

**BOKO-HARAM TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA'S NORTH-EAST REGION: A POLICY STRATEGIES FOR DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATIONS**

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**Abstract**

*The Spate of attack in Nigeria north east geo political zone by the Book-Haram has been and concern to scholars and public commentators alike. Terrorist attacks in many soft targets such as markets, public institution of government and indeed most places of worship and security formations have left devastating impact in no small measure. The emerging attacks have essentially brought about high rate of displacement destitution rape disease pandemics increase in crime rates rising corrupt practical's among IDP camps. This study is a theoretical exploration of the correlation between terrorism and insecurity. The study relied on similarly works and feature of seasoned scholars in the broader field of terrorism intruding for the investigation. The study find out/ seem up with strategy (counter-terrorism) which olive any option for democratic sustenance/consolidation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and beyond, therefore, the study recommend, that 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.*

**Keyword:** Boko-Haram, Insecurity, Policy Strategies, Terrorism.

**Introduction**

The current Boko Haram terrorism in the North-east region of Nigeria that originally took the form of sectarian religious violence and escalated into terrorist activities with international linkages and affiliations making it a relatively difficult nut for the Nigerian governance to crack (Gilbert, 2014). Consequently, Nigeria has not known peace for about four years now. The emergence of the fundamentalist Islamic sect, has led to the flight for safety and security of most Nigerians residing in the North-east. Since the commencement of the terrorist operations of the sect, they have adopted several methods to unleash terror on the people. Most states of Northern Nigeria have experienced their dastardly activities, but the worst hit has been Adamawa, Bauchi,

Bornu, FCT (Abuja), Kaduna, Kano, Plateau and Yobe (Nwakaudu, 2012:5).

According to Agomuo (2011:48) Boko-Haram terrorism has started around 2006 in the far flung North-east region of the country as a child's play, has become a national disgrace and of international concern. The emergence of the deadly group, whose activities has become a serious dimension in 2009, has continued terrorism north-east and some parts of the country. The inhuman activities of the Islamist sect, have unsettled the Nigerian nation to the extent that ample time and socio-economic cum political resources that ought to have been channeled to the development of the entire country is being wasted on various efforts geared towards checkmating and possibly, annihilating the insurgency but its effect reverberates through the entire country and has constituted a major source of underdevelopment to Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to critically interrogate the impact of Boko Haram insurgency and insecurity in the north-east Nigeria and how it affects democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Since July 2009, Boko-Haram, from Northeastern Nigeria, has stepped out its violence against the Nigerian state and its citizens, unleashing a systematic campaign of bombings, kidnappings and drive-by shooting on diverse government and civilian targets. In May 2013, President Good-luck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in the worst hit northeastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. But such emergency measures have failed emphatically and woefully to turn the tide of the insurgency; instead, they have strengthened the group's resolve to impose its will on Africa's most populous country. The particular concern are the growing sophisticated arms and weapons used by Boko-Haram fighters in recent attacks, as shown in the seizures made by state security forces in Northern Nigeria. Following the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recently announced that up to 706,700 Nigerians have fled out of the country. Most of them are women and children. Meanwhile, some 650,000 people remain internally displaced in northeastern Nigeria due not only to Boko-Haram's acts of domestic terrorism but also the counter-terrorism and indiscriminate killings of the state-led Joint Military Task Force (JTF) (Baiyewu 2014). In October 2014 report, the Human Rights Watch noted that Boko-Haram kidnapped over 592 persons (mostly girls, boys and women) in 2014. Although the on-going terrorism of Boko-Haram in northern Nigeria has elicited numerous publications, but yet to be a more constructive analysis that adequately accounts for the social dynamics of the group's identity and belonging in the Nigerian polity. This paper is arguably the first systematic attempt to draw on the critical theory (CT) to develop a conceptual discourse that explains the relationship between religion in Nigeria as an identity marker and a force of mobilization, and to show how its politician, practice and perception are implicated in the Boko-Haram insurgency. Terrorism is a global threat to the development of human civilization, because of its destruction. The concerns and preoccupation of terrorism at the global system has understated the necessity for peace, security, stability, justice and development. In a situation where the individual persons, and state within the international arena are filled and consumed by fear of existence, because of the morbid ambition for national survival or a vengeful, blind, but evil act to dehumanize the essence of humanity, calls

for intellectual and state's concern.

