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INSURGENCY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

IFEURHOBODAVIS OCHUKO

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF PORT HARCOURT.

Email Address: efedavisco2014@gmail.com (07038643676)

ABSTRACT

Nigeria in the last ten years has become a country known for all kinds of violence, ranging from kidnapping, armed robbery, Niger Delta militancy, invasion by Fulani herdsmen and "Boko Haram" insurgency. The emergence of these groups in different parts of the country have not only over stretched the efforts of our security network and apparatus but also have very negative implications and effects on the nation's economy. The study which hinges its sources on primary and secondary data examines the challenges of terrorism exemplified by the activities of the terrorist insurgency and the prospect for the survival of our national development. The work is predicated on frustration aggression theory, and identified some basic fundamental differences among politicians, ethnic groups and religious divides, reckless and wanton display of wealth as some of the factors responsible for Nigeria's insurgency. The study revealed that the inability of state actors to curb the menace of unending internal violence which consequently weakened the state efforts at sustaining national development. On the strength of the conclusion the research equally recommends that while there is the need to effectively equip the military and other armed forces involved in counter terrorism, there must be some level of co-operation among all stakeholders to promote and sustain national unity in order to achieve national development.

INTRODUCTION

INSURGENCY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

Insurgency is perhaps the most debilitating and mind boggling problem in contemporary time. The outbreak of the terrorist insurgency in Nigeria marks yet another phase in the recurring pattern violent uprisings, protests and chaos have become in Nigeria. Consequently, the deteriorating internal security situation has been a source of growing concern and worry to the Nigerian government and the Citizens. Indeed, the activities of the insurgency have reached a frightening dimension that socio-economic activities have become adversely affected. The focus of this study therefore is to critically address the issues of the insurgency in order to promote national development, since no country can develop in a crisis ridden environment. The work which adopts the primary and secondary methods to

empirically identify the causes and the implications of these insurgency on our nascent democracy and intends to come out with appropriate recommendations that will help deal with the menace of insurgency in order to have an economy that is devoid of crisis of whatever kind. This will enable us have a productive based economy and maintain some high degree of sustainable economic and national development.

The situation in Nigeria today has been inundated with a lot of crises arising from the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign People of Biafra and very recently the Boko Haram. All these militant groups have their reasons for their bloody acts. Recently, a different of Cross National Studies have suggested that terrorism profoundly affects individuals and governments. At the individual level, research indicates that terrorism has a dampening psychological effect. Fry, Luechingor and Stutzer (2009) provide evidence that terrorism/insurgency negatively affects an individual's assessment of life satisfaction. Also, research at the individual level equally demonstrates that insurgency may have the desired effect while at the state level, terrorism may lead to counter-productive outcomes for the insurgents and the democratic practices will be jeopardize, as it is presently. Insurgency is an organized rebellion aimed at overthrowing a constituted government through use of subversion and armed conflict, Ade (2011). The idea here is that, because of the obvious situations that have brought hardship on the people, caused by the actions of the leaders in power, the insurgents have decided to rebel against the existing authority. The implication of this is that our nascent democracy is in jeopardy. This is because it is not hard or difficult to imagine why ordinary people in democratic countries would be less likely to become perpetrators of domestic terrorism than those in non democratic countries where the legal system is suited mainly for the rich and powerful. Thus, Okowa (1996) opined that when a leader in black Africa behaves in an incompetent, irresponsible and corrupt manner, the logical conclusion is that the tendency for incompetent, irresponsible and corrupt leadership is dominant one in our cultural heritage.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Insurgency

This is violent situation created by a group of persons who are out to make the government of the day unpopular and ungovernable by maiming, killing and destroying government property. The essence of this is to register their disapproval over certain things such as injustice, unfair treatment, marginalization by the political class, religious grievances among others. Judging from the level of casualties the insurgent group had suffered in their direct

combat confrontations including the arrest and eventual killing of their leader. They adopted the strategy of using suicide bombers and the planting of improvised explosives device (IEDs) on their targeted areas of attacks, like banks, social gathering, motor parks, mosques, military and police formations, among others, Akanji (2013).

National and National Development

National is a concept or word that encompasses or embraces a whole entity. It is synonymous with federal that over-see a whole range of other smaller conglomeration or units that serve as subordinate to its existence in the scheme of things. For instance there is the national government of Nigeria and every state depends on it for peaceful co-existence.

