

**INSURGENCY AND POVERTY IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NORTH-EAST
REGION OF NIGERIA (2015 – 2019)**

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OMODU, COLLINS O., Ph.D
**NIGERIAN INSTITUTE OF OCEANOGRAPHY AND
MARINE RESEARCH, RIVERS STATE, NIGERIA**

ABSTRACT

This study insurgency and poverty in Africa: a case of North-East region of Nigeria (2015 – 2019). The study used frustration aggression theory to analyze the subject matter. In the methodology, ex-post facto research design was used and only secondary sources of data were employed. The data collected from secondary sources were analyzed using content analysis and qualitative method. It was discovered that insurgency has negative security implication in African and poverty significantly affects the growth of Boko Haram insurgency in North East Nigeria. Based on the findings, it was recommended that the governments in the sub region should develop the political will to expose and prosecute the high caliber individuals both within and outside the sub-region who has been linked with the Islamist militant group. More so, the governments in the four states should devise an employment oriented programme specifically for the youths.

Key Words: *Insurgency, Poverty, Security Implication, Poverty and Boko Haram.*

Introduction

Insecurity is not a new phenomenon to the African region. In other words, instability and conflict have always been a common characteristic in Africa, even prior to the rise of Boko Haram in North Eastern Nigeria. Examining the challenges to stability and security in West Africa, Nicholas (2015) trace the rise of conflict in the region to the early 1960s. Enumerated in their study are the Civil Wars in Guinea Bissau (1962-1974 and 1998-1999), the Biafran Civil War (1967-1970), Niger Delta insurgency (2004-2009), the Boko Haram uprising (2009-present) in Nigeria and the Liberian Civil Wars (1989-1996 and 1999-2003). The Malian Tuareg rebellion/insurgencies (1990-1995 and 2012-2013), the Civil Wars in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) and Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2007) are other examples of conflicts in the African sub-region. The vast majority of those conflicts are intra-state in nature.

In the new millennium, the frequency of civil wars and large-scale conflicts has dropped significantly in the West Africa sub-region. In their place, other forms of violence and new threats have, however, emerged (Institute for Security Studies, 2013). Examples of such new threats range from violent extremism to ethno national conflict, election-related violence, drug trafficking and sea piracy (Nicholas, 2015). These new security threats and challenges assume different manifestations in their respective countries and environs of origin. In Nigeria, for instance, the emergence of Boko Haram and its activities in the North East has continued to change the security architecture and dynamics of the country.

Partially, the insurgent activities of the Boko Haram group in its operational centers and strongholds have also contributed to the instability and security challenges in adjoining countries including Cameroon, Niger, Benin Republic and Chad (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2017). One of the basic challenges contributing to the growth of insurgency in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general is poverty. The level of poverty in Africa, especially those affected by Boko Haram insurgency and other militia group, is very high. A situation where most of the youths are not employed or engaged in meaningful venture calls for concern. In Nigeria for instance, the rate of poverty, hunger, unemployment and illiteracy in the North-East Nigeria were Boko Haram insurgency is affected is very high to compare to what is obtainable in other parts of the country.

For that, Themner & Wallenstein (2014) stated that poverty is a disease that affects everybody in the society. To him, high level of poverty makes it possible for the people who are not poor to be in danger in the mixed of poor people. Here, poverty encourages crime,

security challenges and other forms of irregularities in a country. The Poverty Theory can be used to explain one of the major causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. According to Festus (2014), the successful recruitment of the people into the group depend on the nature of the economic and poverty level in the area mostly insurgent gain members by claiming their struggle is for the people and that they would provide basic necessity for the general population if supported. The insurgent may succeed if such society embedded by poverty, illiteracy, ineptitude, corruption, discrimination to modernization and globalization, which create artificial poverty to many underdeveloped countries, such countries would become recruitment target of the terrorists.

Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is one of the basic problems that affect many sovereign nations in the world today. The concerted efforts embarked upon by the international community to ensure its elimination have been noted but have hitherto proved inadequate. This increase is not unconnected with the wave of global insecurity that shaped the beginning of the 21st century. Insurgency in the African region has created uncertainty in business activities in the country. Most foreigners willing to invest in many African countries, especially in West Africa are now afraid to come for business engagements. The attacks of Boko Haram (and other insurgencies) have caused a severe drought in economic and commercial activities, as business activities are almost at a standstill.

In some locations in African countries, especially in Lake Chad areas, business activities sometimes were paralyzed. The spate of insecurity trailing the activities of Boko Haram in Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria has greatly stressed and imperiled a growing commercial chain that was instrumental in the cooperation and integration process, which was the vision of the founders of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in a fast globalizing economic and political order.

Literature Review

Terrorism

Smith (2014:19) defines terrorism as “the use of coercive means aimed at populations in an effort to achieve political, religious or even other aims”. Research by Kydd and Walter (2016:52) indicates that terrorist organizations are usually driven by political objectives, and in particular. Garba (2014) defines terrorism as “the use of coercive means aimed at

populations in an effort to achieve political, religious or even other aims”. However, terrorism is a “premeditated use or threat of use of extra-normal violence or brutality by sub-national groups to obtain political, religious, or ideological objectives through intimidation of a huge audience, usually not directly involved in the policy-making that the terrorists seek to influence.” It would not be out of place to argue that the definition of terrorism is replete with dimensional semantics.

Malden (2004) defines terrorism as an asymmetrical warfare of threat and violence targeted against enemies by deploying unconventional means not within the forms of political struggle routinely operating within some current regime. This symbolism is reflective of the European Union’s definition that terrorism is geared to intimidate the population or to compel a government to unduly carry out or abstain from performing a particular act, or to cause a major political social or constitutional order to destabilize the polity. Thus, these perceptual differences will linger on for a long time to come because of the imprecise nature of terrorism. “Terrorism is an act of political participation because its perpetrators seek political goals (Nicholas, 2015). Thus, terrorists are not simply insane socio-paths bent merely on destruction”. Terrorism is also engages uneven violent confrontation against a stronger adversary, which could be a state or a group of states.

Insurgency

The term, insurgency, has been seen in different ways. Three of its definitions are important to us. There is the political conception of the term by the United States. The U.S. government defines insurgency as “the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region.” From the international legal perspective, insurgency is seen as a rebellion, carried out by rebels, who are not recognized as belligerents, against a constituted authority or state that has been recognized by the United Nations (Adetula, 2015). Based on our analysis of professional military and security literature, where the term, insurgency, first found a home, we are inclined to see insurgency as any guerrilla, terrorist, militant, revolutionary, or any other form of irregular warfare that does not follow the rules, laws, and conventions of war and is usually carried out against a state. This is the military conception of insurgency. In dealing with issues of insurgency in this paper, we would be doing so from its military and security conception.

In general, and irrespective of its goals, every insurgency adopts any one or more of the methods of warfare or violence mentioned supra. Another characteristic underlying

insurgency is that it is usually the product of asymmetric conflict, where, abinitio, one party has an overwhelming and incontestable physical force and other instruments of power over the other. In such situations the people on the weaker side of the conflict fight like desperadoes to be on the favourable side of the conflict (Hayat, 2014). This means that insurgents are insurgents, not by their choice, but by their intrinsic and predetermined incapacity and disadvantage. By pernicious, protracted, and dynamic armed struggle in which frontal engagements with the superior forces of the adversary are avoided, insurgents try to effect radical political, social, religious, and economic change or achieve territorial and resource control as well as seek greater accommodation within the state.

Historical Background and Evolution of Boko Haram in Nigeria

Boko Haram is an extremist sectarian faction that emerged to correct the wrong teachings and doctrines of the Islamic faith and more essentially, to fight against all manifestations of Westernization (The Nations, 2012). Translated, the term Boko Haram denotes that Western Education is forbidden and that its influence is considered as a sin, while westernization is sacrilege (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). The group emerged as an upshot of a clash between the moderate Islamic teachings of Sheikh Jafaar Adam at the Mahammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri-Borno State in Nigeria's North East and the more militant interpretations of the Qur'an by his disciple, Mohammed Yusuf who founded the Sect in 2002 (Owolade, 2014).

