

BOKO HARAM TERRORISM AND THE FUTUROLOGY OF NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT

Olawale Olufemi AKINRINDE¹, Seun TEGBE²

¹ Osun State University, Oke Bale Street, Area 210001, Osogbo, Nigeria,
Tel.: +234 810 7976419, Email: olawale.akinrinde@uniosun.edu.ng

² Osun State University, Oke Bale Street, Area 210001, Osogbo, Nigeria,
Tel.: +234 810 7976419, Email: walephobia2007@yahoo.com

How to cite: AKINRINDE, O.O., & TEGBE, S. (2020). "Boko Haram Terrorism and the Futurology of Nigeria's Development." *Annals of Spiru Haret University. Economic Series*, 20(3), 117-139, doi: <https://doi.org/10.26458/2035>

Abstract

This study interrogates the continued manifestation of the Boko Haram terrorism that inheres in the prevailing human securities challenges in Nigeria, and why the Nigerian developmental quests had failed and are bound to fail in the future should the human insecurity challenges that accounted for the Boko Haram terrorism are left unabated in Nigeria. Collected qualitative and archival data lend credence to the centrality of the proposition of this study that Boko Haram terrorism would remain as long as the human security challenges such as poverty, inequalities, social injustice, unemployment, illiteracy remain unaddressed. This study therefore recommends a human-based approach to addressing the Boko Haram terrorism.

Keywords: *human insecurities; Boko Haram terrorism; the human security model; development; Nigeria.*

JEL Classification: J28, O11, O19, P46, P48, Z12



Issue 3/2020

1. Introduction: Understanding the Logic of Boko Haram Insurgencies

Terrorism has grown to become the most dreaded nightmare of the entire world. Nigeria has not been exempted from the deadly scorch of terrorism and other forms of organized crimes against humans. As a societal pathology, terrorism has accounted for more than half of the entire security challenges the world is currently being confronted with. However, recent manifestations of contemporary terrorism had made it difficult to distinguish terrorism from all other forms of societal menaces and violence. A cursory review of the Boko Haram Sect's activities in Nigeria has however revealed that 21st century terrorism is now technically anchored on the precipitation of multifaceted human security challenges. The Boko Haram terrorism and/or insurgency remain undefeated and continue to linger in Nigeria in spite of the government's efforts to eradicate and banish the insurgency. This therefore calls into question the deficiency of the Nigerian government's understanding and approach in addressing the insurgency, and how it has affected Nigeria's development and her capacity to futuristically sustain her development. The inability of the Nigerian government to reckon with the new development surrounding the Boko Haram insurgency, as regards its empirical causes and link with her development objectives.

The term "Boko Haram" comes from a Hausa word, Boko meaning "western or non-Islamic education" whilst "Haram" an Arabic word that largely connotes Sin. Boko Haram, which literally means "Western or non-Islamic education is a sin", remains a controversial Nigerian militant Islamist terrorist group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law on the northern states of Nigeria such as Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, Taraba and some other states in the north. This group is known for bombing, explosion, killing, maiming and massive destruction and the use of religion as a weapon of terror in wreaking havoc in some states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Abolurin, 2011]. As a peaceful Islamic group, in 1995, under the name Shabab and led by Abubakar Lawan, Boko Haram has grown to become one of the deadliest terrorist groups in Africa. The migration of Lawan abroad to further his studies gave Mohammed Yusuf the opportunity of taking over the leadership of the group. During the course of leading the group, Yusuf was alleged to have opened up the group to political influence and popularity. He later built a mosque named Ibn Taymiyyah Mosque. And according to Abolurin (2011), it was in this mosque that Yusuf Mohammed and his then deputy Abubakar Shekau began to build an imaginary state within the Nigerian state. Founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Mohammed Yusuf with the aim of establishing a Sharia government in Borno state,



Issue 3/2020

the terrorist group moved to Kanamma village in Yobe state, Nigeria years-after. In Bauchi, the group was reported to have refused to socialize with the local people. Following his death, a new leader emerged for the group in person of Abubakar Shekau, a former deputy to the late Mohammed. Under the leadership of Shekau, the violence perpetrated by the group became unprecedented in frequency and intensity, as the group continually attacked security formations, churches, mosques and other institutions of government.

It is important at this juncture to chronicle some of the activities of this dreaded group who have continued to terrorize the Nigerian state with bombings, kidnappings and wanton destruction. Prominent among the immediate triggers of the Boko Haram insurgency that have been espoused is succinctly captured in the Crisis Group Africa Report of 2014 where the issues of politics, political violence, bad governance, poverty, economic inequalities, social injustice, and corruption rank highest. The report explains further that Nigerian politics is largely driven by money and elected public officials are hardly accountable to the citizens, as a result, Nigeria experiences a wide range of corruption that has contributed to every known social problem in the country. Crisis Group Africa Report (2014) revealed that, in Nigeria, 112.5 million people, representing over 70% of the population, are classified as poor and absolutely poor. Sokoto state in the North West had, as at 2014, the highest poverty rate (86.4%) while the North East where Boko Haram operates has the worse poverty rate of all the six geo-political zones in Nigeria (Crisis Group Africa Report, 2014). The Boko Haram insurgency, for some scholars and observers, sprouted and continues to boomerang mostly in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria due to low level of literacy and education. Till date, millions of *Almajiri* children (children that are usually enrolled in Islamic literacy centres, and rely on street alms-begging to eat and get clothed) continue to litter the streets of most northern states in Nigeria. Many of these *Almajiris* usually graduate Yandaba, an adolescent group, that later become a gang which serves as a good recruitment pool for extremist and terrorist groups such as the Boko Haram terrorist sect.

