



The Effects of Insurgency on Nation Building in Nigeria (2009 – 2014)

UCHE EZENWILE	DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CHUKWUEMEKA ODEMEGWU OJUKWU UNIVERSITY, IGBARIAM
ROSEMARY ANAZODO	DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION NNAMDI AZIKIWE UNIVERSITY, AWKA
CHIDOLUE, DOROTHY NKECHI	DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CHUKWUEMEKA ODEMEGWU OJUKWU UNIVERSITY, IGBARIAM

ABSTRACT

The increasing numbers of people, who loss their lives because of insurgency in Nigeria, pose serious danger to Nation building. This paper x-rayed the relationship between insurgency and nation building in Nigeria between 2009 and 2014. Sadly, the gaps between the North and South, Christians and Muslims increase by the day. Unfortunately, the era of suspicious and lack of trust are back in the country, this unpleasant situation has made many southerners and Christians to leave the war zone in droves. The method of this paper was qualitative and exploratory in nature; descriptive analysis of secondary source gave an insight into the subject matter. This study found out that insurgency had serious effect on the Nation building. It is therefore recommended among others that aside from collective efforts towards the fight against the insurgent activities, there should be an overhaul of Nigerian defence policy.

KEYWORDS

Insurgency, Nation Building, Politicization, Religion.

Introduction

The peace enjoyed by some parts of the world is currently being threatened by insurgencies, which have made many people, particularly those who live in these countries where insurgencies hold sway to live not just a life of fear but a life of misery.

Insurgency literally means an occasion when a group of people attempts to take control of their country by force. Therefore, it is a political movement or effort with a specific aim, and this movement makes use of terrorism, guerilla warfare or conventional warfare to achieve its objective. The primary aim of the insurgent group is to challenge the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory. It came into existence after the 2nd world war and many countries had witnessed their activities, though in different degrees.

In Nigeria, the insurgent group popularly referred to as Boko Haram came into existence when the former Governor of Borno State Senator Sheriff entered into an unhealthy romance with the Jamā'at al-Islāmīyah at Ahlas-Sunnahlid-da'awwal-JihAd otherwise called Yussufaya sect named after its murdered leader Mohammed Yusuf in 2002. During the electioneering campaign, the former governor sought for the assistance of the group towards his political ambition; the group gave their support, but requested him to Islamize Borno State upon winning the election (naijagists.com). After his election, Sheriff's obstinacy towards the Islamization of Borno State irked the group to become anti government. It was in the wake of this unfriendly atmosphere that the police arrested and killed the leader of the group in 2009. This killing indeed turned the Home of Peace to theatre of war, and this war has extended to other parts of the country, particularly the North Eastern States of Yobe and Adamawa.

Since, Boko Haram commenced its ugly activities, it has claimed several lives, broken many limbs, and destroyed properties worth billions of naira. Moreso, it has inflicted terror on public building such as police stations, army barracks, schools, churches and mosques; while over 700 people had been kidnapped including the girls of Government Girls' Secondary

School in Chibok since April, 2014(en.wikipedia.org). More worrisome is the audacity with which these insurgents unleash their terror on Nigerians while the military appears helpless.

These nefarious activities of the Boko Haram have affected the foundation of Nigerian's corporate existence and nation building; which the founding fathers' of the country fought for. The era of suspicion, allegation and counter allegation; religious leaders advise to members to pick up arms and defend their religion, and the unfriendly relationship between the north and south are all back in the country. The implication of this is the mass exodus of Christians and southerners from the war zone to their homestead for peace and shelter; this indeed runs antithetical to the principles of nation building.

The Problem

Insurgency before the advent of Boko Haram was alien to Nigeria. But ever since its inception, the corporate existence of the country is on the threshold of collapse as more than 13,000 Nigerians had lost their lives (Ogunlesi, 2014). Many Christians and people from the southern parts of the country have deserted the war areas for their states, in search of peace. More importantly, the Christians are accusing the Muslims of the constant bombing of their churches and members, while the Moslem leaders advised their members to defend their religion at all cost. Recently, there were multiple bomb blasts in Kano State near the Emir's palace, which left many Moslems who went for prayers death (Monica,2014). Less than 24 hours after the blasts, the city of Shani in Borno State that harbored mainly Christians was equally bombed and over a hundred people lost their lives (Ikeji, 2014).

