

## **Impact of Terrorism on Nigerian Development: The Socio-Economic Implications**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The study examines the impact of terrorism on development in Nigeria and its socio-economic implications with a view to suggesting possible remedies to the menace. The central focus is on terrorism being perpetuated by Boko-Haram insurgents. The paper asserts that the problems militating against Nigerian development process has been compounded by home-bred terrorism because development and insecurity are anti-thetical, thus, the trajectory of development in the nation is being stifled and truncated by intractable terrorist activities. The paper utilizes secondary data sourced mainly from journals both national and international, useful textbooks, government official gazettes among others to accomplish the onerous task. The paper was analyzed from the theoretical platform of Marxist theoretical paradigm because it captures the socio-economic conditions that gave rise to terrorism, the class of people likely to be used for terrorism and how the elites take advantage of insecurity to drain the resources meant for development for their personal aggrandizement at the detriment of the society. The causes of terrorism as posited in this paper include: corruption, rising poverty level in Nigeria, unemployment, porous border, social injustice, among others. The paper concludes that terrorism impacts negatively on development indices in Nigeria hence a call for re-strategisation in the onslaught against terrorist activities. The study recommends good governance, border control and youth empowerment as remedies to mitigate the activities of terrorist act in Nigeria.*



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### **Introduction**

To maintain that Nigeria is in serious need of development or industrialization is an understatement. The quest for development has continued since the attainment of political independence but with hope of realizing the goal seems increasingly elusive in the face of

pervasive corruption, crippling security challenges and conspicuous failure of governance at all levels of political leadership. In the scramble for development, successive administrations in Nigeria have initiated and implemented policies, programmes and projects that are meant to position the country on the track of not only development but with envisaged sustainability, however, this lofty national target has also proved to be nothing but utopian. Even partnerships with advanced countries such as Germany, U.S.A, Japan, China, and United Kingdom etc have been forged but yet development in Nigeria appears distant from realization. Not even the intervention by imperialist bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank (WB) has ameliorated the debacle (Cambel, 2011; Oyenyi, 2011).

While this regrettable scenario is sometimes traced to the unequal relationship that existed and still existing between Nigeria and the industrialized world, particularly the west, our myriad of internal problems should not also be completely left out. Bad governance, corruption, bad management practices, systemic mediocrity, nepotism and policies inconsistencies among others have further compounded Nigeria's apparent failure to make industrialization of the economy a reality and domestic economic policies meant to transform the nation into a phase of prosperity have equally failed as well (Gandu, 2009; Ekanem, 2016).

The emergence of terrorism in the north east geo-political entity and some isolated terrorist acts in other parts of the country is another debilitating blow on Nigeria's search for economic growth and development. Terrorism is characterized by wanton destruction of government installations, private wealth and lots of human lives. An atmosphere of insecurity is created that stifles economic activities, investment and research. There is no doubt that Nigeria's fledging economy is adversely effected by terrorist acts. Billions of naira that will have been channeled for other purposes is being used to contain the activities of terrorists. This paper attempts to bring to the fore the socio-economic impact and implications of terrorism on Nigeria's search for development and for the purpose of presentational simplicity, the paper is organized under the following sub-headings: methodology, literature review/conceptual debate of key concepts and causes of terrorism, dimensions of terrorism, theoretical explanation for the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria, concept of development and the impact and socio-economic impact of terrorism on development, conclusion and recommendations.

### **Research Methodology**

The paper utilizes secondary data sourced mainly from journals both national and international, useful textbooks, government official gazettes among others to accomplish the onerous task. The paper was analyzed from the theoretical platform of Marxist theoretical paradigm because it captures the socio-economic conditions that gave rise to terrorism, the class of people likely to be used for terrorism and how the elites take advantage of insecurity to drain the resources meant for development for their personal aggrandizement at the detriment of the society.

## **Literature Reviews/Conceptual Debate of Key Concepts**

The conceptualization of terrorism is immersed in deep controversies just like many other social concepts. Vested interests and variation in ideology has definitely lent more credence to the differences in having a consensual understanding of acts that should be considered as terrorist in nature. The saying that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" underscores the controversies associated in activities that are considered to constitute terrorism. For instance, the recent terrorist label on Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) came with applause and protest from divergent social groups and entities. Human rights activists equally hammered the government on its decision, insisting that labels are preposterous and manifestations of democratic intolerance (Njoku, 2011).

