as the incessant armed- robbery cases in the West, oil pipeline destruction and kidnapping menace in the Niger Delta, child trafficking/kidnapping in East and the destruction of property and killing in the North in Nigeria (The Nation Feb., 18; Oct., 18, 2012). Furthermore, despite lip service paid to stumping out violence successive governments in Nigeria have made little significant effort to ensure that government officials and members of the security forces implicated in violations of civil and political rights, including election-related violence, are held to account. While only small minorities of the human rights abuses that have been documented were directly carried out by federal government officials, the federal government’s failure to combat widespread impunity for abuses orchestrated by government and party officials at the state and local level has fostered the unabated continuation of those abuses. Throughout the country, there is an entrenched culture of impunity at all levels of Nigerian government which stated under the military rule and has remained a source of the country’s worst human rights abuses since the return to civilian rule in 1999 till date. No one has been held to account for ordering or participating in those atrocities. The Nigerian police routinely torture criminal suspects without trail. The governments’ rhetoric and acknowledgement of the problem does not translate to tangible actions to bring those responsible to account or prevent future abuses. More than 11,000 Nigerians were killed in hundreds of separate outbreaks of inter-communal and political violence during the Obasanjo administration in 1999-2003. Many of those deaths came about in large scale and apparently highly organized massacres along ethnic and religious lines. No one has been held to account for their role in organizing or inciting those massacres. During the same period several high profile Nigerians

were assassinated in attacks widely believed to be politically motivated, including Attorney General Bola Ige in December 2001. However, electoral violence in Nigeria is most often carried out by gangs (commonly called thugs) whose members are openly recruited, financed and sometimes armed by public officials. These gangs, comprised primarily of unemployed young men are mobilized to attack their sponsor’s rivals, intimidate members of the public, rig elections and protect their patrons from similar attacks. Often, sponsors of electoral violence take time and again to the same criminal gangs, violent campus-based “cults” and other sources to recruit agents of political violence. Those recruited are paid, often very little, and sometimes armed for the sole purpose of carrying out violent abuses on behalf of their political sponsors (see The Punch April 20, 2011). Many individuals facing credible allegations of electoral violence and myriad forms of corruption have been rewarded with positions of influence and power by the government. Anambra State political God-father Chris Uba during President Obasanjo administration remained a member of the PDP board of trustees. Chris Uba’s brother Andy received the presidency’s political support for his bid for the governorship of Anambra State despite his implication in corrupt activities and his campaign team’s open recruitment of cult gangs to intimidate electoral opponents during President Olusengun Obasanjo administration all these serve as a reference point.

Moreover, according to the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) and UNDP (2003 cited in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011) the most important common factor in the causes of conflict today is the phenomenon of political corruption. The concentration of resources in the state makes the possession of political power very lucrative and the competition for political positions very intense. As Richards Joseph observed Nigeria’s present and future depend upon a prior understanding of the nature, extent and persistence of a certain mode of political behaviour, and of its social and economic ramifications (quoted in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011). This mode of political behaviour is the prebendal culture’ which sees politics as the clearing house for jobs, contract, and official plunder. In Joseph’s words: Democratic politics and prebendal politics are two sides of the same coin in Nigeria; each can be turned over to reveal the other...The system of prebendal politics enables divergent groups and constituencies to seek to accommodate their interest ... The system is often wasteful, unproductive, and contributes to the increasing affluence of the relative few, paltry gains for a larger number, and misery for the great majority of people. Since it is a self-justifying system which grants legitimacy to a pattern of persistent conflict, and since its modus operandi is to politicize ethnic, religious and linguistic differences, it serves to make the Nigerian polity a simmering cauldron of un-resolvable tension over which a

lid must regularly be clamped, and just as regularly removed (Joseph, 1991 quoted in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011).