### **Methodology**

The sources of data collection used in this study, is secondary sources. While the secondary sources derive its sources of investigation from several sources such as relevant textbook, journals and governments documents, so as to enable the researcher have adequate resource materials needed to guide the work.

### **Origin of Boko-Haram**

Boko-Haram is the name commonly used to refer to the organization '*Ahlissunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad*' or the 'People Committed for the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad'. Boko-Haram is a Hausa phrase meaning 'Western education is forbidden' or 'Western education is Sinful'. This name was given to the movement in the early 2000s by the local population in Maiduguri, the capital of the northern Nigerian state of Borno where the movement originated. Although now widely used and popularized by the media, the name does not necessarily capture the full objective of the movement, which is to overthrow the Nigerian government, which is perceived as corrupt, and establish an Islamic state with Sharia law and get rid of western influences such as universities. The movement rejects western civilization at large, including scientific theories of evolution of the big bang theory, and preaches the superiority of Muslim civilization. In its earlier forms of Boko Haram was also known as the Nigerian Taliban or Yusufiyya (Tell August, 10, 2009).

The origins of Boko-Haram are connected to Muhammad Yusuf, a Malan (Islamic scholar) who led a wing of radical youth scholars in the 1990s in Maiduguri, giving roots to the movement. However its origin is most commonly dated to 2002, when Yusuf and his followers, in protest against the corruption of Nigerian society, left Maiduguri for the neighbouring Yobe state. The movement tried to establish a 'state within a state' - its own community where truly Muslim values could be pursued, with a morality police and a welfare system (hence the resemblance to the Afghan Taliban). Following a conflict with the local community in 2003, the remaining followers of the movement regrouped in Maiduguri in 2004. Yusuf's movement builds on a tradition of Islamic schools of thought in Northern Nigeria which tried to reform society, such as the moderate Yan Izala School and the radical and the militant movement Maitasine. The tensions between moderate and radical strands of Islamic thought in Northern Nigeria have continued to this day, some similarities between Boko-Haram and other Islamic movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (The Nation, Monday, August 10, 2009).

Boko-Haram has targeted young students of Islam called 'Almajiri' (a Hausa word for emigrant child; also referred to as street children). According to the Nigerian Ministry of Education, the estimated number of *Almajiris* in 2018 was 11.5 million, concentrated primarily in the northern states. Due to their socio-economic circumstances, they are particularly vulnerable to indoctrination and radicalization by religious fanaticism. Boko-Haram won public support owing to people's dissatisfaction with the state (for example with police corruption). As the movement started targeting the state security forces and critiqued the state's impunity and incapability, it was able

to gain some support among the public, which has however, been diminishing following the heightened radicalization under Abubakar Shekau. Although officially not representing the movement, travelling preachers and speechmakers recruited numerous followers for Boko-Haram. Yusuf himself was a very charismatic speaker, who produced recordings and tapes that became both a source of revenue for the movement and a means of spreading the organization's vision. The recruitment is now being carried out in the neighbouring countries (Aljazeera News. 2015, March 8).

