

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF BOKO HARAM

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Abstract

The Boko Haram terrorist group has gained preeminence in Nigerian political sphere in recent years, leading to the branding of Nigeria as a terrorist state by the international community. Governments (past and present) lack the political will to effectively tackle various breaches of security and to put in place the right national security policies and strategies. Thus the paper assesses the rise of Boko Haram insurgency in the northern part of the country, examines the ability of security agencies to meet up with emerging security challenges and evaluates the capability of political leadership to provide good governance in the country. The paper adopts frustration-aggression, political economy and game theories as platform to build a treatise to pro-actively tackle Boko Haram insurgency and other possible terrorist threats, and entrench a new regime of good governance. It argues that years of bad governance resulting in massive poverty in the midst of enormous resources has led to exploitation of the frustrated youths by some disgruntled members of the political class who have been denied direct access to state resources. The paper concludes that to effectively tackle Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, there is the need to adopt a new strategy that is anchored on delivery of good governance by the political leadership; creation of the enabling environment for private businesses to thrive leading to massive job creation, and ability of government to provide deterrent measures towards breach of national security. Those who contravene national security either directly or through proxy must be made to face the full wrath of the law regardless of their social status.

Keywords:., Terrorism, Boko Haram, Political Economy, Insurgency, National security

Introduction

Since the emergence of democratic governance in 1999, Nigeria has been overwhelmed by one form of violence or the other. These upheavals range from youth restiveness, ethnic crises, religious antagonism, insurgencies to outright terrorism. The consequence of the violence for the Nigerian state, has been devastating. The spate of violence in Nigeria is symptomatic of a “failing state,” if not a “failed state”. A failed state is described as a state which is unable to perform its legitimate functions, such as the maintenance of its territorial integrity, the security of its population and property, including the provision of basic public services to its citizens, among others. Nigeria may not yet be ascribed

the label of a failed state but it is right to describe it as a failing one, having the features such as widespread violence and insecurity, poverty, unemployment, ethnicity, electoral malpractices and kidnapping (Akpor and Oromarehake, 2013:75).

As a failing state, Nigeria is also characterized by institutional and governmental failures which, in turn, hamper growth and human development (UNDP, 2009: 103). According to Aro, O. I. (2013) with the level of poverty at 54.4 percent (70 million poor), in the country, Nigeria, is a failing state with lack of focus on human needs and welfare, and the fact that the majority are impoverished, deprived and alienated.

The carnage perpetrated since 1999 in the country is nothing but an act of terrorism. The UN Secretary-General (2004), referred to terrorism as any act intended to cause serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a governmental or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.

According to Olugbode (2010), the US government defined terrorism as “a premeditated politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents”. Terrorism is a purposeful behaviour designed to influence targets beyond the moment of victimization and or beyond the direct victims of the violent acts (Stohl, 1988:157). It, therefore, is a strategy of desperation characterized by violence in order to influence the behaviour of others to achieve a political goal. Nigeria is experiencing its worst form of violence in history perpetrated by Boko Haram. The group has been terrorizing the country, alleging that it is dissatisfied with the existing Nigerian state because of its western value orientations. The sect, therefore, intends to overthrow the government with a view to introducing an Islamic Sharia style government in the country. The zealots abhor the legitimacy of the secular Nigerian state because the sect regards it as 'evil' and does not deserve allegiance. Boko Haram was founded by Mohamed Yusuf who was killed extra-judicially. Mallam Abubakar Shekau succeeded the late Yusuf. The sect has embarked on guerilla warfare with the state since 2009. Since the onslaught, it has destroyed several lives and properties like police stations, army

barracks, customs houses, public squares and places of worship, like churches and mosques. It is suspected to be associated with other Islamic extremist groups in the neighbouring countries, particularly, Al Qaeda. Boko Haram's method of operations is suggestive of this external dimension.

Conceptual Clarifications:

TERRORISM

The word «terrorism» is politically and emotionally charged, and this greatly compounds the problem of providing a precise and universally acceptable definition. Studies have found over 100 definitions of “terrorism”. One thing that is certain is that the concept of terrorism is controversial and does not lend itself to generally received definition. Hence Angus Martyn, stated that “the international community has never succeeded in developing an accepted comprehensive definition of terrorism”. Despite this definitional challenge, humanity understands and feels the impact of terrorism as well as agree that it is an evil that must be uprooted in order to ensure global peace, prosperity and sustainable democracy.

Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier so as to

influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short- and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, 1999 in Article 1(3) defines it as:

Any act or threat which is in violation of the criminal law of the memberstate, likely to endanger the life, physical integrity, liberties of a person or a group of persons, which causes or may cause damage to private or public property to natural resources to the environment or to cultural heritage.

It is important to note, from the quotation that the quotation Convention does not consider the struggle for self-determination or the struggle against colonial occupation, aggression, domination by foreign forces as terrorist acts, as stipulated by its article 3. The UN defines terrorism as criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes which are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them. The point to underline in this definition is the fact that terrorism is unjustifiable no matter the consideration. **In this regard, this paper stays with the UN's articulation.**

Hoffman identifies some key

characteristics of terrorism. He proposes that terrorism is:

- ineluctably political in aims and motives,
- violent – or, equally important, threatens violence,
- designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target,
- conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia) and
- perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity. The foregoing traits of terrorism are not exhaustive but suffice for analytical purposes in this paper.

