

# Boko Haram Insurgency and the Underdevelopment of Nigeria

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## Abstract

This paper examines the Boko Haram insurgency and its impact on the development of Nigeria as a nation. The paper x-rays the Boko Haram insurgency, its historical origin, and attacks since inception and the effects of such attacks in Nigeria. To achieve the essence of this paper the researcher employed primary and secondary sources of data collection to generate the required data mainly from books, journals, articles, internet materials and video tapes (YouTube and interviews) which were enhanced through the interdisciplinary approach. The study adopts a qualitative approach to data analysis to assess the impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the development of Nigeria. From the study it was discovered that the Boko Haram insurgency has compounded the developmental challenges of Nigeria through destruction of lives and properties, destruction of schools which have led to the closure of so many schools in the North-east geopolitical zone, disruption of businesses, reduction in government revenue, fear of foreign investors to live and do business in Nigeria, political instability, among others. Consequently, the study recommends that government should intensify its counter terrorism fight against the insurgents, upgrade the equipment of the military and other security agencies to effectively and decisively defeat the insurgency, embark on an aggressive enlightenment and re-orientation campaign to mobilize the citizenry in support of the armed forces campaign against the terrorists, collaborate with the international community in the fight against Boko Haram, pragmatically create new employment opportunities for jobless youths, impose stiffer penalties on terrorists, and concerted work towards the eradication of poverty and corruption in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Boko Haram, Development, Insurgency, Terrorism, Underdevelopment.

## 1. Introduction

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and a multi-religious state with a population of about 160 million people cutting across the divides of ethnicity and religious beliefs. Comprising 36 states, a federal capital territory (FCT) and 774 local government councils, it is a complex, multi-religious and multi-ethnic nation state according to (Oyeniyi 2012). The complexity of Nigeria as a nation state is centred on its political formation, economic, social and religious inclinations. As a nation state, the country since independence has experienced several ethnic and religious crisis of various degrees and magnitude (Gilbert, 2013). Grappling with such political and economically motivated crises, successive administrations in Nigeria have been criticized by either the Muslim or Christian faithfuls when they are not favoured.

The current Boko Haram insurgency in the North-east geopolitical zone of Nigeria that originally took the form of sectarian religious violence has escalated into terrorist activities with international linkages and affiliations making it a relatively difficult nut for the Nigerian government 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, especially Christians. Since the commencement of the terrorist operations of the sect, they have adopted several methods to unleash terror on the people. And 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) what started around 2006 in the far flung North East geopolitical zone 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 assumed a worrisome dimension in 2009, has continued a reign of terror in 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 in the North East geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Agreed that the North-east is the epicentre of 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 on the underdevelopment of Nigeria. With the use of data basically from secondary sources, the study analyzes the effects of the nefarious activities of the Islamist sect on the social, economic and political life of Nigeria.

## 2. Historical Analysis of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Boko Haram insurgency is not the first major group attacks or militancy attacks that have faced the Nigerian state. Different sects or groups had arisen in Nigeria with little or real militancy approach in prosecuting their different objectives. Amongst them were: the Maitatsine Islamic fundamentalist sect in North-east and North-west Nigeria, Odua People's Congress (OPC) from the Yoruba ethnicity in South-west Nigeria, Bakassi Boys and Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) from the Igbo ethnic group in South-east Nigeria and the Niger Delta militants from the minority ethnicities in South-south Nigeria. The activities of Boko Haram pre-dates 2011 general elections, because there are the generations of people that have been engaging in different political, religious and ethnically-motivated crises in Northern part of Nigeria (Aro, 2013).

It is on record that Boko Haram has been operating under the name Shabaab Muslim Youth Organization with Mallam Lawal as the leader since 1995 but leadership of the group shifted to Mallam Mohammed Yusuf when Mallam Lawal left Nigeria to continue his education in Saudi Arabia (Ekanem and Ejue, 2012). It is the leadership of Mallam Mohammed Yusuf that allegedly opened the group to political influence and popularity. By implication, therefore, Mallam Mohammed Yusuf is the one that officially founded Boko Haram in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri with the aim of establishing Sharia government in Borno and neighbouring states (Gilbert, 2014).

