

1 The Multi-Dimensional Impacts of Insurgency and Armed 2 Conflicts on Nigeria

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6 **Abstract**

7 The failure of the state to contain the proliferation of foreign extremist groups and their links
8 with domestic religious groups exacerbates the incidence of extremism and violence in the
9 country. It has been noted that the costs of crime are tangible and intangible, economic or
10 social, direct or indirect, physical or psychological, individual or community. In this essay, the
11 effects of insurgency are discussed under four headings, namely: national security,
12 socio-economic impact, collapse of infrastructure/humanitarian crisis and diplomatic relations.
13

15 **Index terms**— insurgency, armed conflict, extremist groups, multi-dimensional impacts.

16 **1 Introduction**

17 Insurgency has become a threat to global peace and security in the 21st century due to the fact that it constitutes
18 the highest contributor to humanitarian crises in the form of rise in human casualties, internally displaced
19 persons, refugee debacles, food insecurity and the spread of various diseases (??an Creveld, 1996: 58). ??tewart
20 (2004:4) avers that some development costs are obvious. People who join the fighting forces, who are killed
21 or flee, can no longer work productively; schools, power stations and/or roads that are destroyed reduce the
22 productive capacity of the economy. There are also more complex interactions between events associated directly
23 with war (fighting, movement of people, deaths, physical destruction, international embargoes, and military
24 expenditures) and developments in the macro and micro economy which mostly lead to adverse changes in
25 individual entitlements, both economic and social.

26 It has been noted that the costs of crime are tangible and intangible, economic or social, direct or indirect,
27 physical or psychological, individual or community. In fact, it is from the cost that the consequences of crime are
28 derived. The cost of crime can be incurred as a result of actual experience of criminal activities, when there is
29 physical injury, when properties are stolen, damaged or destroyed. As a consequence of the prevalence of crime
30 in society, the demographic composition may be altered through mass movement of people from crime-prone
31 areas to areas perceived to be relatively crime-free. This can also lead to brain-drain and other socio-economic
32 problems ??Adebayo, 2014:483).

33 For Nigeria, its current history is a combustible mix of violent extremism, and thriving home-grown
34 insurgencies. The fabric of Nigeria's unity appears to be ripped by violent extremism ??Babalola, 2013:5).
35 A country once well respected for its role in restoring stability in some conflict-torn states in West Africa, is now
36 in need of the international community's assistance to guarantee peace and security in her own territory. The
37 growing campaign of violence the Boko Haram insurgency, not only poses a serious threat to internal security in
38 Nigeria, but may threaten regional stability in West Africa as a whole ??Onuoha, 2014:1). ??ohammed (2014:81)
39 opines that the failure of the state to contain this extremism, proliferation of foreign extremist groups and their
40 links with domestic religious groups exacerbates the incidence of extremism and violence in the country. In
41 this essay, the effects of insurgency are discussed under four headings, namely: national security, socio-economic
42 impact, collapse of infrastructure/humanitarian crisis and diplomatic relations.

43 2 II.

44 3 National Security

45 It is a fundamental fact that Boko Haram has stepped up assaults in the northeast of Nigeria since it rejected
46 government claims of a ceasefire, showing it remains the biggest security threat to Africa's biggest economy and
47 top oil producer (Reuters, November 25, 2014). The series of deadly attacks across many states in the zone
48 have made the Boko Haram rebellion the most widespread in Nigeria's post-independence history ??Onuoha,
49 2014:1). In fact, as noted in the Guardian Editorial (Nov 12, 2014), the worry is not just about the debilitation the
50 insurgency is steadily causing the country and its law-abiding citizens; it is even more so about the demystification
51 of the Nigeria Army that before now has an enviable international reputation for valiance and war-time discipline.
52 Certainly the army has been overstretched by the militancy, to the extent that its morale, collectively, has been
53 seriously battered. According to Amaraegbu (2013:72):

54 It may be a truism that Nigeria is no stranger to violent sectarian uprisings. However, the particular distinction
55 of Boko Haram does not lie simply in the fact that the group has humbled Nigeria's security and intelligence
56 community. Its criminal genius lie in two areas: an open contempt for Nigeria and its constitution and, it covertly
57 exposes vulnerable youths to extremist influences, recruits and deploys them as an essential part of the group's
58 terror machine.

