

Terrorism and Nigeria's Socio-Economic Development: An Assessment of Boko Haram Insurgency in Adamawa State

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Abstract

The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has been a source of concern not only to the government of Nigeria, but also to the international community especially when the sect bombed the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja in 2011. After this attack, the sect has carried out numerous attacks in Nigeria killing thousands of people. There has been plethora of reasons adduced to this development. Some opinions and political leaders within and outside Nigeria adduced the causes of Boko Haram insurgency to poverty, injustice, and lack of civil liberties, while others disagree with this line of thought. Based on this, the researcher used primary source of data in order to acquire and obtain information about this study. Questionnaire was designed and distributed to the selected sample population drawn from the population of the study area using Tarro Yammane formula to determine the causes of Boko Haram insurgency and examines its implications on socio-economic development of Nigeria. The data collected was presented in tables and the results discussed and analysed. Chi-square was also used to test the hypotheses formulated. The study adopted Systems Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory which guided the research. At the end of the research, it was evidently proven that insurgency was not only as a result of poverty, illiteracy or unequal distribution of state resources as contributing factor, but a deep seated ideology rooted in bad governance should also be blamed for the chaotic development of the sect. Alternative policy recommendation, which could combat Boko Haram insurgents as well as their activities and secure Nigeria's economic future has been offered.

Key words: *Boko Haram Sect, Terrorism, Insurgency, Socio-economic Development, Violence*

Introduction

Terrorism is a threat to the economic, political and social security of nations and a major factor associated with underdevelopment because it discouraged both local and foreign investments. Also, it reduces the quality of life, destroys human and social capital, damages relationship between citizens and the states, undermining democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to promote development (Akhain, 2012).

On the state of the country, when people feel insecure, their appetite to invest, buy or rent from the product of investment reduces; and that is why all over the world today, any country that radiates an environment of insecurity naturally repels investment initiatives from both the international community and its own local investors. Every society across the globe has its peculiar problems and challenges in which Nigeria is not an exception. Today, insecurity is one of the greatest problems bedevilling various countries in varying degrees. It affects policies of government and also retards development (Ifijeh, 2011).

A number of analysts have variously attributed the disturbing trend to political dissatisfaction, ethnic and religious differences, perceived societal neglect and pervasive poverty among the people. Some scholars attributed insecurity to the desire of man to satisfy his inordinate ambition of lust for power and this has often led to the irrational use of violence against the state, private organizations and the general public with the ultimate objective of achieving selfish goals (Akhain, 2012).

In recent times, there has been an upsurge in the frequency of crime in Nigeria. The problem of insecurity which used to be one of the lowest in the hierarchy of social problems facing the country seems to have assumed an alarming proportion since the end of Nigerian civil war in 1970. During the pre-colonial and colonial era, insecurity was merely handled by the Federal Government using the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Nigeria Police Force. The magnitude of insecurity in Nigeria has become so grave that the Army, Police Force, Air Force, Directorate of State Security, etc. have all been drafted into maintaining internal security. Even at that, the military which is saddled with the responsibility of defending the territorial boundaries of the country sometimes flee out of the country to neighbouring Cameroun in fear of the insurgents and they call it tactical maneuver. This has led to palpable fear among the populace as security of lives and property can no longer be guaranteed. The phenomenon of crime has impacted negatively on the economic, social and political life of the nation over time.

It is worthy of note that over the years, different sets of groups had risen in Nigeria with real militancy approach in prosecuting their objectives. Notable among these group are the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) within Yorubas, Bakassi Boys and Movement for Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) among Igbos, Niger-Delta Militant in the South – South as well as Boko Haram in the North.

Ekanem, et.al (2012) revealed that Boko Haram have been in existence right from the 1960s but only started to draw attention in 2002. It is on record that this particular group has been operating under the name Shabaab Muslim Youth Organisation with Mallam Lawal as the leader since 1995 but leadership of the group shifted to Mallam Mohammed Yusuf when Mallam Lawal left Nigeria. The emergence of Boko Haram insurgence has introduced a terrorist dimension hitherto unknown in the criminal space of Nigeria. Series of bombings have been carried out by the sect as well as taking hostage of innocent citizens including over 200 students in Chibok in 2014. This has raised both international and national concern which had also led to a campaign by civil societies called the Bring back our girls' campaign. The Islamic terrorist group is growing in number and brutality. The continued rise in insecurity in Nigeria

if not checked, may result into greater investor apathy for the country and low inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). It would make institutional investors look for other stable economies to invest their capital.

Against this background, this research will study and examines terrorism and Nigeria's socio-economic development: An assessment of Boko Haram insurgency in Adamawa State.

