

Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency on Socio – Economic Development of Nigeria: Implications for Yobe State

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Abstract

In recent years, there has been a surge in both the tempo and range of global insurgencies and terrorism. Nearly every continent has faced this mounting security challenge. Nigeria is confronted with frightening challenges to its political stability dictated by terrorism. Nigeria is plagued by political, economic and social crises, menacing its continuing existence as a nation-state. Insurgency is one of the expressions of the crises. The insurgency of Boko Haram, which started as a weak, disorganized, loosely coordinated and inchoate movement, mutated to cause serious threats to national security. It developed the capability for strategic power projection, strategic intelligence, and the building of wide-ranging linkages to subvert the state. This study “ Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency on Socio – Economic Development of Nigeria: Implications for Yobe State” is descriptive in nature and relied heavily on secondary data for critical analysis. The effects of insurgency is on the state and individual members of the state principally, residents of Yobe state through destruction of lives and properties, destruction of schools which have led to the closure of so many schools in the state and the almost complete breakdown of an already feeble public health system, disruption of businesses, lessening in government revenue, fear of foreign investors to live and do business. political instability, among others and on the neighbouring northern states affecting the economic life. It is recommended in this study that to remedy the menace of the Insurgency in Nigeria there is need for coordinated Government response to the Boko Haram threat and with focus, for this to be feasible, state must be able to close three "gaps": security, capacity and legitimacy. Poverty and unemployment are among the major root causes of Boko Haram insurgency hence there is an urgent need for a robust social protection scheme with special preference for the north. Food, education, shelter, health care and employment creation should be the basis of this scheme. Women, children and youths should be the target

Key Words: Insurgency, National Security, Yobe State, Socio – Economic Development, Boko Haram, Terrorism.

Introduction

The present security challenges facing Nigeria are entrenched in the history and nature of the Nigerian Federation. Nigeria is a multiethnic and multi-religious society consisting of over 250 separate ethnic groups. These groups lived as separate bodies or nationalities before the British weld them together and finally fused them into one political entity in the 1914 Amalgamation (Nwala, 2013). In recent years, there has been a surge in both the tempo and range of global insurgencies and terrorism. Nearly every continent has faced this mounting security challenge (Fafowora, 2013). Many insurgencies start as a small group

fashioned around a common fundamental belief. Over time, fruitless containment of insurgencies allows them to multiply at a rapid rate. When violent insurgencies have opportunity to spread, they often become too complicated for a single nation-state to combat, and therefore often necessitates international military intervention; Boko Haram (BH) is one of these insurgent groups that began small and later spread at a rapid rate (Nicholson, 2016).

Nigeria is one of the states to be added to the list of states afflicted by sectarian insurgencies (Fafowora, 2013). Nigeria is confronted with frightening challenges to its political stability dictated by terrorism (Obafemi and Galadima, 2013). Nigeria is at crossroads plagued by political, economic and social crises, menacing its continuing existence as a nation-state. Insurgency is one of the expressions of the crises. The security and sovereignty of the nation; public order and citizen security in the country are being threatened by rebel's violence (Alemika, 2013). The peak of these security threats is the surfacing of noxious group branded as Boko Haram which has assumed dangerous dimension since 2009. The ruthless activities of the Islamist sect have troubled the Nigerian nation to the extent that ample time and socio-economic cum political resources that ought to have been channeled to the development of the whole country is being wasted on various efforts targeted towards checkmating and probably annihilating the insurgency in the North-East geopolitical zone (Awortu, 2015).

The nation is now trapped in the frenzy of terrorism in scale, intensity and degree never experienced before in the country. Even though there are claims that it has been degraded by the Nigerian military, it still poses a great concern as one of the major security threats in Nigeria most especially the Northeast as there are series of reports of the dissident groups laying ambush to attack the military while the residents in the Northeast most especially in Yobe live in constant fear of imminent attack making it difficult for them to go to farm or resume their business activities. Also, while terrorism is hardly a new phenomenon in Nigeria, its brunt has been wide-ranging and far-reaching. Today, terrorism poses a great threat not just to life, property, human rights, dignity and democratic values but to the very, basis and existence of Nigeria as we all know it (Obafemi and Galadima, 2013). The insurgency of Boko Haram, which started as a weak, disorganized, loosely coordinated and inchoate movement, mutated to cause serious threats to national security. It developed the capability for strategic power projection (terrorism), strategic intelligence, and the building of wide-ranging linkages to subvert the state. Boko Haram's proficiency in explosives and operational tempo as well as its tactical sophistication and aggressiveness have become a source of concern to many observers (Obafemi and Galadima, 2013). Boko Haram Insurgency has engulfed the Whole of Northern regions most especially the north East. It is therefore imperative to appraise the socio – economic effects of Boko haram insurgency in Yobe State.