This study is therefore an attempt to understand how and why the continued manifestation of the Boko Haram insurgency poses a great challenge to Nigeria's present and future development quests. Logical attempts would be made also to examine the failure of the Nigerian government to civically and democratically underlie intersections between rising human security challenges and the continued manifestation of the Boko Haram insurgency, and the implication of this causality for Nigeria's developmental capacity.



Issue 3/2020

2. Boko Haram and the Future of Nigeria's Development: The Causal and Theoretical Premise

The Nigerian state now sits almost hopelessly on the threshold of discontinuity whilst the future of her developmental aspirations looks rather unconvincing and bleak due to the pervasiveness of insecurity that is characterized by, among many, more than a decade of Boko Haram insurgency. The spontaneity of the manifestations of the Boko Haram continues to test the resolve of, and the preparedness of the Nigerian state to stem the tide of this terror and other insecurities. With thousands of innocent Nigerians killed and internally displaced owing to the continued manifestation due to the terroristic activities of Boko Haram, several attempts had been made to understand the dynamics of this scourge, its causes, connection with Nigeria's development quest, and why it has remained almost unshakable and indestructible with no end in sight despite the amount of efforts, resources and policies and strategies that had been committed to its eradication by the government. Whilst various paradigmatic and tested hypothetical rationalizations have been advanced to explain the wave of Boko Haram Insurgency, little or no attention has been given to the theorization of its relationship with Nigeria's development aspirations. The Human security approach, following the end of the Cold War and the end of certainty that came with it, became the bedrock of security discourses; strategy and even a security paradigm that seeks to extol the primacy of human basic need as security measures itself, to forestalling insecurities [Hough, 2004].

The failure of governments to, through the usual traditional security paradigm, address the emerging human insecurities that threatened the existence of humanity led to the emergence of an alternative approach, that is, the Human security paradigm to approaching and understanding the rising profile of human-related insecurity issues. More recently, analysts, following the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) 1994, Human Development Report and their notion of security as "freedom from fear and want" [Hough, 2004], have settled on the phrase "human security" to emphasize the people-centred aspect of security efforts, strategies and paradigms. Thus, human security takes the individual as primary referent, and also concentrates on how best to protect them. Emphasis is therefore on the quest to actualizing the well-being of individuals, and responding to the people's needs in dealing with sources of threats. Furthermore, the Human Security paradigm aims to finding means to protect the nation from external aggression, and also, to safeguard it from a range of menaces, such as environmental pollution, infectious diseases and



Issue 3/2020

economic deprivation. Environmental destruction, poverty, famines and diseases are huge threats to the lives of millions of people all around the world and indeed, in Nigeria.

In Nigeria and more specifically in the Northern region, most of the human security needs have become practically non-existent. These human security needs are contextualized here to mean food, clothing, shelter, economic and health security, inclusion, freedom, religious tolerance and respect, as well as fundamental human rights, availability and ease of access to these human needs in Nigeria were visibly low. The Nigerian state now prides itself as the capital of world's poverty [World Poverty Clock, 2020]. This is in addition to World Bank report on human needs that is already spiking up. According to the proponents of the Human Security approach, Boko Haram insurgency and other forms of insecurities persist not entirely as a result of weak institutions or structures of government as scholars of Institutional approach would have argued, but of course, convincingly as a result of the absence of basic human securities provisions in the land. Since its attainment of statehood in 1960, the Nigerian state has remained one of the states that have consistently struggled to meet the human needs of their citizenries. Not only that Nigeria is now regarded as the poverty capital of the world, outmatching India, but now Nigeria harbours the highest numbers of children that are out of school and suffer of malnutrition across the globe. The World Poverty Clock has revealed Nigeria as the poverty capital of the world with 86.9 million out of its 180 million population still living in extreme poverty [World Poverty Clock, 2020].

Further to the above, poverty is often regarded as most significant threat to life and human security. Through famine and hunger, poverty has heightened the vulnerability to other threats by creating unfavourable structural economic conditions. Therefore, poverty can kill directly huge numbers when people are unable to secure sufficient food, as well as precipitate and motivate the poor into taking up terrorism, banditry and monstrous herdsmen killings as a means to surviving economically. Poverty therefore, as it were, does not simply mean a lack of material possessions, but, more generally, the deprivation of the three basic economic needs: Food, Water and Shelter [Akinrinde, 2016a; Akinrinde, 2016b].

Historically, the immediate economic threat to food security, over time, has always been famine. Famines chiefly occur due to the combination of both natural and economic factors. Since, it is manmade phenomenon, they are sometimes economically motivated [Hough, 2004]. An inadequate political response of



Issue 3/2020

governments to challenge of food insecurity has also been a critical issue. It seems though that the overall accessibility of food is not the problem, but rather poor distribution and the lack of the economic means or access to affordable food. The implications of food insecurity or famine are multifold. The desperate attempt by victims of food insecurity to resort to profitable criminal activities with a view to meeting their food needs. Nearly, 100 million Nigerians live on less than one US dollar a day. In January 2012, Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics released a report showing that the percentage of Nigerians living in absolute poverty had increased nation-wide from forty-five to sixty-one between 2004 and 2010 (NBS Report, 2012). Finally, Nigeria, according to World Poverty Reports (2019), is the poverty capital of the world, having taken over the status from India.