The military reaction to Boko-Haram culminated in 2009 when the government cracked down on the group, taking Yusuf into custody and killing him in an extrajudicial execution. According to some estimates, around 1000 Boko-Haram members may have been killed and imprisoned in the half of 2009. The harsh responses of the Nigerian security forces have unquestionably helped fuel the group's violence. As earlier stated in this study, dangers associated with terrorist attacks are enormous. The increasing attacks of terrorism, especially the use of high level of explosives by these sects across the length and breadth of the nation has bred mutual suspicion. Nigeria's multi-ethnic groups, especially the core Hausa/Fulani, Igbos and Yoruba's have been, and have indeed continued to live in distrust one to another. This scenario has been made possible since the first bomb in Abuja, Nigeria's Capital Territory in 2009. Since then, several explosions: in churches, mosques, markets and shopping malls, army barracks and drinking joints, road blocks, police stations and public building, etc. This study sects to interrogates the security challenges posed by terrorism in the light of the engaging trappings of Boko-Haram insurgency that has literally defied all solutions even with the emergence of President Muhammadu Buhari, a core northerner. The sitting president no doubt, as part of his campaign promises gave his words to Nigerians that the sect will fizzle out in no distance time. It is still however a huge surprise that since the emergence of the All Progressive Congress (APC) as a government, the level of security though to have reduced but increase drastically. However, the increasing numbers of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) increase in the rate of kidnapping Fulani herders/farmers, cross border crimes, domestic violence and use of small and light weapons have continued unabated.

### **Ideology of Terrorism**

The basic foundation of terrorism is rooted in political conflicts, conspiracies and rebellions. This gives rise to the abnormal mode of behaviour which is peculiar to the Boko Haram terrorist group as it also applies to most of the infamous terror groups which are scattered around the globe (Olojo, 2013). Boko Haram's ideology is embedded in deeply traditional Islamism, and is but one of several variants of radical Islamism to have emerged in northern Nigeria. Its adherents are reportedly influenced by the kuranic phrase: "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors." As the name suggests, Boko Haram is strongly opposed to what it sees as a Western-based incursion that threatens traditional values, beliefs, and customs among Muslim communities in northern Nigeria. The group's first leader, Mohammed Yusuf, told the BBC in 2009: "Western-style education is mixed with issues that run contrary to our beliefs in Islam." Elsewhere, the charismatic leader argued:

“Our land was an Islamic state before the colonial masters turned it to a *kafir* (infidel) land. The current system is contrary to true Islamic beliefs.” In an audiotape posted on the Internet in January 2012, a spokesman for the group, Abubakar Shekau, even accused the United States of waging war on Islam. *Tell* magazine captures the group's ideology thus: “The mission of the sect was to establish an Islamic state where 'orthodox Islam' is practiced. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions represented by government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed.”

### **Causes of Terrorism and Insecurity in Nigeria**

According to Ali (2013) cited in Orkpage, Ugwu, S.C; and Eme, O.I (2012) the fear of insecurity in Nigeria is on the rise. Insecurity therefore has been compounded by the rising waves of terrorism, especially since the return of Nigeria from military dictatorship to democracy in 1999. The problem of violent crime appears to have a root and history in Nigeria and could be traced back to the period from Nigeria's independence in 1960 to the 1970s. Critics such as Oyebode (2011) have argued that at independence in 1960, the present federal structure was imposed on Nigeria by the British. However the federal structure bequeathed to Nigeria at independence did not conform to Ugwu, S. C. (2012) where tenets of federalism to all the arms of government with each organ deriving its constitutional powers from the constitution (where're 1963 as cited in Abimbola and Adesote 2012). The Ewetan and Ese (2014) claimed that insecurity challenges can be traced to the early years of the military rule when large quantities of arms were imported into Nigeria for its use especially for the execution of the civil war. Some of these weapons were believed to have gotten into the hands of the civilians. Soon after the civil war, these arms were used by civilians and ex-military men for mischievous purposes.