Influenced by the teachings and doctrines of the *Wahhabi* Movement, Boko Haram is a Sunni Islamic Fundamentalist Sect which advocates a strict form of adherence to the *Sharia* law and its implementation in Nigeria (David, 2001). Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of Boko Haram believed and was inspired to create a new order in which the impoverished should inherit the earth (Owolade, 2014). The extremist view held by Yusuf is what led to his expulsion from the Committee of Ndimi Mosque in 2002. Later in the year, Yusuf built a Mosque in the North East to propagate his own teachings against Western education. His teaching largely attracted many dissatisfied youths who, having been indoctrinated to believe that Western education is forbidden, rejected the Western schools which there were already attending (Owolade, 2014).

As a group, boko haram is ideologically not only opposed to Western education, it is also against Western culture, its practices and theories. Though Yusuf received training in

Western education, he was opposed to the theoretical postulation that the earth is spherical. He perceived this theory as a sharp contradiction to the teachings of Islam, and therefore, sought after its rejection together with the theory of Social Darwinism and the theory which espouses that rain comes from water evaporated by the sun (Joe, 2009). With its defined goal to create a hard-line Islamic State in Nigeria, Boko Haram is strongly opposed to every element of westernization of the Nigerian society. The group also holds the belief that the country's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few political elites in the Christian-dominated South (African Argument, 2015).

Became more active and developed into the *Salafist-Jihadi* group in 2009, the Boko Haram group came to be described as a diffused movement whose fighters do not necessarily follow the *Salafist* doctrine (Freedom, 2014). The group denounced members of the *Sufi*, *Shiite*, the *Izala* Sects and went on to categorized all moderate Muslims as infidels (Ogunlesi, 2015). Though Boko Haram started as a peaceful Islamic anti-corruption group in 2002, it subsequently became more radicalized. In July 2009, the group carried out a violent uprising in Maiduguri which led to a military assault that culminated in the arrest, incarceration and the final execution of its leader, Muhammed Yusuf (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). At the demise of Mohammed Yusuf, Abubakar Shekau assumed the group's leadership and has since then carried out many deadly attacks on schools, churches, mosques, state entities and security forces.

In the last nine years of existence, Boko Haram has evolved from being a local insurrectionary group to a terrorist group with international affiliations. Its operational scope has also been enlarged beyond the confines of Nigeria (Batolatta, 2015). The group's practice of killing and abducting Nigerian nationals and non-national could be considered as an attempt to export its ideologies to other particularly, Niger, Chad and Cameroon which have experienced Boko Haram in its cruel form. Boko Haram has since, established links various terrorist formations and has receiving human and material resources support from them. The group is affiliated to such other armed groups as the *Ansar Dine*, *al-Qaeda* of Mali in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the Movement for Unity and *Jihad* in West Africa (MUJAO) (UNSC, 2015). It's allegiance to the Islamic States of Iraq (ISIS), the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and its association with Al Qaida, the Organization of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and *Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis-Sudan* (Ansaru) are strong indications of its external expansions and linkages (Elbagir *et al*, 2015).

Concept and Nature of Poverty

Poverty can be seen as a state where one is incapable of providing himself with the basic needs of life. According to Onah (2008), poverty is lack of means of satisfying a person's basic needs for nutrition, housing, clothing and other essentials of life. According to Canogranian, Ngwafon and Thomas (1997), basic needs include: food, water, shelter, health services and learning to works. Poverty is also viewed as failure to meet the basic requirements of a decent life of a person/group of people. Poverty is marred in health, education and nutrition indicators that remain too low (Alugbuo and Akpanabia, 2013). By these definitions, it implies that poverty is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It does not result from the lack of one thing alone, but from many interlocking factors. In other words, poverty is lack of multiple resources that lead to hunger and physical deprivation. Some basic factors can bring about poverty in our society. Sometimes, poverty may either be inherited or acquired. It is inherited, if the children of a poor parent cannot be trained for needed skill and knowledge in a certain jobs which may be available for the employment of some of the unemployed.