Problem Statement

The emergence of Boko Haram insurgency has introduced a terrorist dimension, hitherto unknown, into the criminal space in Nigeria. Series of bombings have been carried out by the sect, as well as taking hostage of innocent citizens. Even the United Nation's building in Abuja was not spared in the bombing spree. In rich as well as poor countries, terrorism exerts a heavy toll on national economies. It is inevitable that the economic impact of terrorism would be more felt in unsophisticated mono-cultural low-income economies than they would be felt in highly advanced, diversified industrial economies. Therefore, the continued rise in terrorism activities in the country, if not checked, may result in greater investor apathy for the country and resulting in low inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and would make institutional investors look for other stable economies to invest their money.

On the state of the country, when people feel insecure, their appetite to invest, to buy or rent from the product of investment reduces; and that is why all over the world, any country that radiates an environment of insecurity naturally repels investment initiatives from both the international community and its own local investors. Hence, terrorism is a threat to the economic, political and social security of a nation and a major factor associated with underdevelopment; because it discourages both local and foreign investments, reduces the quality of life, destroys human and social capital, damages relationship between citizens and the states, thus undermining democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to promote development.

From the activities of Boko Haram, Nigeria has now been certified as a full-fledged terrorist state, a classification that brings untold odium on us all. Several violent attacks by the Boko Haram have affected economic activities in Adamawa state and many residents have fled their homes while others who could relocate hardly go about their normal business. Shooting and bombing linked to Boko Haram is forcing people to hunker down in their homes or abandon the state. Business activities are fizzling out, most residents are living on their savings, and there is ban on motorbikes which is the main means of transportation, growing unemployment among traders hence recession has set in. these among others propelled this study is to examine the implications of the sect in Adamawa state of Nigeria where the sect's operations are predominant.

Objectives of the study

The general goal of this study is to assess the possible negative effect of Boko Haram activities on Adamawa's economy and by extension Nigeria, while the particular aims of this study is:

- i. To examine the state of Adamawa economy since the start/operation of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria.
- ii. To speculate the possible negative effect on Boko Haram terrorist activities on the economy of Adamawa state and by extension Nigeria.

- iii. To make recommendation with a view to alleviating and combating the already existing negative effect of Boko Haram activities on Adamawa's economy and by extension Nigeria and subsequently stopping their activities.

Research questions

- i. Has Boko-Haram activities hindered economic growth in Adamawa State?
- ii. Does Boko-Haram insurgency have a negative effect on economic activities of Adamawa state?
- iii. What steps and policy measures can be taken to alleviate and combat the negative effects of the Boko Haram terrorist activities on the economy of Adamawa and by extension Nigeria and subsequently stop their activities?

Hypothesis

The following hypotheses were formulated for this study.

H₀₁: There is no significant relationship between Boko Haram activities and economic growth in Adamawa state.

H₀₂: There is no significant relationship between Boko Haram insurgency and the negative effects of the economic activities in Adamawa state.

H₀₃: New steps and policy measures to alleviate and combat Boko Haram activities have significant effects on Adamawa state's economy.

Literature review

In May 1999, Nigeria's return to civil rule was accompanied with fresh hopes and latent optimism. This optimism is predicated on the fact that democracy would guarantee freedom, security, liberty, and equity and enhances security of lives and property, which would indeed reposition development trajectories to sustainability. Regrettably this optimism seems to be a mirage. Nigeria is presently rated as one of the poorest Nations in the world with debilitating youth's unemployment. For instance, Aganga (2009) observed that over ten million Nigerians were unemployed by March 2009 and unemployment is running at around 19.7 percent on average (see National Bureau of Statistics Report 2009). This figure geometrically increases yearly with less realistic efforts by the managers of the state to abate the rampaging unemployment problem. In Nigeria, like many other developing countries, about 70% of the population lives in poverty (Otto and Ukpere 2012: 67). Majority of the population seem to lack access to pipe borne water, health care facilities, electricity and affordable quality education. Amidst these development challenges, the security situation in the country deteriorated drastically. Nigeria's return to democratic rule is threatened by security disaster. Arguably, considerable progress has been achieved in the areas of freedom of speech and liberty, but series of resource based conflict (Niger Delta), ethno religious crisis (Jos crisis), and communal conflicts persisted. The climax of these security threats is the insurgence of a group called Boko Haram in the Northern Nigeria. Thus, a considerable effort to end the violence and build a sustainable peace to steer the economy to sustainability seems far from realization, especially now that Nigeria is struggling to be among twentieth world developed countries in 2020. It is against this backdrop that this study addresses the interface between terrorism and socio economic development in Nigeria. Particularly, it seeks to demonstrate that terrorism is a major impediment to development in Nigeria with a particular reference to Boko Haram's activities.