There was the challenge of the army of unemployed youths some of whom lost their jobs during the civil war. Consequently, most researchers attribute youth violence to peer group influence and other psychological factors associated with growing up, others harped on the impact of political and economic variables such as ethnic agitation, political uprising, unemployment concerns and several other factors as compelling factors that could trigger violet reaction in the society. For the purpose of this study however, some of the internal factors will be considered. They include;

### **Ethno-religious factors**

This form of insecurity problems are posed by mutual suspicion and distrust between and amongst the various ethnic nationalities in the country. Ethno-religious conflict as used here is meant a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic group is characterized by Absences of cordial working relationship, mutual suspicion and fear and very often, has the tendency of violent confrontations arising from different ideological stands (Achumba *et al*, 2013), Olaupo, (2013). To be sure, the frequent and persistent clashes between Nigeria's dominant religious sects (Christian faithful and Muslims) have been and have indeed continued to be a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. These are aside from other minor ethnic cleavages otherwise

known as “minority among the minorities”. Some of these minority sub-ethnic groups include Eggon, Alagos, Bassa, Itsekiri, Ijaw, Ogojas, Nupes, Angas, etc. Experiences have shown that these microscopic groups have had their own share of security threats in the country.

According to Eddy and Omoyibo (2013) argued that ethno-religious violence as security challenge is also traceable to the inability of Nigerian leaders to tackle development challenges and distribute the nation's resources equitably. As a major problematic, the problem of resource allocation and distribution by the post-colonial Nigerian elite over time have been lopsided. The quest for equal share of resources by the dominant political class therefore forms the basis of agitation such as the one of Boko Haram insurgency or the erstwhile Niger-Delta crises in Nigeria. Empirical evidence of violence arising from ethno-religious violence according to Eddy and Omoyibo has assumed alarming rates in Nigeria. For example, it has occurred in places like Shangamu (Ogun nState), Lagos, Abia, Kano, Bauchi, Jos, Nasarawa, Taraba, Ebonyi, Enugu, to mention but a few. These ethno-religious identities have become veritable sources of disintegration and destructive social forces that have continued to threaten the peace, stability and progress of the Nigerian state.

#### **Political violence an insecurity factor**

The history of Nigeria is characterized by protracted cases of violence, especially following the collapse of the First Republic on January 14, 1966 when the military found its way into politics. The system of elections and its conducts in Nigeria has remained largely problematic (though with a bit of respite in the last political dispensation of President Jonathan who initiated the card reader innovations in the process of elections). Extant history has it that the Nigerian electoral process before now has been characterized by increasing violence or what the Yorubas call “Operation wetie”; character assassination, wanton killings and destruction of lives and properties, and open rigging and ballot stuffing. Most politicians are often desperate and overzealous for power so much so that politics have been code-named “do or die” affair. The conditions and off-shoot of political violence during and after elections have been a major security threat to many lives and properties. This happens when certain sections of the Nigerian system feels aggrieved just because “our own man” is not in government. This is particularly true of the case of Jonathan versus Buhari during the 2011 presidential elections. The aftermath of the elections gave rise to the most notorious post-election violence in 2011, the scar and impressions of which has remained indelible in the minds of most persons affected in some parts of Northern Nigeria.

#### **Corruption as source of insecurity**

The menace of systematic corruption in Nigeria has contributed no less a challenge to insecurity crises in the country. Corruption especially at the level of government bureaucracy has been found to be chronic and the effect on the general psyche of the Nigerian system, dangerous it has contributed to government failure and breakdown of institutions as well as critical infrastructures. The state of insecurity in Nigeria at the

moment is tremendously a function of government failure, traceable to systematic and political corruption. It has added another dimension of insecurity which has virtually eroded national values.

### **Economic-based Violence as Source of Insecurity**

This factor is also known to scholars of political and development studies as “political development of violence”. This is why Eme and Onyishi have lamented that in recent times and indeed most writings in the mass media, greater emphasis are being placed on the role of resources in generating conflict which is a major source of economic-based violence across the globe (Nigeria inclusive) and across political divide. The questions of resource control and revenue sharing in the context of fiscal federalism most often takes the centre stage of public discourses, thereby, leading to violent agitations among the contending actors on the one hand, and between actors and state as an institution. As earlier pointed out, in this research, the Niger-Delta crisis in Nigeria presents a classic example of this kind of violent struggle that has been on since the Nigerian civil war in the 1970s. This violent agitation have claimed several lives of Nigerians and foreigners, military and para-military personnel and properties worth billions of naira destroyed. It has also resulted in economic misfortune in Nigeria through loss of oil revenue as a result of shortfall in crude oil exports by the oil multi-national conglomerates occasioned by disruption of oil exploration activities by the Niger-Delta militants.