Literature Review

Insurgency

Insurgency is an armed revolt against a constituted power. Insurgency is a strategy adopted by groups which cannot achieve their political objectives through conventional means, but by protracted, asymmetric violence, ambiguity, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, and urban areas), psychological warfare, and political mobilization, is fast becoming a means of expressing perceived discontent among groups in the country (Obafemi and Galadima, 2013). Insurgency is defined as a rebellion against a constituted authority when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. Insurgency is used here in its neutral form to depict a movement illegal by virtue of not being approved by or in accordance with the law of the land. There are different forms of revolt. It could be riot or uprisings or political actions to undermine the state. It could be violent or non violent. Method of insurgency includes various forms of insurrection and armed conflict (Kwanashie, 2013). Insurgency as a concept refers to unrelenting use of violence with the primary aim of overthrowing a political system with a view to taking over power. It is not geared towards profit making and is different from citizens' actions like protest, demonstrations, strikes, etc. that are embarked upon to hold government accountable or to convey grievances that are capable of being resolved within the prevailing economic and political structures (Alemika, 2013).

The term insurgency symbolizes diverse types of collective political violence, particularly terrorism, guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare. Terrorism is a procedure or strategy of insurgency (Crenshaw 2011; Merari 1993 quoted in Alemika, 2013). Insurgency is an organized confrontation movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgencies usually seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate power within the country. They may also seek to (1) overthrow an established government without a follow-on social revolution. (2) Establish an autonomous national territory within the borders of a state. (3) Cause the withdrawal of an occupying power. (4) Extract political concessions that are unattainable through less violent means (Emmanuel and Eme, 2017: 39). Their tactics is through the use of espionage, guerrilla tactics subversion, Ambushment, terrorism and armed conflict.

Not all insurgencies consist of terrorism. Terrorism is, in most cases, basically is a political act. It is intended to inflict dramatic and fatal injury on civilians and to generate an atmosphere of fear, generally for a political or ideological (whether secular or religious) purpose. Terrorism is a criminal act, but it is more than mere criminality. To overcome the problem of terrorism it is necessary to understand its political nature as well as its basic criminality and psychology (Kwanashie, 2013). While insurgents do not essentially use terror, it is difficult to imagine any insurgency achieving its goals without undermining aspects of the legality or power of the government or faction it opposes.... (Nwala, 2013). Its ultimate desire is to undermine, subvert and alter the balance of power in their favour (Obafemi and Galadima, 2013). Insurgencies have a political purpose, and may provide social services and have an overt, even legal, political wing. Their covert wing carries out attacks on military forces with tactics such as raids and ambushes, as well as acts of terror such as attacks that cause deliberate civilian casualties (Kwanashie, 2013). The source of the insurgency can be political, economic, religious, or ethnic, or a combination of factors. Each had diverse specifics but share the property of an attempt to disrupt the central government by means considered illegal by that government (Kwanashie, 2013).

Terrorism: “The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often provoked by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instill fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political.

Types of Insurgencies

Fafowora (2013) in his opinion maintained that there are various types of insurgencies ranging from the local, confined to a particular state, or part of its territory, to those that are extra territorial. Some, like the insurgencies in the old Sudan, Somalia, and Rwanda, are political in nature. The insurgents seek the overthrow of the established authorities for political reasons. In most cases, this type of insurgency is tribally or ethnically based.

Insurgency a General Overview

For Nwala (2013) an insurgency is a political movement with specific objective, a political goal such as:

- i. Rejection of an existing authority, which appears to it to be illegitimate, an imposition, an illegality, and seeking to have it changed, without at the same time opting out of the political unit. Rejection of an existing authority (i. e., rebellion) ends once the regime is changed.
- ii. Rejection of the Methods of an existing authority and seeking to have it change its character of disposition. Rebellion ends once the regime changes its offence character/policy.
- iii. Rejecting of an existing authority and seeking to opt out its territory and establishing a new one. Rebellion ends once the separation or secession is accomplished.

Whether insurgency involves secession or not its goal is to weaken or undermine the existing authority and make it incapable of achieving its governing the territory.