TYPLOGIES OF TERRORISM

The US Law Enforcement Assistant Administration classified terrorism into six categories. These are presented below:

- **Civil disorder** – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.
- **Political terrorism** – Violent criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.
- **Non-Political terrorism** – Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits “conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective.”
- **Quasi-terrorism** – The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which

nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction. For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi-terrorist whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.

- **Limited political terrorism** – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to “acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a concerted campaign to capture control of the state.

- **Official or state terrorism:** referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that are similar dimensions as terrorism or such proportions. It may also be referred to as

-**Structural Terrorism**, defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

UNDERSTANDING THE BOKO HARAM MENACE

Before we proceed to the issue of the funding of the sect proper, it is pertinent to provide a brief background of its evolution, ideology and operations. This is important for us to understand not only its perception and attitude towards other people and the Nigerian state, but also to appreciate the level of threat its growing maturity poses to security at the national and regional levels.

Evolution and Ideology

The exact date of the emergence of the Boko Haram sect is mired in controversy, especially if one relies on media accounts. However, according to the Nigerian Director of Defence Information, Colonel Mohammed Yerima, the sect has existed since 1995, under the name of Ahlulsunna wal'jama'ah hijra. It was then led by Abubakah Lawan who later left the country for studies at the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. The sect has subsequently flourished under various names like the Muhajirun, Yusufiyyah sect, Nigerian Taliban, and now the Boko Haram. The name «Nigerian Taliban» is used in a derogatory sense by the local people who despise the philosophy and teachings of the sect. Although the sect is fashioned like the Taliban in Afghanistan, it is widely believed that it has no formal links with its Afghan counterpart. The philosophy of the sect is rooted in the practice of orthodox Islam. Orthodox Islam in their interpretation abhors western education and working in the civil service. This explains why the sect is popularly known as the Boko Haram, literally meaning “Western Education is a sin.” However, a statement allegedly released on August 2009 by the acting leader of Boko Haram, Mallam Sanni Umaru, rejected such a designation that:

Boko Haram, in any way, mean, 'Western education is a sin' as the infidel media continue to portray us. Boko Haram actually means 'Western Civilisation' is forbidden. The difference is that while the first gives the impression that we are opposed to formal education coming from the West ... which is

not true, the second affirms our belief in the supremacy of Islamic culture (not education), for culture is broader, it includes education but not determined by Western Education.

The sect, in a pamphlet circulated on major streets in Bauchi after the 9/7 jail break, again frowned at the name «Boko Haram», stating that its name is “Jama'atu Ahlissunnah lidda'awati wal Jihad”, which means People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad». Although the sect's name may have changed over the years, its ideological mission is quite clear, namely to overthrow the Nigerian state and then impose strict Islamic Sharia law in the entire country. A member of the sect has stated that their mission was to clean the [Nigerian] system which is polluted by Western education and uphold Sharia all over the country. They are motivated by the conviction that the Nigerian state is filled with social vices, thus «the best thing for a devout Muslim to do was to migrate (Hijra) from the morally bankrupt society to a secluded place and establish an ideal Islamic society devoid of political corruption and moral deprivation». Non-members are therefore, considered as kuffar (disbelievers; those who deny the truth) or fasiqun (wrong-doers). Members wear long beards, red or black headscarves and reject the use of certain modern (purportedly Western) goods, such as wristwatches and safety helmets. The irony, however, is that they do not reject or refuse to use technological products such as motorcycles, cars, cellular phones and AK-47 guns, among others, that are derived from Western civilization but which enhance their

violent campaign against the Nigerian state.

Structure and Leadership

The Boko Haram sect was led by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf until his death just after the riots of July 2009. Mohammed Yusuf was born on 29 January, 1970 and hailed from Girgir village in Jalasko Local Government Area of Yobe State. Before his death, he was the Commander in Chief (Amir ul-Aam) or the leader of the entire group. He had two deputies (Na'ib Amir ul-Aam I & II). Each State where they exist has its own Amir (Commander/Leader), and each Local Government Area where they operate also has an Amir. Below the Local Government Amirs are the remaining followers. They also organized themselves according to various roles, such as soldiers and police, among others.

The young Yusuf was a secondary school drop-out who received a Quranic education in the Chad and Niger republics where he imbibed his radical ideology. He was known to the local people for his radical debates and views on Islamic issues. His radical stance generated friction between him and other moderate Islamic scholars like the late Jafa Adam, Sheik Abba Aji and Yahaya Jingir in northern Nigeria. His association with the sect was also a source of marital friction and one of his wives, Zainab, informed *Tell Magazine* that