This can lead to chronic poverty of the affected unemployed persons do not have alternative ways of engaging themselves. Sen (1990) opined that age may account for the poverty profiles in terms of retirement. To him, poverty is basically of two different forms namely mental poverty and material poverty. Mental poverty is of the mind and it deals with the inability of the individual victim to independently articulate good thoughts without relying on another. The individual is devoid of creative thoughts, lacks originality in doing things and can hardly make any break-through. He or she becomes just a merely informed person. It is the worse form of poverty since it is the mind that controls the body. Within the mental sphere, lies the spiritual and moral aspect of poverty. If one is a destitute mentally, it is likely to affect his spiritual and moral aspects of life. Material possessions; it is often due to the inability of the mind to coordinate the activities of the body to a necessary end. Material poverty is quickly noticed in one's dresses, housing, means of transportation and domestic utensil (Alugbuo and Apanabia, 2013).

In this case, Ochienta (2014) opined that social exclusion in all forms which are low or no access to water, shelter, health services, transportation, education, electricity should be seen as equally good indicators or poverty. Apart from this, the feeling of social exclusion and the psychological burden of unfulfilment are also crucial in defining poverty. Actually,

Badjan (1996) sees the social exclusion accompanying poverty as constituting both a violation of human dignity and threat to life itself. Poverty is not an easy concept to define. As a result, a range of definitions exist, influenced by different disciplinary approaches and ideologies. According to the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), poverty is inherent deprivation of lives. It is not only the lack of necessities of material well-being, but denial of opportunities for having a tolerable life. Poverty is the result of economic, political, social and environmental processes that interact with and frequently reinforce one another in ways that exacerbate the deprivation in which poor people live. In general terms, poverty is considered from two broad perspectives: relative poverty and absolute poverty.

Socio-Economic Impacts of Boko Haram Insurgency

- 1. Insecurity in the economic environment:** The Boko Haram problem has encouraged high level of insecurity in the economic environment of Nigeria, especially in the North-East. The activities of Boko Haram sects have been the basic problem that hinders economic development in Nigeria. People in North-East Nigeria have left their business organizations and activities in the North-East Nigeria because of Boko Haram problem. This is one of the basic reasons for high level of inflation in Nigeria economy today.
- 2. High level of underdevelopment in Nigeria:** Security problem is one of the major challenges that promote underdevelopment in any country. This is because of the high level of destruction of lives and economic properties. Terrorism is one of the basic problems that affect many sovereign nations in the world today. In Nigeria, the activities of Boko Haram insurgency have affected economic growth and development of the country. It's a fact that Nigeria as an underdeveloped nation has achieve high level of backwardness and low level of economic development because of the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency (Nicholas, 2015). People have been killed by the sect; the activities of Boko Haram have paralyzed commercial activities particularly in the northern part of the country with waves of threats across the nation. It becomes very dicey to situate the problems or agitation of the sect whether it is a religious agenda or not. Their mayhem cut across religious and non-religious persons and institutions.
- 3. Increase unemployment and poverty in Nigeria:** The problem of Boko Haram insurgency has made many people to lose their job because of insecurity problem. This means that the issue of Boko Haram has contributed to economic

underdevelopment of Nigeria through increase unemployment and poverty in the North-East Nigeria. This means that many manufacturing organizations, internal and external investors are discouraged to continue their activities in the North-East because their security is no longer assured.

