An Appraisal of the Impact of Boko Haram Terrorism on National Security and Development in Nigeria

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Abstract:- **Acts of terrorism in Nigeria have been identified with different terrorist groups, particularly, Boko Haram. This group emerged, developed and carried out several attacks in Nigeria from 2009 till date. During the commencement of hostilities, their targets were mostly restricted to the security officials in addition to civilians, their communities and business establishments. Later, their targets were expanded and nothing was spared. Their activities resulted in huge destruction of lives and property as well as displacement of millions of people. This work appraises the impact of Boko Haram terrorism on national security and national development in Nigeria. Using the doctrinal methodology, this work finds that acts of terrorism perpetrated by Boko Haram have seriously weakened national security and crippled national development advancement in Nigeria. Accordingly, this work recommends strengthening of national security and addressing the ill indicators of development, particularly, education, poverty, unemployment and persistent injustice in the country.**

Keywords:- Boko Haram, Terrorism, National Security, National Development.

I. INTRODUCTION

Boko Haram has been one of the terrorist groups that have wreaked colossal destruction in Nigeria, particularly in the North East Region. The name "Boko Haram" has been shown to mean "Western education is a sin", or "Western education is forbidden" or 'Western civilization is forbidden'.[1] The name is therefore used to identify the Islamic terrorist group that seeks the destruction of the secular Nigerian State and the establishment of the Islamic State of Nigeria. Ideologically, the group, like the Talibans in Afganistan, is opposed to Western education, Western culture and modern science. From the religious point of view, the group represents an Islamic sect made up of people who are committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad.[2] Thus, in line with the goal of the sect, the sect represents a unique Jihadist group committed to the entrenchment of Sharia in Nigeria through violent acts of terrorism.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram has been proscribed as a terrorist group and its activities prohibited and punished under the Terrorism (Prevention and Prohibition Act, 2022 (TPPA) as well as other domestic and international legal instruments on terrorism. The group had been listed as a foreign terrorist organisation by the United States of America, Britain and other countries of the world.[3] By virtue of the Criminal Code, the group is seen as an outlawed or an unlawful society.[4] Notably, the group has been involved in levying war on the people and government of Nigeria; killing and injuring many persons in and outside Nigeria; destroying property; subverting the government of Nigeria and its officials; committing acts of violence and intimidation; carrying out jail breaks and freeing inmates from correctional centres in Nigeria; interfering with, and resisting the administration of the law and disturbing peace and order in Nigeria. By these activities, the group remains a terrorist group known for its colossal acts of destruction of lives and property with notable impact on national security and development advancement of the Nigerian State.

This work is divided into four parts. Part one is the introduction while part two concerns itself with the emergence and development of Boko Haram. Part three deals with the terrorist activities of Boko Haram as they impact on national security while four concerns itself with the terrorist activities of Boko Haram as they impact on national development. Part five accommodates conclusion and recommendation

II. EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BOKO HARAM

Historically, Boko Haram is shown to have been formally founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by a radical Islamic cleric, Mohammad Yusuf, with the Arabic name "*Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati wal jihad"* meaning "People committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and

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[1] Joseph O. Fayeye and Obasanjo S. Balogun, 'The Metamorphosis of Boko Haram to an Islamic Fundamental Sect and the Burden of Insecurity in Northern Nigeria' [2012] 4 *International Journal of Current Research,* 266, 267.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Department of State, '*Foreign Terrorist Organizations*' <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm> accessed 27 November 2018.

[4] CCA s 62(1) (2).

jihad)".[5] The group emerged from some radical Islamic youths who have been worshipping at the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri years before 2002. But in 2002, the offshoot of this youth group declared that the city of Maiduguri and the Islamic establishment were intolerably corrupt and irredeemable.[6] This was because they saw the Islamic culture in Maiduguri, from their extremist Islamic perspectives, to be polluted by Western culture that promoted corruption by politicians and encouraged indecency in the manner of dressing by young girls and women. This consideration inspired the group to embark on *hijra* (a withdrawal along the lines of Prophet Muhammad's withdrawal from Mecca to Medina) and moved from Maiduguri to, Kanama a village in Yobe State, where it sets up a separatist community governed by hard-line Islamic principles. It was from here that the then leader, Mohammed, espoused anti-State ideology and called on other Muslims to join them and return to a life under true Islamic law, with the aim of making a more perfect society away from the corrupt establishment.[7] The group got into a conflict with the Nigeria Police following a dispute in the community over fishing rights in a local pond. In that conflict, the group trounced a squad of police officers and made away with their weapons. The development brought in the Nigerian Army, which led to a siege of the group's mosque by the army that met stiff armed resistance by the group resulting in the death of many members of the group. This incidence increased the group's notoriety within the media in Nigeria and interest from the US Embassy, because of the catchy name, the 'Nigerian Taliban', which the group was also called.