59 The preponderance of militia and violent groups with international linkages has constituted potent threats to
60 national security and economy, unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and its citizens ??Adams
61 et al, 2014:25). In other words, this act of terrorism has threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria and has
62 become a prominent source of concern for the hapless citizens, the government, and indeed the international
63 community ??Ogunboyede, 2014:35). Since July 2009 when it provoked a short-lived anti-government uprising
64 in northern Nigeria, the sect has mounted serial attacks that have placed it in media spotlight, both locally and
65 internationally. The sect is now feared for its ability to mount both 'low-scale' and audacious attacks in Nigeria
66 ??CLEEN Foundation, 2014: viii). The sect's operatives undoubtedly are imbued with the mind-set that it can
67 defeat the Nigerian state notwithstanding the sophistication and quantity of weapons at the latter's disposal.
68 Successful attacks on security formations across the north tend to bolster this feeling (Alozieuwa, 2012).

69 With the increased numbers of cadres, improved and sophisticated weaponry, suicide bombings and well-
70 organised guerrilla tactics, Boko Haram's challenge to the Nigerian state now also stretches across the entire 36
71 states of Nigeria, thus affecting its economic and social-political growth ??Liolio, 2013). The escalating level of
72 violence in Nigeria fits the description of a failed state, and the central authority's lack of control to quell the
73 wave of bombings and indiscriminate killings by Boko Haram strongly confirms the underlying hypotheses of a
74 failed state ??Babalola, 2013:18). In fact, Nigerians are beginning to lose faith in the ability of security agents
75 to stop Boko Haram and other militant groups in the country. But the government has continued to assure the
76 populace that it will win the war against terror.

77 The Islamic extremist group held, for some months, a couple of cities and towns along Nigeria's northeast
78 border where it declared an Islamic caliphate. Pul (2014) argues that the Boko Haram phenomenon surpasses the
79 Biafra secession civil war; multiple military coup d'états; militia uprisings in the Niger Delta; and the numerous
80 interethnic and communal conflicts in threatening the integrity of the State. As noted by Ikerionwu (2014), the
81 very foundation and unity of Nigeria as a political entity has become threatened by the menace of Boko Haram.
82 According to him, the match to nationhood which began since amalgamation in 1914 has become jeopardized
83 and elusive with the threat of Boko Haram insurgency. Existing inter-ethnic and inter-regional relations between
84 the North-eastern part of Nigeria and the rest of the country has been negatively affected. The result of this
85 is the splintering of Nigeria along the contingent lines of mini-factional principalities, making the much desired
86 national integration difficult, if not unachievable.

87 4 a) Socio-Economic Impact

88 There is a strong association between armed violence and deteriorating public services. As a result, people have
89 to spend their own resources to compensate for the lack of public services, reducing the investment capacities
90 of the country (SAS 2003 cited in OECD, 2005). Armed violence, or even just the threat of armed violence,
91 can lead to reduced foreign direct investment. This is particularly true where violence is politically motivated.
92 Armed violence has a particularly important impact on tourism, whether it is political violence or criminality.
93 According to one study, over the long run, tourism is reduced by 25% when there are substantial increases in
94 political violence, and in countries with small tourism industries the reduction tends to be substantially greater
95 ??Neumayer, 2004 ??ited in OECD, 2005). For instance, Boko Haram violence has led to the destruction of
96 health facilities in the North eastern states of Nigeria, forcing health workers to either flee or shut down clinics.
97 This in turn has compelled residents to seek medical attention in Cameroon, Chad and Niger, thereby adding to
98 the pressure on limited health facilities in the host communities ??Onuoha, 2014:8).