National development is a concept that encompasses all it takes to promote and enhance better qualities of a nation's political system. This could be politics, education, culture, religion and other gamut of human endeavour. It could be viewed through the lens of economic development, which deals with qualitative and quantitative changes in the economy expressed through areas like development critical infrastructure, environmental sustainability and regional competitiveness. Todaro (2006) viewed National Development as economic, cultural and political requirement for effecting rapid structure and institutional transformation of entire societies in a manner that will most efficiently bring fruits of economic progress to the broadest segments of their population.

Development

Development implies the socio-economic upliftment or changes of a people within a period of time. It is a process of economic transformation geared towards, the improvement in the life of a people. Okowa (1996) Captures it to mean hard work, discipline, commitment, skills and the intelligent utilization of the faculty of man in a sustained manner over a fairly long period of time. Development can equally be seen as a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capital income and levels of living through more modern production in methods and improved social organization, Obi (2006).

Terrorism

Terrorism is an act which is used to put political, social, ideological, religious and philosophical objectives. Terrorists use indiscrimination shades of violence, ranging from kidnapping, hostage taking to the use of explosives and bombs as well as weapons of mass destruction. For stern (2003), terrorism can be distinguished from other forms of violence by only two characteristics; first, it is aimed at non-combatants, and second, it is intended to instill fear in the target audience. Thus, he defines terrorism as an act of threat or violence

against non-combatants with the objective of exacting revenge, intonating or otherwise influencing an audience.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The word Insurgency has become a common usage among Nigerians because of its occurrence with the attendance effects on the state. So, the study examines insurgency and national development in Nigeria. The objectives of this research are:

- To assess the relationship between insurgency and national development
- To assess the nature and character of Nigeria's response to insurgency
- To examine whether the quality of development contributes to the action of terrorist insurgents.

Research Questions

- What is the relationship between insurgency and development?
- What has been the nature and character of Nigeria's response to terrorist insurgency?
- Has the poor quality of development contributed to the emergence of terrorist insurgents?

Research Hypothesis

- Insurgency in Nigeria is likely to take some time considering the relationship between insurgency and development.
- The nature and character of response of Nigeria's government is a precondition for its continuous manifestation.
- The poor quality of development in Nigeria has contributed to the emergence of the insurgents.

Statement of the Problem

Insurgency in recent time has assumed a worrisome dimension to our national psyche. It is one of the worst developments that the national and international system least desired because of the overwhelming challenges associated with every terrorist activities. Nigeria has experienced some level of insurgency in the time past but not as unending and complex as this. Due to the clandestine and complex organizational structure of the Boko Haram set the global war on terrorism with a view to mitigate and totally defeat, and exterminate the existing insurgents remain a mirage in the desert. The domestic aspect of the insurgents can be seen and regarded as the most immediate, and infectious threat to Nigeria's security and sovereignty. This unpleasant scenario is almost making the country to be seen as a fangled nation. The Nigerian government was placed in the international spotlight as one that has farted to provide security for its people. Since the inception of the fourth republic in May, 1999, there is the extant security scenario within Nigeria which has been characterized by

upsurge of communal conflicts, religious reverberations and consequent deepening of religious cleavage which may have been aroused in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and also the killing of Mohammed Yusuf in 2009.

The point in emphasis is that Nigeria as a sovereign state has experienced the proliferation of communal and insurgent attacks on a scale that had not been experienced before. In view of the fact that various reasons gave rise to these insurgent activities, in most cases the agitations fits the description of asymmetric warfare, in terms of a weak actor employing means at its disposal to fight a stronger actor. The exhortations of the leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist network calling for religious warfare in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks and the frequent killings and religious uprising in the Northern region of Nigeria have deepened spread of extant religious divide between Christian and Muslims. In a country like Nigeria with relatively large Muslim population there is bound to be a significant reservoir of sympathy for terrorist groups. All of these have extreme serious implication for domestic and international security as well as the sovereignty of the Nigeria state, notwithstanding their negative impact on the lives and property of Nigeria citizens and the country's economy.

Significance of the Study

The study will no doubt help to develop the minds of students and scholars on how to handle situations of violence, particularly at the threshold of an event that may metamorphose into an unbearable situation. This is because most crises in Nigeria often time degenerate into an unimaginable state for the inability of stakeholders and policy makers to understand the gravity nip in the bud the escalation to such problem. So, the relevance of this study is premised on the fact that students, scholars as well as leaders would find this study worthwhile because of how to prevent, manage a similar situation should they occur in their domains, schools or institutions of government.

Again, this study could arouse an objective discourse on the need for government to be sincere and committed towards providing the relevant information that would help unite the people organize seminars, creating the enabling environment and to prevent issues that are crisis driven.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical thrust upon which the study will be based is the frustration aggression theory, because it is suitable for this study of this nature. The theory provides useful tool of analysis to the rise and unending presence of the insurgents in Nigeria. It is limited in

explaining the internationalization and implications of the sect activities in Nigeria's sovereignty.