Furthermore, the destructions of properties especially public buildings, private buildings and markets have affected the socio economic development of these areas. Government activities in the most affected states are at standstill, and monies which would have been used to develop the state are expended on curbing the excesses of the insurgents. The hallmark is the breakdown of socio economic activities and increased poverty in the affected areas.

More significantly, the activities of the insurgent group are politicized as virtually all the institutions in Nigeria have some people who are sympathetic to their course. For instance when the Nyanya park bombings in Abuja occurred in April, 2014, the People's Democratic Party and the All Progressive Congress used it as a political weapon against each other as to who was the main sponsor of Boko Haram. Recently, the National Assembly was sharply divided over the request by the President to extend the state of emergency rule in the three States of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. As the politics rages on, the insurgent group has intensified their killings; improved on their tactics, captured many towns and acquired more sophisticated arms. More oddity is the fact that females have joined the league of suicide bombers, as more than 1.5million Nigerians are internally displaced.

Objective of the Study

This paper therefore seeks to unravel, the factors that are responsible for insurgency in Nigeria and their effects on nation building and socio-economic development in the country. It also tries to examine the impact of politics on the fight against insurgency.

Methodology

The paper adopts qualitative research design to gain insight into the effects of insurgency on nation building in Nigeria. The researchers used descriptive analysis to examine the issues of insurgency and nation building in Nigeria. The paper which is theoretical in nature draws its argument from secondary data which include journal publications, textbook and internet sources. Statistical data were also used where necessary as empirical evidence to present our argument.

To improve on the reliability and validity of the paper, multiple secondary sources were used to minimize risk of error. To realize these objectives and for ease of analysis, the paper is thematically arranged into the following five compartments; the first chronicled introduction, statement of the problem and objectives of the paper. The second section discussed the theoretical framework, the third explored insurgency and nation building, insurgency and socio-economic development and the politics of insurgency. The fourth x-rayed the findings and discussions while the fifth proffered the way forward within the context of the identified problems, and then conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Framework "is a device or scheme for adopting or applying the assumptions, postulations and principles of a theory in the description and analysis of a research problem" (Obasi, 1999). Theoretical framework offers the guide for analysis; it shows the direction of the study and places the work in a vantage point within a research world. In view of this, this study would use conspiracy theory to analyze the effects of insurgency on Nation building in Nigeria.

Conspiracy theory according to Meriam webster is an explanatory proposition that accuses two or more persons, a group or an organization of having caused or covered up through secret planning and deliberate action, an illegal or harmful event or situation.

The first use of conspiracy theory was in 1909 by David Leoa Chandler in his book the Jefferson conspiracies. Ever since then many American and non-American authors have made use of the theory to explain or analyze some social issues. Some of these scholars include; Rebecca Moore, Clare Birchall, John George, Michael Barkun, Jessie Walker etc.

Conspiracy theorists believe that events occur as a result of a secret plot by exceptionally powerful and cunning conspirators to achieve a malevolent end.

Walker (2013) developed five (5) basic kinds of conspiracy theories to include enemy outside, enemy within, enemy above, enemy below and benevolent conspiracies.

The issue of insurgency in Nigeria is shrouded in secrecy. This is because many people in the high places are sympathetic to the course of the Boko Haram sects. Information within the government circles are leaked to this group. Even the military are involved in this conspiracy, as their performance towards the fight against insurgency leave much to be desired. For over two hundred (200) girls to be kidnapped in a place where there is state of emergency is an aberration. More importantly, the politics involved in their release is another pointer to some manipulations. The unending blame game, as well as the politics of the arm purchase; and the docile attitudes of Nigerian neighbours make the choice of this theory relevant.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of Insurgency

Insurgency is the insurrection against an existing government, usually one's own, by a group not recognized as having the status of a belligerent (dictionary.reference.com). More significantly, insurgent is a person who takes part in forcible opposition or armed resistance to an established government or authority (freedictionary.com).