99 Education is a panacea for national development across the world. There is no society that does not give
100 adequate attention to her educational growth and development. Apart from the paltry budgetary allocation by the
101 government, the Boko Haram insurgency has been an obstacle to educational development in Nigeria ??Awortu,
102 2015:218). The Islamic militants have serially attacked students and facilities in educational institutions in
103 different northern states of the country. Over time, a lot of schools have shut down their academic programmes.

104 This has drastically impacted the teaming number of students seeking admission into academic institutions at
105 all levels.

106 Also, a survey shows that a lot of students have vowed never to participate in the compulsory one
107 year National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) programme if posted to the northern part of the country.
108 Those who were inadvertently posted to the north redeployed immediately after three weeks of mandatory
109 camping. This development therefore defeats the core mandate of setting up the Act of NYSC in 1973
110 (see:<http://www.myfinancialintelligence.com/professional-services/cost-and-effect-insecurity-nigeria>). In a re-
111 gion in short of personnel in the education sector, many teachers have lost their lives to the insurgency. According
112 to Olukoya (Quoted in The Nation, ??ctober 8, 2015), "it is on record that over 600 teachers lost their lives to
113 the terror attacks. These include 308 in Borno, 75 in Adamawa, 18 in Yobe, 25 in Kaduna, 120 in Plateau, 63 in
114 Kano ad 2 in Gombe. This is in addition to 19,000 teachers displaced".

115 Beyond the Boko Haram attacks that sow fear and terror amongst the local population, girls' education is
116 already facing many social and economic constraints in northern Nigeria, resulting in low attendance and high
117 dropout rates. Overall, the number of children out of school in north-eastern Nigeria is 30 times higher than in the
118 country's south-east. With the frequent attacks on schools by Boko Haram and this case of abduction of female
119 pupils, there are rising fears of further deterioration of the already dire state of girls' education in the region
120 ??Barna, 2014:16). In a country that is struggling with educational infrastructure and qualitative manpower
121 to improve on the standard and quality of education, the Boko Haram insurgency is further compounding its
122 challenges. Certainly, this is affecting adversely the present and future development of this country.

123 Indeed, terrorism and other forms of militia activities can impose costs on a targeted country through a number
124 of avenues ??Joshua and Chidozie, 2014:359). As noted in The Punch (2012:13) editorial:

125 Investors are wary of coming to a country where their lives and investments are not safe: Nigeria has been on a
126 steady decline in the Global Peace Index. A recurrent issue in the Boko Haram literature is the extent of relative
127 poverty and inequality in the north which has led some analysts to argue that underdevelopment is the main
128 reason why extremist groups like Boko Haram rebel (Agbibo, 2014). Today the north of Nigeria is undoubtedly
129 poorer than the south in almost every conceivable measure. Combined with limited resources and deteriorating
130 environmental factors, such as a rapidly shrinking Lake Chad, parts of northern Nigeria are economically destitute
131 environments. Poor leadership and corruption have contributed to the socio-economic situation, and generate an
132 environment lacking viable job prospects for large numbers of youth (Mahmood, 2013:5).

133 The impact of terrorism on internal security in Nigeria cannot be over emphasized as citizens now live in
134 fear of impending but unknown attacks (Venda, n.d.). Security matters to the poor and other vulnerable groups,
135 especially women and children, because bad policing, weak justice and penal systems and corrupt militaries mean
136 that they suffer disproportionately from crime, insecurity and fear. They are consequently less likely to be able to
137 access government services, invest in improving their own futures, and escape from poverty. The huge governance
138 deficit in the country has been one that people do not see as part of the state building project, under leadership
139 that is unwilling to transform society and guarantee security for the people. Rather, emphasis is often placed on
140 appropriation of power and regime security at the expense of good governance and human security (Kwaja, 2013)
141 It is observed by Hilker et al (2010) that states often fail to provide adequate security for citizens or undermine
142 democratic governance through acts committed in the name of security calls into question top-down approaches
143 to reducing violence. This ugly development has some implications. Governance in times of insurgency presents
144 a challenge to economic progress where development is arrested because of the absence of peace ??Dasuki, 2013).
145 The cost of insecurity in Nigeria could also be seen on the percentage of annual budget allocated to security
146 agencies on a yearly basis. Infrastructure and human capital development are almost foregone alternatives;
147 hence, capital expenditure is struggling from the rear. As observed by ??antio (2014:23):