In Nigeria, terrorism is defined in the Terrorism Prevention Act, (2013) as amended, as a malicious and premeditated act which is intended to destroy public facility such as transport system, information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property; an infrastructure or kidnapping likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss with a view to intimidate a population or unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act.

The African Union on the other hand defined terrorism as any act which is a violation of criminal law of a state and which may endanger the life, physical integrity, freedom of, or cause serious injury or death of a person, number or group of person or causes damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage which is intended to intimidate, coerce any government body, institution or general public to do or abstain from doing any act. This definition is contained in Article 1 of Africa Union's Convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism. The Article went further to spell out that the struggle wage by people in accordance with the tenets of international law for their freedom and self-governance including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation or any ideological leaning shall not be a justifiable defence against acts of terrorism (Oyeniyi, 2010).

Ojukwu (2010) further defined terrorism as a deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for the purpose of achieving a political objective. He also stressed that, oftentimes individuals labeled as terrorists do not or rarely identify themselves as such but instead they use terms that point to their ideological or any other struggle such as jihadists, freedom fighters, separatists etc. On his part, Njoku (2011) perceived terrorism as violent attack by faceless groups, individuals or the state in a bid to propel forward their political, primordial or personal goals. Njoku's definition above considers both the ideal and the real conception of terrorism because it takes cognizance of all groups, individuals and the state and delves into factors that cause terrorism. While Norris (2011) added that the meaning associated with terrorism has varied over the years since the word became popular during the French revolution of 1789 and the regime that followed which was known for its brutal repression. According to him, more than hundred definitions of terrorism exist which are offered by scholars, government, media and the terrorist themselves. Hoffman (2006) on his part defined terrorism as the deliberate creation, use of and exploitation of fear through threat of violence or violence itself in the pursuit of political change.

Egbal Ahmed, (1998) cited in Norris (2011) changed the perspective of this debate by asserting that the terrorist of yesterday may be the hero of today and the hero of yesterday may become the terrorist of today due to changes in interests. But in spite of the unending debates on which human actions and motives constitute terrorism or terrorist act, some commonalities in the definitions have been identified. Most definitions contain element of force or violence, political motivation, engendering fear, employing threat and people as targets. On this note, Ogundiya (2009) stressed that terrorism being seen as criminality is another perceptual impasse of the concept. The difference between terrorism and other forms of crime is that the terrorist makes an open bid for public support. Again, unlike the conventional criminal, the terrorist is not easily deterred by punishment. Mandami (2004) cited in Ogundiya (2009 P. 3) explicated that the need to be heard is not only the objective of terrorists but have “a cause to champion”. The cause of the Niger-delta militants seen as domestic terrorists is for the liberation of Niger-delta enclave from “morass of economic deprivation and/or marginalization and environmental devastating activities of the multi-national oil companies”.

Another understanding of terrorism that evokes debate is that of United States Department that defined terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence against non-combat targets by sub-national or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience”. The dilemma in this conceptualization is that terrorists have assumed a sophisticated dimension in ammunition where terror acts are now directed at both combatants and non-combatants alike for example; Boko-Haram, ISIS, Niger-delta Militants, Al Qaeda etc (Heng, 2002, cited in Ogundiya, 2009 P. 2). Flowing from the various understanding above this paper adopted the Nigerian government’s definition of terrorism as enshrined in the Terrorism Prevention Act (2013) as amended due to its comprehensive nature and besides, personal definitions do not make a difference since it is within the context of the Terrorism Prevention Act that terrorists are fought, prosecuted and punished.

### **Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria**

Various causes of terrorism have been identified by different scholars alike. The causes border on political, economic, social and even psychological factors. For instance, Gandu (2009) asserted that global capitalism promotes corruption and decadence of morality in the economy of developing nations. Though, intervening variables are noted, there is a correlation between poverty and terrorism. Poverty breeds hopelessness, frustration and tendency for terror (Lia, 2005, Crenshaw, 1990 cited in Gandu, 2009). To support the claim above, one time President of the World Bank once asserted thus: “one of the causes of terrorism is poverty in the sense that it creates an environment in which terrorism can flourish” (Wolfensohn, 2013 P. 1 cited in Gandu, 2009). Gandu (2009) also sees the media coverage accorded to terrorism/terrorists act as one of its causative factors because terrorists’ desire publicity and the media help in this course.