This phenomenal rise in the country's poverty profile was particularly notable given that in 2011, Nigeria was the world's fourth largest exporter of oil [HRW, Report, 2012; Akinrinde, 2018]. Poverty has been unevenly represented in Nigeria with the north being the worst off. The National Bureau of Statistics' Report (2012) showed that 70% of Nigerians in the north-eastern part of the country (Boko Haram's traditional stronghold) lived on less than one US dollar a day compared to 50 and 59% in the south-western and south-eastern Nigeria respectively. Also, government's demographic and health survey in 2008 cited in Human Right Watch Report (2012) revealed that less than 23% of women and 54% of men in the north-east Nigeria could read and write compared to more than 79% of women and 90% of men in the south. Furthermore, chronic malnutrition among children has also become endemic in Nigeria. Infrastructural development is scarcely available. In the north-east, for instance, only 24% of households have access to electricity compared with 71% of households in the south-west [Wakil, 2013]. Unemployment, lack of economic opportunities, and wealth inequalities are sources of deep frustration across the country, especially in many parts of the north [Odo, 2013]. This explains why the Nigerian state has the highest number of Almajirs (a group of northern children and teens whom have been abandoned by their parents and, consequently, resorted to street-begging). The key to finding the solution is to tackle the issues regarding access to resources, employment and secure revenue. Furthermore, an underfed population is mostly prone to diseases, creating considerations concerning health care closely associated with the problem of poverty, particularly in third world countries. Against the backdrop of the aforementioned human security threats and variables that readily precipitate the triangle of insecurity in Nigeria, some

122



Issue 3/2020

proponents of human security also include various other issues, such as natural disasters, bad leadership, and electoral violence.

The failure of successive Nigerian governments to comprehensively address the roots of poverty in Nigeria has been particularly consequential for two reasons: the rising profile of poverty level and the role the high poverty level has been playing in the making of insecurity. The poorly catered for and trained citizens that are mostly teenagers and youths have thus become ready-made tools for the breeding of terrorism, insurgency and other forms of organized crimes like banditry and herds-men terror. For instance, current leader of the Boko Haram terrorist sect, Ibrahim Shekau, was formerly an Alma-Jiri who wandered the streets of Yobe state in Nigeria before he came in contact with the late Mohammed Yusuf, the supreme founder of the Boko Haram sect who introduced him to radical Islamism. Ibrahim Shekau, like most members of the deadly Boko Haram terrorist sect, was a victim of the failures of successive Nigerian governments to meet the basic human security needs of the citizens. Shockingly, eighty per cent of nearly half of the population living below the poverty line are domiciled in the Northern region. This explains why the Northern region of the Nigerian state, especially, the North-Eastern region (the least developed region) continues to account for the highest rate of insecurity in the Nigerian state at the moment. Whilst the other parts of the country are not exempted in the precipitation of the terrorist network, activities and effects in the country, the Northern part remains the major contributor in the breeding haven for Boko Haram and other forms of organized crimes.

Another human insecurity that has contributed to the emergence and consistent rise of organized crimes like terrorism world over, such as the case of Boko Haram in Nigeria, is environmental degradation. Some of the threats caused by environmental degradation seem less clear-cut and direct than other dangers to human life. However, the potential threat of global warming and ozone depletion and other environmental conditions have increased people's vulnerability to other threats, such as disease and loss of livelihood, making them largely indirect threats to human existence. Studies have further revealed that close to a third of deaths related to diseases world-wide have some environmental causes, such as air or water pollution [Hough, 2004] which are indirectly aiding the rise of terroristic activities, most especially, from those that have been badly affected by the harsh effects of the emerging environmental challenges. Furthermore, human induced environmental degradation, and the resulting scarcity of resources have also been some of the



Issue 3/2020

motivators of insecurity and insurrections in Nigeria, and most parts of the globe [Terriff, 1999].

Similarly, one of the major threats is air pollution, caused by vehicles, factories and power plants, which can seriously damage people's health. Developing countries, on the other hand, mostly face the threat of scarce water resources, as well as water pollution. Thus, for example, a recent study has revealed that close to 2 million children each year die from diarrhoea, largely because of the contamination of their drinking water and the lack of sanitation in developing countries [The Economist, November 11, 2006]. Water scarcity is also increasingly becoming a factor in ethnic conflicts and political friction. Nigeria is not shielded from the harsh realities of human insecurities. In fact, these human insecurities have thus placed individuals at the mercy of desperate and survivalist actions and activities that could in most instances precipitate the youths and teenagers into taking up arms against the state through terrorism or banditry and the killers-herdsman. Environmental issues coupled with poverty and underdevelopments, which are both serious threats to the individual's security as well, have become ready-made motivators of insecurities in Nigeria.

Corruption has also become the catalyst for the Boko Haram to continue to fester. The terrorist group would have found it difficult to gain a lot of its current members if it was operating in a functional state where corruption is seen as an abomination, and then taken as such. Boko Haram's teaching and indoctrination was easily accepted because the environment, the frustrations, the corruption, and the injustice made it fertile for his ideology to grow fast, very fast, like wildfire in the North-Eastern part of the country. The Boko Haram sect, for instance, has continued to emphasize corruption and injustice as the motivating factors for their desire to institutionalize Islamic government based on the principles of Sharia, which they saw as anti-dote to corruption, lack of basic social services such as health-care, education, water, electricity, good housing, roads, amongst others, for the ordinary citizens in Nigeria. As the Human Rights Watch Report (2012) noted, while professing to oppose corruption, Boko Haram has, at times, openly exploited the failings of the Nigerian state to advance its cause. For example, the Report observed that Boko Haram claimed that it succeeded in carrying out a car bomb attack on the United Nations Office in Abuja, in August, 2011 by bribing government security personnel at check points along the 800 kms route from Maiduguri to Abuja [Human Rights Watch Reports, 2012]. According to Boko Haram's spokes-



Issue 3/2020

man quoted in the Report, “luckily for us, security agents were not out to work diligently but to find money for themselves, and N20.00 or N50.00 that was politely given to them gave us a pass” [Human Rights Watch Report, 2012].