The surviving members of the group, returned to Maiduguri after the confrontation with the army and built a new mosque alongside a school. At this period, the group is shown to have been left alone by government and it extended its activities into neighbouring States, including Bauchi, Yobe, and Niger State.[8] Many people from across Nigeria and other neighbouring countries were enrolled at the school organised alongside the mosque.[9] The group, during this period, operated unperturbed and adopted Arabic as its official language.[10] The group was then determined to ensure that northern Nigeria is liberated from the pollution of western civilisation and what they consider as "true Islam" established. As such, it became a dare-devil group and carved out for itself a State within a State in Maiduguri with "government", its own religious police, its rules, and a large farm. The group attracted more people to it by offering welfare handouts, food, and shelter. Many of the people attracted to the group were refugees from the wars over the border in Chad, the poor and jobless Nigerian youths.

Between 2004 and 2006, the group was identified with a hard line Islamic ideology that received a lot of criticisms by many, including Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmoud Adam. In July 2009, while travelling en masse to the funeral of a fellow member, the group came into conflict with the Police again, this time on issue of restriction on motorcycle helmet. There was exchange of gun fire between the group and the police. The group then attacked police stations in Bauchi and Yobe, killing scores of police officers. Yusuf, the leader, thereafter released several video sermons in which he explicitly threatened the Nigerian State and the Police with violence. They were circulated on DVD and the content gained widespread audience. These events led the Bauchi State government to crack down on the group, arresting more than seven hundred members. Similar government action was taken in Maiduguri against the group. The police surrounded the group's mosque at Maiduguri, but members of the sect managed to break out and for three days there was heavy rampage in the town. They roamed the city acting independently, fighting police when they came across them and killing civilians indiscriminately.[11] With the help of the army, the police eventually regained control of Maiduguri and embarked on a bloody purge of the group's members and anyone suspected of being a supporter or sympathizer of the group. Accordingly, many people were rounded up and executed without trial by the police. The leader then, Mohammed Yusuf, was arrested by the army and handed over to the police, who killed him within hours. Many persons alleged to have been members of Boko Haram were also extra-judicially executed in public, including Buji Foi, a former Commissioner for Religious Affairs in the government of Bornu State. Those members of the group who were not killed or arrested fled from Maiduguri and settled at the region bordering Nigeria with Chad, Niger, and Cameroon, which has no government presence, where the popular Sambisa Forest is located.

The death of Mohammed brought Abubakar Shekau, on borad as a new leader who relocated to a hideout in northern Cameroon and operated to and from Sambisa Forest. Shekau made contacts with other fleeing members of the group, recruited new ones, made use of Niger, Chad and Cameroon border regions and did not attack their people or make any violent incursion into their territory, and planned to avenge the death of their leader and other members. Accordingly, the engaged in many trans-border crimes including arms trafficking. Upon obtaining enough weapons, he then declared war on the Nigerian State. Initially discernible Christians who were civilians were slaughtered, their houses destroyed, their communities razed down together with government institutions. Later they saw other Muslims as being totally "polluted" and were also targeted. From then on, villages were invaded, police stations over-run, mosques captured, churches burnt, military bases attacked, soldiers and civilians killed and property destroyed. They took over communities and towns with little

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[5] Essien Ukpe Ukoyo Ukpe, The Arab Connection and the Upsurge of Insurgency in Africa: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria, (FPSA Conference, Florida, March 2013).

[6] Andrew Walker, 'What is Boko Haram?' United States Institute of Peace, (Special Report 308 June 2012) <http://www.usip.org >accessed 20 July 2016.