### **Pervasive and Increasing Inequality**

One of the greatest factors propelling insecurity in any society including Nigeria is inequality. The monopolization of resources and most natural endowments like oil resources in the past have been a major compelling factor in this direction. To Achumber *et al* (2013) argue that there is the general perception of marginalization by a section of the section of the people in the areas of development policies, manifested in form of primitive accumulation by the power elites. The tendency to keep up to a reasonable level of acceptability by the majority poor could lead to disaffection, resentment and revolt. A classic example is the wave of violence and insecurity that swept across the length and breadth of most countries in North Africa such as Tunisia and most places in Egypt, Libya, Jordan and Arab Spring and so on. In Nigeria for example, informed opinion by policy experts seen to be saying that the increasing nature of inequality in the country since 1999 has been enormous, the particular importance in this discussion in the ever increasing inequality and poverty gap between the haves and the have note in the current dispensation of the APC-led government where extreme poverty, fuel scarcity, kidnapping, is on the rise. Aside from this, there is the case of incessant industrial actions and strikes by most industrial unions such as the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) under the auspices of Association of Resident Doctors; the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) such as the one currently ongoing in Nigerian Universities. These actions by the unions are to a large extent geared toward bridging the widening inequality gap between those who are doing the real job and the opportunistic class who do little, and yet take the largest share of the nation's resources.

### **Prevalence of Poverty and Unemployment**

The twin problems of poverty and unemployment have been major source of insecurity in Nigeria. Empirical investigations from various sources have revealed that unemployment reinforces itself into poverty and vice versa. Thus, the alarming rate of poverty among people, especially Nigerian youths have largely created the widespread incidence of terrorism we talk about today. It has been discovered that most of the people involved in terrorism in Nigeria's North-east are mostly illiterates who have been particularly brainwashed by politicians into terror acts just for their pay masters to win cheap political goals. There is no gain saying that the dangers posed by terrorism in Nigeria have left very deep scars which will likely take many tears to heal.

### **Weak Security System**

One of the most critical factors bringing about insecurity in Nigeria is the fact that the nation's security system is weak. By security system is meant all other security networks, structures, technology and institutions that are essentially responsible for keeping the peace of the country. There are basically huge problems with the kind of security apparatus that is in operation in the country ranging from among other things, the structure of the military formation (except for the recent readjustment made by president Buhari): the police force, faulty recruitment processes and procedures, nepotism, corruption (in terms of embezzlement of funds meant for procurement of security gadgets/arms for prosecution of war on terror), compromise by security agents themselves in terms of how some of these weapons find their ways into wrong hands for wrongful uses order than the one of national interest and so on. There are indeed reports in Nigeria where billions of naira meant for CCTV cameras has been allegedly diverted by persons or groups in government. Some the suspects, it has been allegedly, simply embark on importation of fake surveillance gadgets, decorate the major streets and places such as Abuja with little or no impact on the crowd of people entering and exiting from the city center.

### **Poor Border Control System**

It has been and has continued to be quite difficult to properly monitor persons who make entries and exit to and from Nigeria to the rest of the neighbouring countries Nigeria shares boundaries with, like Republic of Chad, Cameroon and Niger. It is on record that several illegal immigrants and entrants have traversed the borders of Nigeria across these countries with reckless abandon. As a result of this development, and coupled with poor surveillance network, people of questionable characters either acme into the country with illegal fire arms (including small arms and light weapons), improvised explosives and in most cases, illicit drugs. The dangers posed by some of these things are gravious. There is currently the case of Fulani/farmers attacks, kidnapping, armed robbery, violence and several other social ills in the society. (AIT, Kakaaki, Wednesday, 2016.