Furthermore, the rising rate of unemployment, zero opportunities for advancement and progress for a large population like Nigeria tends to easily give Boko-Haram the growing and substantial support they enjoyed from the beginning. The weaknesses of the police, their bad perception by the members of the general public are also some of the factors that triggered terrorism in Nigeria.

In addition, the rampant corruption in the system which makes the oil wealth to benefit only a few led to the masses producing Boko-Haram as channel to express their anger on society (Pillay, 2011). The employment of terrorist acts by the political class to wrestle their political opponents, which has gain relevance and popularity in the political market, is equally one of the reasons behind terrorists act in African most populous nation - Nigeria. The escalating cases of terrorism in the country cannot therefore be unrelated to frustration and hopelessness occasioned by the high rate of unemployment (Ojukwu, 2011).

Pushing this discussion further, Oyeniyi (2010) disclosed that the economic recession of the 1980s, cascading commodity prices and the anti-people economic policies such as economic liberation, deregulation, currency devaluation, civil conflicts, and trade barriers were identified as some of the historical causes of terrorism in Nigeria. He further stressed that stifling of opposition, institutionalized favouritism in appointments into government and the allocation of developmental projects during the military administration of Ibrahim Babagida also sows the seed of terrorism/terrorist acts in Nigeria. On this narrative, Ogundiya (2009) also contends that, domestic terrorism in Niger Delta is caused by environmental devastation such as the indiscriminate annihilation of aquatic life by explosives employed while conducting seismic surveys, pollution of land and water, oil spillage which has combine to render the region inhospitable and also obstruct human development.

From a broader view, globalization can also facilitate terrorism/terrorist act. From all available evidence, the effects of globalization have widened the gap between developed and poor countries in the last 20 years and this lopsidedness in prosperity has fueled animosities and violence in the third world or developing countries against the western countries who are the pioneers of globalization (Rourke, 2005). The United States is leading other western countries in a coordinated political, economic and social exploitation of the third world or developing countries and this result in aggression has dovetail to terrorism/terrorist activities around the globe.

In addition, the disarticulation of the economy of the third world countries facilitated by Bretton wood institutions such as: world Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO) controlled by advanced capitalist states have given rise to endemic poverty among citizens of third world nations; the Structural Adjust Programme (SAP) further leaves the people in excruciating poverty, thus leading to expression of hatred towards the government of third world nation states who are seen as puppets of the western countries. It is this hatred that results to violent attacks on government institutions. The Boko Haram followers out of misery and joblessness shred their college certificates and destroyed the institutions of government they see as being behind their plight. (Rourke, 2005, Martin cited in Ojukwu, 2011, Gandu, 2009). On the other hand, Njoku (2011); Adeniran (1996) cited in Ojukwu (2010) asserted that an individual terrorist can be motivated by reasons personal to him or her such as unfair dismissal from work, death of loved ones, frustration, unstable homes and depression. He further divulged that terrorism is also facilitated by colonial experience, the colonialists on their part instilled an atmosphere of tension and terror in apparent attempt to crush violent attacks by the natives. Religious intolerance, fanaticism, political frustration and asymmetrical allocation

and distribution of public wealth have also been emphasized as the causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

### ***Dimensions of Terrorism***

Terrorism takes various forms, but in whatever form that terrorism occurs, its effects in society are not only injurious but entrench economic stagnation and retrogression (<http://www.terrorism-research.incidents/>). The various forms are highlighted below:

