BOKO-HARAM TERRORISM IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA AND ITS IMPLICATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract

The study Boko-Haram Terrorism in North-East Nigeria and Implication on National Security. Qualitative method was adopted. The objective of the study is: to examined the Boko haram threats to National Security, to examine the security Implication of prison Swap strategy on the fight against of Boko harm terrorist and to suggest the way forward in combating Boko haram activities and national security in Nigeria. The population of the study comprises of five organizations selected as sample for the study and these include;, National Defence College, National Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Personnel officer, Community leaders and Public servant. The ranks/positions of interviewees are; charge d'Affairs ad interim, civilian attachés, military attachés, first secretaries and second secretaries. Using purposive sampling and black and champion method, 25 informants were selected as representatives of this study. The study concludes that, Boko-Haram Terrorism in North-East Nigeria and Implication on National Security which causes displacement of family, economic activities, infrastructure and education. Development was set aside by this ill wind by all communities affected, at the expense of socio-economic development. It should be noted that the main rivalries lay not so much in economic tensions but in a long and sometimes better struggles for land and

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political control between in Nigeria. In addition, although religious issue is not widely pronounced, but religious differences are visible in struggle for power and the use of it as it affects the National security. Based on the finding of this study, this study recommends that the federal governments should grant amnesty to some of the repentant members of Boko Haram. It should offer meaningful and sustainable employment to the educated ones whilst the illiterates amongst them could be helped to acquire certain skills, such as tailoring, carpentry, automobile mechanic, welding, mobile handset repair, etc., after which they could be given soft loans without interest or collateral to set up their own business and become self-employed in the process. To ensure that the down-ward trend on integration resulting from the insurgents' activities is reversed, there should be continuous youth sensitization programs on the negative consequences of joining Boko Haram group, by both government and non-governmental bodies. As long run measure, however, the federal and state governments should deliberately look into the lingering socio-economic plight of the north especially in terms of education and employment with a view to curbing the Boko Haram insurgency and stemming the general tide of violent conflicts in the area

Keywords: Boko Harm, Implication National and Security

Introduction

Security is among the core areas of focus in the internal and external development of states' affairs (Marc, Mogaka, & Verjee, 2015; Rogers, 2011). Thus, at country and international levels, policy makers are putting varying mechanisms in place to address issues of insecurity in order to create a safe environment for all. However, certain developments, as manifested in the threats and attacks from several groups of persons, have also been occurring within states. These events have had excessive influence in creating instability and insecurity in their immediate environments and in neighboring area. In Nigerian states, these scenarios have played out in recent years with the uprising and escalation of the activities of Boko Haram in the Northeast region

of the country (Alao & Atere, 2012).The treat of fresh attacks by the freed suspect caused apprehension in Abuja, as residents feared for their lives. It also raised doubts among Nigerians about the effectiveness of the swap deals, which many feared might also swell the depleting ranks of Boko Haram commanders. Boko Haram's terrorist attacks have been particularly intense in Nigeria which, since 2011, has lost all scintilla of peace and as a result had become the most dangerous state to live in Nigeria. Some of Boko Haram's deadly attacks in Borno State included the unleashing of four female suicide bombers on Maiduguri, the State capital by the Boko Haram group on Wednesday, January 17, 2018, with the resultant explosions killed the four bombers and 10 others, and injured 65 people (Amuka, 2018); the killing of at least four civilians by Boko Haram bombers in the outskirt of Maiduguri on 26 April 2018; the capturing of Gundumbali town on 8 September 2018 by Boko Haram fighters; and the kidnapping of about 40 young adults, women and children and killing of 18 in Banki town in September 2018.

Boko Haram fighters have continued to ferociously attack different locations in the North-East of Nigeria, particularly several parts of Borno State such that the UN Office for Coordination of Human Affairs expressed its concern that "escalating attacks by non-state armed groups suspected to be Boko Haram terrorists were triggering new displacements in northeastern Nigeria, especially Borno State, with more than 2,000 newly displaced people recently arrived in Teacher's Village camp, Maiduguri after fleeing attacks in Kukawa, Doro Baga, Kekeno and Bunduram near Lake Chad (Silas,2019). Another report mentioned a massive influx of about 30, 000 internally displaced persons into Maiduguri amid latest Boko Haram attacks (Silas, 2019).The resurgence of Boko Haram's vicious attacks since late 2018 created a deteriorating security situation in Nigeria and posed serious threat to efforts to re- ignite the state's socio-economic development and political stability. The battle for supremacy had ignited the resurgence in terrorist attacks in Nigeria in particular and other parts of the Northeast. The increased spread of the destructive activities of the Boko Haram terror group as a direct result of the schism and fight for superiority posed a new threat for the Nigerian military.

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The debilitating effect of insecurity, particularly Boko Haram on the political system and economic prosperity of a nation cannot be rightly calculated (Amnesty International, 2012). Besides losing material and human lives, insecurity arising from terrorism costs huge loss of investment and because it deters foreign investment in many countries around the world (Amnesty International, 2012).Nigeria, is of course, further being plundered into deep socio-economic crisis of instability and stagnation due to the menace of Boko Haram. Therefore, this study would examine security implication of prisoners swap between Boko-Haram terrorists and the Nigeria government on National Security.

