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BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY AND NIGER-DELTA CRISIS: A WAY FORWARD TO A SECURED NIGERIAN-NATION

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Abstract

Nigeria is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious country. Since independence in 1960, ethno-religious and communal conflicts have remained the legacies bequeathed by the long British and military rules to the Nigerian state. The beginning of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram insurgency saw a different look into the demands of the different groups and tribes in the nation but later turned into real upsurge and ethno-religious wars. This paper examines the origins, similarities and effects of these conflicts on the socio-economic and political spheres of the nation. Using frustration-aggression theory, the study navigates through the background of these crises with a view to suggesting workable solutions to curb them. A survey was carried out using electronic means of data collection in twelve (12) local government areas of Edo, Ondo, Delta, Bayelsa, Borno and Yobe states considered to be very vulnerable to these crises. Simple percentage method was adopted for the analysis of the data collected for easy understanding of the study. However, loss of lives, loss of property, permanent disabilities, mental imbalances, high cost renovation, loss of revenue and others have been identified as the major effects of these conflicts to the socio-economic sector of the nation. As part of its recommendations, adequate compensation should be given to the affected areas in Niger-Delta for the oil-spillage and damages to avert future agitations and the government should also consider constant dialogue with the Northern leadership in order to further forestall future insurgency in the area.

Keywords: National Security, Boko Haram Insurgency, Niger-Delta Crisis, Solutions, Nigeria.

Background to the study

Nigeria as a nation has been under a very serious attack. This situation has been having devastating effects on the economy, social, political, educational, religious sectors of the nation (Eme & Onyishi, 2012). The insecurity in the nation is not limited to various killings, kidnappings, maiming, destruction of property, loss of lives, rapping and so on. Nigeria as a nation of many sub-nationalities is embroiled into many problems starting from the struggle for independence, the control of resources, self determination, ethnic dichotomy, revenue allocation politics and the decentralization of the hegemonic federal power (Jacobson, 1998). The nation has had a long and unfortunate history of communal conflicts and ethno-religious violence. For example, in Plateau state in the Nigerian middle belt region, there have been many outbreaks of bloody clashes between different communities since the return of

democracy in 1999. There have also been various riots and violence in the urban centres such as Kaduna, Kano, Abuja, Calabar, Yenogoa and the recent #ENDSARS in Lagos, Benin, Ibadan and others (Onakoya, 2020).

Misjudgments and misrepresentations have been on the causes of these crises. They are often linked to the religious conflicts between the Muslim and Christians communities. When one looks at it critically, it would be seen that they go beyond this. Control of the government and natural resources and the leadership tussles are in most cases the real reasons for the 'unending' palaver (Baiyewu, 2012).

Election disputes have also led to the breakdown of law and order in most parts of the nation which have serious resultant effects on the security of the nation. In southern Kaduna in 2011 when the youths were on rampage as a result of purported election rigging to favour a particular religious sect, this almost turned to a communal crisis if not the quick intervention of the security agents. The genesis is usually in one group asserting control of the apparatus of the government over another group in a very heterogeneous and ethnically diverse part of the nation (Babalola, 2011).

Electoral violence and other politics related violence have also been identified as other violent activities which are not inseparable from the ethnic insurgencies in the nation. Most perpetrators and sponsors have common things as their major drivers- political and economic controls of their regions.

It is argued that the failure of the democratic government to bring the dividends of democracy through the development process into the country has made several people vent their angers on the government through violent means. There is high tendency that frustration can lead to groups taking arms against the state (Ajaegbu 2012).

Statement of the problem

The situation in the oil-rich Niger-delta region and the issue of the Boko Haram Insurgency necessitate a special attention because of the level of environmental degradation, militarization and proliferation of arms in the two regions. Concerted efforts from all the stakeholders and concerned individuals is this realm is however very germane and imperative. Many a time these crises have disrupted the peace and peaceful co-existence of the nation. The effects on the socio-economic sector can only be imagined than described (Jacobson, 2012). Most times, the leaders of various groups and political inclinations have been indicted to be sponsoring the mayhems and trying to look for cheap and devilish popularities among their subjects.