Boko Haram grew out of a group of radical Islamist youth who worshipped at the Al-Haji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri, capital of Borno state, in the 1990's (Walker 2012). Its leader, Mohammed Yusuf, began as a preacher and leader in the youth wing of Shababul Islam of Ahl-Sunnah, a Salafi group. His literal interpretation of the Quran led him to advocate that aspects of western education he considered in contradiction to that holy book, such as evolution, the big bang theory of the universe development and elements of chemistry and geography should be forbidden, in Hausa (NIPPS, 2012 as cited by CGAR, 2014). While critical of the government, Yusuf was involved in official efforts to introduce and implement Sharia in several northern states in the 2000s. The failure to achieve this fully helps to explain Muslim youths' anger with government deception and insincerity and the call for an authentic Islamist revolution (CGAR, 2014).

Boko Haram's principal goal is to create a strict Islamic state in the north that it believes would address the ills of society, including corruption and bad governance. The sects core beliefs are strict adherence to the Quran and the Hadith (sayings of prophet Muhammed), and their interpretation as sanctioned by Ibn Taymiyyah. Abu Qaqa, the group's best known spokesman, explained that the group's agenda is to destabilize Nigeria and take her back to the pre-colonial period when the Sharia law was practiced (CGAR, 2014). In the early stages, the Boko Haram sect was widely known to have mobilized its membership from women and children, school dropouts and unemployed university and polytechnic graduates, most of who tore their certificates. The rationalization is that unemployment, underdevelopment and the general hopelessness pervading the society was caused by government which imposed western education on them and failed to manage the resources of the country to their benefits. Therefore, "western education is sin"; and this is the literal interpretation of Boko Haram in Hausa Language (Gilbert, 2014: 151). Although from the outset the sect's mission was to impose Sharia on Nigeria, the leadership went about its preaching and interpretation of the Quran as a recipe for violence and an affront to constituted authority (Anyadike, 2013).

Serious concerns over its violent tendencies grew only after the death of Yussuf while in police custody, as well as his father in-law and sect financier, Ustaz Buji Foi, and the incarceration of members by state authorities. It is pertinent to note that Yussuf adopted a non-violent approach in his campaign but hoped to achieve his objectives through constant preaching in Mosque and forming alliances with politicians especially Sherrif Lawal. It cannot be ruled out that there were attacks during the leadership of Yussuf but most of the attacks were mild compared to the well-coordinated virulent terroristic attacks after his death.

Although Yussuf allegedly drew inspiration from radical Islamist, Ibn Taymiyya, he reportedly resisted some of his follower's relentless campaign for the outright rejection of secularism and the use of violence as the major instrumentality for the achievement of their objective. Against this backdrop, BBC online, June 22, 2012, opined that the sect's current level of radicalization and terrorism is perhaps, a function of the death of its initial leadership and the subsequent clampdown by the state of the taciturn psychopath, Abubakar Shekau a Kanuri native who once boasted "I enjoy killing any one that Allah commands me to kill-the way I enjoy killing chickens and rams". Gilbert (2014: 152) posited that the new leadership turned to the use of lethal weapons such as: rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), anti-tank missiles, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), surface-to-air missiles, armoured tanks, A-K 47 assault rifles, as well as machetes and daggers for the purpose of meting out

mayhem to the Nigerian state, which have adversely affected her economy considering the high rate of loss of lives and properties.

Furthermore, the fact that the northern politics and the alliances formed between politicians especially in Bornu and Yobe states with the late Boko Haram leader Yussuf and the failure of the political leaders to honour agreements reached, implanted the violent approach adopted by the group. There were attacks and counter attacks by political supporters in the sect which gradually resulted to divisions within the sect. Furthermore, the killing of Yussuf by the police and the alleged counter attacks by the Boko Haram groups was a long awaited opportunity by those opposed to the non-violent approach by Yussuf such as Abubakar Shekua, Abubakar Adam Kamar and Khalid al-Barnami to use their proposed violent approach to achieve their objectives. The death of Yussuf gave rise to different violent sect groups who constructed a “state within a state” with a cabinet, its own religious police, and a larger farm, and attracted more and more people under its roof by the offering welfare handouts, food and shelter. Most of those attracted by the group were refugees from the wars over border in Chad and jobless Nigerian youths domiciled in Northern Nigeria. Its funding at this level of operation came from wealthy businessmen and politicians within and outside Nigeria.