The frustration aggression theory was propounded by the likes of Dollard (1939), Gurr (1970) and Aubrey (1962). In an attempt to explain aggression on the part of those who have made some sacrifices, scholars point to the difference between what people feel they want to deserve to what they actually get- the "want get ratio", (Fenerabends, 1969) and difference between what people "expected need satisfaction" and actual need satisfaction" Davies, (1962). The theory captures the most common explanation for violent behaviours, stemming from inability to fulfil needs. Where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. This is the basic thrust of the argument Ted Robert Gurr relation, deprivation thesis addressed in saying that "the greater the discrepancy, however marginal between what is sought and what seem attainable the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result". Therefore people desire and expectations should be met in tandem with promises made.

INSURGENCY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

In his published article entitled "Insurgency in Nigeria" addressing the causes as part of the solution, Muzan (2014) argued very strongly that the insurgent or terrorist activities in Nigeria have been mostly motivated by ethno centri consideration. However, he further reiterated that the advent of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria have been as a result of movements to liberate particular reform in Nigeria. It is palatable to recognize that Muzan (2014), and Ojuade and Shuaib (2013) have unanimously agreed that previous insurgencies in Nigeria varied in their activities, scope, sophistication and intensity. Muzan recognized seven instances in the following order of declaration of Niger Delta Republic, Nigeria Civil War, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta and related insurgencies, Oodua peoples congress, Northern Arewa groups, Boko Haram and Ansaru. For Ojuade and Shuaib, their recognition was in the order of Oodua People's Congress, the Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys, Arewa People's Congress and Boko Haram.

However, in whichever historical analysis they both look at it, one thing is sacrosanct. Insurgency has destroyed the Nigerian economy in virtually all ramifications, particularly when you consider the socio-political and economic implications of the sect activity on Nigeria's national development. It is obvious that the activities of these groups disorganized the country and affected areas and they claim to fight for the rights of their ethnic groups and in particular, to rectify perceived exclusion, injustice, economic hardships through

government policies among others which consequently has placed the national development of the country in Peril and Jeopardy. Thus, Otite (2000b:158) opined that Power has a social cultural context in Nigeria. By its nature it is segmentary, conflictual and confrontational as contests and their supportive group out-do each other in their attempt to control and exercise it in the multiethnic setting. Consequently, these violent agitations varying from ethnic militia, youth restiveness, kidnapping and most recently the wanton killing and destruction by the Boko Haram insurgents mark the height of terrorist insurgency in the country and have contributed to national security threat that is capable of disintegrating the country and more worrisome is the country's nascent democracy that is highly distorted.

Terrorist insurgency has resulted in the killings of hundreds of people and destruction of property worth billions of naira through bombing and other scientific devices. The terrorists have used petrol bombs, improvised explosive devices and armed assaults in these violent attacks, Forest (2012), Agbiboa (2013). Consequently, national development is adversely and critically affected when in most cases able body young men and women who are the fulcrum of human capital development often time are seen as victims of this crisis of violence. The continued and unprecedented impact of this group on the country as well as the near total destruction makes the meaninglessness of human capital development vis a vis national development and smooth democracy in our country. Ojuade and Shuaib (2013) in their studies described the insurgent group as radicalized groups involved in militant ethnic movements in Nigeria. According to them the radicalized group consists of irregular or parliamentary personnel made up of civilians (both young and adult) who might have received a form of military training and are armed with small arms and light weapons which they use illegally.

Threat posed by terrorism in a state can create avenue for perceived enemy of the government within to engage in sabotaging government efforts in their fight against terrorism and by so doing bring the integrity and capability of government to criticism and mockery. Today, insecurity has become a national problem. Almost all the geo-political units in the country are affected. Osungada (2008) and Nwagboso (2012) submitted that the South-South region of Nigeria was not spared of insecurity that threatens the Nigeria nation state. The invasion of the Fulani herdsmen in the South East is a living evidence to the manifestation of the insurgence.

THE IMPACT OF INSURGENCY ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Nigeria has been experiencing the proliferation of internal conflicts on a scale that has not been experienced before, at least on such a violent and unprecedented proportion. Despite

the adoption of domestic style of governance, which some would argue and agree as the best conflict resolution mechanism so far, the country has almost literally been engulfed in crises. Although, various causative factors have been identified as causes of this conflict or insurgency, the damaging effects of this terrorist act is the destruction of lives and property, which consequently has retarded national development and progress.