Ted Robert Gurr Relative Deprivation Theory and Nigerian Experience

Ted Robert Gurr explains in *Why Men Rebel*, (1970) that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare creates collective discontent. This theory also applies to individuals who find their own welfare to be inferior to that of others to whom they compare themselves. "Relative deprivation' is the term... used to denote the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction, and that disposes men to violence." This gap between an individual's expected and achieved welfare results in collective discontent. However, the concept of relative deprivation dates back to ancient Greece. Aristotle articulated the idea that revolution is driven by a *relative* sense or feeling of inequality, rather than an *absolute* measure. According to Gurr (quoted in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011) "For Aristotle the principal cause of revolution is the aspiration for economic or political equality on the part of the common people who lack it, and the aspiration of oligarchs for greater inequality than they have, that is, a discrepancy in both instances between what people have of political and economic goods relative to what they think is justly theirs." According to Walter Garrison Runciman (1966) defines the prerequisite of "relative" deprivation as follows (where individual A feels deprived of object X): individual A does not have X; individual A wants to have X; individual A knows of other persons who have X; individual A believes obtaining X is realistic. For Ted Robert Gurr (quoted in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011) further asserted that: "The primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism... the anger induced by frustration... is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities." However, Gurr was not the first in his field to propose a link between frustration and aggression. Dollard, Millard, et al. (cited in Aniekwe and Kushie, 2011) were the first to propose the theory, postulating that frustration leads men to act aggressively. Looking at the rate of unemployment and corrupt activities in Nigeria, it can be deduced that the high rate of unemployment in the country is a function of leadership failure and there is significant relationship between unemployment and youth unrest in the country, consequent this notion can be link to cause of Niger Delta militancy and the Boko Haram violence activities in Nigeria. That is Nigerian youth are frustrated due to insincerity of her government and the resultant effect is aggression and wicked act manifested as terrorism like the Northern Islamic Sect popularly called Boko Haram in

the North and the kidnapping menace in the south-south (see The Nation Nov., 14, 2012; The Punch Nov., 30 2012).

Moreover, when a large group of highly educated individuals enter the work force and levels of unemployment are high, the individuals may feel over-qualified and disappointed relative to what they expected to gain from their education. Presumably individuals pursue higher education with the expectation that additional studies or training will help them find better jobs. As a result, well-educated individuals may feel greater discontent from unemployment than those who did not expect such grand employment opportunities. This socioeconomic discontent, in turn, may result in political violence. Consequently, "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis," by Quan Li & Drew Schaub (2004), asks whether economic globalization increases or decreases transnational terrorist incidents inside countries. Globalization may be tied closely to relative deprivation, in the sense that greater access to information about people in other countries increases awareness of one's relative standing in the world. Li & Schaub hypothesize that increased globalization leads to greater levels of international terrorism because trade makes it easier for terrorists to carry out attacks across borders. Based on a sample of 112 countries from 1975 to 1997, their findings show that the economic development of a country and greater trade opening reduce the number of terror incidents inside the country. Their finding that economic development decreases the likelihood of terrorism is an interesting example of an economic indicator's effect on terrorism. Corroborating the above view, Brock Blomberg and Gregory D. Hess (2008), provide a more nuanced empirical analysis of economic development as a determinant of terrorism: They find that economic development is positively correlated with transnational terrorism, particularly in higher income countries. However, in lower income countries this trend reverses, and economic development is negatively related to transnational terrorism. The authors point to the importance of considering terrorist groups' political motivations. They say "interestingly, radicalism, separatism, and other ideological motivations for terrorism that appear to be intrinsically noneconomic may actually stem from underlying economic conditions." They make the case that economic factors are important in different ways for higher- and lower-income countries. This could be due to a phenomenon similar to relative deprivation theory, in which those of different economic brackets view changes in economic factors differently. Consequently, the above position might have informed the belief in some quarters that the rise of the Boko Haram and militancy in the Niger Delta cannot be separated from the chronic poverty swimming in the country. The terrible economic conditions arising from years of neglects and deprivations on the part of the

political class against some parts of the country. Additionally, statistics has shown that there is a wide gap between the North and other parts of Nigeria in terms of economic development, thus, the Northern states and core states in the Niger Delta rank low in all economic indices and this has prompted youths to engage in act of violence (Obah-Akpowoghaha, 2013).