It is pertinent to state unequivocally that the Boko Haram sect under the leadership of Yussuf and Abubakar Shekau took advantage of the failure of the Nigerian government at all levels in the north (Local, State and Federal government) to provide basic welfare schemes to criticize western education and drum up support for their false Islamic teachings. They thus exploited the lacuna created by the high unemployment level, non-availability of basic infrastructure and the general high poverty level in the area to their benefit through the deliberate strategy of providing some welfare packages to the citizenry. Consequently, they used food, money and employment to attract youths to their fold and created the impression that their fundamentalist Islamic viewpoint of societal organization is better and more profitable than the western capitalist mode of production. Eventually, they succeeded in garnering support from the youths whom they recruited as suicide bombers and fighters under the leadership of Shekau who took over after the untimely death of Yussuf in police custody in 2009. And it was this second phase of violent attacks by Boko Haram that have increased developmental challenges in Nigeria; herein lays the focus of this study.

### **3. Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria**

Since the gradual incarnation of the Boko Haram sect into a terrorist group in Nigeria, the country has witnessed unimaginable loss of lives and properties that have attracted the attention of the international community. Apart from the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970, Nigeria has never had it so bloody. The country is on a daily basis bathed with the blood of innocent citizens through either bomb blast or exchange of gun fires between Boko Haram and the Nigerian army. It is on this premise that this work examines Boko Haram attacks and how these attacks have caused underdevelopment in Nigeria.

According to Agomuo (2011) for a while, the sect targeted serving and retired military and other security personnel, perhaps to avenge the blood of Yussuf their leader who was allegedly killed in 2009 by some policemen. Since they started their operations, members of the sect have assassinated a number of high profile Islamic scholars in Maiduguri and like Afghanistan Talibans, the group has also attacked many drinking and eating rendezvous where they dispatched hundreds of souls to their early graves. Clashes with security agents in 2009 escalated in July into a full scale armed insurrection targeting police headquarters, stations and officers homes in a failed attempt to establish an Islamic state in Maiduguri and some cities in the north including Bauchi, Potiskum and Kano. And a brutal military crackdown led to the death of over 800 Boko Haram members (CGAR, 2014).

After the 2009 crackdown, Boko Haram became disorganized and went underground for a year before re-surfacing in 2010 as a full-blown terrorist group, with attacks on police, their stations and military barracks to avenge the supposed killings of Yussuf and other comrades. Furthermore, the group carried out jailbreaks to free members and demanded prosecution of Yussuf killers, release of detained colleagues, restoration of its destroyed mosque and compensation for members killed by troops. Originally directed mainly at security forces and government officials, the campaign was expanded to include attacks on traditional rulers, suspected collaborators against the sect, UN agencies, bars, schools and innocent commuters (Daily trust, 3 March, 2014). From a local Nigerian group, it gradually evolved into a terrorist group with international connections with similar groups in Africa and beyond (Gilbert, 2014: 152-154). And its modus operandi has equally grown in scope, savagery and sophistication.

On Christmas Eve 2010 as many as half a dozen bombs were detonated near churches and markets in two districts of Jos, Plateau state killing scores of people. On New Year eve of 2010 a bomb was detonated in a popular open-air fish restaurant and market inside the grounds of the Mogadishu barracks, just outside Abuja killing ten people (Anyadike, 2013). According to Walker (2012) as cited by Anyadike (2013), during the first few months of 2011, the group's targets for assassination operations in Maiduguri widened beyond the original focus of police and other authorities. In February 2011, a pharmacist in Maiduguri not believed to have had any previous connection to the group's treatment by the police was murdered and large amount of cash and medical supplies were taken from his shop. Since money and other commodities were required for its operations, the Boko Haram group began to rob banks, cash-in-transit convoys, and successful businesses, not only in Maiduguri but also in Bauchi. These monies amounting to about 500 million naira were tagged spoils of war by the Boko Haram group with reference to the Quran. In June 2011, Boko Haram bombed the National police headquarters in Abuja; a car laden with explosives drove into the compound of Louis Edet house, a block of offices and was detonated killing dozens of people. In August 2011 a man drove a car into the UN compound in Abuja and detonated a massive bomb, killing twenty-three people and wounding scores of other persons (Anyadike, 2013; Bekoe, 2011). Boko Haram also spread its campaign in 2011 to churches. That year's deadliest bombing was a Christmas Eve attack against St. Theresa Catholic Church in Madalla, outside Abuja, in which over 40 worshippers were killed and dozens injured (CGAR, 2014).

According to Anyadike (2013) big attacks have included bombings on Christmas day in 2011, when bombs were detonated in three states, Niger, Plateau and Yobe, killing 45 people. In January 2012, three groups of gunmen and suicide bombers coordinated attacks on three government buildings in Kano - the police headquarters, the office of the immigration service and the state security service. More than two hundred people were killed. In February 2012, a bomb blast hit St. Finbar's church Rayfield in Jos near the Government house and 19 people were killed. Others include: office of This Day newspaper in Abuja and Kaduna, the Catholic chapel in Bayero University, Kano and a cattle market in Yobe state killing dozens of people.