Okoli, (2014) posited that the increasing activities of insurgents in Nigeria have caused humanitarian crisis which has resulted to human casualties, human right abuses, and population displacement and refugee debacle. They went ahead to recommend a strategic paradigm shift from anti-terrorism to counter terrorism. They did not consider the effect of this nefarious act on the Nigeria nation building.

Falana, (2014) argued that insurgency in Nigeria has its legal challenges. He traced the genesis of terrorism in Nigeria to ECOMOG, Yan Kalare and Sara Suka which have links to prominent politicians in the states of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa. Falana brought out vividly the political undertone of Boko Haram and their sponsors. He failed to show us how the political aspect of Boko Hara affects the nation building of the country.

Oganrotifa, (2013) analyzed Boko Haram insurgency from the point of view of class struggle between the ruling class and the ruled. According to him as long as the global capitalist system which creates imbalance and inequality continues to exist, insurgency and terrorism recorded over the world would not abet. True to fact, the analysis of the author cannot be wished away because of the mode of operations of Boko Haram activities. Their prey has been the poor and defenseless masses that are inundated with bombs and other explosive devices.

Ovaga, (2012) posited that the activities of the Boko Haram sect have serious socio economic implications for the North-eastern states. As many businesses, shops, financial institutions and other small scale businesses have closed down.

2.1 Insurgency and Nation Building

Nigeria is a heterogeneous society. It has about three hundred and eighty nine ethnic nationalities. The fact that these nationalities were brought together to form the Nigerian State without their consent, placed the country on a very fragile foundation (Obi, 2006). Nigeria's earliest Nationalists were aware of this unstable foundation, which necessitated their struggle to knit the country as one despite the obvious differences. However, the recent insurgency in the country has re-introduced the spirit of fear and non-belongingness, as those who are not from the Northern part of the country are moving out in droves to their own areas.

Below shows the number of people that lost their lives as a result of insurgency in Nigeria 2009 – 2014

Table 1

Year	Number of People who lost their lives
2009	821 (mostly members of the Boko Haram sects)
2010	154
2011	679
2012	1,996

2013	3,124
2014	9,000
Total	15,774

Source: compiled by the authors

2.2 Implications of insurgency on socio-economic life in the North East Nigeria

The insurgency in the North eastern Nigeria has affected the socio economic life of the zone. Socio economic activities strive in a peaceful atmosphere but the constant attack on the area has left in shambles vis-à-vis social and economic activities.

Below are some of the selected economic activities that were affected:

Table 2

Indicators	Situation
Tourism	Since the insurgency commenced in the country, tourist attraction centres like Argungu fishing festival, the Yankari game reserves, Mambila Plateau, Othman Dan Fodio tomb, the millennium park and other parks in the Northern part of the country have been witnessing low patronages. It is estimated that Nigeria had lost over ₦80 billion on tourism.
Banking sector	Banking activities in the Northern part of the country especially in North east have continued to record low patronage. Even though their budget for the provision of security has continued to increase, this eats deep into their profit. It is estimated that Boko Haram gains from bank robberies are pegged at US \$6 million
Commercial activities	The markets in the North accounts for more than 30% of Nigerian markets. Unfortunately, some of these markets have been attacked, while others face reduction in turnover, reduction in sales force/sales outlets, lay off of production staff by companies and general low patronage. As a result of the low patronage, Nestle Nigeria Plc withdrew 10 of its sales staff from the three affected states within 1 week. Customers from Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Mali that patronize Northern markets no longer come. The manufacturing sector and SMEs are at a standstill.
Humanitarian	The number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria is currently estimated to be about 1.5 million. Some of these people fall within the productivity age. This poses not only humanitarian challenge but also social economic challenge
Oil in Lake Chad basin	In 2012, Nigeria discovered oil deposits in Kukawa area of Borno State, which was estimated at 100 billion cubic metres of deposits beneath the lake and its arid hinterland. This when tapped would definitely improve the economic fortune of the region in particular and Nigeria in general but the activities of the insurgents have hindered its exploration.
Agriculture	The Agricultural activities in the North east Nigeria have plummeted to its lowest ebb. Over 17,000 farmers that cultivate maize, rice, onions, beans soghium have fled the war zone. The prices of livestock products are quite high as few farmers are left in the business due to insurgency.
Budget	Government budget between 2011 and 2014 on national security amounts to about ₦3.1 trillion. This money would have been used for the development of other sectors of Nigerian economy.