The annual increase of unemployed and without corresponding industries (space) to adsorbed the youths in Nigeria is largely responsible for the emergence of conflict groups such as the Boko Haram, Kidnapping and other social vices. It is very uncommon, if not totally impossible, for someone with a gainful employment to engage in irrational killing and willful destruction of national properties. Thus, groups like Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy draw their mercenaries from the thousands of unemployed and illiterate youth in the society. Due to this prevailing low economic atmosphere groups like Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy draw their foot soldiers mainly from the unemployed youths who have been pushed into a condition of poverty by the social and economic contradictions which exists within the capitalist mode of production and by extension deprive the workers their values, that is , a configuration that pass wealth to the few. The point to be tense out in the above observations, the insurgency of Boko Haram and the incessant oil pipeline/kidnapping activities in Niger Delta emerges not only because of the religious fanaticism of western ideals or the crisis of federalism as some literature have claimed but rather because of the prevailing socio-economic situation rocking the country.

This much has been confirmed by different statistics relating to the economic situation of the country. According to Subair (2012 cit. in Adebisi, 2012) quoting the figures from the National Bureau of Statistics, submitted that: Poverty in Nigeria is rising with almost 98% individuals living less on \$1 a day despite the strong growth of GDP.....the percentage of Nigerians living in absolute poverty those who can afford only the bare essentials of food, shelter and clothing ---rose to 60.9 per cent in 2010, compared with 54.7 per cent in 2004. *Moreover under the Jonathan administration domestic and foreign debt have risen to unprecedented proportion such that as at March 2011, foreign debt rose to \$5.23bn, March 2012 \$5.91, 13% while domestic debt as at march 2011 rose to \$5.07 trillion* (see The Punch July 7, 2012). This depressing economic indicators with the preponderant of Nigerians living below the poverty line, is no doubt, a possible cause of social discontent and the type of violence being witnessed in the North arising from the Islamic Sect (Boko Haram) and Niger Delta Militancy in south-south part of the country. The northern states of the country have feared worse in all indices of economic development in the country. A survey carried out by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS cited in Adebisi, 2012) showed that the North-East and North-West Geo-Political Zones are the poorest regions in Nigeria. It is instructive

to observe that the stronghold of the Boko Haram sect is in the North-East and North-West Geo-Political Zones of the country. Thus, so far in this review, there is a relationship between socioeconomic condition and violence in Nigeria. The connection between economic deprivation and tendency for violent acts affirmed the position of Robert T. Gurr, who credited for the theory of Relative Deprivation. Gurr has argued that a gap in the value expectation and value capability of a people, may lead to violence (Gurr 1970). Thus, people who are socially and economically deprived without the basic necessities of life, would in no distance time, challenge their perceived exploiters in the system. Corroboration the argument above Adebisi, (2012), while citing the publications of the World Bank and United Nations further stressed the dreadful economic condition prevailing in Northern Nigeria. According to him, the three Geo-Political Zones in the North are trailing their Southern counterpart in terms of Human Development Index (HDI). "in terms of geographical distribution, the highest concentration of poverty, at close to 70 per cent of the population, is in the North-East, followed by the North-West and North-Central in approximately the same proportion of more than 60 per cent of the population. The zone with the least proportion of poverty incidence is the South-East at about 33 per cent, closely followed by the South-West at about 42 per cent, and South-South at about 50 per cent." The tendency for an average person in the North who is poor and unemployed to resort to violence is very high, moreover, according to Farrell (2012 cited in Adebisi, 2012), using a UNESCO report of March 2011, indicated that "GDP rates in the South of the country were double that of the North", the main theme of his observations accentuate the need of dissatisfied youths parading in the North. The reality today is that a large proportion of Nigerians living in abject poverty reside in the Northern States. This situation is little quite different from those in the Niger Delta. The destruction of farm-land and the ecosystem by multilateral companies without reconstruction and development in the past has cumulated to all sorts of youth social unrest and youths picking arms against the Nigerian Government. From the foregoing literature, without much ado, the poor socio-economic condition rocking the country is a precursor to conflicts and violence in Nigeria and the act of aggressiveness and wickedness demonstrated by various groups show the act of frustration arising from the system against the government which has misappropriate and mismanage the resources of the country. This is against social contract conception that the entirety of Nigerians swore to defend and uphold. However, in a study, "Kto Kogo?" Alan Krueger and David Laitin (2008), expanded the literature on economic determinants of terrorism by examining both target countries and countries of origin for terrorist events. To describe terrorist attacks, they look at who, to whom, and where. Their results suggest that economic status is of little