[7] Ukpe (n 6) 2.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid 5.

or no resistance. In reprisal attacks, the security forces killed both Boko Haram combatant members and the captives together with innocent civilian suspects. The brutal reaction of the security forces finally brought members of the group to the attention of global jihadist movements and rebel groups based around the Sahel as well as international community. Their violent acts continued unabated and their targets were no longer selected and no race, ethnicity, or religion was considered. The group's weaponry includes bombs, armoured tanks, arms and ammunition of various degrees of lethal capacity and their activities in Nigeria have brought about insecurity, state of emergency, loss of lives and property.[12] Thus, like ISIS in Syria and Iraq, Boko Haram took over large swaths of territory in Nigeria, declared it a caliphate in August, 2014, hoisted their flags and governed it according to strict Islamic rules, with the town of Gwoza as its seat of power.[13] They were mobile and better armed than Nigerian soldiers between 2012 and 2014.[14] They also possessed a well organized network and sought to replace existing states and erase established borders. They undermined state authority and destabilised, not only the Nigerian States, but also the surrounding regions. Their activities, naturally, had multiplier effects on neighbouring states like Cameroon, Niger and Chad as they continued their violent killing spree beyond Nigeria.[15] There was little or no success recorded against the sect until the Nigerian State collaborated with the neighbouring countries after a summit in Cameroon, which led to the formation of a Joint Multi-National Task Force comprising soldiers, particularly, from Chad, Niger and Cameroon. Agreement was also reached that soldiers from these neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon have the right to fight and pursue the group members inside the Nigerian territory and that no safe haven was to be provided for them by the neighbouring countries. Thus, the implementation of the agreement was the beginning of doom for Boko Haram, who started to lose territories hitherto held by them while suffering heavy casualties. Their reaction to the support given to the Nigerian State by Niger, Chad and Cameroon against them was attacks and threats of further attacks by Boko Haram in these countries. This took their terror war across Nigerian soil to Chad, Niger and Cameroon. Even with the changes in governance in Nigeria, the group is still hell bent on pursuing their goals and has recorded the highest number of victim casualties, in addition

to obtaining the position of the second most dangerous terrorist group in the world, next to ISIS.[16] The terrorists' attacks carried out by Boko Haram in Nigeria during the period between 2009 and 2015 were sustained and enduring. Their targets were indiscriminately selected and their attacks were carried out sometimes on daily, weekly and monthly basis.[17] It has been shown that no fewer than 17,000 lives were lost to Boko Haram attack after the early period of its emergence and development in July, 2009 till December, 2015.[18] It has been recorded that between 2009 and 2023 of Boko Haram terrorism: more than 35, 000 people have been killed by Boko Haram; access to education has been seriously impacted with more than 1,500 schools closed and 910 destroyed; I.8 million persons have been internally displaced in the Northern States of Adamawa, Bornu and Yobe and health services disrupted.[19] These have great impacts in Nigeria, particularly on national security and development.

III. TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The terrorism of Boko Haram has impacted greatly on national security in Nigeria and this impact transcends borders.[20] National security entails the prevalence of national and international conditions favourable for the protection of a nation state and its citizens against existing

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[12] Ngozi G. Egbue and others, 'Curbing Boko Haram Terrorist Insurgence in Nigeria: Imperatives of Quadruple Action Package of Limited Military Response, Improved Social Services, Conflict Resolution Initiatives and Modified Pacifism' [2015](20)(1) *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 13.

[13] Timothy Olanrewaju, 'Boko Hram declares Gwoza new Caliphate' The Daily Sun (Lagos, 25 August 2014) 6.

[14] Ibid. This is evidenced in the capturing, occupation of territories in Nigeria and the declaration of Islamic Caliphate in parts of Nigeria.

[15] According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, over 470,000 Nigerians flee to Cameroon, Chad and Niger. 'Over 470,000 Nigerians flee to Cameroon' Daily News watch (Lagos,12 March 2014) 4.

[16] *Global Terrorism Index.* Institute for Economics and Peace <http://www.economicandpeace.org/wp-content/up>accessed 13 May, 2017.