The implication of these human insecurities is the rising prevalence, among other security threats, of Boko Haram insurgency that has severely affected Nigeria’s march towards present and future developments. The Boko Haram insurgency has created an inhibitive atmosphere that is cantankerous to any meaningful development. Economically, all economic and industrial productions are the hotbeds of the Boko Haram attacks. The implication of this is the incapacitation and robbing of the Nigerian economy the opportunity to draw on productions of good and services from the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. This is coupled with scores of loss of lives and the destructions of small businesses that constitute to the fulcrum of the Nigerian economy. Access to basic health by citizens and residents of areas that have been overrun by Boko Haram in North-Eastern Nigeria has become a top priority. Security is development, and in an atmosphere that is insecure, development becomes a fleeting mirage.

To buttress the relevance and appropriateness of the Human Security in understanding why the Boko Haram insurgency has remained constant and the implications it poses to Nigeria’s present and future developmental objectives, the table below reinforces Human Security Approach’s position by depicting that areas, where the Boko Haram insurgency has become commonplace, are areas with the worst human security indexes.

Table 1. Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria from 2009 to 2019

S/N	Dates	State in Nigeria	Location of Attack and Numbers of Death
1	July 27, 2009	Yobe	Terrorist Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters with three policemen and one fire service officer killed.
2	September 8, 2010	Bauchi	Boko Haram set ablaze Bauchi Central Prison and freed many of its members from the prison.
3	March 13, 2010	Plateau	Boko Haram killed 300 people in the northern part of Plateau State.
4	October 1, 2010	Federal Capital Territory,	Boko Haram detonated bombs near the Eagle Square, Abuja claimed 12 lives, leaving many injured.

Issue 3/2020

		Abuja	
5	December 24, 2010	Plateau	Boko Haram detonated bombs in Barkin Ladi, Plateau State, killing eight people.
6	December 31, 2010	Federal Capita; Territory, Abuja	Bombing of Mogadishu Mammy Market, in Abuja, killing about 10 lives.
7	January 21, 2011	Borno	The Borno state governorship candidate of all Nigeria Peoples Party ANPP for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modugubio, a brother to former governor of the state, Modu Sheriff, was killed with six others by members of Boko Haram in Maiduguri, Borno State.
8	March 2, 2011	Kaduna	Two policemen attached to the residence of the divisional police officer, Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State, were killed by members of the Boko Haram sect.
9	March 30, 2011	Yobe	A bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State, exploded whilst injuring a police officer.
10.	April 8, 2011	Niger	Boko Haram bombed the Independent National Electoral Commission's office in Suleja, Niger State, killing eight corps members and the suicide bomber too.
11	April 9 2011	Borno	Bomb explosion at a polling unit in Unguwar Doki Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber only.
12	April 26, 2011		Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack.
13	April 29, 2011	Bauchi	The bombing of Army Barracks in Bauchi by the Boko Haram group with no casualty recorded.
14	May 19, 2011		Three policemen were killed, with two soldiers injured in bomb attack executed by Boko Haram.
15	May 29, 2011	Bauchi	Bomb explosion at Mammy/military market of Shandawanka barracks in Bauchi State by Boko Haram claiming lives while leaving many injured.
16	May 30, 2011	Borno	Bombs explosion carried out by Boko Haram along Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State, leaving 13 dead and 40 injured.
17	June 16,	Abuja	Nigerian Police Headquarters, Abuja, was bombed by

	2011		a suspected suicide bomber of the Boko Haram group with three casualties and many vehicles damaged.
18	June 16, 2011	Borno	Four children were killed in a bomb attack carried out by Boho Haram at Damboa town in Maiduguri, Borno State.
19	June 20, 2011	Katsina	Seven policemen were killed by Boko Haram in a Boko Haram attack on Kankara Police station in Kastina state, with two of the security men instantly killed.
20	July 9, 2011	Borno	A gun duel between Boko Haram and the Nigerian military in Maiduguri, Borno State, left 31 people dead. On the same day also, in Suleja, Niger State, a bomb targeted at a church by the Boko Haram group killed four and injured many others.
21	July 11, 2011	Kaduna	Bomb explosion at a relaxation spot in Fokados street, Kaduna left many injured.
22	July 12, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram Group threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle in Maiduguri.
23	July 15, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram bomb attack in Maiduguri injured five people.
24	July 23, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram bomb attack close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanen, injured three soldiers.
25	July 25, 2011	Maiduguri	A bomb explosion near the palace of traditional ruler in Maiduguri claimed eight lives.
26	August 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Members of the Boko Haram group killed four policemen, one soldier and seven civilians while carting away undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery.
27	August 26, 2011	Abuja	A Boko Haram suicide bomber rammed into the United Nations building in Abuja, killing 25 while injuring 60.
28	September 12, 2011	Bauchi	Four policemen with three others were killed during a Boko Haram bomb attack on a police station in Misau, Bauchi State.
29	September 13, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram members shot and injured four soldiers in a terrorist attack in Maiduguri, shortly after the arrest of fifteen of its members, during military raids