4. **Economic recession in Nigeria:** The problem of Boko Haram is one of the basic issues that have helped to encourage economic recession, economic instability and economic problems of Nigeria. Economic recession is an unprecedented negative economic situation which affects all the economic sectors in a country including the government, the financial institutions, corporate/business organizations, and the public (Ochienta, 2014). Economic recession here is a period of economic crises in a country. It's all about economic instability and is characterized by high level of inflation, low value of local currency, high level of unemployment and downsizing in organizations, low level of productivity and high level of importation (Nicholas, 2015). Based on the above, it should be noted that the Nigeria economy is in recession at this period and these start since 2015 till date. The implication of economic recession in Nigeria include high level of poverty/hunger, high level of unemployment, and ineffective government control of external economic factors. Therefore the problem of Boko Haram has contributed to economic recession and underdevelopment in Nigeria.
5. **Ethnic problem in Nigeria:** The problem of Boko Haram has increased economic instability in Nigeria by creating ethnic problems among ethnic nationalities in the country. This means that many people in South-East may not have good economic relation with their business partners in the North, many Northerners may not sincerely do business with some South-South people or South-West people and so on (Ojba, 1970). In this direction, everybody suspect each other in the country and our economic underdevelopment continue to increase.
6. **It has reduced foreign investment in Nigeria:** Following the United Nations building bombing in Abuja on 26 August 2011 in which no fewer than 23 persons were confirmed dead on the spot and many more seriously injured, the United Nations gave directive to its officials to suspend all official travel to Nigeria till further notice (Reutlinger, 1976). This move is a major collateral damage to the country because the situation of outright insecurity and vulnerability scares and drives foreign investors.
7. **Lost of human lives which supposed to contribute for economic development in the country:** Domestically, the loss incurred by Nigerians because of Boko Haram

attacks cannot be measured. Lives of innocent citizens which has ran into thousands and still counting, lost in these attacks are disheartening (Global Security org, 2016). The slain citizens are taken unawares by these attacks even though there is earlier ultimatum by Boko Haram to all southerners and Christians living in the Northern Nigeria to evacuate the Northern Region or face their onslaught confront troops after the president declared a state of emergency in hard hit areas.

- 8. Lost of numerous economic properties:** Similarly, properties worth billions of Naira has been lost to these violence and citizens especially southerners has embark on mass exodus to the southern Nigeria as they feel that their lives and properties are no longer secure in this affected northern states. Besides, many businesses has closed shop, many schools either raised down by fire set by these terrorist groups or closed down intermittently by the authorities (Ubah, 2016).
- 9. Displacement of citizen:** The problem of Boko Haram can led to displacement of many citizens who suppose to stay in their business settlement and contribute to Nigeria economic development. This is true because many people in the North-East Nigeria because of Boko Haram have abandoned their economic activities, businesses and residence.
- 10. Liquidation of many local industries:** The problem of Boko Haram has made many local industries to stop business – especially in North-East Nigeria economic. This is because business/economic institutions including government establishment are the target of Boko Haram sects.
- 11. High level of poverty and unemployment:** The issue of Boko Haram has led to high level of unemployment and poverty in Nigeria – especially the North-East. This is because of the fact that many people have left their economic activities/venture because of the fear of Boko Haram.

Poverty and Social-Economic Implications of Insurgency

The activities of this insurgent group have encouraged high poverty, and have a lot of negative implications on social economic life and activities in Nigeria. The impact of terrorism has been manifested in food shortages and hunger, forced migration and displacement of people and also in the discouragement of both local and foreign investment in the affected regions.