In assessing the impact of terrorism on sustainable development in Nigeria, the domestic setting has to be seen from two perspectives. First, there is the security scenario within Nigeria which has been characterized by an upsurge of internal conflicts since the inception of the Fourth Republic in May, 1999 such as the bombing of Mandela Church in Abuja about three years ago. Second, there are the religious reverberations and consequent deepening of religious cleavages which may have been aroused in the wake of the September 11, 2011 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, Charles (2007).

The Boko Haram insurgence represents a serious threat to the Nigerian project which is quite in analogy with the Hobbesian state or nature where Stewart (1945) recognized that life is "Poor, solitary, nasty brutish and short. It is pertinent to recognized that some influential persons may be sympathetic to these groups and indeed give support to them cannot be ruled out. This is why government needs to be fearless and to deal decisively with anyone caught supporting or sponsoring the group. Thus, Jideofor (2011) opined that those involved should be severely dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the law.

With the records of insurgency in Nigeria, hundreds of able-bodied youths have been killed, property north millions of naira destroyed, hundreds of people kidnapped (as in the case of Chibok girls in April 14, 2014), while many have become refugees (such as the internally displaced persons in their own country.

The psychological effects of the celebration of victory by the sect over the destruction of lives and prosperity often times make people to feel they are succeeding in deflating the power of the government. Thus, Wilkinson (1987) opined that a target that is incapable of responding to terrorism will lose public support and lessen its capabilities and confidence to thwart terrorism in future. Therefore, government needs to be more proactive to send into oblivion the existence of the blood thirst individual that have wantonly destroyed our economy. Human lives and property no longer matters to them.

CONCLUSION

The unpalatable reality is that our national development has suffered some level of retrogression as a result of the unending manifestation of the insurgents. The horrible experience has driven many citizens to look elsewhere for protection. A state of hopelessness

and disillusionment are glaring evidence of the naked display of power by the insurgents. As captured by a citizen of Narrobi, "If you do not make an extra arrangement for security beyond what the state provides, then you are vulnerable to attacks", Agbaje (1999). In Nigeria, poverty is a very serious issue. To majority of Nigerians, security comes from hunger, diseases, poor education and even domestic violence aggravated by the present economic woes. With an average of 1000 maternal mortality cases per 100, 000 of the population on under fire mortality rate of 138 per 1,000 live births, life expectancy of 51.9, over 70 percent of the population living on 1.25 U.S. dollars per day, and a percentage of GDP expenditure on education ay 0.8, Nigeria is among the lowest in human development in the world ranking noticing at just 156 out of 187 countries assessed by UNDP in 2011, Dambazau (2012). Even with an estimated population of 162 million and being the 8th largest exporter of petroleum in the world and the 10th in proven reserves, most Nigerians still live in abject and excruciating poverty with much of the population in rural and underdevelopment areas, Dambazau (2012).

The number of people living in poverty rose from 60 percent in 1990 to 70 percent in 2013 (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2014). Nigeria is noted for different manifestations of terrorism/ insurgency which at the highest profit exhibit kidnapping, killings, maiming, raping, reckless and unguarded activities of the Fulani herdsmen, bombing among others. These kidnapping and unending bombing in contemporary times in Nigeria tend to subdue the low profile terrorist activities of the 1960's when criminality became unchallenged. From existing events in Nigeria, many people would imagined that insurgency is a recent phenomenon. This is because of the noise about bombings and associated death, which consequently has destroyed our national development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to curb this menace, the following are recommended;

- Government should be sincere and fair in their promises and actions so that issues that are crisis driven can be avoided. There is something fundamentally wrong with a system that makes promises without fulfilling them. Unfulfilled promise(s) can be a source of crisis.
- Security experts should go scientific in the fight against crime. An advanced training in counter-terrorism should be encouraged for security operatives. Security experts must live up to modern ways of tackling insecurity in the globalized world

- Increase and intensify surveillance routine around vulnerable targets and step up situation awareness. Any suspected crowd or group should and must be dislodged by security agents
- Provoke a cordial relationship with other existing countries in joint counter-terrorism operations to deny terrorists recruitment and training grounds, access to weapons, arms and funds.
- Again the strong need to address the issues that bother on extremism warranted some negative behaviour of the terrorists or insurgents. Issues such as poverty, corruption, unemployment, socio-economic needs and political exclusion that portend an obvious sign of marginalization should be critically evaluated and put to rest.
- Leaders must as much as possible lead with practical examples that would discourage stealing and violence. People put in practice what they see others do, whether negative or positive. Showcasing ill-gotten wealth must be discouraged by policy makers.

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