1. *Bombings*: Bombings are the most frequent terrorist atrocities, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), grenades are freely used by Boko-Haram and other terrorist groups to cause enormous disaster to human lives, valuables and communication installations pipelines and public buildings in Nigeria. Typically IEDs are cheap to produce and sometimes difficult to detect. In addition to maximum damage it can cause, terrorists find bombings very attractive to instill fear in the masses to realize their objectives. In Abuja site light towns like Nyanya, Kuje, and its Metropolis locations such as United Nations (UN) headquarters, police headquarters among others have been targets of bombings by Boko-Haram. Bombings by Boko-Haram in Nigeria have since assumed a suicide dimension.
2. *Armed Attacks and Assassinations*: Armed attacks and assassination constitute another means of terrorist attack. These include raids, ambushes and selective elimination of victims. The Boko-Haram elements are especially notorious in carrying-out detailed and coordinated assassinations of notable personalities in Borno state. For example, Modu Fannami Gubio, the then All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) flag bearer in 2011 general election in Borno State was assassinated in January, 2011 by members of the Boko-Haram sect. Several other killings have been carried out by the evil sect.
3. *Kidnappings and Hostage - Taking*: To establish bargaining position and gain publicity, terrorists also considers kidnappings and hostage - taking as one of their tactics. They use kidnappings and hostage-taking to earn money, release of jailed comrades and media publicity, the kidnapping of 276 female students in Chibok, Borno State in April, 2014 explains it all. Several men, women and children have also been kidnapped by Boko-Haram with some being used as sex slaves, suicide bombers and fighters. The militants in the Niger-Delta have also used kidnapping of expatriate's oil workers to earn money and drive home their demands.
4. *Arson and Fire Bombings*: In compelling the government to dance to their direction, terrorist gangs also uses arson and fire bombings as one of their strategies. This also cause enormous damage to lives and property
5. *Use of Chemical and Allied Weapons*: Terrorist also uses chemical/nuclear/biological/radiological weapons to keep members of society in perpetual fear in order to coerce the government to meet their most ignoble objectives. However, the terrorist formations in Nigeria are yet to assume this form of sophistication.

### ***Development***

Development as a concept is a victim of definitional debate just like terrorism. The theoretical vantage, the interest and experience of an individual scholar determine his/her perception of development. From this assertion, Adeyanju (2008) aptly captures this debate by submitting that; one conclusion that has not been reached is on a holistic and acceptable definition of development. There are divergent definitions and understandings of the concept just as is the case for many other concepts in the various disciplines that make up the humanities. However, Gboyega (2003) cited in Oluwatoyin (2011) conceived of development as an idea that conveys all attempts to ameliorate the conditions of human life in all ramifications. It implies betterment in material existence of all citizens and not the privilege powerful alone. He also stressed that development is sustainable and eliminate or significantly reduce poverty and inequality to things that contribute to comfortable living. Development seeks to enhance personal security and expansion of life opportunities. In a similar thought line, Naomi (1995) hinted that development goes beyond economic growth to involve equitable distribution of resources, health care, education, housing and other essential services geared towards the improvement of life of the individual and collective quality of life.

Flowing from these understandings above, Igbuzor (2009) and Alubo (2012) also argued that development must mean “progress of some kind.” Such progress entails comparison between two periods and not infrequently as well as between different countries. Development can further be understood as an all-embracing set of activities and processes, deliberately planned, to yield positive change in a system like Nigeria. From the understanding of Seers (1969) cited in Thomas (2010) and Alubo (2011), definition of the concept of development posed as questions provide a clearer understanding and means through which development can be clearly measured and identified. Those pertinent questions are: What is happening or has happened to social inequality? What is happening or has happened to unemployment? What is happening or has happened to poverty? What is happening or have happened to illiteracy? These questions posed as definition and indicators to measuring and identifying development can further be extended to food security, housing, health and transportation and so on. When all these indicators are on the increase or increasing, inference cannot be drawn that, development has taken place even if there is visible growth; but if on the contrary, conclusion or inference can be safely drawn that there is development. Therefore, development is a process that involves the drastic reduction of social problems such as poverty, inequality and unemployment (Umar, 2000).

Building and expanding upon Seer’s understanding of the concept, the UNDP (1990) report cited in the National Human Development (2015) report conceived development as revolving around human; and therefore a process of enlarging people’s choices. In principle, these choices, can be infinite and can change over time. But at all levels of development, the three essential issues are for people to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living. If these essential choices are not available, many other opportunities will remain inaccessible. But development does not end there. Additional choices highly valued by many people range from political, economic and social

freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying personal self-respect and guaranteed human right.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The paper adopted conflict theory for this discourse. This is because the theory explains how the domination and ruthless exploitation of the working class by the bourgeois class pushed the former into all manner of criminalities or illegalities either as a struggle to survive or in protest of the excruciating pains they are being subjected to. The theory also sheds light on how the political and military elites have used the war against insurgency for their self-enrichment, thus leading to the unnecessary prolonging of the war against terrorism and also their complicity with the terrorists. Conflict theory assume that society is characterized primarily by conflict between competing interests, groups such as the rich against the poor, the oppressed against the oppressors and in many cases, the competing interest groups are not equal in power and wealth and as a consequence, the emergence of the dominant group and the subordinate class becomes unavoidable (Idorough, 2002).