Terrorism and Nigeria's socio-economic development are the core concepts of this study. Thus, this section will deal with the discourse of the concepts as well as insurgency and Boko Haram as a foundation for my analysis.

Terrorism

Terrorism is a complex issue that has been studied and debated for several decades. In fact, there are dozens of competing definitions of the term, not only among scholars but among policymakers and government agencies as well. But one thing holds constant terrorist attacks do not occur in a vacuum, but are instead a product of complex interactions between individuals, organizations, and environments. Further, there are many different kinds of terrorism, defined primarily by ideological orientations like ethno-nationalism, left-wing, religious, and so forth. And just like there are many different kinds of terrorism, there are many different kinds of contexts in which terrorism occurs (Forest, 2012). Terrorism is increasingly understood as a political act meant to inflict dramatic and deadly injury on civilians and to create an atmosphere of acute fear and despair (generally for a political or ideological, whether secular or religious, purpose), but the term is notoriously difficult to define. The use of violence to create fear, often through the targeting of third parties and with the elements of surprise and the undermining of very personal security, is a tool used by a variety of historical and contemporary actors (Large, 2005). Terrorism is a term used to describe violence or other harmful acts. Walter Laqueur in 1999 counted over 100 definitions of terrorism and concludes that the only characteristics generally agreed upon are that, terrorism involves violence and the threat of violence (Laqueur, 2003 cited in Eke, 2013). The etymology of terrorism is derived from Latin words "*terrere*" which means "frighten". Terrorism is a special crime associated with violent, victimization, threatening, frightening, and disruption of socio-political atmosphere in a particular society. It is an act of bombing, killing, kidnapping, maiming and destruction thereby creating socio-political tension, extremely fear, and destabilizing existing government or political opposition. It implies deadly attack on government agency and functionary, international organization, military and civilian in order to gain international recognition.

The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate Governments or Societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological". Within this definition, there are three key elements- violence, fear, and intimidation-and each element produces terror in its victims. Political terrorism is the deliberate use or threats of violence against non-combatants, calculated to instil fear in an audience beyond the immediate victims. He says that because perpetrators of terrorism often strike symbolic targets in a horrific manner, the psychological impact of an attack can exceed the physical damage. He concluded that terrorism is a mixture of drama and dread. Despite the fact that terrorism could not be said to be a senseless violence, rather it is a premeditated political cum social strategy that threaten people with a coming danger that seem ubiquitous, unavoidable and sometimes unpreventable (Kegley, 2011 cited in Raji, 2013).

Terrorism is the use of violence and intimidation to achieve political ends. Terrorists want to change the way governments and politicians behave. They do not do this by voting or by trying to convince people of their arguments. They do it by frightening people into behaving the way the terrorists want (BBC, Monday July 11 2005). Kydd & Walter (2006) cited in Atere & Alao (2012) define terrorism as actions focusing on harming some people in order to create fear in others by targeting civilians and facilities or system on which civilians rely (Eke, 2013).

Terrorism may be viewed as a method of violence in which civilians are targeted with the objective of forcing a perceived enemy into submission by creating fear, demoralization and political friction in the population under attack (Schmid & Jongman, 2005). In most cases, their actions do lead to the loss of innocent lives. Just as non-state actors and rogues states are known to commit terrorism at home and abroad, democratic countries also do the same in order to achieve political, religious, or other objectives (The Punch Newspaper, May 23, 2012). Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence or, equally important, the threat of violence used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of, a political aim (Hoffman, 1998). As a form of unconventional warfare, terrorism is sometimes used when attempting to force socio-political change by convincing a government or population to agree to demands to avoid future harm or fear of harm, destabilization of existing government, motivating a discontented population to join a mutiny, escalating a conflict in the hope of upsetting the status quo, expressing an injustice, or drawing attention to a cause. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined terrorism as Involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law; Appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.

Socio-Economic Development

Socio-economic development is a product of development and can be defined as the process of social and economic transformation in a society. Socio-economic development embraces changes taking place in the social sphere mostly of an economic nature. Thus, socio-economic development is made up of processes caused by exogenous and endogenous factors which determine the course and direction of the development. Socio-economic development is measured with indicators, such as GDP, life expectancy, literacy and levels of employment. Changes in less-tangible factors are also considered, such as personal dignity, freedom of association, personal safety and freedom from fear of physical harm, and the extent of participation in civil society. Causes of socio-economic impacts are, for example, new technologies, changes in laws, changes in the physical environment and ecological changes. Scholars have identified strong links between terrorism and development since the cold war ended (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013; Chandler, 2007). They argued that development cannot be achieved in any nation where there are conflicts, crisis and war. There is a consensus in the literature that terrorism and development are two different and inseparable concepts that affect each other, and this has naturally triggered debates on terrorism-development nexus (Chandler, 2007; Stan 2004).