[17] For the chronology of attacks by Boko Haram, between 2009 and 2014, see Chukwuemeka Eze Malachy, 'Boko Haram Insurgency: A Northern Agenda for Regime Change and Islamization in Nigeria' [2013](13)(5) *Global Journal of Human Social Science Political Science,* 220; Ioannis Mantzikos, 'Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria and Neighbouring Countries: A Chronology of Attacks' [2014](8)(6)*Perspectives on Terrorism,* 63Ngozi G. Egbue and others (n24) 13 – 29; J. O. Akinbi, 'Examining the Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the Quest for a Permanent Resolution of the Crisis']2015](3) (8)*Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 32.

[18] A report by Amnesty International, states that 17, 000 people were killed across North-East Nigeria since the start of the conflict in 2009. See 'Nigeria: Horror in numbers' <https://www.amnesty.org>news>2015/06> accessed 20 December 2017; Aljazeera news report, 'At least 20,000 people have been killed in Boko Haram violence since 2009'. <http//www.aljazeera.com>news>2017/09> accessed 20 December 2017; OCHA 'More than 20,000 people have been killed since the beginning of the conflict in 2009' <www.unocha.about-ocha-nigeria > accessed 31 December 2017.

[19] Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 31 May 2023https://www.global2p.org accessed 7 June 2023.

[20] Oluseyi Oluwalambe Apampa and Yinka Olomojobi, 'Curbing Terrorism in Nigeria: An Examination of the Terrorism (Prevention) Act, 2013 as Amended' [2014] (1)(4) *Babcock University Socio-Legal Journal,* 79, 79.

and potential threats.[21] Traditionally, it is the acquisition, deployment and use of military force to achieve national goals.[22] However, in the contemporary political and scholarly discourse, it cuts across many disciplines covering military protection, surveillance, protection of national values and human rights. Ogbonnaya and Kizito, citing Romm, maintain that a nation is said to be secured when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.[23] Therefore national security could be seen as the absence of threats to acquired values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. It is the ability of a nation to preserve its internal values from either internal and external threats or aggression. In general terms, the concern of national security has been associated with the protection of States and their citizens from threats and dangers and the ability to preserve core values of the State.[24] In Nigeria's context, national security is concerned with protecting the lives and property of Nigerians, preserving her sovereignty, territoriality and its economy, and enhancing socio-cultural and political harmony.[25] It is a measure put in by government to ensure the survival and safety of the nation state, including but not limited to, the exercise of diplomatic and military power in both peace and war times.[26] It involves all measures taken by a nation to safeguard, protect and promote her vital national interests and values from real or potential threats.[27] It is a condition whereby a nation is free from internal or external fear or threat to its peace, stability and progress.

Before now, it was assumed, within the national security calculus, that only a strong military of a nation can effectively deter attacks and threats of force.[28] In recent times, non-military variables are incorporated into national security calculus. Thus, the concept of national security is now applied to include **economic security, food security, social security, environmental security, the quality of life security and technological security. National security of any nation, as a matter of necessity, goes beyond mere amassment of military/police armaments, personnel and equipment to include the satisfaction of human needs. Security is indeed variously classified - political security, the freedom from domination; economic and social security, the freedom from poverty and want; cultural security, the freedom from ethnic and religious domination; and environmental security, the freedom from environmental destruction, degradation, and resource scarcit**y.[29] Mohammed Bello, citing McNamara, has maintained that any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of production and per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public services and chronic unemployment, has a false sense of security.[30] This is so because with enduring terrorism, there can be no development and without development, there can be no security.[31]

National security challenges, which arise from acts of terrorism of Boko Haram, cut across all States in Nigeria particularly those ones in the Northern Region and the impact is felt at all levels of endeavours. As such where national security fails, the spiral effects manifest themselves in many ways, which include: political corruption, where people occupy political positions by buying their way in monetary terms or through the goodwill of political godfathers who act in impunity; economic greed, where people in positions of authority use the positions to unlawfully amass wealth, without limitations or checks; illiteracy and ignorance, where people cannot go to school because there are no schools or where there are schools but no secured environment for school activities to continue without being shut down; ethnic and religious insensitivity and conflicts, where people are killed in terms of ethnic or religious affiliations without serious mechanism of prevention; disregard of rules and regulations, where there is breakdown of law and order and the State is unable to contend the situation; lack of commitment to democracy, where the processes of election are not free and fair and the use of arms by individuals for elections cannot be checked by government; lack of efforts to eradicate or reduce hunger, poverty, overpopulation, excessive inflation, refugees, diseases which is evidence of food insecurity. All these constitute the perilous impacts of Boko Haram terrorism on the national security in Nigeria.