Objectives Of The Study

The general objective of this research is to examine security implication of prisoners swap between Boko Harm terrorists and the Nigeria government on National Security. Specific objectives include:

i. To examined the Boko haram threats to National Security
ii. To examined the security Implication of prison Swap strategy on the fight against of Boko harm terrorist
iii. To suggest the way forward in combating Boko haram activities and national security in Nigeria

Conceptual Framework

Security

Baldwin (2017) sees security as "low probability damage to acquired values". His conceptualization of security is encompassing as it does not border only on the presence and absence of threats, but also on the preservation of acquired values. This definition explains why values is what changes the nature of security threats that ranges from country to country; and how the various countries react to these threats. In a related discourse, Imobighe in Oche (2015) averred that: Security has to do with freedom from danger or with threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests and enhance the wellbeing of its people.

Boko Haram

The words 'boko' and 'haram' are originally Hausa and Arabic, meaning "Western Education" and "Forbidden" respectively. The (boko/western education and haram/forbidden) together mean boko haram 'Western education is forbidden'. This was earlier connected to the suspicion and stereotyping of Western Education as introduced by Colonial masters which (though gradually waning) still has bearing among some of the up North population. Many ignorantly link to and blame Islam for the Boko Haram insurgency, but indeed out of misconception, negative stereotyping and religious dogmatism (Da'awah Institute of Nigeria (DIN, 2017). Though it became clear that there were undertones by founders, promoters and financiers of Boko Haram, it in the first instance, found sympathizers mostly lured in through stereotyped Islamic preaching the activities of which became manifest and violent in Borno and Bauchi in July, 2009.

National Security

Goldstein (1991) view national security as closely connected to the preservation of the border of a state. He looks at the concept of security closely connected to the protection of the national border of a state, and seen as an important aspect of any political institution, in a state of insecurity, threat is regarded as flux.

Causes Of Terrorism In Nigeria

Nigerian poverty situation has been described as an embarrassment and irony to her abundant natural resources buoyed by oil wealth discovered since 1953. Poverty has led to frustration and anger amongst the poor and the marginalized cultural and religious groups in the country.

Poverty among the unemployed youths fuelled by corrupt leaders has been identified as causes of violence. Most of the recruits used by the Boko Haram and suicide bombers are drawn from the former Almajiris (poor street children, from poor Muslim parentage, who had been denied formal Western education but had been exploited while growing up by rich Islamic clerics who use them as street beggars to ask for alms on the streets of Northern Nigeria). The Boko Haram sect usually offers food, shelter, security and alternative succor to these homeless children and youths to get their support.

Challenges Of Boko Haram On National Security

The increased influx of small arms and light weapons and the unrestricted cross-border movement of rebels in and out of Nigeria is also caused by ineffective border policing and long years of political instability in the region. High inflow of small arms and light weapons contributes to insecurity challenges in the North East and has also endangered the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

This is evidenced in the rising tide of armed robbery and other violent crimes in the largely Boko Haram-affected North Eastern Nigeria . Boko Haram has continued to be a security risk to Nigeria and West African sub-region (Adesoji, 2011). The security threat which Boko Haram poses to the rest of West Africa comes to the form even more when Nigeria's geostrategic and economic importance is put into consideration. As the largest economy in West Africa, a threat to Nigeria's national and economic security is construed as a threat to the entire Western African community. The leaky borderlines connecting and the countries of the region make it easy for the effects of conflict or insecurity in one country to spill over to the other.

Boko Haram Insurgency And Its Security Implications

As mentioned in the introduction, countries of the West African sub-region have been confronting with political instability, civil wars and insurgencies leading to insecurity. The factors responsible for such challenges which different countries have experienced range from organized transnational crime to piracy, terrorist activities and election-related tensions (Djinnit, 2013).

Commonly, border permeability is considered as one of the causes of the security challenges countries face. Aduloji et al, (2014) identify the inability of concerned governments to exercise strict control and authority over their borders as part of the main causes of the security dilemma in West Africa. The sub-region is classified by Aduloji et al, (2014) as composed of weak and failing states that are offering sanctuary for terrorist movement from within and outside the continent.

Adetula (2015) associates the motivating forces behind the rise of ethno religious sectarian groups to the upsurge in global social movements and transnational processes which accompanied the end of the Cold War. His analysis draws attention to the emergence of new migrants and trading networks and religious movements with complex organizational structures and institutions that are operating across the continent of Africa. Adetula (2015) further affirms that violent ethnic and religious conflicts occur in the context of transnational relations in Africa. Examples of such conflicts are the Tuareg rebels in the Sahel and the al-Shabaab movement in Eastern Africa. These ethno religious uprisings contribute to the increase in human trafficking, child slavery and other transitional or cross-border crimes in Africa. Nigeria's Boko Haram could also be said to have been motivated by the global surge in social movements and transnational processes which Adetula (2015) has pointed out. This in all approximations may not be far removed from being one of the underlying factors to the rise of Boko Haram Sect in North Eastern Nigeria. The trans-border behavioural characteristics of Boko Haram wider security problems which the frequency of its offensives constitute and the consequent local and international

responses it attracts could be contextualized and conceived in different theoretical perspectives.