Issue 3/2020

			on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi State.
30	September 17, 2011	Borno	Brother-in-law of Mohammed Yusuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakura Fugu was shot dead in front of his house in Maiduguri by two members of the Boko Haram group two days after he was visited by former President Olusegun Obsanjo.
31	October 3, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram Group attacked Baga Market in Maiduguri in a terrorist attack and killed three people.
32	November 4, 2011	Yobe	About one hundred and fifty people were killed by Boko Haram in a single terrorist attack in Damaturu, Yobe State.
33	November 27, 2011	Yobe	Seven people were killed by Boko Haram attacks in Geidam, Yobe State.
34	December 18, 2011	Borno	Three members of Boko Haram were killed following the detonation of explosives in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State by the Boko Haram sect.
35	December 22, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram explosives and gunshots claimed four people's lives, leaving several persons injured in Borno.
36	December 24, 2011	Plateau	Eighty people were killed in a Boko Haram bombing in Jos, Plateau State.
37	December 25, 2011	Niger	Fifty people died on a Christmas Day bombing carried out by Boko Haram in Madalla, Niger State.
38	December 30, 2011	Borno	Seven persons were killed in Maiduguri, Borno State by Boko Haram.
39	January 5, 2012	Gombe	About six people died in a church in a Boko Haram attack led in Gombe, Gombe state.
40	January 6, 2012	Adamawa	Seventeen persons were killed in a terrorist attack in Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State. Another twenty people of Nigerian Igbo nationality were also killed by the Boko Haram terrorist group in Mubi Local Government Area of Adamawa state.
41	January 20, 2012	Kano	More than two hundred and fifty people were killed in a multiple Boko Haram attacks in Kano state.
42	January 22, 2012	Bauchi	Two churches were destroyed in Bauchi State whilst a military personnel, a divisional police officer, and eight civilian were also killed by members of the

			Boko Haram terrorist group at the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in Bauchi state.
43	January 26, 2012	Kano	The Sabon Gari of Kano State witnessed another bomb explosion that was orchestrated by the Boko Haram terrorist group. Many were injured whilst some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.
44	January 28, 2012	Gambiru Ngala, (Borno)	Another Boko Haram terrorist attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno state, with one casualty.
45	January 29, 2012	Gambiru Ngala, (Borno)	A Boko Haram attack in Gambiru Ngala, Borno state, leaving two civilians dead.
46	January 30, 2012	Borno	Six people were killed in Maiduguri, leaving two Air force officers.
47	February 4, 2012	Borno	Two civilians killed in Damboa, Borno State by the Boko Haram terrorist group.
48	February 5, 2012	Yobe,	An officer of the Department of State Security was killed by the Boko Haram sect in Yobe.
49	February 07, 2012	Kaduna (Kano Market, Military Barrack)	Five civilians were killed by the terrorist group in Kano Market.
50	February 07, 2012	Kano	Ten persons were killed in Kano by Boko Haram.
51	February 10, 2012	Borno	Four persons were killed in a gun duel between Boko Haram sect and the Nigerian military in Maiduguri, Borno State.
52	February 10, 2012	Kano	The Boko Haram group attacked a police station and engaged the police in gun duel in Shagari Quarters, Kano. No casualty recorded.
53	February 12, 2012	Borno	Some members of the deadly terrorist group were killed in Maiduguri by the Nigerian military.
54	February 15, 2012	Kogi	Jail break masterminded by suspected members of the Boko Haram group occurred in Koton Karfi Prisons, Kogi State. A warder was killed and 199 prisoners

Issue 3/2020

			including some Boko Haram members escaped.
55	February 15, 2012	Niger	Two police men were killed and many injured by Boko Haram in Minna, Niger State.
56	February 17, 2012	Yobe	Two People were killed by Boko Haram in Geidam, Yobe State.
57	February 17, 2012	Borno State	Five people were killed in Maidugri metropolis by the Boko Haram, Borno State.
58	September 29, 2013	Yobe	A terrorist attack carried out by the Boko Haram at the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe resulted in the death of forty male students.
59	January 14, 2014	Borno	Thirty one people were killed with over fifty people injured by a Boko Haram suicide bombing in Maiduguri, Borno State.
60	February 25, 2014	Yobe	A terrorist attack on Federal Government College in Buru-Yadi, Yobe state, by Boko Haram resulted in the death of twenty-nine teenage boys.
61	April 14, 2014	Borno	The renowned and popular 2014 Chibok girls' kidnapping was masterminded by the Boko Haram terrorist group. More than two hundred and thirty-four female students of the Chibok Secondary School were kidnapped by the terrorists and remain missing.
62	April 14, 2014	Abuja	Another Boko Haram bombing in Abuja in 2014 at a crowded bus station in Abuja, Nigeria, killed at least 90 people whilst injuring more than two hundred persons.
63	May 1, 2014	Abuja	A car bomb masterminded by the Boko Haram terrorist group exploded, killing at least nineteen people whilst leaving more than sixty persons injured.
64	May 5, 2014	Borno	The 2014 Gamboru and Ngala terrorist attacks perpetrated by the Boko Haram left more three hundred and thirty-six dead.
65	May 18, 2014	Kano	A Boko Haram suicide car bomb killed five civilians.
66	May 20, 2014	Plateau	Twin bomb explosions claimed by Boko Haram killed 118 people.
67	May 30, 2014	Borno	Assassination of a Muslim leader Alhaji Idrissa Timta the Emir of Gwoza in Borno by the Boko Haram sect.