- a. Food scarcity and hunger:** The northern area of Nigeria has been known for high agricultural production compared to other regions of the country. According to a report by Caulderwood (2014) in *International Business Times (ibtimes)*, agriculture accounts for around 5 percent of Nigeria's GDP as well as for the employment of about 35 percent of youths aged 18 to 35. However, due to Boko Haram's unabated attacks in the region, the agricultural production has started to show signs of strain. According to Kingsley Moghalu, who is a former Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, "*in some parts of the north, the security situation has affected farmland production and that has led to some increase in food prices*" (Barnato, 2014). The effect of terrorism on the agricultural sector is largely based on a perceived fear by farmers of the risk of being attacked by insurgents. Outside that, farmlands have become a hideout for insurgents, who then target the agricultural sector for daily supplies. Consequently, there is a huge decline in agricultural production due to constraints in human mobility and attacks on storage facilities. The increased fear of attack has made other factors such as transportation more risky and therefore more expensive, thus adding extra pressure and cost to economic outputs. The overall impact has manifested in food shortages, increased price of food items, poverty and hunger.
- b. Forced migration and displacement of people:** The northern region of Nigeria has witnessed huge migration owing to the insecurity of lives and property caused by Boko Haram's activities (Nkwede et al, 2015). Whilst Southerner's doing business in the North relocate back home, the majority of affected persons who happened to be from the North of the country seek refuge in internally displaced persons (IDP's) camps. A report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2015 reveals that about 1,188,018 people, involving 149,357 households, have been internally displaced in the northeastern states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe, while another 47,276 persons involving 5,910 households have equally been displaced in the northern states of Plateau, Nasarawa, Abuja, Kano and Kaduna, making a total of 1,235,294 internally displaced persons in northern Nigeria as of February 2015 (IOM, 2015). By June 2016, more than 1,200 people had died of starvation and illness at the Yola aid camp alone. This camp is located on a hospital compound in north-east Nigeria, which houses people fleeing Boko Haram -according to the medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières. The humanitarian group found 24,000 people, including 15,000 children, sheltering in the camp during a visit to

Bama in May 2016. It was MSF's first trip there since the city was wrested from the insurgent's control in March 2015 (Reuters, 2016). The IOM report went on to say that 91.98 percent of the IDP's from the northeastern region are caused by Boko Haram activities, whilst 7.96 percent are caused by community and tribal clashes, natural disasters being responsible for only 0.06 percent of them. According to Alao et al (2015) most of these migrants from the North are youths, who are generally farmers who have abandoned their means of livelihood for reasons of safety. In any case, insurgency is a factor that has prompted forced migration in the northern area of Nigeria, as well as increasing the level of poverty and hopelessness.

- c. Discouragement of local and foreign investment:** The activities of Boko Haram have a considerable impact on business and investment in many parts of northern Nigeria. The northern region of Nigeria is characterized by poverty when compared with the southern region. The disparity in wealth may have resulted from high Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the southern region, particularly in the oil sector. As FDI in the south increased, it plummeted in the north due to insurgency in the region. In 2013, the Kano State Chamber of Commerce reported that business activities in Kano had dropped by 80% since 2012 (Durotoye, 2015: 1251). This is the context in which the CEO of Boussac textile, a manufacturing company in Kano state, stated during a press interview in 2013 that *“lots of projects are being cancelled in the region because people are scared. They are scared that factories can become targets; commuters to work can also become targets”* (Townsend, 2013). On a macro level, insurgency in the north negatively impacted the FDI into Nigeria. According to Townsend (2013) Nigeria experienced a 21 percent drop in FDI in 2012, evolving from \$8.9 billion in 2011 to \$7 billion in 2012. Townsend argues that the sharp drop in FDI in the period is mainly due to the fear of insecurity in Nigeria.

The decline in FDI comes with sundry implications and consequences for the economy. Firstly, it has a direct impact on the trade and economic growth and progress of any economy. Secondly, it acts as a steroid to the economy by supplementing domestic capital, prompting increased productivity. Thirdly, it stimulates growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Taking this into account, a decline in FDI leaves the Nigerian economy vulnerable owing to the high codependency ratio between the inflow of FDI, the Nigerian oil sector, and the country's GDP (Durotoye, 2015: 1252), although one cannot allege that the drop in FDI is wholly caused by insurgency. However, as the activities of Boko Haram

progressed to the capital territory Abuja, there was a general fear that it may spread further to the South and, as such, foreign investors wary about investing in Nigeria for fear of losing their investment. It is estimated that about 73.3 percent of businesses in the northern states of Borno, Yobe, Kano and Sokoto have partially closed due to insecurity and fear of attack (Chukwurah, Eme and Ogbeje, 2013: 376). This represents a huge deficit in both human and financial capital in the northern economy.