Theoretical Framework

Security Management system theory was develop by Zedner (2019). This is a systems theory approach, which develops and defines the security management plan using inputs, transformation within functions, and deliverable outputs. A system is considered to be an organized collection of components that integrate and operate at their optimum level, without decay.

Through a security approach (or combination of approaches) an organization determines a security strategy, and the strategy informs the operational security management system. Feedback from many development managers over many years has highlighted the following basic components of a functional security management system which include: Information gathering, analysis and dissemination; site selection and facilities management; personnel; communications; transportation; reporting and responding to security incidents; and security planning. Information gathering, analysis and dissemination. A reliable means of gathering, analyzing and disseminating information is essential for effective program and security management. It allows an organization to establish and maintain a clear understanding of the operating context and changing threat environment that influence how an organization should design and implement its development programs. Needs assessments often address the operational context and local institutional capacities?

Methodology

Research Design

Qualitative method or technique was adopted to obtain information from security personnel, based on the role of Interpol and ongoing battle against the terrorism in Nigeria A qualitative research approach for this study was chosen because qualitative methods are especially useful in discovering the meaning that people give to events that they experience. Specifically, the phenomenological method was used to

understand how participants make meaning of the phenomenon being studied; the security implication of prisoners swap between Boko Harm terrorists and the Nigeria government on National Security

Population, Sample and Sampling Technique

The nature of this study required that data should be generated from relatively informed individuals who are most likely conversant with terrorism, especially the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Consequently, a confidence (purposive) sampling method was used for the selection of respondents.

The target population of the study comprises of five organizations selected as sample for the study and these include; National Defence College, National Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Personnel officer, Community leaders and Public servant. The ranks/positions of interviewees are; charge d'Affairs ad interim, civilian attachés, military attachés, first secretaries and second secretaries. Using purposive sampling and black and champion method, 25 informants were selected as representatives of this study. Only officers who perform duties which enable them to have the needed information were selected. The sample size for the study is 25 respondents who were sampled using purposive sampling.

Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling, specific elements, which satisfy some predetermined criteria, are selected. Although the criteria used are usually a matter of the researcher's judgment, he/she exercises this judgment in relation to what the he/she thinks will constitute a representative sample with respect to the research objectives. With the use of interview method, the researcher derived opinions from the security implication of prisoners swap between Boko Harm terrorists and the Nigeria government on National Security.

Instrument for Data Collection

The instrument used to collect primary data for this study was oral interview. While secondary data for study were collected using the

instrumentalities of intense library search and internet browsing and historical tool. The implication of this on the study was that ample library search to collect processed data has been done. These were used to collect data such as speeches, crime control, resolutions, diplomatic notes, correspondences. All processed data collected have been able to complement, validate, or reject certain in other empirical studies.

The historical methods employed in this study involve descriptive-analytical and narrative approach. Generally, historical research involves investigation, recording, analysis and interpretation of facts leading to the reconstruction of the past. It also involves interpretation of records in such a way that conclusion reached are amount to an interpretation or re-interpretation of past events and consequently reconstruction on the security implication of prisoners swap between Boko Harm terrorists and the Nigeria government on National Security.

Techniques of Data Analysis

The method for analyzing data in this study was content Analysis

Content Analysis: It is qualitative content analysis through extensive empirical studies. For the purpose of this study, conceptual, relational and textual tools of content analysis were adopted.

Rational content analysis was used in this to explore the relationship between the variable under study. It was also used to understand the Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria, the Boko haram threats to National Security, the security Implication of Boko harm terrorist on social, economic, political and national security.

On the other hand, textual analysis was used to analyze data on the way forward in combating Boko haram activities and national security terrorism activities and as responses, speeches or public addresses, correspondences, diplomatic notes, letter and policy statements. It is called contextual analysis, which is the standard in social sciences for studying the content of communication. It thus involves the reading, critique, drawing of conclusion from the discussion of relevant information gathered from the category of sources mentioned

Discussion Of Findings

Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria

Economic and Socio-political Factors

According to one of the respondents interviewed who claimed anonymous, he attributed the causes of terrorism as follows:

Terrorism is attributed to political factors. Politicians exploited these youths in order to get political positions and dispensed with them shortly after they have clinched their positions. They used the youths as thugs to rig elections and fight their opponents but abandoning them thereafter. Since the weapons are still in their hands, they have no option than to use it for their selfish interest. This is the situation we find ourselves today. The above was supported by Hobswan (2012) who observed that radical groups usually had bases in the peasantry and poor urban groups although, typically their leaders often came from the middle class and many were radicalized intellectuals with a university education. This paint an apt picture of the activities of Boko Haram in the Nigeria. This position explains why politics that ought to be practiced to ensure harnessing and optimal utilization of resources for the overall benefits of citizenry have been on the contrary in Nigeria and North East in particular.