68	July 4 – July 10, 2014	Borno	Four simultaneous Boko Haram attacks resulted into the death of eleven civilians, one vigilante, thirty-three soldiers, four police and fifty-three Boko Haram members were killed. On the same day, the Boko Haram group captures a military base and police station in Borno whilst on the 6 th the Nigerian military killed a Boko Haram kingpin and his brother at their home in Kaduna. Similarly, forty-four Boko Haram members were killed in two military operations in Borno on the 6 th July, 2014.
69	January 2, 2015	Borno	Boko Haram members razed down the entire town of Baga in North-East Nigeria. As many as 2,000 persons were killed in the terrorist attacks.
70	January 25, 2015	Borno	Boko Haram members launched offensive terrorist attacks against Nigerian forces in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State, leading to the deaths of at least eight civilians, and fifty-three terrorists, and an unknown number of soldiers.
71	April 5, 2015	Borno	Some Boko Haram members disguised as preachers to launch a terrorist attack in Borno, killing at least twenty-four residents of Kwafaja Village in Borno State.
72	April 9, 2015	Borno	Members of Boko Haram attacked the village of Dile in Borno State, killing twenty innocent civilians.
73	June 22, 2015	Borno	Boko Haram masterminded Maiduguri Mosque Bombing and claimed thirty lives, including two young female suicide bombers. The terrorist group also attacked a mosque in the first day of the commencement of the Ramadan Fast of 2015.
74	November 17, 2015	Yobe	A terrorist bombing of a marketplace in the north-eastern Nigerian city of Yola left thirty-two people dead and over eighty persons wounded.
75	January 28, 2016	Borno	A weekend terrorist rampage by the Boko Haram terrorist in Dalori, an outskirts of Maiduguri, Borno state, left at least sixty-five people dead and twice the aforesaid number injured.
76	August 21, 2016	Borno	Another Boko Haram attack on a village called Kuburwva (between Chibok and Damboa, Borno State) was reported to have left at least eleven people

Issue 3/2020

			dead with countless women raped.
77	January 7, 2017	Yobe	At least five soldiers were killed during an attack by Boko Haram fighters on the Nigerian forces in the Counter-Insurgency theatre in Yobe.
78	January 8, 2017	Borno	Two people were killed in residential areas in the Kaleri area of Gwange following an attack by two female suicide bombers of Boko Haram.
79	January 13, 2017	Borno	Three soldiers were killed whilst ten Boko Haram insurgents died in a gun duel between the Nigerian forces.
80	January 28, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram launched an attack on Maiduguri-Biu highway, resulting into the death of seven civilians.
81	February 5, 2017	Borno	Troops of Operation Lafiya Dole of Nigerian COIN operations fell into a Boko Haram ambush in Ajiri village of Dikwa Local Government Area of Borno state, resulting into the killing of seven Nigerian soldiers.
82	March 15, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram terrorists launched an attack on Magumeri village in Borno state, killing seven people.
83	March 25, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram terrorists in a gestapo manner kidnapped eighteen girls and four women from Pulka village in Gwoza, Borno.
84	April 5, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram terrorists killed seven men in a farming community outside Maiduguri, and stole an estimated 360 herds of livestock.
85	April 12, 2017	Borno	A Nigerian soldier was killed during a suicide and gun attack on a military checkpoint on the outskirts of Maiduguri.
86	May 4, 2017	Borno	A Boko Haram attack by two female suicide bombers was launched on Mandarari ward in Konduga LGA in Borno which resulted in the death of five civilians.
87	May 20, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram members invaded remote villages in Mussa, Borno and shot dead villagers in Askira-Uba LGA, Borno state, resulting in the death of many, with scores kidnapped.
87	June 7, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram attacks rocked the east senatorial district of Maiduguri, with at least ten people killed.

88	June 18, 2017	Borno	Boko Haram suicide bombers detonated explosives in multiple attacks on Kofa, a village that's only 8 kilometres from Maiduguri, killing twelve civilians.
89	June 25, 2017	Borno	A security guard working with the University of Maiduguri was killed by a Boko Haram suicide bomber, while eight other civilians died in another attack by four suicide bombers in Zannari community in Maiduguri.
90	July 17, 2017	Borno	Eight civilians were killed by a Boko Haram female suicide bomber through detonated explosives at a mosque in Maiduguri.
91	July 28, 2017	Borno	Eight people were killed with fourteen others injured in a Boko Haram suicide bomb attack on an IDP camp in Dikwa LGA, Borno.
92	August 1, 2017	Borno.	Following a Boko Haram attack on Mildu village in Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa state, the Boko Haram terrorists launched another attack that claimed seven civilians' lives and many injured.
93	August 9, 2017	Adamawa	One civilian was feared dead from an attack by Boko Haram members in Ghumbili community in the Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa State.
94	August 12, 2017	Borno	At least four civilian persons were killed in an attack carried out by Boko Haram terrorist sect at Wanori-Amarwa community of Konduga LGA of Borno.
95	August 20, 2017	Yobe	Two people killed following an ambush by Boko Haram terrorists along Damaturu-Biu road in Yobe state.
96	2018	Zamfara	At least three hundred and seventy-one people were feared dead following a coordinated and concurrent terrorist attacks masterminded by the Boko Haram group in Zamfara state in 2018 alone. The total casualty recorded from the terrorist killing and attacks by Boko Haram for the year 2018 stood at 6,562.
97	January 28-29, 2019	Borno	Sixty innocent people were killed in Rann, Borno State, in a terrorist attack by Boko Haram.



Issue 3/2020

98	April 29, 2019	Adamawa	Boko Haram fighters reportedly killed 21 people when they stormed into Kuda village in north-eastern Nigeria and set it on fire.
99	May 1, 2019	Borno	The Boko Haram terrorists killed fourteen men who had gone to collect firewood near Monguno in the Lake Chad area of Nigeria's Borno state.
100	May 2, 2019	Adamawa	The Boko Haram terrorists went from door to door, killing as many as 25 people in Christian community of Kuda, near Madagali, in Adamawa State, in north-eastern Nigeria.