Between 2009 and 2015 in particular, national security in Nigeria was greatly weakened by the activities of Boko Haram. There was increased spate of bombings and armed attacks, killings, arsons, prison breaks and kidnappings carried out unabated by the Boko Haram, which resulted in serious refugee crisis in Nigeria. This period witnessed the influx of foreigners across the country's porous borders to join in fighting as mercenaries against the Nigerian State. Some of these mercenaries were from international terrorist organisations and meant to serve as weapon instructors as well as fighters. Some retired/dismissed military and para – military officers in Nigeria, who had served the country with rich experience in weapon handling and tactics, and who had

[21] Uffiem Maurice Ogbonnaya and Uyi Kizito Ehigiamusoe, 'Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram Insurgency: National Security in Nigeria' [2013] (4)(3) *Global Security Studies,* 1, 3.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] L. H. Yong, 'Impact of National Security on Socio-Economic Development of Singapore' <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/stats/themes/economy/hist/gdp2.html >accessed 10 January 2017.

[25] Ogbonnaya and Ehigiamusoe (n31) 6.

[26] Mohammad Bello and others, 'International Terrorism and Its Implications for National Security in Nigeria' [2015] (2)(10) *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education*, 77, 78.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid 81.

been frustrated in their struggle to survive, were also used in the training of Boko Haram terrorists. This partly accounted for the sophistication and destruction of lives and property by the group in Nigeria. The unimaginable population of unemployed youth, a consequent of serious corruption in the country, makes the youth easy prey for recruitment into the group with promises of better future. They all fought for this better future, and in the process, weakened national security the more, leaving the Nigerian State incapable of protecting lives and property of many. Today there is still no evidence of any dramatic change in the variables that propelled the activities of the group.

Since the 9/11 attack on the United States, international terrorism has been identified as a serious foreign and domestic security threat to nation States, hence making it necessary for terrorism to be handled using diplomacy, international cooperation, constructive engagement to economic sanctions, covert action, physical security enhancement and the use of military force.[32] The activities of Boko Haram pose serious threats of various kinds to national security in Nigeria. These groups have proliferated in recent years without control and created far reaching implications today and in the future on national security. As national security is weakened, Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria have enjoyed increased growth of cross-national and international links with different terrorist organizations in the world in respect of military training, funding, technology transfer or political advice and supply of weapons. The country becomes more threatened in the light of the availability of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the possession of some States associated with the sponsorship of terrorism. Although the use of WMD has not been identified with Boko Hara in Nigeria, the impact of acts of terrorism occasioned on Nigeria by the use of other weapons has seriously impacted on national security. This development has remained till date, a serious threat to Western interests in Nigeria.[33]

In the international arena, Nigeria's image has suffered immensely owing to Boko Haram terrorism, which have exposed the vulnerability of the national security of the Nigerian State. This vulnerability of the national security of the Nigeria State economically, politically, socially and technologically now attracts activities of emerging terrorist organisations and similar groups.[34] Furthermore, media reports on the successes of Boko Haram attacks without corresponding reports on the gains made by government in its counter-terrorist efforts have seriously weakened Nigeria's national security with negative consequences on Nigeria's image abroad. In 2011, Boko Haram initiated a campaign of suicide bombing, a phenomenon witnessed for the first time in Nigeria's history. The Nigerian State responded to these security threats by declaring an