In other words, bad governance with all its attendant problems of transparency, accountability and all related issues of maladministration in Nigeria that has created widening gaps between the ruler and the ruled is capable of generating huge social problem including terrorism. The Nigerian government and its officials are mostly and highly irresponsive, lacked transparency and accountability. In the midst of plenty, Nigeria is poor while those at the helm of affairs and their cronies used their position to enrich themselves. Almost in every corner and around the country, there are one and many abandoned projects due to mismanagement, corruption and indeed, bad governance. For over a decade, Nigeria has ranked among the highest in the world Corruption Perception Index9TI, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2013.Hence, she is ranked high among the poorest countries of the world (Anyebe, 2011). This by implication means that people who are denied the benefit of good governance may resorts at revolting

against the system that has failed or denied them of the basic needs of life. This is one of the reasons that explain why the Islamist insurgents group derived their name, Boko Haram, interpreted to mean "Western Education is a sin arising from the general dissatisfaction in the entire governance system in Nigeria and the North East in particular. This was corroborated by one of the respondents interviewed who opined that: Bad governance has brought us to where we are today. The politicians will make empty promises to the people and once they are voted to power they will never fulfill those promises again. There is no clear cut plan on how to redirect the energy of our youths to meaningful programmes so they engage in any thing that comes their way. See our roads are very bad, no supply of electricity, and no water. So what are we talking about, when the basic things of life are virtually lacking, life becomes miserable and people can do anything in life.

Terrorism did not develop in a vacuum. Poverty, long neglect and economic disenfranchisement of people, among other plethora of problems, by successive governments in Nigeria combined to generate terrorism in the country. According to the World Bank Report, (2014), more than70% of Nigeria population lives below the minimum standard set by the United Nations and the situation is particularly worse in the Northern part of the country. A situation where most people are poor and lack access to the basic means of livelihood such as quality education, shelter, health, water, electricity etc, it necessarily creates desperation and exerts pressure on some persons to innovate an unlawful means like joining terrorist group such as Boko Haram for the purpose of making ends meet. This is even made worse by the very nature of illiteracy and ignorance level amongst the citizenry, including those in urban and rural communities. One of the interviewees gave credence to this when he stated inter alia: In my opinion, the root causes of terrorism can be traced to economic hardship faced by the people… You know successive government in Nigeria refused to develop our economy in a way that it can create wealth for the people… Government neglected other sectors of the economy particularly agriculture since the discovery of oil in commercial quantities. By this neglect, a lot of people have been denied means of livelihood and especially that the oil money

is not properly managed. With the concentration on oil as the driving force of the economy monolithically, other sectors are completely relegated to the background. Therefore, people whose major occupation is farming are not being provided with the right incentives needed to succeed.

Unemployment and Poverty

Unemployment particularly among youths in the country is another dimension of economic factors of terrorism. A situation where able-bodied persons who are willing and able to work but cannot find a paid employment roam the streets helplessly could compel some to form or join criminal gang such as Boko Haram. Tens of millions of youths lack prospects of decent work in Nigeria. This is not only a tragic waste of precious human resource, it can also have security implications for the country, since desperation often leads young people to fall prey to terrorism, criminal gangs or illegal migration syndicates. This is because the challenges of future are very enormous and the chances are very high that, if you are deprived of having access to the means of livelihood, you will get attracted by very bad alternatives. This is well echoed by one of the respondent that comprised the professionals, public servants and other categories of people succinctly put it thus: (Adamu 2018 Solimano 2005)

…the current economic depression which has produced a large number of unemployed persons cannot be an adequate platform on which to build effective security. Unemployment is a prime trigger and sustainer of terrorism. Where there is preponderance of the unemployed, there is infestation of disenchantment. Profoundly, these idle hands made ready and easy recruits. If Nigeria is to face an invading army, they are finished because it will have to first overcome the problem of low morale of its Army and the citizen lack of faith in the system as it is now. Simply put, Nigerian government cannot be assured of the full allegiance of its people when confronted by external attacks (According to the World Bank Report, (2014).

Viewing from a dissimilar perspective, another respondent looked at it from this angle by Basharu (2019):

Marginalization, unequal treatment and inequitable distribution of resources can also trigger violence and acts of terrorism. For example, both at the national and state levels including local government area council, development of government projects is not evenly spread. While some continue to enjoy government presence in terms of citing projects like hospitals, roads construction and rehabilitation, e.t.c others are completely neglected. Even in terms of government employment opportunities, it goes in the same sense of marginalization…. That is why during the last national conference we presented all these issues and urged the federal government to do something urgently to correct these issues this primary data was corroborated by (Sachs 1989).

In other words, the lopsided nature of our economic practice kills growth and development. An economy that is not able to carter for the basic needs of its citizens is inherently generating contradiction that is capable of throwing the society into chaos and terrorism is certainly a manifestation of this contradiction in Nigeria. As noted by one informant, that terrorism:

… Germinates like root and fester in an environment of abject poverty, mass illiteracy, corruption, and a yawning gap in socio-economic parity. Poverty gives rise to terrorism and other crimes even though this argument is not new especially when located within the context of the theories of revolution and social change. When people expect a lot but merely get a little, the platform for violence is laid. This is a major challenge to the counter-terrorism strategy put in place by the Federal Government

Religious Factors

The issue of fundamentalism illustrates the fact that religion appears to be associated with conflict in many parts of the world. In Nigeria for example, past experiences have revealed gruesome accounts of horrors arising from atrocities committed in the name of God. Terrorism is most likely to develop in a country that has a long history of religious intolerance.