According to Walker (2012), since August 2011 there have been almost weekly attacks by militants planting bombs in public or in churches in Nigeria's North-east geopolitical zone. On 2 December 2013, about 200 insurgents dressed in military uniform and armed with rocket launchers and explosives with assault rifles infiltrated Maiduguri and conducted coordinated attacks on the Nigerian Air Force base and military barracks. Most of the buildings were reportedly destroyed, as well as five aircrafts (Agence France-Press, 2 December 2013). Also, on 20 December 2013, several hundred fighters stormed military barracks outside Bama town close to the Cameroon border in a predawn raid, torching the compound and killing many soldiers, their wives and children (Daily Trust, 21 December 2013).

Apart from these major attacks, there have been several other attacks on weekly basis claiming lives and properties in Northern Nigeria. But in recent weeks in 2014, Boko Haram attacks have increased resulting to high death toll and kidnapping of women and school girls. On Monday April 14 there was a bomb blast in Nyanya District of Abuja killing about 75 people and leaving not less than 215 others injured. On the same day, specifically, on the night of 14-15 April, 2015, over 250 school girls were abducted by the Boko Haram group from Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, Bornu State (Gilbert, 2014: 151-152). In addition, on Thursday May 1 2014 after the workers day celebration, another bomb blast rocked Nyanya area of Abuja killing about 71 persons and injuring several others (Sahara Reporters, 16 and 1 May 2014).

From the foregoing, it is glaring that Boko Haram insurgency has unleashed several attacks on Nigeria rendering many lives and properties destroyed. Nigeria is gradually being negatively transformed into Afghanistan and other deadly terrorist's countries of the world where people wake up every day to witness and hear news of terrorist's attacks. These attacks since 2009 have resulted to the underdevelopment of Nigeria as will be examined.

#### **4. Boko Haram Insurgency and the Underdevelopment of Nigeria.**

Nigeria is a country that is grappling with issues of development since its independence to date. The country is rated among the developing nations of the world with recent score card of being the fastest growing economy in Africa. Furthermore, Nigeria is a country with low per capita income, high unemployment rate, low human capital development, poor income, infrastructural decay and many other developmental challenges. Nevertheless, since 1999 the civilian administration has been making frantic efforts to revamp the economy and increase infrastructural and human capital development. The present administration of President Goodluck Jonathan in the midst of stiff opposition by political opponents and terrorist groups is making headway in Airports re-modeling, university repositioning, agriculture, commerce and industry, railway reorganization and upgrade,

seaports and roads rehabilitation and reconstruction, and employment generation. On the contrary, the activities of Boko Haram insurgency have been a major catalyst of underdevelopment in Nigeria.

Education is a panacea for national development across the world. There is no society that does not give adequate attention to her educational growth and development. Apart from the paltry budgetary allocation by the government, the Boko Haram insurgency has been an obstacle to educational development in Nigeria. By implication, Boko Haram translates to war against western education especially in northern Nigeria. In Borno state the attacks had destroyed over 882 classrooms as of August 2013, in Yobe state all schools were shot from June to September 2013. On 6 March 2014, the federal government closed five Federal Colleges (Unity Schools) in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states, ordering their estimated 10,000 students to relocate to other schools (Daily Trust, 10 March 2014). Parents fearing attacks have withdrawn thousands of children from schools in a region already the most educationally backward in the country.

In a country that is struggling with educational infrastructure and qualitative manpower to improve on the standard and quality of education, the Boko Haram insurgency is further compounding its challenges through attacks on the few available schools, kidnapping of school girls, killing of students and teachers. Certainly, this is affecting adversely the present and future development of this country. It will further increase the rate of illiteracy in the society; for it is an educated and enlightened mind that steers the ship of development. When the rate of illiteracy and school dropout is high, there is the tendency that violence will increase and persist in Nigeria. The country in the near future will run short of required manpower and informed citizenry to pilot her affairs especially in Northern Nigeria. This in turn will increase tension and further polarize the nation especially, with regards to fulfilling the federal character principle enshrined in the 1999 Nigerian Constitution.