antiterrorism war on the group. But this war was not taken seriously by the Nigerian State, while the activities of the terrorists increased geometrically. With the escalation of the activities of Boko Haram between 2012 and 2014 in northern Nigeria, the Nigerian State responded with the declaration of a state of emergency in the three North Eastern States of Bornu, Yobe and Adamawa and followed up with extensions.[35] In spite of this development, the violent activities of the terrorists continued unabated.[36] The outcome of these activities created unprecedented humanitarian crises for the Nigerian State with colossal effects on national security. Other outcomes of the weakened national security included the withdrawal of foreign nationals, the closure of embassies, withdrawal of investments by foreign investors, reduction in tourism, and the rating of Nigeria as being unsecured and a potential terrorist threat. The ultimate outcomes of these acts by Boko Haram are painful to the Nigerian State and their activities have been associated with the increased rate of violent activities of terrorists groups identified with Islamic fundamentalism across the globe.[37] The inter-connectivity among these Islamist groups has seen them carry out successful violent attacks with more sophistication in terms of coordination, tactics and weaponry. Although today, the activities of these group has been considerably reduced, with the pre-existing interconnectivity amongst Boko Haram, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, AQIM and others including ISWAP, Nigeria continues to be faced with intense national security challenges that require a lot among Nigeria and other nations to overcome.

IV. TERRORISM AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Countries struggling to cope with widespread acts of terrorism have fared poorly in reaching the Millennium Development Goals, which have shaped the development agenda over the past years. In Nigeria, Boko Haram terrorism leads to recurring outbreaks of unrest, breakdown of law and order, and aggravates security and compromises sustained economic growth. It has affected much development progress made by Nigeria. By exploiting development challenges such as inequality, lack of education, poverty, marginalisation and poor governance. Boko Haram terrorism further exacerbates these challenges, creating a vicious cycle of decline, which affects the marginalized groups or regions of the world.[38] Western education, which is one of the indices of rapid national

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[32] Ibid 82.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Today we have The Islamic State in West Africa(ISWA) and Ansaru terrorising the Nigerian State alongside Boko Haram, Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) and Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN).

[35] John Ameh 'Military Chiefs Convince Reps Over Emergency Rule Extension' The Punch (Lagos, 2 June 2014) 24.

[36] Al Chukwuma Okoli and Philip Iortyer, 'Terrorism and Humanitarian Crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram Insurgency' [2014](14)(1) *Global Journal of Human-Social Science,* 39, 44.

[37] Yinka Olomojobi, 'Militant Islam in Northern Nigeria: The Misguided Ideology of Boko Haram' [2014] (1)(4) *Babcock University Socio-Legal Journal*, 89.

[38] Mohammad Irshad, 'Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies' [2011] (6)(3) *The Dialogue,* 224, 229.

development of any country in the world, is considered by Boko Haram to be in conflict with core Islamic values. Considering the West and its allies together with their western education as a threat to the spread of their ideologies, Boko Haram terrorists have destroyed several schools in the North East and targeted young people, in particular girls, who are involved in the pursuit of western education as the path to a better life for themselves, families and societies. Thus, the dastardly act of kidnapping of girls by Boko Haram in Chibok in Bornu State, in April 2014 and that of Dapchi in Yobe State in February 2018 are examples of the threat of terrorism, not only to national security but also to national development in Nigeria.[39] In 2020 more than 300 schoolboys in northwest Nigeria were also kidnapped by Boko Haram.[40]

The development of any country is a function of education together with many other considerations. Without education, no country can be developed. There can therefore be no education when terrorists invade schools, massively kidnap school children and use them as slaves. Thus, when schools are closed down for fear of attack on students by terrorists, national development collapses. Other development actors such as parents, teachers, organisations, government and other members of the public are affected. Boko Haram terrorism also disrupts the day-to-day works of organisations, including United Nations development agencies, which are trying to help Nigeria deal with poverty, social inequalities, exclusion and illiteracy. This is more so when members of these organisations, particularly those concerned with educational advancement, are targets of terrorist kidnappings and assassinations. This was the case with the kidnap and execution of the International Red Cross Agency staff, Hauwa Liman, by a faction of Boko Haram sometime in November 2018.[41]

In Nigeria, terrorism has made the Nigeria State not only unsafe in terms of advancement in education, but also unsafe to invest in. Some nations have also withdrawn their presence in the country making government to lose revenue at an alarming rate. Agriculture, one of the areas of revenue generation, which sustains Nigeria's economy, has been object of sabotage by Boko Haram as the group continue to carry out attacks and sack many villages in the North where agriculture flourishes. These activities have seriously affected the production capacity of farmers in Nigeria, which results in serious drop in revenue. These constitute remarkable acts of economic sabotage relating to Boko