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150 Many governments justify excessive expenditures on security as intent to secure the homeland. Many governors,
151 particularly in the northern part Nigeria have justified their nonperformance and lack of development of their
152 states to the fact that they are fighting terrorism in their various states. Huge sums of monies are designated
153 security votes and have been embezzled by these governors while failing to secure their various states. More often
154 than not, they justify the expenditure on equipping the police and the manning the various checkpoints in their
155 states. The same thing can be said of the federal government in its huge expenditure on defense, yet not fully
156 equipping the security forces with the needed equipment. That the insurgency sometimes outguns the security
157 agents tells on the dilapidated equipment that they use in trying to contain the terrorism.

158 Also, the food industry in the north is under great strain over a number of reasons, with the main issue being
159 human mobility. With the increase of Boko Haram attacks, those employed in the industry have decreased their
160 movement outside protected areas over fears of attacks carried out by the insurgents. Many farmers in the states
161 of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe now fear being attacked while many local processing companies have lost workers
162 after families opted to leave the conflict area. Traders have also limited their movements as Boko Haram militants
163 have increasingly targeted major markets across the region. The agricultural sector has effectively developed into
164 a target for those militants in need of supplies, with many stealing food, equipment and money. The heightened
165 attacks across northeastern Nigeria have also made transportation of food riskier and more expensive, which in

6 B) COLLAPSE OF INFRASTRUCTURE/ HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

166 turn has placed greater pressure on the economic output(<http://www.msrisk.com/nigeria/boko-haramsthreat-northeast-nigeria-addressing-five-year-crisis/>).

168 6 b) Collapse of Infrastructure/ Humanitarian Crisis

169 Apart from the economic and monetary costs associated with terrorism, there are also social and psychological
170 costs. Terrorism erodes inter-communal trust and destroys the reservoir of social capital that is so vital to
171 building harmonious societies and pooling together community energies for national development. The attendant
172 proliferation of small arms and the militarization of society results in a vicious cycle of violence which hampers
173 national cohesion and stability. The long-term impact of such violence on cities and regions is best exemplified
174 by the impoverishment that has affected Kaduna and Jos. Kaduna used to be one of the most prosperous cities
175 in Nigeria. It was in many ways the industrial hub of the North, a cosmopolitan city with over a dozen textile
176 firms and prosperous trading companies. The Kaduna of today is a tragically divided city in which Muslims live
177 predominantly in the North and Christians predominantly in the South. All the textiles companies have shut
178 down and most investors have packed up their businesses.

179 Inter-communal violence, which has plagued the Middle Belt states of Plateau and Kaduna for years, has
180 also extended to other states in northern Nigeria, including Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Katsina, and Zamfara.
181 Recurring violence in these states since 2010 has resulted in the death of more than 4,000 people and the
182 displacement of more than 120,000 residents. The failure of federal and state authorities to investigate and
183 prosecute crimes committed by all sides, including ethnic and economic groups in these five states, exacerbated
184 the struggle for political power between ethnic groups and failed to resolve contested access to grazing land by
185 both sedentary farmers and nomadic herdsmen (HRW, 2015).

186 The Jos Plateau is following a similar trend, as it loses its cosmopolitanism and local economies are destroyed.
187 The tragedy is that the collapse of local economies and the erosion of social capital reinforce a downward spiral
188 of further impoverishment, which in itself sows the seeds of further conflict. For most of the north, the ongoing
189 insurgency has had a significant negative impact on the regional economy. Lebanese and Indian expatriates who
190 have established businesses in Kano going back decades have relocated to Abuja and the south. A good number
191 have left the country altogether. Hotels, banks and other business sectors have witnessed significant reductions
192 in their activities ??Adebayo, 2014:484).