According to Laqueur, (2019). , religious extremism is the major cause of terrorism in the Northeast Nigeria. In fact, he stated inter alia: Boko Haram is a clear manifestation of religious extremism in some parts of the country. It is an attempt to ignore Nigeria as a secular society. In fact, advocating a full implementation of Sharia state in Nigeria as is being coercively pursued by members of Boko Haram, is to say the least undermining the rights to freedom of worship as guaranteed by the 1999 Constitution. In fact, to anchor their reason for terrorism on Sharia implementation is contrary to the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This finding affirms the assertion by Bako (1992) that there is a dialectical correlation between the biting economic crisis and accompanying political repression, religious intolerance and revolts

Porous Borders

As is commonly known, Nigeria shares close borders with many African countries especially Niger, Chad, Benin and Cameroon. The closeness of the shared boundaries cover a wide land mass that are so connected that sometimes, it is difficult to clearly demarcate and effectively monitor the movement of human and material goods across these borders. With the inter-connectedness of the people that provide many routes to and from across the borders, the government is naturally incapacitated in its effort to effectively monitor who and what comes in or goes out at a particular point in time. Most respondents similarly align their views in this direction. In fact, one of them stated inter alia:

Atoswa, (2017). Boko Haram smuggle their arms through porous borders. They are also receiving funding from outside the country. This is why after destroying their weapons, they re-stock again. Am sure this is what is sustaining their operations.

Mohammed Adamu, the present Inspector General has this to say: Nigeria has one of the longest borders with her neighbors and the porous nature of the borders makes it easy for illegal immigrant to enter the country and commit all manner of Crimes and get away with it, smuggle weapons, prohibited drugs and contraband goods. The porous

borders are the advantage Boko Haram terrorist are using to perpetrate crime in Nigeria with impunity. Terrorists group is responsible for the attack across the country since it is now said that there exist different terrorist group unleashing mayhem on the public.

Ill-Equipped Security/Military

The entire security network in the country and the military in particular prior to when Boko Haram grew into a full menace were ill-equipped and ill-prepared in terms of resources and facilities it takes to confront them. The military and the entire body of security network were taken aback. The terrorists were more prepared and sophisticatedly more armed and better ready to confront the Nigeria military and even in many instances, forced them retreat. The situation became so humiliating to the military and even worse when people at a point had turned to the vigilante group and hunters for the safety of their community, life and property. In fact, one of the informants painted the scenario when he explains that, the Nigeria military were very weak right from the onset and until a few months to end the administration of Jonathan. The reason being that the military were not only ill-prepared, but were poorly equipped to confront a group that is well organized, trained, prepared, motivated and equipped with latest weaponry. In fact, the military were losing the battle against terrorism until recently the government started providing them with latest weaponry and facilities that is overwhelming crippling the terrorists‟ capabilities and abilities to withstand the might of the government….

Corroborating these views, an informant from Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, vividly described the situation when he explains that: Maintaining national security in Nigeria has been hampered by a number of challenges. One of the challenges facing Nigerian counter-terrorism strategy is paucity of well-trained security operatives (Police, Army, Navy and Air Force) that can physically and intellectually meet up with the contemporary security dynamics. Nigeria unlike other developed nations is grossly under policed, considering the ratio of security personnel and citizen. That there is a clear mismatch between Nigeria's population of 160 million and security workforce, as the

nation could only boast of about 371,000 Policemen 130,000 Army officers, 15,000 Air force officers and 18,000 Naval officers. For a nation like Nigeria, a total security workforce of 534,000 is grossly inadequate to manage the growing crimes and different insurgency at different parts of the country

From the above, it becomes clear from the data generated and presented that the causes of terrorist activities ranges from issues of poverty, socioeconomic factors, and bad governance. This primary data was corroborated by Sachs (2019) who opined that inequality generates social polarization, restlessness and resort to violence. This position was supported by Solimano (2015) who asserted that dictatorship, weak democracies and unequal societies have provided the background conditions for domestic terrorism in Latin America. This, when placed side by side with the Nigerian situation, it becomes glaring as the North-East of Nigeria is poorer in all ramifications compared to the other regions or geopolitical zones.

Boko-Haram Threats To National Security

The most potent threats to Nigerian national security include global challenges; terrorism; transnational organized crimes; crude oil theft or illegal bunkering; Nigeria's borders; climate change; communal and ethno-religious conflicts; pastoralists and farmers conflicts; politics and federalism in Nigeria; governance; poverty; kidnaping, proliferations of small arms and light weapons; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; illegal migration; economic challenges; financial crimes; information technology and cyber security; natural, man-made and medical related threats; environmental security. The threats enumerated above are by no means the only threats to Nigeria national security. They are nevertheless the most potent and are adjudged potential sources of disaffection, discontent and instability that could adversely affect the country quest for national stability, unity and development.

An interview conducted with Nigeria's Minister of the Interior Abdulrahman Dambazau, he said, Boko Haram and its off shoot the Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) continue to be Nigeria's most

serious security threats. Violent events linked to these groups have roughly doubled since 2015, when the government launched a major offensive dislodging these groups from the territory they held. Since retreating from urban centers during that 2015 offensive, the groups have focused their operations on the more desolate areas of Borno State primarily in the rugged Sambisa Forest bordering Cameroon's northwest mountains (Boko Haram) and the firki ("black cotton") wetlands south and southwest of Lake Chad (ISWA).