“we were always quarrelling with him anytime I brought up the issue of his membership of the Yusufiyyah [Boko Haram] sect in the last six years.” Mohammed Yusuf held a benighted view

of the world and science and in an interview with the BBC, he completely rejected the idea that the world is round, the theory of Darwinism, and the process of rain. These, to him, ran contrary to the beliefs of Islam and the teaching of Allah. “Like rain, we believe it is a creation of God rather than evaporation caused by the sun that condenses and becomes rain”, he argued. He did not believe in the Nigerian constitution and the flag either. While alive, Yusuf lived in affluence and was fairly well educated in the Western sense, although most of his sect members lived in poverty. Before his death in July 2009, he had been arrested several times for charges relating to attacks on police stations and for belonging to the Nigerian Taliban. In 2007, for instance, he was arraigned on a five-count charge, relating to terrorism financing. However, the real underlying crime may have been that he was caught spying on American government and business offices and residences in Nigeria probably for operational plots to execute or aid the execution of terrorism against these targets. He was later acquitted, but in 2008 he and some of his members were again arrested by security operatives and handed over to the Inspector-General of Police for prosecution. They were released on bail by an Abuja High Court on 20 January 2009. Yusuf was discharged and acquitted after the principal witness, Mr. A A. Kalil of the State Security Service, failed to appear before the court to testify against him, following three consecutive adjournments of the trial on 2 March, 12 March, and 15 April, 2009. Three months later, he led the July 2009 revolt, during which he was killed. Following his death, a former deputy leader of the sect who was thought to have been killed by police

during the July 2009 revolt, Imam Abu Muhammad Abubakar Bin Muhammad, known as Abubakar Shekau, became the *de facto* leader of the sect.

Membership and Recruitment

Boko Haram draws its members mainly from disaffected youths, unemployed graduates, and former *Almajiris* (Street Children), mostly in northern Nigeria. The term *Almajiri* in Nigerian refers to someone who leaves his home in search of knowledge in Islamic religion. It is a popular and old practice whereby children are sent to live and study under renowned Islamic teachers in cities in northern Nigerian, such as Kaduna, Kano, Maiduguri and Zaria, among others. A 2010 survey indicates that the population of *Almajiris* in Nigeria stood at 9.5 million, with over 8 million of them in northern Nigeria. Scholars have identified four important features of the *Almajiri* system that make it ideal for exploitation by an extremist movement. First, it involves children being relocated or separated from their families and friends to the guardianship of Mallams in towns. Second, it is restricted almost exclusively to boys. Third, the curriculum of the schools is concerned primarily with teaching the sixty chapters of the Koran by rote memorization. Fourth, each school serves 25 to 500, from the ages 6 to 25. These schools are largely autonomous from government oversight. Particularly worrisome is the fact that these *Almajiris* live and study in very appalling conditions. They are often cramped into shacks and left with little or no food, forcing them to roam the streets begging for alms. Denied of parental care, they form the majority of recruits of extremists, such as the Boko Haram and

Kalla Kato, among others, for use as tools in religion-based violence. The sect also has some university lecturers and students as followers.

Recruitment for membership into Boko Haram is based on indoctrination. Before the July 2009 revolt, their leaders tried to publicly persuade people often, through radical preaching, to join the sect. Since the July revolt, they have become more secretive about their membership to avoid arrest by security agents. The sect is alleged to have over 280 000 members across the 19 states of northern Nigeria, Niger Republic, Chad and Sudan.

Funding

Boko Haram has been sustaining the activities through several means.

1. membership dues/donations,
2. external assistance,
3. bank robbery,
4. donations from politicians.

The payment of membership dues was the basic source of funding for the sect before Mohammed Yusuf was killed; members had to pay a daily levy of 100 naira to their leader. The activities of the sect have become secretive after the death of Mohammed Yusuf, making it difficult to know whether the payment of membership dues has been discontinued. They also receive donation from politicians, government officials and other individual or organizations within Nigeria. In January 2011, security operatives arrested Alhaji Bunu Walki and 91 other persons. He was a contractor and an indigene of Borno State. He was alleged to be the main financier of the Islamic sect (Idris, 2011:13) and there are several other cases of senators and strong politicians behind the sponsorship of

Boko Haram (Alanamu, 2011:134)

Looking at the emerging trend of Boko Haram in Nigeria, it will be discovered that they enjoyed external financial support. For instance, late Mohammed Yusuf and Mohammed Bello Damagun were tried for terrorism-related offences. Mohammed Damagun was arraigned in a federal high court in Abuja on three count charges, namely belonging to Nigerian Taliban, receiving a total of US \$300,000 from Al Qaeda to recruit and train Nigerians in Mauritania for terrorism and aiding terrorists in Nigeria. Mohammed Yusuf was arraigned on five count charges, among which include receiving monies from Al Qaeda operatives in Pakistan to recruit terrorists who would attack residence of foreigners, especially Americans living in Nigeria. It has also been discovered that Mohammed Abubakar Shekau had met Al Qaeda leaders in Saudi Arabia in August 2011 and was able to obtain from Al Qaeda whatever financial and technical support the movement needed (Mark, 2012:12)

Boko Haram also finances its activities through bank robberies. Arrested member of the sect have confirmed that they raise money through raiding banks or supporting robbery gangs. For example Kabiru Abubakar Dikko Umar, alias Kabiru Sokoto, the suspected mastermind of the 2011 Christmas Day bombing of a church in Madalla who was arrested by security operatives, confirmed that BH raised money for its operations through bank robbery. The loot is usually shared among five groups: the less privileged, widows of those that died in the jihad, Zakat, those that brought in the money and to the leadership for use in propagating the

jihad (Onuoha, 2012).