Source: compiled by the authors

2.3 The Politicization of Insurgency in Nigeria

Ever since insurgency started in Nigeria, there have been accusation and counter accusations over the real sponsors of Boko Haram activities. Moreso, the two major political parties in Nigeria namely, the Peoples' Democratic Party and All Progressive Congress have accused each other of sponsoring the insurgent activities. Beyond these accusations, the hitherto peaceful atmosphere enjoyed by Nigerians is fast eroding the country, as terrorism has crept into the polity. The Global

Terrorism Index ranked Nigeria 4th most terrorized country; this means that the country lacks peace.

Below is the table:

Table 3
Global Terrorism Index

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE
1	Iraq	10
2	Afghanistan	9.39
3	Pakistan	9.37
4	Nigeria	8.58
5	Syria	8.12
6	India	7.77
7	Somalia	7.41

Source: Global Terrorism Index

3. Findings

The researchers found out the following;

- That the activities of insurgency have negative effects on nation building in Nigeria.
- That the socio-economic development of the North eastern part of the country reduced drastically due to insurgency.
- That non-victory over insurgency is largely because of its politicization.

4. Discussions

4.1 Insurgency and Nation Building

Nigeria is a country made up of three hundred and eighty nine ethnic nationalities. The colonial masters brought these ethnic groups together because of administrative purpose and economic interest. After independence, the foremost Nationalists began the process of nation-building, with a view to integrating the country into one indivisible entity. Nation building is the desire and effort to achieve unity among the multiethnic groups that make up a state (Obasi, 2001). Unfortunately, these initial efforts of the Nationalists are being threatened by insurgency. Since it reared its ugly head in 2009, insurgency has claimed over twelve thousand lives with more than 8,000 persons injured or maimed and not to mention the displacement of thousands of innocent Nigerians (Ogunlesi, 2014). Significantly, more than 500 women and children had been kidnapped including the 276 school girls from Chibok in April 2014. These killings, kidnapping and un-peaceful atmosphere had made over 650,000 people to flee the conflict zone to their home states (en.wikipedic.org/wiki/Boko-Haram). Again, the insurgent group had captured about 25 towns in the States under attack (Olugbode, 2014). This unpleasant situation had forced many people particularly those from the southern part of the country to desert the areas under siege, while others are part of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (Ayansina, 2014).

Furthermore, the National Youth Service Corp established in 1973 for national integration and nation building is currently under threat because of insurgency. In 2012 for instance, corp members posted to Yobe and Borno States (the insurgent's strongholds) were directed to carry out their orientations in Nasarawa and Benue States respectively (Alechenu, 2012). The parents of these corp members themselves had out rightly rejected posting their children to the northern part of the country, even those posted to some states in the North Central and North West were scared to report to camp because according to them North is North. In a swift reaction, the House of Representatives directed corps headquarters to cancel all posting of corp members to states in the North East which are facing security challenge (Ujah & Ayansina, 2012).

In order to contain, the impact of insurgency on nation building the Federal Government in May 2013 declared State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States (Ndiribe, 2014) however, the emergency rule has not abated the crisis.

In fact, when President Goodluck Jonathan requested for the extension of the emergency rule, some members of the National Assembly rejected it because it failed to solve the problem of Boko Haram.

4.2 Insurgency and Socio economic development

The gruesome killings of many Nigerians in the Northern part of the country have made many people to desert the area in droves; and the implication is complete slowdown of social and economic activities.

The former Commissioner of Information in Borno State Alhaji Tafuwa Bwala in Ezeama(2013), captured the situation succinctly thus,

"It is only natural that when you have such a situation as we have now, it will affect the economic fortunes, especially where people go out to do business under the atmosphere of fear..."