Many literatures have been reviewed and lots more would be on the subject and matter of national insecurity in Nigeria. Most researchers blame the killings on the nation's elites and political leaders but a few were found in the area of 'who suffers'. This paper intends providing a framework for and reasons behind the insurgency with a view to adding to the broad knowledge of the national security in Nigeria.

Objectives of the study

The main objective of this paper is to investigate the effects of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram insurgency on the Nigerian socio-economic and political spheres. Other specific objectives are to:

i. examine the similarities of the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.
ii. evaluate the differences between the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.
iii. suggest some solutions to the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.

Research questions

The following are the research questions of this study;

i. What are major effects of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram insurgency on the Nigerian socio-economic spheres?
ii. What are the similarities of the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria?
iii. What are the differences between the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria?
iv. What are the solutions to the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria?

Basic assumptions

Below are the basic assumptions of this study:

1. That Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram insurgency have negative effects on the socio-economic spheres of Nigeria.
2. That there are similarities in the mode of operations and strategies of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria.
3. That there are differences in the targets and victims of the crises.
4. That adequate compensation should be given to the affected areas in Niger-Delta for the oil-spillage and damages to avert future agitations and the government should also consider constant dialogue with the Northern leadership in order to further forestall future insurgency in the area.

Significance of the study

The study examines the socio-economic effects of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram in Nigeria in order to allow for proper planning and strategy to be adopted by the government in the future to curb the menaces. It will also serve as a means of providing further information and references for researchers and authors in the field of crisis management and peace and conflict studies.

Literature review and Conceptual clarifications

National Insecurity

Security and insecurity are typical social science concepts which appear principally in the literature of social psychology, sociology, political and allied sciences. Security according to Jacobson 1998 denotes a situation which provides national and international conditions favourable to the protection of a nation, state and its citizens against existing and potential

threats. The socio-psychological conceptual framework of national insecurity therefore is the opposite of the above. When a nation is facing internal and external threats, we say it is insecured (Jacobson, 1998). While using Israel as a case study, he identified two major approaches to the study of insecurity in any nation - the political and socio-political approaches. The first approach takes care of the orderliness and peace of the nation while the second takes care of the individuals living in the country. Both approaches are germane to any national development.

Niger-Delta crisis

The area which is referred to as Niger-Delta region in Nigeria comprises of Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Rivers, Edo, Imo, Bayelsa, Delta, Abia, Anambra and Ondo states. These are invariably the major oil producing states in the country. Stretching over 20,000km2 of swamp land in the littoral fringes of the country, it embraces one of the world's largest wetlands, over 60% of Africa's largest mangrove forests and one of the world's most expensive (Rice, 2007).
In 1956, the region witnessed a major upheaval as a result of the expulsion of Professor Eyo Ita from the office by the Igbo majority tribe. Infuriated by this, the minorities in the region under the platform of the Ibinio Union, mainly the people of the old Calabar kingdom, the Ijaw and the Ogojas demanded a state of their own to be named, the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers (COR) state out of the Eastern region.

The Niger-delta region is where most oil revenues for the nation comes from yet the people of the region live in abject poverty and with no education, no good roads and no employment opportunities for their youths. Isaac Boro rose and fought for the emancipation of the region in the 1960s but was later arrested. Ken Saro Wiwa fought for justice and end to the Federal Government era of marginalization of the people of Ogoni, he was killed (Saliu, Luqman and Abdullah, 2007).

These and other happenings led to the 'lawlessness' in the region by 1998. The youths took up arms and ammunitions to 'liberate' the region from further threats from within and external. To curb the crisis, the former President, Umaru Musa Yar'adua set up a committee in 2010 to among others things look at the ways of putting an end to the imbroglio. The committee recommended among others an amnesty for the militants and a method of rehabilitation and reintergration. Henry Okah and his likes benefitted from this before he was later sentenced to prison in South Africa (Rice, 2007).

From the day till date, various crisis have erupted in the region with about 15,000 lives lost and property worths 45 billion naira damaged or destroyed (Onakoya, 2020).