d. Poverty, economic misappropriation and corruption: Another terrible impact of Boko Haram's activities on the socio-economic development in Nigeria is the disproportionate attention and increased security vote by the Nigerian government (Nkwede et al, 2015: 68). Instead of allocating resources to developmental projects, the government is heavily engaged with the rhetoric of fighting terrorism, which has resulted in micro economic instability, distortion and leakages in the Nigerian economy with the attendant problem of infrastructural decay and hyperinflation (ibid: 69). Concerningly, the fight against terrorism has provided some eminent politicians an embezzlement opportunity by diverting funds meant to fight insurgency. Since December 2015, Sambo Dasuki, a retired Nigerian army colonel who was National Security Adviser (NSA) to the former president of Nigeria Goodluck Jonathan, has been under investigation for diverting a huge US\$2 billion, allocated for the purchase of 12 helicopters, four fighter jets and other ammunition meant for the Nigerian military campaign against Boko Haram. The prosecution of Dasuki by the Nigerian anti-corruption agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) has implicated many more Nigerians who benefited from the infamous deal. The fallout of the arms deal which is now dubbed *dasukigate* is that no one is sure if the Nigerian government is actually fighting Boko Haram or whether Nigerian politicians are only using this armed faction as a mean of filling their pockets. Whatever the case may be, the truth is that on a wider consideration the group's activities also appear to be strengthening corruption among Nigerian political elites.

e. Stimulants of insurgency and terrorism: Although terrorism remains an indefensible behavior, there are certain factors that prompt and sustain the activities of every terrorist group. In the case of Boko Haram, factors such as deprivation and want, poverty and illiteracy play a huge role in the activities and deeds of the sect. Theoretically, relative deprivation is a contrary feeling held by a person, resulting

from a perceived dichotomy between the deserved and actual entitlement values. Kim (2014) defined this as the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes oneself to be entitled. It refers to the discontent that people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled to (Kim, 2014). Runciman illustrated it as follows: “*we can roughly say that [a person] is relatively deprived of X when (i) he does not have X; (ii) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or expected time, as having X, (iii) he wants X (iv) he sees it as feasible that he should have X*” (Runciman, 1966). He further stated that: “*the magnitude of a relative deprivation is the extent of the difference between the desired situation and that of the person desiring it*”. Although this theory was used to illustrate the impact of income parity on the behavior and performance of employees, the literature has assumed that in general, relative deprivation spurs animosity and a feeling of neglect, with a consequent desire to confront and address the source of deprivation.

In the case of Boko Haram, it is obvious that economic deprivation, poverty and illiteracy are among the prime factors fueling the activities of the sect. According to Olojo (2013: 6), one significant factor that has stimulated the drive towards violent extremism, recruitment and support for this insurgent group is economic deprivation. Several scholars contend that poverty, a high level of unemployment, illiteracy, economic disparities and marginalization in the northeast made it easy for the terrorist to entice and indoctrinate youths in the region. Furthermore, Adesoji (2010) argues that marginalization and unequal distribution of public resources are the main cause of poverty in Nigeria, whilst poverty made recruitment undemanding for the sect. The failure of the Nigerian leaders to advance economic policies to ameliorate the well-being and the living standard of Nigerians through job creation created a vacuum of unemployment, poverty and illiteracy among youths, and evidently contributed to the emergence of the faction.

In addition, the sect took advantage of the grievances emanating from poverty, unemployment and illiteracy to mobilize support and sustain the recruitment of youths, mainly for insurgency and terrorist violence purposes. As noted by David (2014), one of the first western reporters to cover the group’s actions, “Most of the foot soldiers of Boko Haram aren’t Muslim fanatics; they’re poor kids who were turned against their corrupt country by a charismatic leader” (p. 92). The injustice and immorality at the heart of the state perceived by

many swelled the armed group's ranks beyond the marginalized social classes to include disaffected students and university dropouts, who gravitated towards Salafi groups. Even before the open war between Boko Haram and the state, this organization had been growing. Among its ranks were people from all levels of society, from street kids and traders, to disaffected students and wealthy businessmen (Walker, 2016).