In 2011, Sheriff Shetima, a member of a robbery gang arrested by security operatives, confessed that his gang was responsible for some robbery operation in Borno State to raise funds for the BH, including an October 2011 raid on First Bank Nigeria Plc, Damola branch, where they killed a policeman and stole 21 million naira (Blawa, 2011). Unsurprisingly, over 30 of the 100 bank attacks in 2011 were attributed to the BH funding. (*Thisday*, 24, 2011:6)

National security

Idowu (2013) views security from a political perspective as meaning all forms of precaution taken by governments and their agencies to guide against crime, violence, accidents, attacks, conspiracy, sabotage, and espionage. It is a protection or precaution taken to ward off any action of individuals or groups likely to endanger the peace and harmony of a section or the whole nation. Security can equally be regarded as a device for ensuring proper custody and prevent escape or losses of anything of value. Kronenberg (1973, p. 36 cited in Asamu 2006, p.126) defines national security as “that part of government policy having as its objective the creation of national and international political conditions favourable to the protection or extension of vital national values against existing and potential adversaries.” Imobighe (1990) describes national security as freedom from danger or from threats to a nation's ability to protect and defend itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests, and enhance the well-being of its people.

Louwi (1978 cited in Asamu, 2006) argues that national security includes traditional defence policy and capacity to survive as a political entity in order to exert influence and to carry out its internal and international objectives. These are the traditional pre 1990's conception of national security, which focuses predominantly on territorial protection against external and internal aggression. In the post 1990s era, new perspective to national security has been adopted by scholars, which encompasses human security as a whole. According to this school of thought national security entails a condition in which citizens of a country enjoy a free, peaceful, and safe environment, and have access to resources which will enable them to enjoy the basic necessities of life (Enahoro, 2004).

Aliyu (2009) elaborates further by providing a description of national interest as going beyond military preparedness to defend the nation to the issue of provision of good life for the citizenry. It is the ability of a country to maintain its sovereignty, protect its political, economic, social and other interests in a sovereign manner and both internally and in relations with other states. It is not only about the security of national territory and infrastructure but, also about the good life, the basic values which keep the community together and advancement in the quality of life available to the individual regardless of their social status.

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopts political economy, theory as theoretical construct.

Political economy

The Marxist political economy approach holds that the economy is the sub-structure on which all other super-structure such as the political, the legal and social are built. Ake (1981) argues that a proper understanding of the economic system will bring about an appreciation of the general character of other aspects of the social system. The position a person or group occupies in the production process determines the class which the person or group belongs. The interaction between the forces of production and the social relations of production is the determinant of the economic development and progress in human society (Otite, 2008). Karl Marx in his interpretation of the dialectical method postulated that there are two classes in the society: the class which controls the means of production and that which does not.

In the present context, the privileged bourgeoisie (ruling class, political elite and business men), control the means of production and utilize it to determine the fate of the less privileged. The majority of the population that fall within the less privileged are frustrated by lack of good governance and the exposure to poverty in the midst of enormous resources without tangible efforts to its alleviation by the government. In Nigeria, the bourgeoisie (politicians and their god-fathers) use the less privileged, especially the youths, as tools to either rig elections or destabilize the government in power when they are denied direct access to control of government, through funding of violent activities by the youths. The interest of the bourgeoisie is not the provision of good life for the less

privileged youths, but rather, to provide the enabling environment for the elite to have direct access to state resources which provided for their maintenance. They are known to turn their backs on these youth groups after the youths have facilitated their access to government offices. Unfortunately, they are not able to disarm the youth groups who they have armed to aid the rigging of elections, and these frustrated youths become uncontrollable by their political contractors.

Activities of Boko Haram

It will be pretty difficult to catalogue the enormous atrocities of Boko Haram, more so, when the orgy of violence still continues unabated. However, some major ones are presented in this paper.

Boko Haram's operation started when the sect struck on July 26, 2009 in Dutsan – Tanshi, Bauchi State. Prior to 2009, the sect was veiled until the killing of its leaders Mohammed Yusuf. Thereafter, the group vowed to carry out reprisal attacks. Since then, the violence has escalated both in intensity and frequency. In short, the sect leader, Mallam Abubakar Shekau, in a press release said unequivocally, that he would kill and eliminate irresponsible political leaders of all leanings, hunt and gun down those who oppose the rule of Sharia in Nigeria.

To match words with action, Boko Haram has been inflicting incalculable havoc on the country, particularly, in the north where it is based. Statistics have shown that between July 2009, and January 2012, militant group conducted about 160 attacks, leading to the death of

over 1000 persons and displacing hundreds. The main targets of the zealots include government buildings and infrastructures, police stations, churches, schools, banks, and UN offices and so on. Their attacks have occurred mainly in Borno, Bauchi, Gombe, Yobe, Kano, Kaduna, Jigawa, Niger, Plateau including Abuja (Onuoha, 2012).

Boko Haram has carried out attacks on symbolic targets. These include buildings and important anniversaries. Examples when attacks have occurred are Christmas and Easter celebrations. In addition, the sect has carried out or threatened to carry out attacks on important ceremonial days such as the Independence Day. Particularly disturbing in Boko Haram terrorism, is its targeting of those who it regards as infidels or non-Muslim worshippers (Nees, 2013:505).