### **Terrorism and Insecurity**

The most critical source of insecurity in Nigeria currently is terrorism which as a root in religious fanaticism. According to Achumba (2013) terrorism has a link with Islamic dominated states and is particularly intolerant in outlook. The phenomenon of terrorism and terror attacks is not limited to Nigeria alone, it has assumed a universal posture and hence, affects most developed societies like France, United Kingdom, USA and several Middle-east nations of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, etc. According to Olabanji and Ese (2014) terrorism in Nigeria is now driven by factors such as inequalities within the country and the problems of lack of basic critical infrastructures among Nigerians, in terms of livelihood (economic resources, education or access to education and moral rectitude). Most public analysts have unarguably linked terrorism in Nigeria to a number of factors which include political conflicts, development imbalances, religious distrust, ethnic rivalry and poor governance, among others (Kufour, 2012; Oluwarotimi, 2012).

### **New Strategies to Combat Terrorism in North-East Nigeria**

The development of strategies in Nigeria is a task that is assigned to individuals or groups of people that are assumed to be professionals in a particular field. There is no doubt that some of these individuals or groups have come up with strategies that they believe are the best, whereas, these strategies may not be practically applicable to the subject. One of these subjects is counterterrorism, and it has been assigned to several counterterrorism “experts”, to provide strategies to combat insurgency in Nigeria. The general belief about counterterrorism in Nigeria is that the military are well trained and are in the best position to advise government on strategies to be taken in that direction. However, in Nigeria, the section of military trained as counter-terrorists are trained to physically combat insurgents and do not have the intellectual strategic knowledge and ability to provide solutions to insurgency, based on their training. The best strategy the military can develop in this regard, are military tactics and options, to further engage insurgents by increasing their strength through the acquisition of more sophisticated weapons, as well as manpower support from within and foreign military pools.

Udounwa (2013) identifies the reasons for insurgency in Nigeria as religious, geopolitical and socio-economical proclivity. He suggests in his recommendations to develop strategies, that the government should refocus its efforts on counterterrorism by improving border security, enhance the cooperation between all security agencies, improve the physical capability of counterterrorist units and modify the criminal justice system in Nigeria. From his submission, it is therefore obvious that the mindset of the military is focused on engaging insurgents in combat, killing, arresting, and prosecuting them. These have been the strategies that have been in use in Nigeria, and have been modified in that direction, over the years. The actions of the Nigerian military however, do not conform to modern warfare practices, and has been condemned as human rights violations, by several organizations and governments, including Amnesty International (Amnesty international, 2015). The strategies recommended by the author clearly supports the fact that the military is trained for

combat. While the recommended strategies are merely a part of the entire process, it is important that other strategies that will ensure the prevention, management, and termination of insurgency, must be put in place. There is no doubt that the recommendations of Udounwa (2015) are in order but these are clearly for the use by the military, in ensuring that they become more formidable in carrying out their combat operations in engaging armed and battle-ready insurgents.

Udounwa (2015) omitted the fact that the rank and file of the military requires purging. Understandably, troops have complained about poor logistics support to them. This includes poor feeding, no drinking water and inferior fire power to Boko Haram. This has caused several episodes of mutiny amongst soldiers, and must be given urgent attention, in the process of revamping their strategies toward defeating terrorists. The military must also redefine its relationship with the civilian population, especially in communities affected by terrorism. It needs to understand that civilians form a part of the counterterrorism machinery that can be used to the advantage of the military, if managed properly. The relationship in the past has been sour due to the offensive nature of the military toward civilians, causing a wide bridge between them.

#### **Theoretical Framework (Critical Theory)**

Critical theory offers a descriptive and normative foundation for social inquiry and is designed to decrease domination and increase freedom in all forms (Stanford, 2016). It is applied through critiquing and analyzing the social issues that are responsible for the domination of tribes that have emerged as terrorists, using inhumanity as a justification for their actions. Critical theory was developed in response to conventional approaches to uncover the ideological, conceptual, and institutional foundations of terrorism. It is used to critique dominant conventional approaches that link terrorism with technical capitalism, and claims that violent activities used by the state, in a case of state terrorism against its own citizens, have been ignored by traditional terrorism scholars (Gunning 2007; Silke 2009; Jackson, Smyth, & Gunning 2009; Herring, 2008).