Insurgency

Scholars and theorists have given different definitions of insurgency. While some of these definitions are closely related, others are not so related but contain common elements and this still makes the subject technically difficult. Insurgency is an ambiguous concept. The United States Department of Defence (2007) defines it as organized movement that has the aim of overthrowing a constituted government through subversive means and armed conflict (Cited in Hellesten, 2008:14). This definition suggests that insurgent groups employ unlawful means

towards achieving an end, which could be political, religious, social or even ideological. The goal of insurgency is to confront and overthrow an existing government for the control of power, resources or for power sharing (Siegel, 2007:328). Liolio, (2013) posited that insurgency is not terrorism or conventional war, though they share some similarities such as the use of force, or guerrilla tactics to achieve an end which is often political. Basically, the difference between insurgency and terrorism lies in the scope and magnitude of violence. While for instance, terrorism rarely brings about political change on its own, insurgency attempts to bring about change through force of arms. Similarly, terrorists often apply a wide range of damages when compared to insurgents. On the other hand, while conventional war involves adversaries more or less symmetric in equipment or training, insurgency involves adversaries that are asymmetric and weak. Traditionally, insurgency seeks to overthrow an existing order with one that is commensurate with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals (Gompert and Gordon, 2008).

Moreover, Kilcullen (2006) revealed that insurgency is a struggle to control a contested political space between a state (and a group of states or occupying powers) and one or more popularly based non-state challengers the author also tries to draw a line between classical and contemporary insurgencies thus: while the latter seek to replace the existing order, the former sometimes strive for the expulsion of foreign invaders from their territory or seek to fill an existing power vacuum. In summary, insurgency connotes an internal uprising often outside the confines of state's laws and it is often characterized by social-economic and political goals as well as military or guerrilla tactics. Put differently, it is a protracted struggle carefully and methodically carried out to achieve certain goals with an eventual aim of replacing the existing power structure.

Boko Haram

Ideologically, Boko Haram was founded as an indigenous group, turning itself into a Jihadist group in 2009. It proposes that interaction with the Western world is forbidden, and also supports opposition to the Muslim establishment and the government of Nigeria. Because of this hard lined position, the members of the group do not interact with the local Muslim population and have carried out assassinations in the past of anyone who criticizes it, including Muslim clerics. Boko Haram therefore, emanated from an orthodox teaching slightly resembling that of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Late Sheikh Muhammed Yusuf (Jan 1979-July 2009) is the leader of the group. Their school of thought considers anything western as an aberration or completely unislamic. The group viewed the western influence on Islamic society as the basis of the religion's weakness. Hence their declaration that western education and indeed all western institution is infidel and as such must be avoided by Muslims. Many young people dropped out of school, including university student to join them, workers including highly placed administrators and tertiary institution lecturers also joined them, many youths separated from their families, while many people abandoned their jobs for the group. Also, most people sold their belongings to contribute to the coffers of fighting the cause of Allah to save Islam from the clutches of western influences and domination (Ogundipe 2012). At the initial stage of their growth, the sect was entrenched in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe and Kano States, but now have covered virtually all northern states and are advancing their frontiers to other parts of the country (Nossiter, 2012; Abrak, 2013; Gillian, 2013). Mohammed Yusuf the leader had severally described his groups as non-militants, but simply a group of youths who are bent on upholding the words of Allah. He

warned that they will rather die than to succumb to the present corrupt system in the country. The group vowed to continue to fight the authorities and their accomplices until they succeed or die in the process.

Boko Haram is considered to be a major potential terrorist threat affecting Nigeria and other countries, and US officials believe it is potentially allied with Al Qaeda U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) Commander General Carter F. Ham stated in September 2011 that three African terrorist groups; Shabab of Somalia, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb across the Sahel region, and Boko Haram "have very explicitly and publicly voiced an intent to target Westerners, and the U.S. specifically" and that he was concerned with "the voiced intent of the three organizations to more closely collaborate and synchronize their efforts." General Ham reiterated his concern after the Christmas Day 2011 bombings of churches in Nigeria. A bipartisan U.S. congressional counterterrorism panel has urged the Obama's administration and U.S. intelligence community in November 2011 to focus on Boko Haram as a potential threat to the United States territory.

Theoretical Framework

According to Ohara (2003), knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. In every description, there is a body of theories that provides the explanation for observable phenomena in that field. These section attempts to draw analogy between established theories and the problem being investigated where such analogies drawn even support the importance of the study.