According to interview conducted with Mohammed Adamu, the present Inspector General of Police, and Sunday Ehindero, former Inspector General of Nigeria Police on Tracking and Operations against Terrorism. In its pursuit of these militants, the military has been accused of razing rather than protecting some civilian villages. As a result, Borno State residents often feel caught between Islamist militants and the Nigerian army and are accused by both of being collaborators with the other side.

The Nigerian military's withdrawal to "super camps" in 2019 has given Boko Haram and ISWA freer range to move through the region's hinterlands. At times, these fortified garrison towns have themselves become vulnerable to large-scale attacks. Caches of arms, ammunition, and vehicles are often the target of raids on military installations. Many of these stockpile losses are not tracked, making it more difficult to establish the groups' capabilities.

Cross-border mobility is a trademark of how Boko Haram and ISWA exploit the region's harsh and seasonally shifting landscape and elude capture. From the Sambisa Forest, Boko Haram fighters have crossed into Cameroon to carry out raids and suicide attacks in the far north where there is a limited Cameroonian military presence. As Lake Chad swells during the rainy season, militants move by speedboat through its floodwaters and surrounding swamps to control and exploit the lucrative smoked fish and red pepper trade. Boko Haram and ISWA also increase raids and attacks during the end-of-year rainy season when military vehicles are bogged down and the Air Force has less visibility due to vegetation.

Outside of the North East region, attacks by militant Islamist groups are currently rare. Boko Haram has attempted to claim recent mass kidnappings in the North West conducted by armed gangs, likely in order to appear more expansive. However, a previously disabled group known as Ansaru (which broke off from Boko Haram in 2012) has been staging a small number of sophisticated attacks in the North West states of Kaduna and Katsina. This group is believed to have mobilized local grievances experienced by Fulani herders to recruit them under an ideological banner.

According to interview conducted with Mohammed Adamu, the present Inspector General of Police, and Sunday Ehindero, former Inspector General of Nigeria Police on Tracking and Operations against Terrorism, From the foregoing, threat to Nigeria's internal security is real, as the international community has declared Nigeria a failing state in several circles as well as in policy papers. For instance, the Fund for Peace (FFP) in its 2012 report, ranked Nigeria as one of the top 10 failed states in Africa and 14th in the world because of growing wave of insecurity and endemic violence (Tella, 2012). 4 Journal of Studies in Social Sciences Threat to national security is the singular factor that is responsible for the astronomical increase in the nation's expenditure on internal security. The Federal government has continued to appropriate huge funds for „defence and internal security" in the national budget; a trend that has denied capital projects in the education, health, agriculture and construction sectors the needed attention. In the 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 fiscal years, the total expenditures earmarked for both internal security defence in the approved budgets were N292.7 billion, N276.5, N422.9 and N563.2 billion respectively (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2011).

According to interview conducted with Mohammed Adamu, the present Inspector General of Police, and Sunday Ehindero, former Inspector General of Nigeria Police on Tracking and Operations against Terrorism. Another impetus that threatens national security apart from militancy is economic corruption. Insecurity for lives and properties increased in the country because corruption has entered the management of the nation's security budgets (defence spending,

internal security votes et cetera). National security has suddenly become a big-time business, as bureaucrats and military officials diverted security votes and expenditure on defence to personal coffers. They tactically fuel insecurity in different parts of the country to get more funding from all levels of government. Albert (Fagbadebo, 2017) described the incidences of bombing and attendant threat to national security in Nigeria, as a political intrigue unleashed on the nation by ruling elites to cover up corruption.

Babangida (2012) lends credence to the above submission in his policy paper on national security. He identified food sufficiency, water supply, power supply, good roads, good schools, good hospitals, functional infrastructure, decent housing, effective public transportation system et cetera as genuine indicators for National security in Nigeria. With food security and other complementary security elements in place in the six geographical zones in Nigeria, the rising wave of lawlessness of Boko Haram, Niger-Delta militancy and armed robbery would be sustainably redressed

Implication Of Boko Harm Terrorist For Social, Economic, Political And National Security

In answering the question, "How will you describe the impact of Boko Haram attacks on social, economic and political structures and activities in Nigeria?" most of the participants used phrases such as "catastrophic collapse," "complete destruction," "total wipeout", and 'grave consequences' to describe what they considered to be the adverse consequences of Boko Haram insurgency on national security and its people. An interview with Ahmadu, who was a small business owner/operator lamented: "Boko Haram has wiped out all Borno economic and political structures and process and has rendered social values and practices comatose. The consequences of the insurgency on social, economic and political activities and structures in Borno are grave and includes pathetic and irreversible destructions of long-term relationships between different groups of people, paralysis of business and government activities, destruction of economic and basic infrastructures, creation of scarcity of food and potable water,

indiscriminate and summary executions of perceived political and religious opponents, kidnappings for ransom, and a sense of insecurity, fear, and trepidation in the minds of the people of Borno. Businesses have been wiped out, and this has created massive unemployment in the land, and people can no longer fend for themselves.