importance for terrorist national origins, but an important characteristic of terrorist targets. Targets are generally better off economically, while political mal repression is a better determinant for the national origins of terrorism. "Those who are repressed politically tend to terrorize the rich, giving international terrorist events the feel of economic warfare [...] the *kto* [who] is political; the *kogo* [to whom] economic." These findings serve as a useful point of departure from which to examine the economics of target countries. Additionally, the research reminds us that different factors may determine who becomes a terrorist and where attacks are perpetrated.

What are the solutions to Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria?

This question was set to answer research question two of the study, the respondents believed that for effective end to this insurgency, government must improve the quality of its security organizations in terms of providing modern ballistics and weaponry so as to arm their operatives with sophisticated weapons that could enable them to match Boko Haram superior arms possession. Also, to make proper arrangement for incentives to maintain the operatives' fighting spirits. Then, dialogues as some of the respondents remain optimistic that it is the only viable way to put an end to this insurgency. Conversely, some of the respondents pointed to the need to approach the solution from the scratch, by improving the general conditions of the people, providing employment opportunities, reducing corruption and injustice, since some of these insurgents lay their justification to some of the bad effects of leadership prevailing in the society. The responses also indicated the need for government to arrest and bring to justice all those perceived to be sponsors of Boko Haram, as these could increase commitment and dedication on the part of security personnel, particularly those engaged on the actual war fronts. The security agents also think the strategy such as effective community policing and intelligence gathering could reduce the level at which Boko Haram coordinators penetrate and link up with their networks in unleashing attacks.

Moreover, the majority of the respondents believed that a coalition of international forces could help them in addressing the problem of Boko Haram especially if they can use their advancement in military and security technology properly. The political leaders of Nigeria or more specifically the government should employ an international practice that is not politicized to offer more assistance in curtailing the insurgent's activities. But few of the security personnel opined that international coalition may not always be the needed approach, as even with their presence now, they had little impact on the ongoing insurgency organizations as still the better options, since they have fullest understanding of the

stake.

Finally, almost all the respondents agreed that Nigeria needs regional cooperation among its West African neighbors. Most of the respondents pointed out that, since Boko Haram's hub of operations still remained within the borders of these West African states, notably among them; Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic, then Nigerian government must joint effort and work closely with these countries irrespective of their colonial history or other differences to tackle the problem. On the other hand, the establishment of constant border patrol teams, and sharing of intelligent information and logistic could surely assist in defeating Boko Haram insurgency.

Conclusion

The discourse on Boko Haram insurgency clearly revealed that Nigeria is confronted with security challenge. This is made manifest in the Boko Haram murderous campaign against securities, government institutions, religious cleric and members of the general public. The escalating of the government to curtail the crisis the paper has revealed how the group transformed from a local *Salafis* militia into a regional terrorist group, with linkage and support from other Islamic insurgent in Africa like Al-Qaeda in the land of Islamic Magreb (AQIM) and Al-Shabab. The sect becomes a threat to Nigerian national security. Finally, the paper recommends that for any solution to a security situation like that of Boko Haram to be effective a multi-dimensional approach that address both the symptoms of terrorism and root causes must include addressing the problems that create the enabling environment. Lack of employment in Nigeria remains a monumental challenge. The creating employment opportunity in the region the youths can be way from criminal activities the government should improve school enrolment in the region to address the issue of illiteracy in the area. The government should denied the group require operating space to carry out its attacks by preventing the group from organizing or reorganizing, recruiting and launching attacks, any form of support for the sect must be denied. The entire porous border network, through which the group might get weapons, and supports from other Islamic movement outside the country must be blocked.

Authors' declaration

We declared that this study is an original research by our research team and we agree to publish it in the journal.

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