Source: Compiled by the Author, 2019

3. Boko-Haram and Nigeria's Future Development: Impacts Analysis

To aver that terrorism has so much reaching implications for national security is to state the obvious. This is anaphoric considering the devastating effects of terrorism in Nigeria recently. Aside from creating an ambiance of desolation and displacement, it further exacerbates the spate of instability in such an area and threatens peaceful coexistence. The resultant public security volatility in the region has been an impediment to trade and investment, peaceful co-existence and stability, as well as sustainable livelihood and development. This scenario has since complicated and accentuated the plight of the region as a developmentally challenged section of Nigeria. In respect of the implications of terrorism for the broader polity of Nigeria, it is to be noted that the Boko Haram insurgency has led to negative perception of Nigeria as an unsafe country by the wider world. This has damaged Nigeria's profile as a favourable international destination for investment, travel, tourism, scholarship, and migration. The implication of this is that Nigeria is gradually drifting into the status of an ostracized nation. This does not augur well for the sustenance of the country's national security. Furthermore, the extent of violence and destruction that has been associated with the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has been horrific. The advent of suicide bombing as a strategy for prosecuting terrorism by members of the sect has since signalled a new dimension to the national security challenge in Nigeria. To say the least, the rising incidence and prevalence of terrorist attacks in Nigeria have exposed the country to serious levels of humanitarian and territorial vulnerabilities. In the face of this situation, the sustenance of Nigeria national security is at best problematic.



Issue 3/2020

Aside from this, terrorism in Nigeria increases public insecurity, threatens livelihood, increases human right abuses, amplifies population displacement and refugee debacle and swells human casualties/fatalities. To be sure, desiring for development amidst terrorist attacks is illusory, as no real development can be attained in a war prone society characterized by incessant bombings and attacks, considering that Nigerian democracy is nascent and can be easily disrupted by unrest. Nigeria's National Security Adviser, Ali Mungono was informed that "people no longer go out for their normal business in daytime and they cannot also sleep in the night, yet people are hungry but they are afraid of going out to look for survival, whereas, they are also weary of staying at home [Sun Newspaper, July 2, 2013]. Going by the logic that no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity, it therefore implies that Boko Haram insurgency is a bane to the present and future Nigeria's economic development.

In trying to understand the impacts of the terrorists' activities on Nigeria's development from a global perspective, one would begin to see that the Boko Haram terrorism has whipped up fear in the minds of would-be foreign investors in Nigeria since it is logical for anyone to not risk his or her investment in an unstable environment. Similarly, in many of the attack-ridden areas, economic activities have come to a halt and this traumatic experience has affected mostly the petty traders who earn their meal on daily routine. Banking sector have equally suffered setback as some commercial banks were closed in some of these areas. More so, humongous amounts of money meant for development and projects such as good roads, electricity and other vital amenities, have been diverted to security issues. Thus, while the country is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram insurgency is crumbling these laudable efforts. Hence, the impacts of the Boko Haram terrorism on Direct Investment (FDI) and the development of the Nigerian economy can never be over emphasized. This justifies Omenma's thesis that there is no gainsaying the fact that no man and by extension no state is an Island. This means that states need the relationship and partnership of one another to pursue development goals but the quest for foreign direct investment in Nigeria has been compromised by the level of insecurity in the country [Omenma, 2014]. The Nigerian government long before now understands the importance of attracting foreign investors and with such an awareness, that the limitation and incapability of the local investors could be best remedied through FDI, it wasted no time in vigorously and financially making provision for the injection of foreign capital in the



Issue 3/2020

form of investments in the country. This it did through the use of shuttle diplomacy, especially during Former President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime. This was protected and facilitated by the country's confidence in its new found democracy which most foreign firms have pointed out as the basis for investigation.

More than 97 per cent of businesses were negatively affected by the security problem whilst some of them had to close down, some of them had to retrench their workers, and others had to cut down in the number of hours of operation [The Nation Newspaper, 2013]. Also the insurgencies and terroristic activities of Boko Haram have reduced drastically.

This explains why the 2011 World Investment Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development reported that slope in business activities caused by insecurity in Kano State alone has cost the Nigerian economy N1.3 trillion (\$6 billion) as a result of attacks by the Boko Haram group. It was further reported that the report monitored on the Voice of America (VOA) also shown that Centre for Research and Documentation in Kano attributed the development to a drop in earnings for nearly all businesses in the state [The Nation Newspaper, 2013].

Diplomatically, very regrettably in the area of diplomatic relations, the Boko Haram terroristic activities in Nigeria have negatively affected the relationship between Nigeria and other nations of the world as a result of bombing coupled with kidnapping and hostage taking of foreign expatriates and professionals working in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria that has resulted to the demise of some of them, and other gory experiences. As a result, some European and North American countries have repeatedly warned their citizens to refrain from going to some states within the Nigerian state, especially states with high terrorism volatilities. It could be recalled how, few years ago, the United States warned its nationals not to go to some states in Nigeria whilst The United Nations once included Nigeria on the world terrorist watch list before it was subsequently removed.

Also it has been reported that there are strong indications that Nigeria may be blacklisted by international anti-money laundering watchdogs called Financial Action Task Force (FATF) over its inability to track the source of funds of Boko Haram and curb terrorism financing in general [Onuoha, 2014].

In sum, the Boko Haram terrorism has impeded Nigeria's development and future prospect in the following:

- a. Social dislocation and population displacement.