Sadly, every sector of the Northeastern economy is highly devastated by the insurgent's activities. Agriculture, Education, telecommunication, banking industries, insurance sector, tourism, small and medium industries and human capital development have been hindered in no small measures (Ezeama, 2013). For instance the prices of Agricultural crop exports to the rest of Nigeria have increased due to a decrease in output occasioned by fear of attacks on farmers on their way to their farms. Before the insurgent activities, a cowpea wholesaler would transport 600 and 100 kilogram bags of cowpeas to Lagos and Akure respectively each week. During the conflict, that number has dropped to 25 bags per week and transportation cost has increased by 20%. The prices of cowpeas, maize, millet, sorghum and rice have increased from 45% to 130% between 2008 and 2014. Similarly, Fishermen in Baga and Konduga were displaced when their homes and farms were attacked by insurgents. This has reduced the output of these fishermen from 7 to 1.5 cartons per day. (Kimenyi, 2014).

In terms of livestock farming, cows, goats, cattles and birds are quite scarce, and this has affected the prices of these products. The price of cow at Amansea in Awka South L.G.A. of Anambra State now sells for ₦150,000 as against ₦80,000 before the crisis in the North (Ezenwile, 2014)

Furthermore, telecommunication operators have decried the constant damage of their infrastructural facilities which amounted to about ₦8 billion daily. Similarly, claims emanating from the insurance cover of slain security personnel between January and June, 2013 stood at ₦1.5 billion (Abioye, 2014).

Besides, the insurgent activities have resulted into lack of human capital in the affected states. The mass exodus of people from these areas has depleted managerial capabilities of most companies; as qualified people seek for transfer to places that have relative peace (Adeogun, 2014). Economists believed that the four factors of production must be complete before any meaningful production can take place. Thus, the dearth of human capital has further compounded the development of the affected states. In addition, the Governors and other government officials of these states operate from Abuja, and come in once in a very long time, to carry out their constitutional functions.

The tourism sector is equally affected as Nigerians and Foreigners that visit tourist centres like the famous Agungu fish festival, the Yankari game reserve, the Mambila Plateau, Othman Dan Fodio tomb and the palace of the Emir of Kano no longer do that due to fear of Boko Haram. Infact, the former Director General of Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) Otunba Olusegun Runsewe opined that tourist centres in the Northern part of the country used to generate approximately ₦80 billion annually but this is at standstills because of insurgency (Nwokoji, 2012).

Significantly, the budgetary allocation to security and defence for the past 4 years had increased tremendously. The security allocations now rank over and above allocations for Education, Health, Road infrastructure, Power, Agriculture etc. This has resulted to lack of infrastructural facilities which are sacrificed on the altar of insurgency that has defied all solution including state of emergency.

The social life of these areas is at bottom level. This is so, because economic activities propel social activities. Thus, since the former was at its lowest, the latter would naturally slow down.

4.3 The Politics of Insurgency in Nigeria

Boko Haram was a creation of politics, and it is still shrouded in politics. In spite of Federal Government purported state of emergency, huge financial involvement, human and foreign commitments; insurgency in Nigeria has its root within the dynamics of politics (Onyeocha, 2014).

At the primordial level of insurgency in Nigeria, many elders and leaders from the North where the insurgent groups had their root justify the menace, blaming it on the increasing level of poverty in the area and inequitable sharing of the national cake. For them, it was another means of squaring up with President Jonathan and tormenting his presidency (Muzaffar, 2014). Instead of mobilizing their people against the insurgents, they opted to play to the gallery and engage in deriding the President and his party, hurling abuses, politicizing and bulk – passing just to score cheap political point (Suleiman 2014).

The initial targets of the insurgents were police stations, public building, schools and churches. During this period, the Northern elders did not see anything bad in what this group was doing but they recovered their voices when this group made an attempt on the life of the former Emir of Kano late Ado Bayero, killed Shuwa, a civil war veteran in Borno State and started destroying mosques in various parts of the North. At this instance, their position was antagonistic, as they made disparaging statements against the President and the military for incompetence. Surprisingly, they did not utter any statement against the Boko Haram, rather they angled for their amnesty and total pardon. (Soyinka, 2014).