Boko Haram Insurgency

The issue of Boko Haram raised its ugly head in the Northern part of Nigeria in the year 2009 in Borno state. Its founder, Muhammed Yusuf in 2002 with the **Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'wati Wal-Jihad** started the movement to among other things oppose man-made law and the western education in the Northeast of Nigeria. The meaning of **Boko Haram is** "Western Education is Forbidden" (Baiyewu, 2012)

In a 2009 BBC interview, Muhammad Yusuf, the then leader of the group rejected scientific explanation for natural phenomena, such as the sun evaporation water being the cause of the

rain, Darwinian evolution of human beings and the earth being a sphere. He rejected the current education system and democracy (Eme & Onyishi, 2012).

The group conducted its operations during the first seven years of its existence but later changed its dynamics in 2009 when Nigerian government launched an investigation into the activities of the group. With the launch of this investigation by the government, several members of the group were arrested in Bauchi, sparkling deadly clashes with the Nigeria security forces which led to the deaths of an estimated 700 people. Initially, the Boko Haram fighters were known to be using fuel-laden motocycles, bows with poison arrows and locally made guns until recently when the use of sophisticated ammunitions were introduced.
From 2009 till date, about 45,000 people have been killed, kidnapped, abducted according to researches. Estimated amount of 1.23trillion naira has been lost to damaged property, burnt houses and/or stolen goods and materials (Onakoya, 2020).

Theoretical Framework
Frustration-Aggression Theory
For the purpose of clarity and vivid explanation, the frustration-aggression theory is used to navigate this study. The theory is otherwise known as the frustration–aggression–displacement theory. Its major proponents were John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer, and Robert Sears in 1939, and further developed by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal.

When first formulated, the hypothesis stated that frustration always precedes aggression, and aggression is the sure consequence of frustration. Two years later, however, Miller and Sears re-formulated the hypothesis to suggest that while frustration creates a need to respond, some form of aggression is one possible outcome. Therefore, the re-formulated hypothesis stated that while frustration prompts a behavior that may or may not be aggressive, any aggressive behavior is the result of frustration, making frustration not sufficient, but a necessary condition for aggression (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frustration-aggression_hypothesis)
The theory stipulates that aggression is the result of frustration which results from an individual's inability to attain their goals. Accordingly, insecurity is the product of aggressive behaviour which results from issues such as poverty and unemployment among others. Applying this to the study, youth unemployment, lack of quality education, distrust in government, poverty, environmental degradation, injustice, absence of infrastructure, communal conflicts, militancy have all contributed to the poor security state of the nation.

However, the theory failed to address the possible solutions to the conflicts which emanate from the frustration as its major focus was the causes and the effects it has on the society of individual at large.

Methodology and data presentation/analysis
Research design
The study used the descriptive survey method with the use of questionnaire to collect data from respondents randomly selected from the large population while considering the Yaro Tamane formulae of 0.005 of the total population.

Study Area: With the use of the electronic data gathering method and research assistants, the study was carried out in three (6) Local Government Areas of Edo, Bayelsa, Ondo, Borno, Delta and Yobe states.. These were: Akoko-Edo (Edo), Akoko North-East (Ondo), Brass (Bayelsa), Udu (Delta), Gulani (Yobe) and Jere (Borno) Local Government Areas due to the volatility of the areas.

Population: Fishermen, politicians, farmers, civil servants and some security agents were considered as the major stakeholders and respondents in the field survey.

Sampling and Sampling Procedure: About 120 questionnaires were distributed and only 98 responded and submitted for final analysis by the researcher.

Research Instruments: Questionnaires were randomly distributed by the researcher with 5 basic sections. Section A was for the information of the respondents. Section B examined the major effects of Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram on the socio-economic sector of Nigeria. Section C gathered information about the similarities of the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, while the last section was primarily for the suggested solutions to the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. Secondary sources of data were journals, published works of different authors, online research works, academic dissertations etc.

Procedure for Data Analysis: Simple percentage method was adopted for the analysis of the data collected for easy understanding of the study.

Results of findings:
The results of findings of the study are as follows;

Table 1. Occupational distribution of the respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Fishermen	50	62%
Farmers	21	17%
Security agents	10	11%
Politicians	9	7%
Civil servants	8	3%
Total	98	100%

Source: Field survey, June 2019.

This table reflects the occupational distribution of the respondents. It was gathered that most respondents were fishermen and farmers with 62% and 17% due to the geographical locations of the study areas. Others were; security agents with 11%, politicians with 7% and civil servants with 3%.