Writing in the first half of 19th century, Marx & Engels (1848) cited in Brown (1979 P. 5) maintained that "the mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life", if the economy is one of profit making, everything including crime such as terrorism will be manipulated by the elites in order to enable them make money from it. Not only that, capitalism encourages greed and illicit wealth even at the expense of human life. Marx further clarifies that the capitalist class controls both the legal, political, religion and economic institutions of society and the ruling class uses such advantage for the maximization of self-gain in form of exploitation of the already poor masses.

Chambliss & Seidman, (1971) cited in Alubo (2011) further explicated that all behaviour including criminal behaviour occurs because people act in ways consistent with their social and economic positions. Terrorism is seen as a response to a person's social situation. The reason members of subordinate groups appears in official crime statistics is due to the deprivation of the less privilege class of their means of livelihood which creates unemployment, poverty and aggression and thus motivate them to indulge in terrorist activities. Bonger (1938) accentuated that such exploitation of the subordinate groups is intensive in capitalist system with high incidence of egoism.

Flowing from the understandings above, the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria could be attributed partly to conflict of interest and contradictions embedded in the organizations of the social system. Various interests in Nigeria seek to pursue their goals in a manner that is detrimental to the security and development of the nation, this conflict of interest is worsened by the government control of the legal apparatus which denies justice to the poor and the less privilege. Due to the domination of the political, economic and education super structures, the power is used to advance and consolidate the exploitation and disempowerment of the masses which breeds poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, social inequality, diseases, hopelessness; all critical indicators for measuring development and ultimately terrorism. These evils make the



masses vulnerable to terrorist ideology and impede the development of Nigeria in all ramifications.

The Nigerian nation-state has a long history of corruption that the establishment of anti-graft agencies has not significantly altered. Looting and conspicuous consumption typical of capitalist tendencies is the order of the day and this portends undesirable consequences on the masses. Funds that are meant for education and poverty alleviation are diverted for personal use and the culprit are left scot-free or when eventually call to account and found guilty, they are handed light and ridiculous punitive measures which barely serve as deterrent.. These regrettable scenario results to massive illiteracy and this make the populace vulnerable to indoctrination of antithetical ideology to that of the larger society leading to the emergence of sub-cultural groups who engage in terrorist acts to the detriment of societal advancement or development.

Besides, the elites manipulate any situation including terrorism in Nigeria is geared to making huge profit. It can be said that the escalation of terrorism in Nigeria is due partly to this profiteering interest of the ruling class. Top military and political hierarchies have been accused of connivance with Boko-haram insurgents due to greed. Resources that would be useful to human capital and infrastructural development are purportedly allocated for security but in the end, amassed primitively, siphoned for personal aggrandizement. The shocking revelations on how the former National Security Adviser distributed the funds meant to fight Boko-Haram among his cronies are attestation to this fact.

However, as laudable as the conflict theory is in explaining the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria due to its logical consistency and explanatory power, the theory is not without limitations. The theory has been criticised for laying too much emphasis on economic determinism, Marx – the chief exponent ignored other variables such as religious extremism and environmental factors which also fuel terrorism. As observed in Nigeria, the infiltration of foreign values is one of the factors responsible for terrorism which the theory did not capture well in its theoretical reflection. Again the meaning and motives that people attached to terrorism which precipitate their involvement in the act are ignore as well.

### **Assessing the Impact of Terrorism on Development in Nigeria (The Socio-Economic Implications)**

In assessing the impact of terrorism on development, every definition foregoing shall be taken into consideration. In other words, the issues billed for consideration are concerned with how terrorism has affected poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, life expectancy, and health of Nigerians, social inequality, illiteracy, security and the total welfare of Nigerians. It should be borne in mind that the effects of terrorism on the variables listed above are adjudged in the paper to be harmful to development (hence socio-economic implications) especially, given the theoretical alignment of the discourse.