In 2005, Boko Haram attacked over 50 churches and barbarically beheaded pastors who refused to convert to Islam. In December 2010, the zealots killed a gubernatorial candidate of the All Nigeria People's Party. In the same year, over 29 churches were burnt and pastors killed. To display its sophistication, in August 2011, the sect effectively used suicide bombing on the United Nations headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, killing 23 persons. In addition, a horrendous Boko Haram killing spree occurred between January 20 and January 22, 2012, when the group massacred 300 people in **Kario** through suicide bombings and vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (IED).

In March 2012, they attacked a Catholic church in Jos and killed 6 people who were worshipping. On Easter Sunday,

they killed 38 Christians while worshipping, using a vehicle bomb (Al Jazeera, 2012). The orgy of violence against Christians in the north continued in 2013 in Kogi State when Boko Haram raided a church and killed worshippers. The situation alarmed the Christian Elders Forum of Northern States (NOSCEF), compelling them to raise their voices against the atrocities of the sect. The Forum revealed that between January 2014 and February 9, 2014, 367 persons had been killed in Adamawa, Benue, Borno, Kaduna, Katsina and Plateau States (NOSCEF, 2014). To prove Boko Haram really mean "western education is evil", since March 2012, the insurgents have set on fire over 12 primary and secondary schools in the three most affected States in the North. In September, 2013, the sect attacked students' dormitories in Momudo village, Yobe State, killing about 39 students. In February 2014, 59 children of the Federal Government College, Buni Yadi, Yobe State were killed (Udumebraye, 2014:45). In April 14, 2014, the Islamic sect carried out the worst dastardly act of terrorism when they abducted 276 female students at Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/chibok-schoolgirl-kidnapping). As the search for the Chibok girls continues, attacks have occurred severally in Abuja and elsewhere in the North.

The offensive embarked upon by the combined troops from Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria has resulted in the killings of many of the insurgents. In addition, some villages taken over by Boko Haram have been reclaimed. Boko Haram uses sophisticated weapon such as AK 47 rifles, Fusil Automatique Léger,

(FAL), Belgian made, self-loading rifle rocket launchers, R.P.G., improvised explosives device (IEDs) and bombs. Some members of the sect received training from outside. Intelligence report has also shown that the sect recruits fighters from outside, mainly from neighbouring countries, such as Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic. The porous borders are not also helping matters as they facilitate the escape of insurgents after carrying out attacks (Uwerunonye, 2014:38-39).

Implications of Boko Haram Insurgence to Nigerian State:

The implications of multi-dimensional conflicts in Nigeria as well as the fall out of Boko Haram insurgence have left behind an inestimable damage to every facet of life. There is no gainsaying that it has slowed down national economic growth and development since no investors would prefer to invest in a crisis ridden nation. It has further compounded the problems associated with the relocation of multinational companies to safer territories in Africa, like Ghana due to infrastructural decay. One of the noticeable effect, has been the tendency to worsen unemployment and lead to youth restiveness, thereby making crime a profitable venture and attractive. It has also led to the near collapse of the tourism industry as the nation loses huge foreign currency that could have accrued from this sector.

In addition, the scourge of Boko Haram if not checkmated, might lead to food scarcity in Nigeria, in the long run, though, a glimpse of such was experienced in July, 2012 when the prices of food items and vegetables skyrocketed

in the south. This was as a result of the inability of traders from the north to transport commodities due to general insecurity in the region. The dangerous aspect that has not caught the attention of the government is the nature of migration that is currently experienced in Nigeria for the first time. In this instance, it is not the southerners alone that are migrating from the north but also the northerners on account of insecurity. Most of the migrants from the north are in their productive age and they are farmers and tradesmen by profession. This explains why most of the Okada riders in the Western States are of northern extraction. The danger is that they have abandoned their profession (farming). This has reduced food production and compounded the problem of food importation. Currently, Okpaga, Chijioke, and Eme, (2012) observe that Nigeria spends over 10 billion dollars yearly on importation of four food items alone including sugar, wheat and rice. Though President Jonathan said that the situation was unacceptable, the long run effects of the insurgency have not been given justifiable attention as governments in Nigeria pay lip-service to agricultural revolution.

Furthermore, there is no doubt that the migrants will put additional pressure on the host communities in term of infrastructure and security challenges. With the banning of Okada on major roads in places like Lagos, the eastern parts of the nation may not be a viable alternative and there is the tendency that the migrants might be a security threat and take to crime as a means livelihood. More than that, such frustrated elements might easily be influenced to serve as agents for the Boko Haram in the south.

Any successful attack by the sect in the south might lead to reprisal. The effect of that might not be predictable with respect to the corporate existence of Nigeria.

The insurgency has the tendency to lead more Nigerians into poverty. Subair (2012), relying on National Bureau of Statistics estimates using the relative, absolute and dollar-per-day poverty measures, notes that poverty may have further risen slightly to about 71.5 per cent, 61.9 per cent and 62.8 per cent respectively in 2011. If the scourge is not addressed, many able hands will be rendered jobless on account of migration and this will definitely feedback to the challenges imposed by insecurity. In an attempt to address insecurity, there is the tendency for government to increase its spending on security, while resources could be diverted from socio-economic development programmes that could transform the nation and provide conduit pipe for fraud and misappropriation of fund in the name of security coverage.