193 The pace and intensity of Boko Haram's attacks, especially against civilian targets, dramatically increased
194 after the federal government imposed a state of emergency in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states in mid-2013.
195 Since then, and even more intensely since January 2014, the group has perpetrated almost-daily attacks on
196 villages and towns, and laid siege to highways. In the attacks, Boko Haram has killed civilians, pillaged property,
197 and destroyed schools, homes, and businesses, which were often razed to the ground (Premium Times, February
198 2, 2014). Added to this is the problem of worsening food insecurity caused by the destruction of livelihoods
199 and social support systems, bombing of infrastructures, displacement of farmers and pillaging of livestock and
200 foodstuff. Owing to worsening insecurity, farmers are no longer able to cultivate their lands or harvest their
201 products for fear of being attacked by Boko Haram members. Also cattle herders and households have lost
202 their livestock to Boko Haram pillaging, further compounding the situation of severe food insecurity ??Onuoha,
203 2014:8).

204 Civilians in northern Nigeria are increasingly caught between two terrible alternatives: an abusive government
205 incapable of protecting its citizens and an extortive insurgency with no governing institutions beyond those that
206 sustain the group. These alternatives mirror each other. In the end, for the majority of the region's civilians, the
207 real threat is not the creation of a new Islamic state but the persistence of abuses that resemble the old secular
208 ones (Solomon, 2014).

209 Boko Haram insurgency has also created a refugee and internal displacement crisis. Nigerians are increasingly
210 forced to seek refuge in neighbouring states to avoid Boko Haram attacks and military campaigns against these
211 insurgents, which in-turn places added strain on the economies and humanitarian services of neighbouring states.

212 Operations by the Nigerian military in areas such as Gwoza and the Sambisa Forest reveal a humanitarian
213 catastrophe for women, girls and children abducted by JAS. The military intervention that is isolating those who
214 are rescued from the public, including humanitarian actors and the international community, adds additional
215 complexity to their recovery and reintegration as independent verification of the information cannot be made.
216 Also, the humanitarian situation in IDP camps worsens with reported abandonment of IDP camps by the
217 government (NSRP, 2015).

218 The psychological impact of terrorism on the people in terms of displacement cannot be undermined. People
219 living in areas affected by domestic terrorism are migrating to other relatively safe areas in the region. the
220 activities of the Boko Haram sect, has increased the displacement of people from Borno, Yobe and Adamawa
221 states in the form of internally displaced persons(IDP's) fleeing to safer havens within the nation and refugees
222 fleeing into neighbouring nations like Niger, Chad and Cameroun. It has been noted that majority of these
223 persons constitute women and children (International Regional Information Networks, 14 March 2014).

224 Bamidele (2015:132) observes that the North-East has seen the largest internal displacement and migration
225 since the beginning of Boko Haram insurgency in 2009. This influx of people into new areas and their rehabilitation
226 and provision is an economic burden for federal and state governments. Unemployment is already prevalent, and
227 now the need to provide employment and productive engagement to these migrants has also become a serious

228 concern. This displaced portion of population is contributing little or nothing worthwhile to the national economy,
229 yet they have to be provided for from it.

230 Not only has Boko Haram wreaked havoc on Nigeria's northeast quadrant and parts of Niger, Chad, and
231 Cameroon, but the group's attacks have also precipitated a veritable humanitarian crisis spanning the region.
232 Between victims of raids by the militants and those killed by its campaign of terrorist bombings, more than
233 10,000 people lost their lives in 2014 to violence connected to Boko Haram, according the widely-respected
234 Nigeria Security Tracker maintained by the Council on Foreign Relations (Pham, 2015).