Table 2. Educational status of the respondents

Qualification	Frequency	Percentage
Ph.D	10	11%
BSc	35	44%
HND	7	9%
OND/NCE	20	17%
SSCE	10	11%
Primary Certificate	8	5%
Others	8	5%
Total	98	100%

Source: Field survey, June, 2019.

In the above table, it shows that most respondents were holders of bachelor degree holders with 44% followed by OND/NCE holders with 17%. These were followed by PhD and SSCE certificates holders with each set having 11%. Others were HND holders with 9%, primary school-leavers and others without any educational qualification with 5% each.

Table 3. Major effects of the Niger-Delta crisis and Boko Haram insurgency on the Nigerian socio-economic spheres according to the respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Loss of lives.	40	42%
Loss of property	13	14%
High rate of displaced and vulnerable people	20	22%
Loss of revenue to the government	10	11%
High cost of rehabilitation and reconstruction	7	9%
Loss of investments in the regions.	5	6%
High rate of physical and mental disabilities.	5	6%
Total	98	100

Source: Field survey, June 2019.

The above table shows that most respondents representing 42% of the total responses believe that these crises lead to wanton loss of lives and 13 which represents 14% were of the believe that it they lead to loss of property. Also, 22% of the respondents believe that these conflicts result into displacement and vulnerability of the people mostly women and the children. High cost rehabilitation (9%), loss of investment opportunities in the affected regions (6%) and high rate of physical and mental disabilities (6%) follow accordingly.

Table 4. Major similarities of the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Origin/Background	10	12%
Mode of attacks	3	5%
Targets	10	12%
Weapons	15	16%
Level of destruction	40	42%
Amnesty provision	10	12%
Level of education of the militants	1	1%
Total	98	100

Source: Field survey, June 2019.

The table shows the similarities of the two crises with their level of destruction taking the largest percentage of 42%. Both conflicts have rather damaged a lot of property and many lives lost. Their origin and background are relatively not the same with one fighting for the emancipation of its people while the other is fighting western education in all ramifications. Amnesty by the government have been provided for both but not well utilized as intended. Levels of education of the militants and insurgents aren't same as well. In the northeast, most Boko Haram insurgents are illiterates with little or no formal education. While in the Niger-Delta, some of the militants have basic secondary school education and even tertiary as well.

Table 5. The solution to the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Provision of amnesty.	16	27%
Adequate compensation should be given to the affected areas in Niger-Delta for the oil-spillage.	15	26%
Constant dialogue with the leadership.	10	21%
Provision of job employment opportunities for the youths	40	42%
Proper education/orientation.	11	9%
Disarmament of arms and ammunitions.	4	3%
Beefing up of security in the volatile areas.	4	3%
Total	98	100

Source: Field survey, June 2019.

From the above table, it shows that provision of job opportunities for youths in both regions by the government will go a long way in curbing the crises. This takes 42% of the responses followed provision of amnesty and adequate compensation for the loss of property to the affected people with 27% and 26% respectively. Constant dialogue and education take 21%

and 9% as well. While others such as disarmament and beefing up of security in the regions take 3% each.

Conclusion and recommendations

In conclusion, it is widely believed that loss of lives, loss of property, loss of revenue to the government, loss of investments in the regions, high rate of physical and mental disabilities, high cost of reconstruction and rehabilitation and others are some of the socio-economic effects of the Niger-delta crisis and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. This will have adverse and negative effects on the total growth and development of the nation if not urgently and totally curbed.

Therefore, it is recommended that:

Employment opportunities for the youths who are believed to be actively involved in the crises in order to have them engaged is imperative and very urgent by the government of all levels in the country.

The government should provide adequate compensation for the victims and the affected communities in both regions for good living to return to the areas.

There should be continuous disarmament of arms and ammunitions by the security agents so that the country will be free from the proliferations of these weapons we have been experiencing over the years.

As a matter of national importance and urgency, all regions including the presumed 'safe areas' must be secured and all bordered properly manned by security agents to forestall further importation of arms into the country.

The government at all levels should continue reorientation and enlightenment programmes and campaigns against the acts of violence in the country. This will go a long way to see that many uneducated youths who are always willing to participate in the act of terrorism will have a rethink of action.

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