Critical Theory is concerned with critiquing and changing society in its entirety, as against traditional theory, concerned only with understanding or explaining it. It is aimed at digging into the social life, to reveal the assumptions that keep people from true and complete understanding of how the world works. Critical theory emerged from the Marxist tradition and was advanced by a group of sociologists at the University of Frankfurt in Germany, referred to as Frankfurt School (Crossman, 2019). Nigerians are being enslaved by terrorism and yearn for freedom, which may be achieved through the application of critical theory, in seeking to liberate them from the confines of terrorism, by stressing the reflective assessment and critique of society and culture through the application of knowledge. Various geographic regions in Nigeria have experienced years of government domination and have attempted to gain their freedom in several ways. This has led to diverse forms of agitation beginning with what resulted in the Nigerian civil war in 1967. The next form of agitation resulting from the same causes gave rise to the formation of various militant sects in the Niger Delta, which gradually but steadily developed into terrorist groups.

Through this perspective, counterterrorist's have to take critical steps to review issues and work out modalities to free citizens from oppression, to create the freedom that will enable peace, economic and social development.

Looking critically at the causes of terrorism in Nigeria and the strategies applied in countering insurgency, state terrorism which encompasses violent action against citizens, neglect, domination, and deprivation has been a leading cause of terrorism in Nigeria and must be addressed as one of the strategies to combat terrorism. Because "a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation from slavery, acts as a liberating influence, and works to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings" (Horkheimer 1972, 246), counterterrorism strategies applied in Nigeria must absorb these considerations in seeking solutions to insurgency.

### **Conclusion and recommendation**

In recent times, Nigeria has emerged as a terrorism haven in the eyes of the international community. The failed Christmas day bomber in the United States, the insurgent Boko Haram sect and its growing terrorist activities in the North, and other growing Muslim fundamentalist elements emerging in the north of Nigeria not only pose security concerns for the country and the international community, but are themselves huge symptoms of state weakness. These are clear in the porous borders, and the infiltration of Al-Qaeda's elements in Africa as a whole, and the growing rate of anti-western sentiments in the mostly Muslim dominated northern Nigeria. The Boko Haram insurgency is a national and global threat to peace and sustainable development. Since the rise of Boko Haram insurgency, Nigeria has not experienced peace especially in northern Nigeria (North-East). Through constant attacks, there have been military counter attacks and the resultant in massive destruction of lives and properties and the underdevelopment of Nigeria especially in the north-east. The Boko Haram insurgency is a major challenge to Nigeria and failure to address it decisively will lead to division of Nigeria and the non-attainment of vision 2020. Security challenges cannot be addressed without all stakeholders collaborating to put an end to it. Having examined the Boko Haram insurgency and insecurity in the North-East Nigeria, we out forward some certain recommendations. 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 also put machinery in place through a collaborative effort between national and the orientation agencies, local government areas, traditional rulers, youths, women and religious groups in carrying out re-orientation campaign in northern Nigeria. This will help to address the insecurity in Nigeria; it will also help to address the issue of school drop outs so that Boko Haram will not seize the opportunity to recruit them. 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 Biafra experience is a clear example. All Boko Haram sponsors and sources of funding should be brought to book and crippled. Poverty should also 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. 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.

#### **Limitation of the study**

The discourse of Boko-Haram insurgency as one of the growing international issues cannot be overwhelmingly exhausted. This study was confronted by one major constraint. This was concerned with the fact that some relevant scholarly literature and media reports on Boko-Haram which would have been helpful for this study were not readily accessible. Some of these were either not available for sale in the country or had restricted internet access. Despite this constraint, the quality of the study was in no way undermined.

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