235 According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA cited in Imasuen,
236 2015: 288) 2014 report, there have been steady rise in internally displaced persons from Borno, Yobe and
237 Adamawa states. From 2009 to 2010 IDP's rose to 100,000 and from 2010 to 2011 it increased to 130,000. From
238 2011 to 2012, the number of IDP's rose to 200, 000. From 2012 to 2013 IDP's grew to 290,000 and from May 2013
239 to March 2014 it decreased slightly to 250,000. From May-June 2014, it rose again to 436,608 and from August
240 to December IDP's drastically rose to over 600,000 persons (UN OCHA, 2014 cited in Imasuen, 2015:289). By
241 2015, in northern Nigeria alone, UNICEF (September 18, 2015) reports that 1.2 million children, more than half
242 of them younger than 5, were forced to flee their homes, while an additional 265,000 were uprooted in Cameroon,
243 Chad and Niger.

244 The increased activities of the Boko Haram sect have increased the influx of Nigerian refugees into neighbouring
245 nations over the years. It has been estimated that there are over 30,000 Nigerian refugees in Northern Cameroun,
246 1,000 Nigerian refugees in Chad (on Lake Chads Choua Island) and more than 50,000 Nigerian refugees in
247 the Diffa region of South East Niger (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, March 2014). Citing
248 Nigeria's National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) describes
249 the ripple effect of Boko Haram's violence in a recent briefing in which it has identified three emerging patterns
250 of displacement:

251 The first is of internally displaced people (IDPs) fleeing to the south of the country in the footsteps of economic
252 migrants. The second is of people fleeing from rural to urban areas within their states, and the third is of the
253 secondary displacement of both IDPs and host communities who move once again when their resources have been
254 depleted. From another reports, the total number of Nigerians who have been removed from their homes or those
255 referred to as internally displaced persons, IDP, has risen to three million. The Nigerians affected are mainly
256 from Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba State as a result of insurgency and farmers versus
257 herdsmen clashes. This finding came from a group called Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre, IDMC,
258 which made public its research findings recently. The IDMC is part of the Norwegian Refugees Council launched
259 into Global Overview at the United Nations at Geneva (Nigerian Pilot, 2015). For a country like Nigeria that
260 is struggling to build a virile democratic and socioeconomic foundation, this development raises grave concerns.
261 It is a signpost to chaos for three million citizens to be rendered homeless, hungry, oppressed and denied their
262 fundamental human rights in terms of social security in their country, driven away from their ancestral homes.

263 As the National Commission for Refugees has found, the Nigerian government has made few attempts to
264 resettle IDPs or to respond in any way. The commission has identified the key constraints to resettlements: lack
265 of experience in dealing with IDP issues, inadequate funding, and competing mandates between institutions.
266 Also, government agencies have only been able to support IDPs in the emergency phase of a crisis but have not
267 had the resources for their longterm reintegration.

268 The vast majority of the IDPs live with host families and friends while other stay in camps and camp-like
269 sites. There is one official camp in Gombe state, eleven camps in Adamawa state and nine camps in Taraba state.
270 Within these camps major social problems have emerged. First, there is the challenge of proper documentation of
271 IDPs. This challenge has led to the difficulty of ascertaining who is displaced and who is not, causing diversion of
272 relief materials. People who are not necessarily IDPs come to the camps on daily basis to take humanitarian aid.
273 Second, IDPs live in appalling conditions within the camps. The increasing number of IDPs arriving the camps
274 everyday indicates that more camps need to be created. The existing camps have no facilities and structures
275 such as rooms, toilets and beddings (Global Initiative Analysis, 2015). The displacement highlights the level of
276 destruction suffered by social institutions like schools, hospitals and care centers for children and the aged. The
277 destruction of over 900 schools as well as some hospitals since 2011 also led to the exodus of teachers, medical
278 doctors and other health personnel (ibid).