Haram in Nigeria. The killing, abduction, kidnapping and harassment of foreign workers, particularly members of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), local contractors, amplification of violence based on rumours by Boko Haram increased the difficulties for law-abiding citizens and conglomerates to engage in lawful businesses in Nigeria. With increasing acts of terrorists' violence, domestic and foreign investors have also been discouraged from investing in Nigeria, which resulted in the loss of revenues to the nation for many years now.[42] Economic diplomacy, which is the foreign policy objective of Nigeria, is aimed at wooing investors from other countries to invest in Nigeria. This had been the pivot of the transformation agenda of the previous administration and the change agenda of the last administration before now. But Boko Haram terrorism in the country has frustrated this goal because instability and violence have, for some time now, led to balance of trade deficits especially in Northern Nigeria. As most acts of terrorism have often times been politicized and facts distorted by government officials for personal gains, most countries do not look at Nigeria as a serious-minded nation to establish an economic agreement with. The result is that bilateral and multilateral relations of these countries with Nigeria have continued to wane amidst recurrent terrorist attacks. Similarly, it was the upsurge of terrorists' incidents in Nigeria in recent times that made foreign countries, particularly the US, to issue travel advice to their citizens against travelling to Nigeria.[43] In relation to the tourism industry, Nigeria has without doubt lost some of its foreign exchange earnings due to a high drop in the patronage of its activities. International organizations such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have withdrawn support from troubled spots in the country thereby making it difficult for the locals to access essential health and educational programmes which were, in no small measure, beneficial to the people of the north east of Nigeria.[44]

Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria has greatly impacted on national development as many victims have suffered losses of various dimensions to their goods, businesses, farms and investments. Many victims of terrorism have been internally displaced. According to UNHCR Regional update, as at January, 2017 (confirmed by NEMA), 1.7 million people had been displaced by the insurgency in Nigeria.[45] And in 2020 the number increased to 2.7 million internally

[39] Jacob Zenn, Boko Haram and the Kidnapping of the Chibok Schoolgirls, Combating Terrorism Centre, 2014, 7(5) 1.

[40] Danielle Paquette, Boko Hara Claims kidnapping of over 300 boys in Nigeria, marking an alarming move West, The Washington Post, December, 15, 2020,https://www.washingtonpost.com accessed 7 April, 2023.

[41] OlusolaFabiyi and Adelani Adepegba, 'Boko Haram kills another aid worker, FG, BBOG express shock'<http://punchng.com>b-haram-kills-anot...> accessed 9 December 2018.

[42] Bello and others (n36) 20.

[43] Olaide Ismail Aro, 'Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: Its Implication and Way Forwards Toward Avoidance of Future Insurgency' [2013] (3)(11) International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications, 1, 3.

[44] 'UNICEF Resumes Aids to North Eastern Nigeria After Convoy Attack' <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/page/171/% > accessed 27 July 2016.

[45]'Nigerian Situation: UNHCR Regional Update 01-31 January 2017...<http://reliefweb.intreport>Nigeria-situ..>accessed 31 December 2017.

displaced persons in Nigeria.[46] The internally displace persons find themselves in camps where they struggle yet again with hunger, starvation and disease. The Nigerian State has responded to address the plights of these victims by ensuring that NEMA in collaboration with the UN agencies, NGOs and international donor agencies, cater for the needs of the victims. The North East Development Commission has also been established to, among other responsibilities, address the issue of rebuilding the North East so as to resettle the victims of terrorism in Nigeria. In spite of these, the plight of these victims in various camps across the North East is not improving. They lack basic amenities of life and thereby remain vulnerable to further terrorist attacks and massacre as it happened at the IDP Camp in Maiguguri, Bornu State sometime in November, 2018[47]. Also, there have been incidents of human rights violations of the IDPs across the camps in Nigeria, associated with camp officials. Similarly, government officials in charge of the management of the IDPs across the Northern Region of Nigeria have been associated with corruption. Yet, not much is done to properly address the plight of these victims and government officials involved in the rights violation and corruption still walk freely on the streets, without being brought to book. As many continue to remain in IDP camps without returning to their legitimate businesses, or as many will return to their communities only to be attacked again, as farmers are not allowed access to their farms and crops, the development of the Nigerian State will continue to be seriously adversely affected.[48]