Another dimension of the Boko Haram insurgency is the effect on the corporate image of Nigeria within the comity of nations. Internationally, the image of the nation is dented while prostitution, crime, drug trafficking, fraud and high level of corruption are the issues that are negatively affecting the reputation of Nigeria and Nigerians anywhere in the World. For a decade, efforts weremade without success to rebrand the shattered image of Nigeria. There is no amount of image laundering that can influence the impression of the international community if negative news, on a daily basis, emanates from the nation.

The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria

has led to palpable fear among the citizenry and a high sense of insecurity due to regular loss of life and damage to properties and infrastructures on account of bombings and reported cases of assassination. The list of death according to Jimmoh (2011) was 1400 as at 2011 while Igbokwe (2012) put the figure at about 1500 in the last one year. Okpaga, Chijioke, and Eme, (2012:9-12) give a summary of terrorist acts perpetrated from July 27, 2009 to February 17, 2012 which is a manifestation of how dangerous the sect is. The implication is that there is a general belief that government is helpless and incapable of handling the situation. This has left the populace at the mercy of blood-thirsty sect and everybody to himself. Of recent, attacks have no regard for any establishment including security, international agencies, press, private individuals, emirs, churches and mosques. It has left the impression that nobody is safe while it questions their avowed commitment to Islamic revival. The experience of Miss Agnes Agwuocha, a seventeen year student in Kano captures the state of palpable fear as she said that “We are afraid of Boko Haram. Daddy and Mummy keep awake all night in case the attackers decide to invade our home. They would lock all the doors tightly, pray all night and ask us to sleep. But we never can, for we don't know what will happen next... They said we would soon go home, so we are waiting” (Egburonu et al, 2012:20). This cannot but worsen refugee and internally displaced problems in Nigeria.

Moreover, the insecurity also has the tendency to breed religious unrest because of the multitude of attacks on churches and, of recent, on Muslim

prayer grounds. Miscreants elsewhere can hide under the banner of Boko Haram and use the opportunity to further perpetrate havoc. The inability of government to address the challenges had led to the general belief that everybody needs to provide for his or her security coverage and this will further compound the problem associated with the proliferation of light arms (Oche, 2008). This position agrees with Raleigh (2011) that:

Severe political instability – civil wars, genocides and politicides – lead to increases in international migration and internally displaced persons. Those conclusions are further interrogated to find that economic and social vulnerabilities can be equally critical factors in shaping movements from conflict zones.

Government Responses to terrorism

Nigeria is one of the first countries in Africa to comply with the United Nation's conventions and protocols on combating terrorism and a compliant of almost all existing conventions, protocols and resolutions on combating the financing of terrorism and anti-money laundry (CFT/AML) (US Department. of State, 2007). It has also gone further to pass the bills proscribing these offences.

It established a Presidential Advisory Committee on terrorism and further empowered the National Security Adviser to deal decisively with outlaws of these acts. It went on to grant amnesty to Niger Delta militants, empowering the youths through rehabilitation

programmes. Aside from the passage of those bills, the Nigerian governments have also established a special agency on terrorism and bombing. A special adviser on terrorism was also appointed by President Goodluck Jonathan. The government promised also to carry out the training of security agents on intelligence and intelligence networking.

Nigeria has also entered into pacts with foreign nations like the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, Israel and other countries, in the fight against terrorism. And these countries have offered to assist the government in the battle against terrorism, especially Boko Haram criminalities. This has further strengthened government resolve in fighting terrorism. In the past US, Britain and Israel had assisted Nigeria in technical areas especially in the area of investigation and forensic science.

The government has severally made overtures to Boko Haram with the view of reaching a dialogue and a truce by sending the former President General Olusegun Obasanjo to the group. But it failed. Continual efforts are still being pursued with the view of dialoguing with the sect for peace. It is being filtered into the air that with the destruction of the main operational base of the group in Borno State, they will have no option than to surrender to government forces. Government has also established Almajiri Schools in Northern States with the view of using it to educate the teeming illiterate youths in the zone and thereby reduce Boko Haram foot soldiers. However, in combating terrorism, government is faced with critical dilemmas which seem to frustrate its efforts.

Government Dilemmas in Combating Terrorism in Nigeria

The problems confronting the government in combating terrorism are enormous. In spite of the actions put in place to suppress it, the menace seems to be over-stressing the government. The fact is that most of government efforts have been mere peripheral window dressing as they have not actually addressed the issues that brought about terrorism in those areas. For example, while government actions in the Niger Delta were merely settling the militants and their leaders, the general lack of infrastructural development in the zones has remained unsolved. We will attempt to discuss the following as they hinder effective strategy towards combating terrorism.

Lack of Skilled Manpower and Training

At the peak of the kidnapping crisis in the South-East, following the kidnapping of the four journalists at Abia state, it was reported that security experts were imported from Israel to help in tracking the whereabouts of the kidnappers and their hideouts. Similarly, experts were also flown from Britain and America to take samples of the pieces of bomb blasts recovered at the scene of the incident of the bomb blast of October 1, 2010 at Abuja. Moreover, the imported cache of guns and ammunition discovered at Apapa Wharf, some time in 2010, was also sent to America to determine where the items were made. All these references have been highlighted to bring to fore the fact that Nigerians lack the expertise in terms of manpower skill and training to deal with terrorism. No wonder (Lee &

Perl, 2002) assert that Nigeria's security agencies take only the pictures and finger prints of criminals arrested in connection with terrorism or other criminal acts. They lack the skill to carry out forensic or DNA examinations. This is a very derogatory statement against a country that prides itself as the giant of Africa. We would rather refer to Nigeria as the giant of African leaders of corruption. It is quite absurd and a great shame, that after about eighty two years of the emergence of the Nigeria Police Force (1930-2012) all it can achieve is mere picture taking and finger printing in investigation. It cannot delve into the rigorous aspect of investigation by utilizing competent forensic technology.