279 7 c) Diplomatic Relations

280 Some of the most troublesome features of societal conflicts in the modern, globalizing world are their systemic
281 effects. We can no longer afford to think of societal conflicts as localized and isolated problems requiring negotiated
282 settlements by the leaders of the warring parties; we must see them as "nested" problems that substantially
283 affect and, in turn, are significantly affected by their surrounding environment (Marshall and Gurr, 2005:14).
284 For instance, prior to the onset of Boko Haram, many foreign partners of Nigeria were mainly interested in
285 governance issues, as it relates to corruption, followed by concern about the conduct of free, fair and credible
286 elections. However, currently, the pressure on Nigeria and the main focus of foreign intervention, especially from
287 foreign governments is how to tackle insurgency. Assistance from donor countries is slowly shifting from economic
288 issues to security issues which necessitates that the relationship between Nigeria and many countries, including

289 her neighbors, which used to be dominated by trade and technical cooperation have been replaced by security
290 considerations (Dasuki, 2014).

291 The insurgency of Boko Haram has negatively affected the relationship between Nigeria and other nations
292 of the world because of bombing, kidnapping and hostage taking of foreigners. The United States of America
293 and other European countries regularly warn their citizens to stay clear of volatile zones in Nigeria. UN also
294 black listed and later delisted Nigeria as a terrorist country (Omankihalen and Babajide, 2012 cited in ??wortu,
295 2015:218). The insurgency has re-shaped and redefined the classification of Nigeria in many peoples' minds all
296 over the world. The country's name is now being mentioned along with those of other countries that have had
297 long standing terrorism challenges. Ordinary Nigerians have also redefined their views of the security situation
298 in the country. Issues that used to agitate the minds of the people, in the immediate past, such as armed robbery
299 and kidnapping have been downgraded given the scale of destruction and devastation caused by Boko Haram's
300 indiscriminate targeting of civilians. Taking a wider perspective, Persson (2014:45) opines that:

301 The unrest in Mali and the crises in the Central African Republic (CAR) and South Sudan, together with the
302 ongoing violence in Northern Nigeria, all have implications for the broader sub-Saharan region. Chad, Congo,
303 the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Niger and Cameroon, all of which are already worried about the
304 spread of Islamist militancy from North East Nigeria, are among the countries affected by the larger patterns
305 of conflict and insecurity. With its powerful position, large economy and leading role in regional organisations,
306 Nigeria plays a key part in the security challenges in West and Central Africa. This role is further accentuated
307 by the centrality of Nigeria to tackle the challenge of piracy and maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea.
308 The ability of Nigeria to manage its security threats will thus have a great impact on the entire region and
309 will also set the conditions for more effective regional measures. The bulk of Boko Haram's membership, the
310 indiscriminate and cruel characteristic of its attacks, the complexity of the Nigerian religious and ethnic context,
311 the sheer weight of the Nigerian state in an instable neighborhood -Cameroun, Niger, Chad, Mali -and its
312 proximity to the jihadist battle front in the Sahel convert it into an immediate and infectious regional threat
313 (Karmon, 2014). However, the biggest concern to the international community is the large number of violations
314 of human rights and international law that the military has perpetrated in its fight against Boko Haram and
315 which have largely been denied. The military is accused of massive retaliations and brutality, including burning
316 down villages and conducting extrajudicial killings. In the case of the 2014 attack on the Maiduguri barracks,
317 Amnesty International reported over 600 detainees killed. Due to the lack of intelligence, the military tends to
318 enter hide-outs 'all guns blazing', killing civilians in crossfire. Other allegations include torture, extortion and
319 corruption ??Barna, 2014:13).

320 8 III.

321 9 Conclusion

322 The ability of Boko Haram to defy the power of the Nigerian state and survive to prosecute its war sets up
323 a model that may repeat itself in countries with enclaved religious populations that have a collective sense
324 of marginalization and victimhood ??Pul, 2014:13). While Boko Haram's mode of assertion of its voice and
325 views in the public space has turned extremely violent, it nonetheless reflects the failure of the state to be
326 more accommodative, attentive, and responsive to the issues it purported to have represented from its initiation.
327 That failure means that the State of Nigeria lost the opportunity to create the needed platform for constructive
328 engagement with the voice of faith in matters of public interest. Replication of this failure in other settings can
329 only reproduce the Boko Haram model to perpetuate Africa's image as the continent of interminable violent
330 conflicts. ¹

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