Interestingly, the politics of Boko Haram has infiltrated virtually all the institutions in Nigeria, while some proposed for their annihilation, others have developed serious sympathy to the course of the insurgent group, to the detriment of innocent citizens that fall to the deadly weapons of the terrorists (BBC news Africa, 2014).

President Goodluck Jonathan, at a time accused the Federal Executive Council of harboring people who were sympathetic to the group. His fears were quite understandable as top security secrets found their way in the domain of the insurgent camp. Furthermore, the bombing of the Police Headquarters in Abuja, the bombing of the various military barracks, the attempted cell break at the Directorate of State Security Services Abuja, the United Nation building bombing and the kidnap of over 200 Chibok girls had some element of conspiracy and politics.

More importantly, the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC), the two major political parties in Nigeria, have used the issue of insurgency in the country as a political weapon. At different political fora, the political parties have accused each other of sponsoring Boko Haram. After the Nyanya bombing in April 2014, which claimed well over 75 lives, the APC accused PDP of not doing enough to quench the daily killings in Nigeria. The PDP in a swift reaction accused the APC of sponsoring the Boko Haram activities (Akinkoju, 2014). Similarly, the bomb blast at the assembly ground of Government Comprehensive School, Potiskum, Yobe State in which no fewer than 47 students and three teachers lost their lives formed another platform for political

tigation. This happened few hours before the second term declaration of President Jonathan on the 11th of November, 2014. Again the two political parties accused each other, while the APC accused the President and his party of insensitivity, the PDP accused the APC of carrying out mischievous political propaganda. In a sweet revenge, the Publicity Secretary of PDP remained the APC of the twin bomb in Jos on the 20th of May, 2014 which claimed 118 people yet the APC went ahead with the Mega rally on the 21st of May, 2014 (Eleonu, 2014). All these accusations and counter accusations point to the forthcoming 2015 general election in Nigeria. However, it goes to show the unseriousness attached to a very sensitive matter that is not only claiming lives on daily basis but also rocking the foundation of the country.

At the international level, the immediate neighbours of Nigeria at the Lake Chad Basin are not assisting the country President Idris Derby of Chad is said to be eyeing the oil at the Lake Chad (Ayu,2014), while Cameroon might not have forgotten the struggle of Bakassi Peninsular.

The United States of America, the United Kingdom and China had promised to assist the Nigeria to curb insurgency but their actions towards finding a solution leave much to be desired (Tell, 2014). Recently, the Federal Government had to cancel a training contract between Nigeria and United States of America.

5. Conclusion

Nigeria, for the first time in her history is fighting an asymmetrical war that might take ages to end. Sadly, the war is tearing the foundation of the country, as people from other regions who hitherto lived and enjoyed the convivial atmosphere in the northern part of the country are rushing back to their various states. We therefore conclude;

- That the insurgent activities have affected Nigeria's nation building.
- That the social economic development of the states under the siege of terrorists is at its lowest ebb.
- That the issue of Boko Haram in Nigeria is being shrouded in politics and conspiracy.

5.1 Recommendation

The researchers recommend the following as ways of ensuring that Nigeria wins the war against insurgency.

1. Collective efforts by all Nigerian. The war should not be seen as a war for Federal Government alone, but everybody should join forces to eradicate the insurgency.
2. The defence policy of the Nigeria should be overhauled so as to make the military proactive.
3. The monies voted for the execution of the war should be effectively monitored to avoid possible deviation and sabotage.
4. A new set of Army, police, state security service, non-state actors should be recruited and trained to fight insurgency. Their activities should be monitored by the President or any of his trusted acolytes.
5. Nigeria should not depend on her neighbours for help; rather efforts should be made to block the porous borders. Israel did it against Palestine.
6. Twenty four hours surveillance should be mounted around the borders, through which Boko Haram member sneak in and out.

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