According to interview conducted with Mohammed Adamu, the Inspector General of Police, and Sunday Ehindero, former Inspector General of Nigeria Police on security implication of prisoners swap between boho harm, the lament that the Dapchi incident and its aftermath could have lasting implications for the government, for the Boko Haram faction responsible for the kidnappings and for towns across the Nigerian north east. More than two years ago, President Buhari had declared the insurgents "technically defeated"; more recently he claimed they had been degraded to no more than "desperate criminal gangs" and their operations reduced to "the last kicks of a dying horse". No doubt, the Nigerian army has made gains since 2015. It has ousted insurgents from most of the territory they once held, reopened roads and curbed Boko Haram attacks. Militants now operate mostly in remote border regions or from neighbouring countries around Lake Chad. The government also claims that bringing the abducted Dapchi girls home quickly was an achievement.

According Adam, (2017) I am saddened by the degree of destruction of public utilities and infrastructures that have led to the rise in poverty level among the people of the state. Politics and political activities in Nigeria are now at the mercy of the terrorists who frown at any Western idea. Security structures in Nigeria have been ridiculed and weakened by constant terror attacks and endemic corruption. The state is one huge mess, and we, the poor victims, bear the brunt." Adam Klein (2017), argues that in addition to the casualties and physical destruction directly caused by their attacks, terrorists aim to inflict wider psychological, social, political and economic damage upon the societies they target in various indirect ways such as reducing peoples' and businesses' expectations for the future, forcing governments and the private businesses to invest in security measures which redirect investment away from more productive economic uses, altering

behaviors by inducing economic actors to avoid areas of perceived risks, and, triggering wider geopolitical conflict, which may cause further economic disruptions.

Participants were further asked, "In what ways do you think Boko Haram attacks have affected your perspectives on social, economic, and political issues or practices?"

According to Yakubu, who owned a flourishing small business before becoming a displaced person, "He said that the greatest impact of Boko Haram attack in my perspectives on social, economic, and political issues or activities is a sense of helplessness and hopelessness that has enveloped my heart. From the way things are going on, the Boko Haram insurgency may continue for a long time to come because the insurgents continue to operate even in the face of sustained military onslaught against them. They remain active, and that bothers me a lot. He see no hope for a quick resolution of the war, and therefore, he see no hope for quick economic recovery or political equilibrium in Borno State. What is paramount for me is for the military to overcome the terrorists so that he can return to a normal life. Boko Haram insurgency has created a big gulf between different groups of people, especially between Christians and Muslims. However, he think cordial and beneficial relationships between Christians and Muslims, as well as between indigenes and non-indigenes can be restored and nurtured over a period of time because whether we like it or not, we as people of Borno must work together in unity to overcome the forces of evil which Boko Haram represents. If and when the military forces manage to get rid of Boko Haram, According to Yakubu may start to worry about the economy and political activities again. For now, I am helpless economically, and my greatest desire is to survive and outlive the insurgency."

Bashir, expressed the same feelings, stating that "I suffered immense economic loss from the Boko Haram attacks, and I am less bothered by politics. My view on Nigeria economy has been affected negatively way because the insurgency, rather than abate, seems to be growing. The economy will remain in doldrums as long as the insurgency goes on. Since I lost my job and source of income, I now

depend on the goodwill of other people and organizations to meet my basic needs, and that is heart breaking. As a Christian, I believe Boko Haram means evil, and God will turn it around for good because I think interactions between the various groups of people in Borno state cannot be permanently damaged despite current challenges. We need to have robust interactions so we can all help each other outlive the evil Boko Haram insurgency has fostered on us collectively."

The Way Forward In Combating Boko Haram Activities On National Security In Nigeria

This section addresses fourth objective of the study. It presents and analyzes data on the following identifiable government measures against the dreaded terrorist group, Boko-Haram in Nigeria. This include: troop's deployment and reinforcement; declaration of state of emergency; imposition of curfew; establishment of civilian JTF; and the formation of multinational task force. Although, the entire counter-terrorist measures can be described as reactionary in nature, but for the purpose of analysis the section takes in-depth view of each measure as follows:

Troops Deployment and Reinforcement

According to an informant, government first approach which was the deployment and reinforcement of troops was absolutely imperative in view of the mindless and murderous activities of the Islamist group. In fact, to put it in his words, he observed that…the government was left with little or no option but to immediately deployed troops and where necessary send reinforcement to counter the nefarious activities of this terrorist gang. Any responsible government would do that, but the question of whether the military is prepared or not is a different issue altogether.

The deployment of troops to combat the threats posed by the Boko Haram is socially, politically and legally correct. Socially and politically correct because doing so would assure the citizens the government is keeping its social contract with the people by averting the danger of the Hobbesian state of nature where life is seen as

"brutish, solitary and short". Legally in the sense that doing so was complying with the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which provides that "government must take step to safeguard the security of life and property of the people".

Declaration of State of Emergency

The second counter-terrorism measure against Boko Haram was the declaration of state of emergency. Following the escalation of violence, killing, maiming and destruction of life and property by the Islamist group, Boko Haram, especially in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States, President Jonathan declared state of emergency in the affected states as a measure against the group. His declaration of state of emergency in the affected states was a clear departure from the former President Olusegun Obasanjo who invoked the measure twice in 2004 and 2006 by removing a democratically elected governors and installed appointed military administrators to manage the affected states. Jonathan measure retains the governors and other political office holders to continue to discharge their responsibilities. Beyond this, the measure was to enable security forces to counter the barbaric activities of the BH whose violence is comparable to a declaration of war.