Terrorism is detrimental to the development of all gamut of the Nigeria nation. To start with the cost of destruction of private, national assets and productivity including the cost of fighting the monster is staggering. The cost of curbing the menace plunges the country deeper into chronic poverty and political destabilization. Economic activities of commoners such as “okada”, petty

road side trading and hawking have been stifled on account of insecurity. Equally, the transport and tourism sectors which are also viable means of revenue generation and foreign exchange for the country have been badly affected. The free flow of business activities and movement of goods from the southern part of the nation to the North is fast becoming history as visit to some of the Northern states is considered dangerous. Terrorism also compounds the population of the unemployed and mass ignorance and all these have negative consequences for development (Halima, 2013).

To maintain that terrorist activities of the Islamic sect, Boko-Haram are destroying the economy of Northern Nigeria is an understatement. The devastating economic consequences of serial and mass killings and indiscriminate bombing in Borno, Yobe, Kano, Zamfara, Katsina, Plateau and so on destroys economic and commercial life, as well as human lives on daily basis leaving the north running in mass to other parts of the country for safety. In Maiduguri the epicenter of terrorists' activities in Nigeria, the incessant bombings and confrontations between Boko-Haram elements and security operatives have no doubt weighed down seriously on commercial engagements of the people. With many people leaving the state in droves, many business ventures are said to have crumbled. In Maiduguri Monday Market (the biggest market in the city) for instance, about half of the 10,000 shops and stalls in the market have been reported to have been abandoned. Southern traders closed their shops and fled for safety.

Regrettably, many booming markets in Yobe, Bauchi have recorded decline in business flow due to the nefarious activities of the dreaded Boko-Haram. The story is the same in Kano which is regarded as the hub of commercial activities in Nigeria which is gradually losing momentum. Already, about 80% of the industries are reported to have folded owing to daunting security challenges (Nigeria Economic Outlook, 2014).

Furthermore, Ifeanyi (2011) reiterated that terrorism in Nigeria has taken a negative toll on economic activities of the people as financial activities have been paralyzed due to the phobia of gathering together. Terrorism dislocates people from their base which therefore leads to disruption or loss of their means of livelihood. Similarly educational institutions and students which are considered as media of spreading western education as seen by Boko-Haram have become targets of bombings and massacre. Several students in Borno and Yobe states have been burnt alive in their sleep at the dead of the night. Those not killed were kidnapped like the fate of Chibok girls, majority of who are hitherto unaccounted for. To this end, many schools in Yobe, Borno and Adamawa states are still under lock and key as no learning can take place in an atmosphere charged with insecurity.

In the same vein, agricultural activities cannot take place in an ambience of insecurity. The land which is a critical factor of production has been taken over by battles between terrorists and security apparatus. Residents of most parts of Borno state and some other North-Eastern states that contribute to food supply in the country remarkably have fled their inhabitants. It is Therefore not a surprise that hunger and malnutrition has taken over the nation (Ifeanyi, 2011). Ekanem (2016) also lamented that, bombs do not only kill soldiers but also civilians, hence terrorism shortens the life span of the people which is detrimental to development.

Isine (2015) is equally worried by the senseless blood flows through bombings, assassinations and frustration. In Abuja alone, not less than 100 people have met their untimely death due to terrorist activities. In North-eastern states, the situation is worse as over 100,000 people have been killed on account of insurgency. Talents and specialists that can contribute meaningfully to the development of the economy are lost. The ruling class also seized the opportunity of the insurgency to embark on a mindless diversion of public funds in the name of fighting terrorism. Revelations of how the former National Security Adviser, Dasuki Sambo misappropriated funds meant to fight insecurity in Nigeria says it all.

Terrorism in Niger-delta is partly responsible for the continuous dwindling of oil revenue in Nigeria. The image of Nigeria in foreign nations is that of a country torn apart by wars and ridiculed with kidnapping of foreigners for ransom to the extent that foreign investors are scared. The closure of some oil wells and frequent bombardment of oil pipelines leads to substantial loss of foreign exchange by the government. Foreign experts in petrochemical industry have since fled the country for fear of being kidnapped and all these ugly incidences have enormous negative impact on development and constitute an impediment on Nigeria's journey to industrialization (Ogundiya, 2009).