A Terrorism Unit has been created in the police and also in the state security services. Government has also inaugurated a Presidential Adviser on terrorism. The National Intelligence Agency (NIA) has units or bodies dealing with related offences. But how much of skills do these units have in handling terrorism? How much of equipment and technological devices do they have in their units to tackle the war against terrorism? The emerging terrorists of the 21st century are operating at the speed of lightning. Any time, their modus operandi or tactics is discovered, they immediately change their operational methods. Do we have the expertise, in terms of skill and training, to cope with this dangerous emerging trend?

Government Insincerity in Tackling the Root Causes of Terrorism

Scholars from various disciplines have all identified root causes as key to understanding why most terrorism

occurs. For example, Bloom (2007) enumerated the following as its root causes among others:

lack of rule of law,
failed or weak states that provide havens for terrorists,
corrupt government,
depression,
discrimination,
social injustice.

We may add to the above list among others: unemployment, absolute poverty, underemployment, rise of indigenous neolites, executive lawlessness, marginalization, relative deprivation, oppression, neo-imperialist class, do-or-die politics and government insincerity and insensitivity.

Aside from the huge amount of budget government appropriates every fiscal year, the country is yet to reap the dividends of democracy. Basic social amenities like water, electricity, education, hospital, roads, etc., are non-existent instead 25% of government budget is allocated to the National Assembly overhead current expenditure. The public is only privileged to know how much budget is approved for each fiscal year, but how much of the budget is implemented to transform the socioeconomic status of the citizenry is another ball game entirely. Government is insincere in fulfilling her election campaign promises to the people; instead, she flamboyantly, with great impetus, exhibits executive lawlessness in corruption and abuse of office at the glaring face of hungry, poverty-ridden, unemployed and absolutely deprived Nigerian youths. No wonder Akanji (2007:63) argues that it is "corrupt and ineffectual political leadership that often engenders poverty and, consequently,

violent activities." The implication is that government inactions precipitate violent acts. As long as government continues to distance the masses from their land and appropriate their rights without due process, it cannot be seen to be egalitarian as it does not take into consideration the principles of corporate governance which involves freedom of choice, rule of law, transparency, justice and accountability. The war against terrorism cannot be fought when the generality of the citizens are living below poverty level. In this era, where there is free-lance terrorist (soldiers of unemployed youths, who do not belong to any fundamentalist or radical group but who are easy tools in the hands of the rich or terrorist organizations). By just mere financial inducement, they can carry out any terrorist act. These youths are easily available for criminal acts because they have nothing doing and nobody cares about their well-being. Government only makes political and economic promises in order to secure a win, but after they have won, promises are abandoned only to recycle them in the next election because they must win votes. This is the Nigerian dilemma. This is the critical meeting point that has enhanced the emergence and growth of militancy and terror groups in Nigeria.

Lack of data base

The fight against terrorism and other related emerging trends in the country demands a data base. It must be constantly updated in line with operational exigencies that may be required. We may be able to have a data base assembled by the United States agencies on terrorism, but that on domestic terrorism is lacking. It is very

important for us to reiterate the fact that while countries like America, Britain, etc. are battling with combating international terrorism, Nigeria is grappling with domestic (right wing) terrorism that comprises, among others, hate groups, Islamic fundamentalists and militants. Each of these groups mentioned have specific justificatory approaches to their terrorist acts.

It is important and of great value if the root causes of Boko Haram outrage are known and their leaders identified, targets identified, groups (micro or macro) identified, *modus operandi* identified, motives and motivations known, ideologies noted, organizational structures (if any) located and identified, sponsors and beneficiaries (internationally and domestically) identified, etc. Armed with these basic tools, policies, strategies, tactics and other related modules can be formulated. You cannot win a war fighting a ghost or an unknown enemy. Boko Haram, as at today, is unknown at least in our public domain.

Proliferation of weapons

To pretend this does not exist is building a castle in the air. The rate at which arms and ammunitions, especially the prohibited ones - weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are proliferating makes nonsense of the fire-arms law in Nigeria. It would be recalled that AK. 47 rifle was introduced into the Nigeria Police force between 1998 and 2000. At that time, it was the most sophisticated weapon in the hands of the police. It replaced the Mark IV Rifle-“Cock and shoot” because of its automatic and rapid

shooting capability, coupled with the capacity and caliber of the ammunition and the magazine. It has the capacity of doing what we call “kill and show” with shooting range above 300 meters.