The theories guiding this work are: Systems Theory and Relative Deprivation theory. The system analysis of the political system popularized by David Easton is adopted as a theoretical approach underpinning the study. The system theory is an analogy that shows a collection of interrelated parts which forms some whole. The idea is that if all the parts are working effectively the overall objectives can be achieved. A system can be open or closed. Nigeria is an open system. A key feature of open systems is their interdependence on the environment which may be relatively stable or relatively uncertain at a particular point in time. This feature is of considerable importance to political and economic system which needs to adapt to the changing environment if they are to flourish. Nigeria needs the Northern economy to achieve her economic objectives. The focus of the approach is on the analysis of factors and forces that engender stability and instability in the political system strengthens its relevance to explaining the deep linkage between the dysfunctionality in governance and the challenges of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Nigeria. The political system within the Eastonian's framework is an input and out-put mechanism which deals with political decisions and activities and performs integrative and adaptive functions relevant to the transformation of the society (Johari, 2011). Moreover, the mix of the environment, citizens' demand and support (inputs), and the policy output from the system are core factors that affect the structures and processes involve in the authoritative allocation of values and are thus fundamental to the stability and survival of the political system (Johari, 2011).

The centrality of citizens' demand and support (inputs) and policy output to the failure of democratic governance in Nigeria and the attending social tensions and security threats it provokes is the major concern of this study. The inputs in the political system according to Easton consist of citizens' demands on the polity and the support they extend to the system. Supposedly, inputs in this context refer to those demand made by the Boko Haram. Demands made upon the political system by the political elites and leadership is with-in inputs. Meanwhile, supports entail the structures that enable the political system to manage demands

put on it, while outputs relate to those demands that are converted into authoritative policies and decisions. Importantly, obtaining a balance among these critical variables of the political system is germane to its capacity to overcome inevitable challenges pose by the various forces from within, as well as the maintenance of stability and survival of the polity. Conversely, the inability of the political system to address critical demands from the Boko Haram, or respond positively to important feedback from its policy outputs have the capacity to undermine support for it. Moreover, intra-elite conflicts regarding policy articulation or allocation of scarce resources, preference for elite's demands and inability of the structures and institutions of the system to manage citizens' demands equitably can engender popular distrust, instability and stresses of the political system (Johari, 2011).

The political leadership is characterized by blatant personalization of power, predatory, parochial, prebendal and patrimonial dispositions (Jega, 2007). These ills no doubt undermine popular participation and the critical role of the masses in setting the agenda of governance. The dominant role of the political elites in setting, shaping and articulating governmental policies at the expense of the general interests of the populace erodes public support in democratic governance and policies as the masses perceive and equate democratic governance with representing the interest of the ruling elites (Olaniyi, 2001). The fact that in most cases the outcome of the elitist imposed policies consists of widespread unemployment, corruption and poverty tend to worsen the peoples' sense of alienation and frustration in the political system, which often translate into disobedience of the state and the resort to violence as a means to challenge the legitimacy of the state. This explains in part the Boko Haram militancy in the North. It is within this context that the worsening social tensions, economic inequality, poverty and increased spate of insecurity in the country since Jonathan's administration.

American sociologist Robert K. Merton was among the first (if not the first) to use the concept of relative deprivation in order to understand social deviance, using French sociologist Emile Durkheim's concept of anomie as a starting point. Relative deprivation is the lack of resources to sustain the activities, institutions and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to, or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong.

Social scientists, particularly political scientists and sociologists, have cited 'relative deprivation' (especially temporal relative deprivation) as a potential cause of social movements and deviance, leading in extreme insecurity situations which hinders development such as political violence, rioting, terrorism, civil wars and other instances of social deviance such as crime.

Relative deprivation is the experience of being deprived of something to which one believes to be entitled. It refers to the discontent people feel when they compare their positions to others and realize that they have less of what they believe themselves to be entitled than those around them (Davis, 2011). The theory was propounded and developed by John Dollard and his research associates initially developed in 1939 and has been expanded and modified by school like Leonard Berlowitz (1962) and Audrey Yales (1962). The theory properly created the analogy used within this research to explain the dynamics in Boko Haram terrorism.

According to John Dollard (1939), he explained that it seems to be that most common explanation for violent behaviour stemmed from inability to fulfil needs. In attempts to explain aggression, scholars' points to the difference between what people feel they want or deserve to what they actually get (teocrabends 1969) and difference between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction (Davies, 1960). When expectation does not meet attainment the tendency is for people to confront those hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions.