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The emergence and development of Boko Haram was not matched with timely State response. Terrorist activities carried out by the group, the intensity of the acts, the indiscriminate manner of attacks, the number of lives lost and property destroyed, greatly impacted on national security and development of the Nigerian State. Accordingly, Boko Haram terrorism weakens national security, destroys the economy, decimates the population and cripples development advancement. Their acts of terrorism have overwhelming effects, not only on the Nigerian State, but also on other states of the world. Addressing these concerns of national security and development would surely help in addressing the enduring terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Boko Haram terrorism brought about massive killings in Nigeria. The acts of terrorism by this group greatly

weakened national security and destroyed the economy as well as development advancement, together with the displacement of millions persons. Accordingly, this work makes the following recommendations:

➤ *Denying terrorists resources for carry out and sustain terrorism in Nigeria*

Denying terrorists the required human and material resources to carry out and sustain terrorism would reduce the massive killings in Nigeria and put national security in good shape. Accordingly, security at our borders, airports and sea ports should be strengthened. The Nigerian government should employ reconnaissance drones to help monitor the borders at a lower human and material cost.

➤ *Increased security presence in Nigeria, with zero tolerance of sabotage, impunity and complicity a s well as collaborations with other countries.*

There should be increased security presence, on a permanent basis, in all states in the Northern Region and at all border communities in Nigeria. This could be done by the establishment of military units and police posts at the border communities in Nigeria. This will help curb gunrunning, human trafficking and trafficking in drugs and other items used by the terrorists to raise funds for terrorism. The development of professional capacity, the building of trust and a crack team of equipment-led intelligence military with other security agencies should be undertaken. Nigerian should modernize the security agencies in collaboration with other countries of the world like the United States of America, European Union members and China. Prominent areas of collaboration should include training, intelligence sharing, modernisation of the security equipment, logistics and other requirements. Nigeria should ensure that proper equipment for use in fighting terrorism is made available to the military. Issues of sabotage, complicity, impunity and compromises involving the military in the terror war should be squarely dealt with by punishment of those involved in order to serve as deterrence to others.

➤ *Avoidance of abuse of human rights during terror war*

Once the issue of national security is addressed, the impact on national development will take shape. Particular regard should be given to avoidance of abuse of human rights during terror war in view of the increasing attention by the UN on human rights of victims of terrorism which has been addressed specifically in Security Council Resolutions 1566 of 2004 and 1624 of 2005. Also, as questions of victims' rights are considered key concern in comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy, the plights of IDPs in Nigeria have to be properly addressed, particularly, with regard to provision of adequate security for them at various IDP camps in Nigeria and at their various communities after resettlement. This could be achieved through increase security presence in these places with serious coordination with nearby security bases for backups when necessary.

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[46] Doris Dokua Sasu, Number of internally displaced persons in Nigeria 2013 – 2020 https://www.statista.com>statistics> accessed 7 June, 2023.

[47] Abulkareem Haruna, 'Eight confirmed Killed as Boko Haram attacks Borno IDP camp' https://www.premiumtimesng.com>news> accessed 10 December 2018.

[48] UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 'Nigeria: Returnee Situation Update, Issue #14-30 August 2017'<https:reliefweb.int>report>Nigeria-ret...> accessed 10 December 2018.

➢ *Due attention should be given to issues of education*

Education, which is one of the indices of development, should be given due attention, in totality. Security at all schools, particularly girl schools, which have been targeted because of Boko Haram's extremist ideology about the girl-child education, should be strengthened. Schools in the Northern part of Nigeria should be made relatively safe and secure for learning to thrive. Closing down of schools for fear of Boko Haram attack is a wrong manner of responding to Boko Haram terrorism. It gives out the State and sends a strong signal of defeat to the world. This automatically affects development advancement in the education sector as well as other sectors. One of the tactics used by Boko Haram is to strike fear in the populace and to use same to achieve their desired goals. Giving in to this tactics by the Nigerian State, without doubts cripples development advancement of the Nigerian State. The problem of poverty should also be addressed in order to restore hope to the people. Injustice, which is a product of the imbalances that exist in governance from improperly addressed grievances, must be given proper attention. All these will help re-shape the development architecture of the Nigerian State and ultimately help in addressing the enduring Boko Haram terrorism.