Imposition of Curfew

Restriction of movement of people at a particular time interval is identified as one aspect of counter-terrorism measure. Curfew is usually an order specifying a time during which certain regulation apply. It is a law that or executive order that effectively prohibit or limit the right to be out in public at certain times or in some cases, require businesses to close during certain hours. Imposition of curfew is a common practice in Nigeria, especially as a measure by the government to swiftly de-escalate any civil unrest at a given place. This enables security forces some reasonable amount of power requires to bring the troubled situation under control. According to an informant, he describes the curfew scenario this way: There are countless number of times, weeks and even months where curfew was imposed in the three affected states. As soon as military were deployed following the declaration of

emergency rule by the Command in Chief of the armed forces, the first starting point of military action was the imposition of curfew which can be indefinite or definite depending on the situation on ground.

Military Road Blocks and Checkpoints

As part of counter-terrorism measure, the military mounted a number of checkpoint and roadblocks in nearly every 1000 metres in all the areas of major operations. The checkpoint and roadblock are expected to be a point by point stop and search operations aimed at identifying suspects or vehicle carrying Improvised Device (ID) or any arm and ammunition. The checkpoint and road block also provided a platform to get information or report from members of the public as it relates to the activities of the Islamist group, Boko Haram. Many of the informants share the view that the military checkpoint and road block were visible in the three states largely affected by the activities of Boko Haram. An informant aptly summarizes the scenario thus: As you can see, military checkpoint and road blocks are mounted everywhere both within the major towns and on highways in the affected areas of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. This gives people some levels of confidence that government is indeed taking step at combating the insurgents. Many at times, several BH members are being tracked down and apprehended at the checkpoint.

Formation of Multinational Joint Task Force

The unabated escalation of the Boko Haram activities which resulted to the death of tens of thousands of people in the last six years eventually led to the formation of Multinational Joint Task Force and which came into effect March 11, 2015. The joint task force was established out of concern that terrorism if not confronted and dealt a fatal blow in Nigeria could easily spread to other neighboring countries particularly. The fear is genuine in that Islamist militancy spans from Mali to Nigeria in West Africa, to the rest of Sahel, ISIL forces in Libya further North Africa, Al Shabab in Somalia and in Kenya, let alone the growing militancy in Egypt which further spread movement of fighters and weapons. This singular reason among other concerns necessitated the formation of

Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) comprising Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon and approved by the United Nations to join forces against the insurgency in Nigeria.

Nigeria poor record in battling the insurgents indicate that the country may have to rely on multinational force put together to fight Boko Haram, This view is however countered by the shared by an informant who stated, inter alia. Many of these crises have been economic and political issues, and the use of force cannot be the ending solution to stopping the problem from escalating. This tallies with the postulations that if the fundamental problem of poverty is not adequately addressed, people are more likely to encourage the formation of better organized violent groups and to confront more aggressive law enforcement agencies. The unacceptable level of poverty in the country should be realistically addressed. Nigerian leaders have failed to recognize that mass poverty and underdevelopment together exacerbate crime. These issues cannot be solved through the barrels of gun, except through non-military approach.

The research finding is also revealed that the Boka haram brought about disunity, disintegration and lack of trust among the ethnic group. For there to be growth and socio-economic development in Nigeria nascent democracy, the issue of tolerance must be imbibed by all ethnic groups, religious leaders must preach peace to followers in both Churches and Mosques, while people should tolerate and have mutual respect for all. Nigerian should also sponsor national campaign for peace and respect for all.

Conclusion

Prisoners swap between Boko Harm terrorists and the Nigeria government have security implication on National Security which causes displacement of family, economic activities, infrastructure and education. Development was set aside by this ill wind by all communities affected, at the expense of socio-economic development. It should be noted that the main rivalries lay not so much in economic tensions but in a long and sometimes better struggles for land and political control between in Nigeria. In addition, although religious

issue is not widely pronounced, but religious differences are visible in struggle for power and the use of it as it affects the National security.

Recommendations

Based on the finding of this study, the following recommendations were made:

i. Specifically this study recommends that the federal governments should grant amnesty to some of the repentant members of Boko Haram.
ii. It should offer meaningful and sustainable employment to the educated ones whilst the illiterates amongst them could be helped to acquire certain skills, such as tailoring, carpentry, automobile mechanic, welding, mobile handset repair, etc., after which they could be given soft loans without interest or collateral to set up their own business and become self-employed in the process.
iii. To ensure that the down-ward trend on integration resulting from the insurgents' activities is reversed, there should be continuous youth sensitization programs on the negative consequences of joining Boko Haram group, by both government and non-governmental bodies.
iv. As long run measure, however, the federal and state governments should deliberately look into the lingering socio-economic plight of the north especially in terms of education and employment with a view to curbing the Boko Haram insurgency and stemming the general tide of violent conflicts in the area.

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List Of Those Interviewed / Focus Group

S/N	Name of Agencies	Number of interviewees
	National Assembly Representative	Interviewed on 2nd July, 2019 by 11:30Pm
	National Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution Representative	Interviewed on 25 July, 2019 by 1:30Pm
	Community leaders Representative	Interviewed on 15 August, 2019 by 12:30Pm
	Public servant and personnel force Representative	Interviewed on 30 August, 2018 by 1:30Pm
	Non-governmental agency Representative	Interviewed on 2nd September, 2019 by 1:30Pm