Therefore, frustration aggression provides that aggression is not just undertaking as a natural reaction or instinct as realist and biological theorist assumes but that is the outcome of frustration and that is in a situation where the desire of an individual is denied either directly or by the indirectly consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirect related to them (Akwen, 2011). As described by John Dollard, that most common explanation for violence behaviour is instability to fulfil needs. According to Bishop Mathew Hassan Kukah, Boko Haram terrorism is a product of bad government and corruption and therefore, fuelled by politics (Mayor, 2011). In Nigeria, approximately 76 percent of northerners are on less than one dollar per day. Schools are un-financed and the standard of education is so poor that graduates are often unfit for employment. The worst of it all is the Nigerian government poor responses to the northern desire on economic and security conditions which has fuelled resentment, making many young men vulnerable to Boko Haram recruiters. People in the north are significantly marginalized and are not provided the same economic opportunities and benefits that the rest of the country enjoys (Ibid). The founder and also the leader of the group, Mohammad Yusuf, argued that Western education or Boko had brought nothing but poverty and suffering to the region and was therefore, forbidden or Haram in Islam (Reutrs, 2012). Apart from Nigeria government being corrupt in the year 1999, the police claimed down on Boko Haram members who were ignoring a law requiring motorcyclist to wear helmets. That sparked a furious back lash. Police stations and government offices in Borno state were burned to ground hundreds of citizens released in prison break, innocent citizens died on bomb explosion, public and private properties destroyed etc. as the violence spread across northern Nigeria.

Some scholars of social movements explain their rise by citing grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as 'values' to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behaviour when their means do not match their goals. Relative deprivation theory holds that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare leads men to violence (Claire, 2011). Claire went further to provide a psychological approach to explain how collective discontent is manifested in violence. According to him, the primary source of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration aggression mechanism. The anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities. In the words of Omer Taspinar (2012), Relative deprivation is the gap between high expectations and missing opportunities. To him, social, cultural, political and economic awareness grows at the heart of relative deprivation and this in turn fuels expectations. When these expectations are not forthcoming, the deprived could resort to violence to seek redress. All the views expressed boils down to the major thrust of the relative deprivation theory which holds that 'when people are deprived of things which they deem valuable in the society whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the aim of redressing their grievances'.

When applied to the Boko Haram insurgence in the north, we submit that the loss of a spiritual leader in the person of Mohammed Yusuf deprived the sect members of a role model, source of inspiration and a spiritual guide whom the sect boldly needed at the formative stage to nurture and grow the new faith. The arrest and subsequent death of some sect members in the hands of security agents was to the group, a deprivation of the right to life of their loved ones and brotherly love and affection which those deceased provided while they were still alive.

Furthermore, the refusal of the Federal government to fully abolish western education and allow for an Islamic model was to the sect, a deprivation of the right to home grown model of education which will conform to the custom and tradition of the Islamic faith.

Methodology

In conducting this research, certain methods and procedures was adopted. This research adopted descriptive survey design. This design facility is the collection of data from large samples. A research design is a plan or blue print which specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analysed. It provides the procedural outline for the conduct of a given investigation.

Study area

Adamawa state is a state in the North-Eastern Nigeria, with its state capital at Yola North. It was created on the 27th August 1991, by the then Federal Military Government under General Ibrahim Babangida out of the former Gongola state with Yola as its capital (Misa 2015).

The state derived its Name from Modibbo Adama, a Fulani leader who led the 19th Century Jihad in upper Benue Region. Modibbo Adama the son of Ardo Hassan, was born at Wuro chekke in Borno state around 1770. During the Islamic Jihad movement led by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in the 19th Century, Modibbo Adama was recognized as a learned Moslem who could lead the crusade in the upper Benue area. He thus became a flag-bearer under-taking successive conquests to establish the Kingdom of “Fombina,” referred to as Adamawa ruling family with the palace of the Lamido, a first class chief, in the heart of the town. The Lamido is the Chairman of the Adamawa Emirate Council, (Misa 2015).

The state is located in the northeast of Nigeria and share lands border with Borno state in the north, Gombe state in the west, Taraba state in the south and the Republic of Cameroun in the east. Until 1991, Adamawa and Taraba states constituted Gongola state, which was created in 1976 by splitting them into three northeast ie Bauchi, Borno and Gongola states. The major towns in Adamawa are Yola, Mubi, Numan, Ganye and Michika. (Bello 2013).

The state has a total land mass of 421,395 sq. kilometres and population of 4,902,100 (2022 Projection). The state has deposit of minerals such as Iron, Lead, Zinc, Limestone etc. it also grows crops like Maize, Rice, Millet, Sugarcane, Cotton, Groundnut, Arabica, Guinea corn, Tea and Kola nuts are all successfully grown in the state.

Adamawa state is well noted for a rich cultural heritage which is reflected in its past history, Craftsmanship, Music and Dances, Dress pattern and hospitality. Farming and rearing Animals are the common occupations among the inhabitants.