Theoretical Review

Frustration-Aggression Theory

Frustration – aggression theory stipulate that whenever people are frustrated in one way or the other, they engage in negative venture which affect them and society at large. In this direction, the problem of frustration cause by poverty could lead to aggression (insurgency). This theory as propounded by Fererabend, and Feirauben, 1972 stipulates that aggression is as a result of frustration which results from an individual's inability to attain their goals. Accordingly, insurgency is the product of aggressive behaviour which results from issues such as poverty and unemployment among others. Applying this to the study, insurgency in the countries in the sub-region has resulted in abject poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, injustice, absence of infrastructure, ethnic conflicts, and militancy (Nicholas, 2015). Turning to the situation in the sub-region, it could be observed that the youths, the women, the less-privilege have being cheated, oppressed and maltreated by the bourgeoisies, the haves, and the wealthy who invariably controls the factors of production. In using this theory to analyze our topic, it becomes a fact that the issue of economic deprivation in way of unemployment, poverty, and many other deprivations may contribute to insurgency activities in a LC areas. In the particular side of the regions were Boko Haram exist, there is low level of education, high level of poverty, high level of unemployment, family instability, and many other problems.

Frustration aggression theorists state that revolutions are a function of deprivation, rejection and neglect. Here, the frustration of the people within Insurgency affected areas in Africa which include limited government presence, unemployment and poverty, desertification, and Islamic religion made it that most of the people within the area are not comfortable. This is one of the reasons why the terrorist group (Boko Haram) has thrived in the area thereby negatively affecting socio-economic and political development in the region (Durotoye, 2015). The frustration here means government marginalization, government neglect and inability of the governments to promote and encourage development o0f physical

infrastructure and manpower. Such frustration from the states makes some youth within the area to engage in terrorism activities and thereby becomes security threat to the government. It becomes a fact that the issue of economic deprivation in way of unemployment, poverty, and many other deprivations may contribute to insurgency activities in a country. In the North-East Nigeria where Boko Haram exists, there is low level of education, high level of poverty, high level of unemployment, family instability, and many other problems.

Conclusion

Insurgency has negatively impacted on the security of North Eastern geopolitical zone in Nigeria and the African states at large. With its barefaced opposition to Western education and Christendom, Insurgency has continued to endanger the oneness of the African states by deepening the religious divide among people of different faith and even in its own belief. This study therefore concludes that the problem of insurgency in Africa will be a thing of the past when the regional governments, organizations, and individuals (within the affected areas) play positive role to end the problem.

Policy Recommendations

1. First, it is observed that the 15 countries in West African have a shared history and geography. Implied in this is that what affect one country in the sub-region has the possibility of affecting the others, giving their geographical nearness to one another. It is incumbent on national governments of the region therefore, to forge greater collaboration in improving border management and administration. Nigeria should take the initiative by drawing the attention of states within the African sub-region to the need for promoting and consolidating a people-oriented comprehensive regional integration process.
2. Second, the five-member state Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) should be empowered with the required human and material resources to manage to manage the insurgency. Countries: Chad, Niger, Cameroon, Benin and Nigeria which constitute the MNJTF should demonstrate the political will to keep to the rules of engagement on the MNJTF agreement, as that would be crucial to the success of the task force. The MNJTF should also be sustained to prevent Boko Haram from regenerating itself.
3. Third, the government of Nigeria and that of the MNJTF countries should pay more attention to the global and regional tide of terrorism and identify their connections to

local extremism. This will enable governments to detect early warning signs and take precautionary measures against any possible uprising.

4. Four, steps should be taken by the government to use the appropriate faith-based organizations to constantly readdress the ideological and religious perversions which Boko Haram has created, to redirect the perverted back to the genuine religious teachings. This will reduce the surge of radicalization in the society.

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