Issue 3/2020

- b. Social tensions and new pattern of settlements which encourages Muslims/Christians or members of an ethnic group moving to Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves.
- c. Heightens citizenship question which entrenches hostility between indigenes and settlers.
- d. Dislocation and disruption of family and communal life.
- e. General atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy.
- f. Dehumanization of women, children, and men especially in areas where rape, child abuse and neglect are used as instruments of war.
- g. Deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity.
- h. Discourages local and foreign investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people.
- i. Halts business operations during period of violence and outright closure of many enterprises in the areas or zones where incidence of insecurity is rife and occurs daily.
- j. Increases security spending by business organizations and governments.
- k. Migration of people from area or region where there is prevalence of insecurity.

Conclusion and Recommendations

To conclude, it is an undeniable fact that, finally, no socioeconomic development could ever take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity that normally characterizes a terrorized environment. The rising incidence and prevalence of terrorist attacks in Nigeria have, no doubts, exposed the country to serious levels of humanitarian and territorial vulnerabilities.

In the face of this situation, the sustenance of Nigeria national security has, at best, become problematic. It therefore implies that Boko Haram terrorism is a colossal bane to Nigeria's present development quests and its futurological development prospects. Viewed from a global worldview therefore, the Boko Haram terrorism has compounded the security fear and challenges usually experienced by foreign investors and expatriates in Nigeria. In many of the attack-ridden and terrorized areas, economic activities have been grounded and come to a halt with severe untold traumatic experiences on the part of the locals, who usually are the petty traders who earn their meal on daily routine. To say the least, it is then



Issue 3/2020

obvious to state here that the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria has served as some cog in the wheel of socioeconomic development in Nigeria.

It is therefore glaring that the Boko Haram crisis now affects the continued union of Nigeria as a nation and all hands must be on deck to finding a possible solution to this menace while the iron is still hot. To achieve this, this study therefore recommends the introduction of true federalism in Nigerian governance system in order to ensure that each state develops at its own pace [Oladeji, 2006]. If true federalism had been unambiguously enshrined in the 1999 constitution, issues of religious tolerance, allocation of resources and power sharing would have been taken care.

It is also recommended that Nigeria moves beyond the use of lethal force by improving on its intelligence gathering system whilst building healthier civil-military relations. Sending tanks to the street and declaring a state of emergency as President Jonathan did may appease the angry public but it is not an effective counter terrorism policy worldwide. The Nigerian government must, as a matter of urgency, address the human needs such as the political, economic and religious needs and concerns of the people, especially, the teeming youthful population that gave rise to Boko Haram.

Also, it is recommended that the universally accepted “carrot and stick approach” should be used in solving the Boko Haram terrorism since it has been proven that the “stick approach” has failed to curb the violence perpetrated by Boko Haram despite the declaration of emergency rule. According to the former Chief of Defence Staff, General Martin Luther Agwai (rtd), for instance, “you can never resolve any of these problems with military solution. The military can always be an enabling force” [Crisis Group Africa Report, 2014]. For him, “the terrorists will sensitize; they will stabilize the area but it is a political issue; it is a social issue; it is an economic issue, and until these issues are addressed, the military can never give you a solution” [Crisis Group Africa Report, 2014]. To salvage whatever is left of Nigeria’s present development gains and its futurological development prospects, the Nigerian government would need to do more by doing the recommendations suggested here while realizing that the long run strategy to preventing foreseeable occurrences of terrorism is to develop, as NC Namara has once remarked that security is development, and development is security.



Issue 3/2020

References

- [1] Abolurin, A. (2011). *Terrorism, Nigerian and Global Dimensions*. Golden-Gems Unique Multiventure, Ibadan.
- [2] Akinrinde, O.O. (2016a). "The Use of Advertorial Curses in Soft Crime Prevention." *Annals of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No 2.
- [3] Akinrinde, O.O. (2016b). *Nigeria-South Africa Relations: A Case Study of the Xenophobic Attacks*. An Unpublished Master's Thesis Submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.
- [4] Akinrinde, O.O. (2018). "The Politics of Non-Refoulement and the Syrian Refugee Crisis," *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies, and Development*: Vol. 4, Iss. 1, Article 6.
- [5] Hough, P. (2004). *Understanding Global Security*. New York: Routledge.
- [6] Human Rights Watch Report (2012). *Corruption Became the Catalyst for Boko Haram*.
- [7] International Crisis Group (2014). "Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency." *Africa Report* No 216, Brussels, Belgium.
- [8] National Bureau of Statistics (2012). *Social and Economic Reports*. Accessed at [https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary?queries\[search\]=poverty%20reports%202012](https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary?queries[search]=poverty%20reports%202012).
- [9] Odo, L. (2014). "The Socio-Economic and Political Dimensions of the Boko Haram Insurgency," *Business and Management Review*, Vol. 1 No. 9, April.
- [10] Oladeji, Abubakar (2006). "Federalism, Resource Control and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria." In Ojo, E.O. (2006), *Challenges of Sustainable Development in Nigeria*. John Archer's Publisher Ibadan.
- [11] Omenma, D. A. (2014). *Terrorism and Challenges of Leadership: The Nigerian Experience*.
- [12] Onuoha, F.O. (2014). "Forcing the Horse to Drink or Making it Realise its Thirst? Understanding the Enactment of Anti-Terrorism Legislation (ATL) in Nigeria." *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5(3-4).
- [13] *Sun Newspaper*, July 2, (2013). "The Challenges of Security in Nigeria."
- [14] Terriff, T. (1999). *Security Studies Today*. Polity Press.
- [15] *The Economist Reports*, November 11, 2006.
- [16] *The Nation Newspaper* (2013). "Terrorism: Lessons from other lands", The Nation Newspaper, February 6 p 44.
- [17] Wakili, H. (2013). *Are Unemployment, Lack of Economic Opportunities, and Wealth Inequalities*.
- [18] World Poverty Clock Report (2020). *Poverty Reports across the World*.