Methods of data collection

The method of data collection used in this research study is both primary and secondary sources of data. For the primary data, the source of data used is questionnaire. Close-ended questions was used. The close ended questions helped the researcher to ensure a level of restriction bearing in mind the major focus of the study. For the secondary data, information from magazines, Journals, Newspapers, textbooks, internet materials which are relevant to the study were sourced.

Population and Sample size

The population of this study is the entire residents of Adamawa State using one Local Government each from the three Senatorial Zones of the state to represent other local governments. Mubi-North Local Government Area from the Northern Senatorial Zone with population of 233,600 (2022 projection), Yola-North Local Government Area from Central Senatorial Zone with population of 307,900 (2022 projection) and Numan Local Government Area from Southern Senatorial Zone with population of 141,200 (2022 projection), making a total of 682,700 residents as population. The sample size was determined using Taro Yammane sampling technique with 0.05 as margin error to arrive at the sample size used which is 401 residents. The Sampling technique used in selecting the sample size is the simple random sampling technique. This gave the respondents equal chance to be handpicked from the population.

Instrumentation/ Administration of Instruments

Owing to the area covered by the study, questionnaire was designed and used for data collection. The questionnaires were administered to the respondents by the researcher himself with the help of the other two research assistants. One hundred and thirty-four (134) questionnaires were distributed in Mubi-North Local Government, one hundred and thirty-four (134) in Yola-North, one hundred and thirty-three (133) in Numan Local Government.

Rate of return

Out of the 401 questionnaires administered to the respondents, 349 were retrieved and used for analysis. This represents 87% of the questionnaires distributed.

Method of data analysis

In this study, data was analysed quantitatively through the use of tables and percentages as well as use of Chi-Squire to test the hypotheses.

Test of Hypothesis

The chi – square is used to examine whether the researcher hypothesis is accepted or rejected. It is imperative therefore, to test the hypothesis in order to know which one to accept or reject.

The three hypothesis formulated where tested with the three research questions to know whether there is no significant relationship between terrorism and socio-economic development and presented below:

Frequency observed

Response	Q1	Q2	Q3	Total
Agree	40	84	122	246
Strongly agree	361	277	279	917
Disagree	0	40	0	40
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0
Total	401	401	401	1203

Source: field survey, 2024

The data above represent responses of the respondents generated from question 1, 2 and 3 on the administered questionnaire. Which has to do with whether terrorism has no significant impact on socio economic development of Adamawa state?

Frequency expected

Response	Q5	Q6	Q9	Total
Agree	82	82	82	246
Strongly agree	305.7	305.7	305.7	917
Disagree	13.3	13.3	13.3	40
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0
Total	401	401	401	1,203

Source: field survey, 2024

The calculated frequency expected (Fe) in the table above, is calculated using the formula below:

$$Fe = \sum \frac{fo}{n}$$

Therefore to calculate the chi – square (x^2) for both frequency, the chi-square (x^2) formula is used.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(fo-fe)^2}{fe}$$

Where;

X^2 = Chi-square value

Fo = Observed frequency

Fe = Expected frequency

\sum = Summation

fo	fe	$(fo - fe)$	$(fo - fe)^2$	$\frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$
40	82	-42	1,764	21.5
84	82	2	4	0.05
122	82	40	1,600	19.5
361	305.7	55.3	3,058.1	10.0
277	305.7	-28.7	823.7	2.7
279	305.7	-26.7	712.9	2.3
0	13.3	-13.3	176.9	13.3
40	13.3	26.7	712.9	53.6
0	13.3	-13.3	176.9	13.3
0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0
				$x^2=95.2$

To find the chi-square (x^2) critical value, we find the degree of freedom (df) first as;
 $df = (R-1) (C-1)$

Where:

r = number of rows

c = number of columns

= (3-1) (4-1)

= (2) (3)

= 6

Critical value at 0.05 level of significance is 12.59

The chi square rule states that, when the calculated chi-square value is greater than the critical table value, the alternate hypothesis (Hi) will be accepted and the null hypothesis (Ho) rejected. However, when the critical table value is greater than the calculated chi-square value, the alternate hypothesis (Hi) will be rejected while the null hypothesis (Ho) will be accepted.

Therefore, the computed chi-square value (χ^2) is 95.2 and the critical value at 0.05 level of significance is 12.59. The rule therefore implies that we reject the null hypotheses (Ho) which state that there is no significant relationship between terrorism and socio-economic development of Adamawa state and accept our alternate hypothesis (Hi) which state that, there is significant relationship between terrorism and socio-economic development of Adamawa state.

Research Findings

From the views of the respondents on the impact of the insurgence on the economy, social and political underdevelopment of Adamawa state, the northern region and Nigeria at large. The insurgence affects the economy activities of Nigeria negatively. The respondents strongly agree and agree that Boko Haram activities hinder economic activities and growth and Federal government spend huge amount of fund on security and this have made significant impact in fighting the insurgence. In addition, the respondents believe that the activities of Boko Haram have crippled the commercial activities in Adamawa state and the Northern part of Nigeria. However, the respondents strongly disagree that the demand for equal distribution of resources has contributed to the growth of Boko Haram activities.