Our thesis is that Boko Haram attacks on the educational sector will impoverish Nigeria in the near future. Again, it is a calculated attempt to create a generation of uneducated youths in the north so that they can consistently have school dropouts and illiterates to recruit as suicide bombers and fighters (terrorists). Economically, the Boko Haram insurgency has in no measure contributed to the economic backwardness of a country that is attempting to reposition her economy to meet the 21<sup>st</sup> century economic challenges and overcome poverty. Poverty rate is very alarming in Nigeria. But in recent years especially in northern Nigeria, the Boko Haram insurgency has doubled the poverty rate.

According to Aro (2013) the economic effects of insurgency in Nigeria can be generally viewed from two perspectives: they are the effects on the state (Nigeria) and individual members of the state (Nigerians) particularly, residents of Bauchi, Borno, Yobe, Plateau and neighbouring northern states. Economic activities have been massively disrupted; the insurgents destroyed more than 25 telecommunication masts and base stations in Maiduguri, Potiskum, Bauchi, Gombe and Kano states, thus setting back efforts to improve telecommunications in the region (The Guardian, 12 September 2012). Isakpa (2011) in his view on the negative impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the economy opined that “there can be no real progress made in any economy that is hostage to security”. In August 16, 2012 Boko Haram attacked Bornu state capital, Maiduguri and destroyed lives and properties. The Maiduguri incident affected businesses as traders closed their shops at the popular Monday market as early as 11.am. Civil servants immediately returned to their homes crippling government business and robbery attempts were made at the popular Monday market (The Nation, Thursday, August, 16 2012). It must be noted that Boko Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria have led to people abandoning their businesses, closure of banks and government parastatals amongst other issues.

Aro (2013:2) was quick to assert that; Boko Haram insurgency has not only led to closure or abandonment of peoples business activities within the affected region but also led to immigration of people from the affected region as well as led to reduction of patronage of products from northern region because of rumour that Boko Haram strategists are planning to send poisonous products to other parts of the country. Also, the insurgency of Boko Haram has reduced drastically government developmental projects, investment and growth in private business initiatives in the affected places. No wonder 2011 world investment report of the United Nations Conference on Trade Development reported that lull in business activities caused by insecurity in Kano alone has cost the Nigerian economy N1.3 trillion ( 6 billion dollars) as a result of attacks by Boko Haram group (Aro, 2011).

Furthermore, Boko Haram insurgency has discouraged Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria. Investors all over the world are afraid of coming to do business in Nigeria. Countries on daily basis warn their citizens to stay off Nigeria. This is a very bad signal to economic growth and development. Nigeria with its vision 20:20:20 is projected to be world economic power by 2020, but with the Boko Haram insurgency, the economic future of

Nigeria is bleak. With the discussed deleterious effects of this insurgency on the Nigerian economy and the huge resources being deployed by the Federal Government to fight Boko Haram, the development of Nigeria is at stake. Apart from the economic impact of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, the country is also experiencing serious setbacks at the political level of governance. The Boko Haram insurgency to a large extent has paralyzed government institutions and has also created an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust among the political class, which is not healthy for our nascent democracy. Furthermore, it has hindered government performance in North-East geopolitical zone of Nigeria in particular and the country in general.

The insurgency has drastically reduced government performance in the area of infrastructural development, employment generation, and improved workers welfare amongst others. The current budgetary allocation to security and the increased security votes of governments at all levels especially in northern Nigeria is a drive towards poverty and underdevelopment. The huge capital that should have been channeled to other issues in the education, health, agriculture and other sectors are being used to fight insurgency.

Boko Haram's attacks have also deepened religious and regional fault lines reversing some of the country's hard won gains in building national unity and stability. Its assaults on Christians and churches and its declared goal of establishing an Islamic state across the north are not shared by most Muslims but have strained inter-faith relations across the country (CGAR, 2014). The religious impact of the sect has also affected government performance as Christians and Muslims work with suspicion against one another. Besides, the Boko Haram insurgency has also posed grave danger to security of lives and properties in Nigeria. The serious security challenges posed has resulted to the denial of the fundamental human rights of Nigerians due to the vicious attacks by members of Boko Haram, particularly in some parts of northern Nigeria where they have virtually taken over through planting of bombs as well as brutalized attacks on innocent people (Aro, *ibid*).

Consequently, the Federal Government of Nigeria declared a state of emergency in the three most affected states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa; and curfew is usually imposed in volatile parts of these three states. This also translates to underdevelopment because so many persons who use the evening and night hours to run their businesses (hotels, bar and restaurants, night clubs, beer parlors and taxi drivers) are put out of business. It is thus, a serious toll on individuals and governments as taxes derivable from these businesses are cut off.