Ojukwu (2010) also added that, it is an incontestable fact that Nigeria is committed to many international organizations and treaties that can promote development but regrettably the emergence of terrorism that has now become part of the nation's identity has made the nation to lose its due regard and influence in the international community. Every country is averse to entering into bilateral relations especially in trade with a country considered an abode of terrorists. Inadequate security and uncontrollable terrorism and other criminal acts have led to many companies and industries relocating to other nations instead of more multinational cooperation coming to invest in Nigeria. Nigeria's effort in solving the perennial power debacle may end in futility because the lives of the foreigners with technical know-how are threatened by kidnapers among who are the militants and Boko-Haram. Even, the blowing up of the pipelines that supply gas for the use of electricity by militants threatened Nigeria's remedy to power problem and an economy without a viable power supply will scare investors away.

## **Conclusion**

Terrorism if not check-mated will continue to wreck colossal havoc on the nation and it comes along with unbearable cost to the nation. No nation in the world that is hit by incessant terrorist activities like Nigeria can experienced meaningful development but will rather be a tale of battered economy and social misery which will lead to the collapse of all indices or indicators of development. Terrorism is detrimental to education, family life, social justice and also reduces life expectancy. Similarly terrorism breeds inequality unemployment and chronic poverty, it can also undermines the well-being of people and the advancement of society in any direction. Besides, the power elites use terrorism as a conduct pipe in siphoning, public funds which could be used for other developmental purposes. The much sought development will continue to be elusive to the nation until the evil of terrorism by Boko-haramists is nipped in the bud in order to allow for peaceful economic activities and social life in the nation.

### ***Recommendations***

On the basis of the findings from this study, the following recommendations are imperative for consideration for the war against insurgency to record the desired success:

1. *Good Governance:* This is one of the fundamental steps towards proffering solution to terrorism in Nigeria. Dividends of civil rule need to trickle down to the people and not just in the pockets of select egocentric few at the helm of governance. Corruption and poverty should be fought to make it difficult for people to consider taking to terrorism as a last resort in the face of stark deprivation, hopelessness and frustration.
2. *Youth Empowerment:* The educational, social and economic empowerment of the youths who are used as willing tools for terrorism should be seen as a national priority. Gainful employment and investment opportunities should be provided using Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) and massive industrialization, this will profoundly reduce the army of unemployed who serve as willing tools for perpetuating terrorism even for peanuts. Also, functional and quality education is a critical variable in the battle against terrorism. It is said that with guns, terrorist could not be fought but terrorism could only be fought with education. Though not totally untenable but it is very difficult to indoctrinate and recruit an individual with sound western education into terrorism.
3. *Social Justice:* Social justice should be pursued and entrenched in our social order. Unfair and illegal dismissal especially of security personnel should be given a second thought. Some security personnel who think they were dismissed unlawfully and unjustly have been arrested as terrorists, especially in the North Eastern part of the country. There should be equitable distribution of resources. Communities where resources are tapped should be compensated and provided with infrastructures and amenities essential for decent living.
4. *New Military Strategy:* The counter insurgency operations in the North-Eastern part of the country urgently requires overhaul. The reliance on defensive alone without much commitment to offensive warfare calls for suspicion. It appears the generals are unnecessarily prolonging the war for economic benefits. Nigeria's security personnel should be equipped with modern training, arms and ammunitions that can out-match the sophisticated fire power and operations of the terrorists. Bomb detectors should be made available to them and priority should be given to intelligence gathering. Adequate motivation and remuneration should be provided as well. Entitlements of their comrades who die in the line of duty should be released without delay occasioned by unnecessary bottlenecks and criminal negligence or nonchalance of the concerned authorities.
5. *Border Control:* The porous nature of borders especially in Northern Nigeria makes the war against terrorism cumbersome. Weapons are freely smuggled into the country through those porous borders and the terrorists usually retreat to countries that share borders with Nigeria in the North East such as Chad, Niger and Cameroun. Due to territorial sovereignty and international protocols, the cooperation of those countries is necessary before Nigerian forces can chase the terrorists into bordered nations. Decisive efforts are still needed to get the commitment and cooperation of the military from those countries.

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