Majority of the respondents on the impact of insurgency on the social activities in Nigeria. The results indicate that higher percentage of frequency of the respondents strongly agree and agree that Boko Haram emerged as a result of poverty in the Northern part of Nigeria. The respondents claimed that Boko Haram has ethno-religion motive, Illiteracy contributed to the emergence of Boko Haram, youth unemployment contribute to insurgence in Nigeria and religious leaders has greater role to play in fighting Boko Haram by providing adviser role and preaching against violate activities of the sect.

Although, the respondents strongly disagree that Boko Haram has a particular group and religious as their target. Initially, people see it as a target to a sect of religious group such as the Christian however, when Boko Haram started to lunch attack on both Muslim and Christian people now see it as not a target to a religion group.

Majority of the respondents also strongly agree and agree that major source of finance for Boko Haram is external, political elites in the North are behind the Boko Haram activities, Boko Haram is a fallout of Bad governance, and dialogue and amnesty is the best approach to end Boko Haram in Nigeria. However, the respondents strongly agree on the statements that Federal government has done much to curtail the activities of Boko Haram and that security agencies are well mobilized and motivated to curtail insurgency in Northern part of Nigeria.

This may be due to lack of willingness on the parts of the governance by politicking the security situation in the Northern parts of Nigeria.

Conclusion

Based on this research findings, there are evidences that the Boko Haram Insurgences have a negative effect on the Economic, Social, Political and Security of the people of Adamawa state and Nigeria as a whole. Terrorism has become a central issue affecting Nigeria. Terrorism as a whole is contextual; it does not arise out of a vacuum. Certain grievances make the environment suitable for it to emerge. Political, economic, social and ideological factors promote the development of terrorist groups. Boko Haram can be seen as a product of the prevailing economic conditions within the Nigerian state. The statistical result of this study lends credence to poverty as the thesis of terrorism. The possible explanation as to why Boko Haram emerged in the particular region is because the group was able to exploit the frustration of their people and the economic conditions in which they live and translate it to an enviable force to terrorise the state.

Boko Haram is a product of large scale socio-economic and religious insecurity, its ideology perfectly fits into historical narratives and modern grievances. Religious manipulation, poverty and political discontent are factors that breed terrorism. This study has so far looked at the relationship between poor economic conditions measured by unemployment rate, poverty, GDP per capita, inflation and literacy rate with terrorism. The study has found out that inflation, unemployment and GDP per capita are co-integrated with terrorism in Nigeria. Unemployment and inflation have a positive relationship while GDP per capita shows a negative relationship.

Recommendations

Considering the level of security consciousness in this country, one may be constrained to state that Nigeria is not yet ready to tackle the issue of Boko Haram menace in the north. It is pertinent to remind the Federal Government of Nigeria that after 9/11 disaster in the United States and July 7 bombings in London, all important public facilities have been well guarded with modern technological gadgets capable of detecting and preventing bomb blasts. It is not out of place if Nigeria should borrow a leaf from these advanced countries by ensuring that all the various security agencies are put on red alert and ensure that all sensitive public facilities are properly guarded with modern technological gadgets capable of detecting and preventing bomb blasts. In addition, the multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria is regarded as one of the major challenges facing the security situation of the country. This condition has obviously generated a lot of primordial feelings and sentiments among the Nigerian populace. Every Nigerian should know that this country belongs to all of us and each person has a responsibility not just the security agents. In this respect, Nigerians should not fold their hands indefinitely waiting for the government to tackle the incessant bombings and gun attacks alone; thus, the public provides reliable information on the whereabouts of the sect's members who are residing in the midst of the people. Furthermore, the Federal government should provide an enabling environment and adequate tools to well-trained security agents to perform their duties.

A purely state-centric approach is insufficient for combating non-state security threats like religious terrorist groups. What is needed instead is the kind of intelligence-led policing that builds trust between citizens and a government that is perceived as legitimate, just, and effectively moving the country towards a better future.

Another alternative policy recommendation, which could combat Boko Haram and secure Nigeria's economic future is, Nigeria should continue to grow economically. The long term solution for Nigeria lies in the diversification of its economic ventures to quell its dependence upon its oil reserves. Nigeria should focus on its agricultural exports of palm oil, cocoa, tobacco, rice, and coffee, especially considering that approximately 39 percent of Nigerians live off the land as subsistence farmers. This would increase the overall competitiveness of the country in the international market, and make economic growth less susceptible to terrorist activities.

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