Unfortunately, this particular rifle seems to be the commonest one now that can be found in the hands of criminals. The questions are- How did these criminals get the rifles? What is happening with our borders – sea port, land port and airport? What is happening to the Custom Operatives, Navy, Police, SSS, Air force and Army? What of those patrolling the sea and border post? What happens to the laws guiding the issue of fire arms? These questions are pertinent: the answers will obviously help in combating terrorism and, until then, they are great threats to its fight. The cache of arms and ammunition that was returned by the militants in the Niger Delta is very frightening. The Rambo style operations going on in the Northern Zone of Nigeria is equally disturbing. Thus, proliferation of arms and ammunition is a serious dilemma confronting the Nigerian State in their resolve to combat terrorism and other related offences. It is not only our domestic dilemma it is also an international dilemma. The inability of the Nigerian government to control the proliferation of arms and ammunition in the country is great danger to her internal security.

Enforcement and Implementation of Anti-terrorism Laws

Nigeria is one of the first countries in Africa to comply with all established and existing conventions, resolutions, protocols and other laws regarding to the regulation and combating of

international terrorism, combating of the financing of terrorism, anti-money laundering (CFT/AMT) and other related criminal acts specified under those laws. Notwithstanding the measures taken to be a compliant state among the comity of nations, Nigeria lacks the will to enforce and implement the laws so far approved or passed relating to acts of terrorism or financing of terrorism. There have been constant accusations that the federal government is not actually prosecuting members of the Islamic fundamentalist sect arrested across the country for the ruthless and persistent mayhem they have been inflicting on the nation. This lack of will and show of weakness which government has blatantly demonstrated severally has giving greater impetus to Boko Haram such that they ludicrously, in a Rambo style, inflict grave harm to the people. This was exhibited when they sacked the security agencies attached to Bauchi prisons on September 7, 2010 and released all the 721 inmates in the process, including their own 123 members who had been in detention since July 2009. This flagrant display of having government at their mercy is aptly illustrated by the various conditions which they have been imposing on the government as conditions for a truce.

Religion and Culture

Another dilemma confronting the country is the emerging trend towards terrorism that is religiously or ideologically motivated. Radical Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Boko Haram or other groups using religion as a pretext to cause violent acts, pose a great danger to the internal security and peace of the country. The challenge associated with this kind of terrorism is how to

condemn and combat it, or extremism and violent ideology of specific radical groups, without appearing to be anti-Islamic or anti-religious in general. At the international level, a desire to punish a state for supporting international terrorism may also conflict with other foreign policies involving the nation. That notwithstanding, government must prioritize its national internal security interest before that of any group and understand that the unity and strength of the state is far greater than the interest of any religion or culture. When the state is guided by this principle, that the whole is greater than any of its component parts, then sentiment will be cast aside for the interest of the whole.

Conclusion

The return to democratic governance in Nigeria resurrected so many ethnic sentiments and demands ranging from Niger Delta militancy, MOSSOB, OPC, among others. In Jos, Plateau state, it has been constant fighting between farmers and Fulani herdsmen. Within, the North-central geopolitical zone, there has been constant land disputes between various ethnic groups and many other challenges in the form of ethno-religious crises. None of these have been as devastating and destructive as the Boko Haram insurgency. It is a national and global threat to peace and sustainable development. Since its rise, Nigeria has not experienced peace, especially in northern Nigeria (North-East). These attacks have destroyed so many lives and properties that can only be compared to the Nigerian civil war. Through constant attacks, there have been military counter-attacks and the result is massive destruction of lives and properties and

the underdevelopment of Nigeria. The Boko Haram insurgency is a major challenge to Nigeria and failure to address it decisively will lead to the division of the countries and the non-attainment of vision 2020-20. Security challenges cannot be addressed without all stakeholders collaborating to put an end to them. Nigerians must put away ethnic sentiments and tackle the Boko Haram insurgency with vigour and determination. It is only through the united force of Nigerians and Nigeria alone that Boko Haram insurgency and other security and national issues can be addressed.

Recommendations

Having examined the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and its role in the underdevelopment of the country, we put forward the following recommendations:

The Nigerian government needs to, as a matter of urgency, declare a full state of emergency in all affected states in the north and declare full scale war against terrorism devoid of political and ethnic sentiments. This will, to a large extent, reposition the military and free them from political influences by political office holders in the affected areas. Sponsors and sources of funding for the Boko Haram insurgency should be traced. The best way to defeat a man in a battle is to cripple his economy. The Biafran experience is a clear example. All Boko Haram sponsors and sources of funding should be brought to book and crippled.

The government should match words with action in dealing with the security challenges in Nigeria. This should include equipping the military, re-organizing the police

force, settlement of political, economic and religious disputes without favouritism.

The government should put machinery in place through a collaborative effort between national and state orientation agencies, local government areas, traditional rulers, youths, women and religious groups in carrying out a re-orientation campaign in northern Nigeria. This will help to address the misconceptions about western education, government activities and other issues used by Boko Haram in convincing the youths to support them. Furthermore, it will also help to address the issue of school drop-outs so that Boko Haram will not seize the opportunity to recruit them.

In addition, poverty should be addressed across the country through employment generation by governments at all levels, collaboration between government and the private sector, revamping ailing firms and empowering youths and women through skills acquisition programmes and agricultural practices. These measures cannot be achieved without government addressing the issue of corruption which is the major cause of poverty in Nigeria.

Finally, the government of Nigeria should partner with the international community in addressing the Boko Haram insurgency. Terrorism is a global phenomenon. Therefore, it is advisable that it should also be addressed through global collaboration.

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