According to Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) between July 27, 2009 and February 17, 2012, Boko Haram has launched fifty (53) attacks in which 1,157 people were killed and hundreds of people injured in northern Nigeria. It is somewhat difficult to quantify the destructions, in terms of lives and properties lost to the marauding members of Boko Haram as whatever that is put down simply represents a tentative figure (Ahokeh, 2013). Boko Haram's attack have undermined public safety across the region and scared its economy and development. Thousands of lives have been lost during the insurgency. The attacks increased during the first months of 2014, with almost daily bombings, fighting's, thefts and destruction of schools, homes and businesses. (CGAR, 2014). According to Amnesty International Report at least 1,500 people were killed in that period. Several weeks earlier, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) reported that more than 1,000 were killed and 249, 446 displaced (Agence France Presses, 26 march, 2014).

Commenting further Gilbert (2014: 152) stated that “--- it is on record that Boko Haram has killed over 2,000 persons in 2014 alone and is responsible for more than 12,000 deaths and over 8,000 maimed persons since it started its murderous campaign of insurgency”. These killings and destruction of properties is a pathway to increased underdevelopment as it reduces the work force of the country, destroys properties that owners cannot recover in their life time, defacing the beauty of towns, cities and villages, increasing destitutes in the society and the number of internally displaced people, who may resort to criminal ventures to eke a living, and destroying Nigeria's image abroad, which translates to reduction in investment opportunities as earlier stated.

The insurgency of Boko Haram has negatively affected the relationship between Nigeria and other nations of the world because of bombing, kidnapping and hostage taking of foreigners. The United States of America and other European countries regularly warn their citizens to stay clear of volatile zones in Nigeria. UN also black listed and later delisted Nigeria as a terrorist country (Omankihalen and Babajide, 2012). There is no country that can develop in the midst of terror; hence the adverse effects of Boko Haram on the development of Nigeria are enormous.

## 5. Conclusion

The return to democratic governance in Nigeria resurrected so many ethnic sentiments and demands ranging from Niger Delta militancy, MOSSOB, OPC, among others. In Jos, Plateau state, it has been constant fighting

between farmers and Fulani herdsmen. Within, the North- central geopolitical zone, there has been constant land disputes between various ethnic groups and many other challenges in the form of ethno-religious crises.

None of these have been as devastating and destructive as the Boko Haram insurgency. 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). These attacks have destroyed so many lives and properties that can only be compared to the Nigerian civil war. Through constant attacks, there have been military counter attacks and the resultant is massive destruction of lives and properties and the underdevelopment of Nigeria. The Boko Haram insurgency is a major challenge to Nigeria and failure to address it decisively will lead to division of Nigeria and the non-attainment of vision 2020-20.

Security challenges cannot be addressed without all stakeholders collaborating to put an end to it. Nigerians must put away ethnic sentiments and tackle the Boko Haram insurgency with vigor and determination. It is only through the united force of Nigerians and Nigeria alone that Boko Haram insurgency and other security and national issues can be addressed.

## 6. Recommendations

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

- The Nigerian government should as a matter of urgency declare a full state of emergency in all affected states in the north and declare full scale war against terrorism devoid of political and ethnic sentiments. This will to a large extent reposition the military and free them from political influences by political office holders in the affected areas.
- Sponsors and sources of funding for the Boko Haram insurgency should be traced. The best way to defeat a man in a battle is to cripple his economy. The Biafran experience is a clear example. All Boko Haram sponsors and sources of funding should be brought to book and crippled.
- The government should match words with action in dealing with the security challenges in Nigeria. This should include equipping the military, re-organizing the police force, settlement of political, economic and religious disputes without favoritism.
- The government should put machinery in place through a collaborative effort between national and state orientation agencies, local government areas, traditional rulers, youths, women and religious groups in carrying out re-orientation campaign in northern Nigeria. This will help to address the misconceptions about western education, government activities and other issues used by Boko Haram in convincing the youths to support them. Furthermore, it will also help to address the issue of school drop outs so that Boko Haram will not seize the opportunity to recruit them.
- In addition, poverty should be addressed across the country through employment generation by governments at all levels, collaboration between government and the private sector, revamping ailing firms and empowering youths and women through skills acquisition programmes and agricultural practices. These measures cannot be achieved without government addressing the issue of corruption which is the major cause of poverty in Nigeria.
- Finally, the government of Nigeria should partner with the international community in addressing the Boko Haram insurgency. Terrorism is a global phenomenon, therefore, it is advisable that it should also be addressed through global collaboration.

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