Conditions that give rise to Insurgency

Some of the factors that give rise to and promote insurgency and other forms of security challenges in the view of Nwala (2013: 33) include;

- i. Injustice such as denial of rights, inequity, persecution, discrimination, marginalization, etc

- ii. Illegitimacy of the regime when it comes to power through seizure of power, electoral fraud, tyranny and abuse of power and denial of human rights, corruption, etc
- iii. Longing for freedom and self-determination. When a people regard a regime as illegitimate, they long for freedom and fight to win that freedom.
- iv. Poverty especially when the regime is deemed to be weak and incompetent and incapable to protect the poor masses in the midst of plenty.
- v. Weakness of Government.
- vi. Ideological (religious, ethnic and political factors) influences, etc.
- vii. The militarization of the society due to long reign of the military as well as the proliferation of insurgency and terrorism in contemporary times is also contributory factors which cannot be ignored.
- viii. The lack of employment opportunities for the ever teeming school leavers and the increasing circulation of small arms and light weapons in the country were also cited as the factors responsible for the phenomenon of ethnic militias in Nigeria (Duruji, 2010 cited in Nwala, 2013).

Explanations of the literature on the increase of ethnic militias in Nigeria have come under two broad viewpoints. One viewpoint sees the development from the direction of militarization of the state by repressive government while the other perspective sees it from a materialistic point of view borne out of economic frustrations (Duruji 2010). For Kwanashie, (2013) the current insurgency in Nigeria is driven by two economic forces - one local the other external. On the domestic front the economy has over the years sustained a large pool of marginalized citizens that profit little from the natural resources of the country. A chain of social and political issues have intermingled with an initial economic condition to ensure that this segment of society remain at the fringes of the economic system. While poverty and economic marginalization does not mechanically result in insurgency facts from history suggest that the existence of this section of society provides a veritable manpower for insurgency. On the external front colonised people generally have a history of confrontation which most often has culminated in one form of insurgency or the other. Opposition to oppression and economic injustice are often the starting point for insurgencies. In each case of insurgency in Nigeria it is essential to question the nature and moral fiber of the insurgency – their economic, political, social and cultural dimensions.

Tactics/Methods of Insurgent groups

There are varieties of tactics and methods used by insurgent groups. Robert R. Tomes (cited in Nwala, 2013) had identified the following four elements: -

- i. cell-networks that maintain secrecy,
- ii. Terrorism used to foster insecurity among the population and drive them to the insurgents for protection,
- iii. Multifaceted attempts to cultivate support in the general population, often by undermining the new regime;
- iv. Attacks against the government,
- v. Massive propaganda, etc.

Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria

Insurgencies are not new phenomenon in the history of states. They date back to times of antiquity, as far back as the old civilizations of the Greek city state and the Roman Empire when the rulers of these ancient civilizations frequently had to face the challenge of insurgencies, insurrections, and revolts. The main objective of insurgency has always been the overthrow of the established order and its substitution by a new social and political order. It is for this reason that insurgents take up arms to oust those in power (Fafowora, 2013). For Obafemi and Galadima, (2013) Insurgent groups in Nigeria have emerged at different points in the country's political history and assumed different forms. Some of the insurgent groups are: the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Ogoni People (from the South –South of Nigeria), The Odua People's Congress, OPC (from the South

West), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, MASSOB (from South East), and now the Jama'atul ahlul Sunna Lidda'awa Wal Jihad, which means "Brethren of Sunni United in the Pursuit of Holy War" popularly referred to as the Boko Haram, meaning 'Western Education is forbidden'. Boko Haram emerged from the North East (of which Yobe state is a component unit) of Nigeria. Unlike the other insurgent groups in the country, in the immediate past, the Boko Haram insurgent group dangerously exploited Nigeria's precarious sectarian fault lines to fracture the country.

According to reports, multiple explosions went one after the other in places like Kano, Maiduguri, Damaturu, Postiskum, Gombe, Abuja and Madalla in Niger State in the usual manner of attacks by the members of Boko Haram sect (Okponga, Ugwu & Eme, 2012: 77 in Emmanuel and Eme, 2017: 38). Government institutions were attacked by the members of this sect which later spread to churches, Mosque etc. thereby destroying lives and properties of the people. Suicide bombing of the United Nations Secretariat in Abuja did happen long after a similar attack on Nigerian Police Force Headquarters (Ovaga, 2013: 20 cited in Emmanuel and Eme, 2017: 38).

Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency on Socio – Economic Development of Yobe State

Public buildings, private properties, markets, churches and mosques, as well as the public which claimed tens of thousands of lives of many Nigerians and properties worth billions of Naira are the major reminder of the activities of Boko haram in Yobe State and most of the northern parts where activities of Boko Haram insurgency is rife (Ali, Adamu & Gana, 2019). Boko Haram has significantly afflicted the social, economic, and military facets of governance in Nigeria. It has been discovered that the Boko Haram insurgency has aggravated the developmental challenges of Nigeria (most especially Yobe State) through destruction of lives and properties, destruction of schools which have led to the closure of so many schools in the state and the almost complete breakdown of an already feeble public health system, disruption of businesses, lessening in government revenue, fear of foreign investors to live and do business (a case in point is the destruction of cattle market in Yobe state killing dozens of people and their livelihood), political instability, among others (Awortu, 2015). Since 2012, thousands of people who have been incarcerated in military custody died in Borno and Yobe states. Thousands more have been victims of compulsory disappearance and hundreds have been subjected to acts of torture and other forms of brutal, mindless and demeaning treatment in military and police custody in north-eastern Nigeria (Amnesty International, 2014).

Education is a panacea for national development across the world. There is no society that does not give sufficient consideration to her educational growth and development. Apart from the miserable budgetary allocation by the government, the Boko Haram insurgency has been an impediment to educational development in Nigeria. By implication, Boko Haram translates to war against western education mainly in northern Nigeria (Awortu, 2015). In Yobe state all schools were shot from June to September 2013. On 6 March 2014, the federal government closed five Federal Colleges (Unity Schools) in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states, ordering their projected 10,000 students to relocate to other schools (Daily Trust, 10 March 2014 in Awortu, 2015).). Parents dreadful of attacks have withdrawn thousands of children from schools in a region previously the most educationally backward in the country (Awortu, 2015). The targeting of education unenthusiastically and depressingly affected the development of Nigeria's economy and by extension that of Yobe State. Due to the low number of school-enrollment of children (Nicholson, 2016)

The economic effects of insurgency in Yobe state can be commonly viewed from two perspectives: they are the effects on the state and individual members of the state principally, residents of Yobe state and neighbouring northern states. Economic activities have been extremely disrupted; the insurgents damaged more than 25 telecommunication masts and base stations in Potiskum, Damaturu and the neighbouring northern states serving part of Yobe State thus, setting back efforts to improve telecommunications in the region. Boko Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria has led to people abandoning their businesses, closure of banks and government parastatals amongst other issues (Awortu, 2015). Tochukwu (2013 in Nicholson, 2016) remarked that the mass exodus of people in the northern state of Yobe resulted in many small businesses closing as well as service industries inept of maintaining adequate workforce to stay operational.

Many of the workers requested relocation due to fear of violence. As a consequence, unemployment soared, banks closed due to a decline in economic activity, and insurance premiums rose (Awortu, 2015).

Geography plays an important role in an insurgency's ability to affect the economy. Almost all the trade routes both local and international within Yobe State have all been deserted affecting adversely the economy of the state and by extension the nation. The activities of Boko Haram have heightened serious fear among the Nigerian populace, especially those in Yobe State. The development has led to loss of lives and properties, business ventures and shops have remained closed, Boko Haram has succeeded in instilling hatred among the people who have been living together in peace and harmony for decades (anonymous). Boko Haram has affected the agricultural growth and development in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria which is predominantly an agrarian enclave. Yobe State is mainly an agricultural state; Boko Haram insurgency has a far reaching and wide ranging impact on farming activities: Farm lands, grazing fields and fishing ponds and rivers have been abandoned or deserted. It has resulted in cattle rustling where cattle have been stolen by the insurgents to enable them buy arms, a lot of person have been driven from their farm location and a whole lot of them are in the IDP camp. Tari, Kibikiwa, and Umar (2016) in their study revealed that the insurgency attacks continue to pose serious challenges to agriculture and households food security. Hence a lot of households who mostly depend on their farm produce as their main source of food and family income, have as a result of displacement arising from the crisis been facing a lot of difficult times. It is significant to note that Boko Haram activities have also adversely affected the politics and governance. It militates against the efficient performance of government institutions and also results in distrust and suspicion in the midst of the leaders and functionaries in Yobe State and Nigerian political leaders at large.

The activities of the insurgent group and the announcement of insurgency in the state has affected the state economy, this has created a wide gap in the state economy and that of the individuals. The civilian government failed to overcome the Boko Haram activities, and because of this, the federal government of Nigeria was forced to declare state of emergency on the North-Eastern states of the country which affected Yobe state adversely. The activities of the Boko Haram and the announcement of the insurgency have negatively affected the economy, education and political development of the state (Ali, Adamu & Gana, 2019). Just as the economic implications of Boko Haram carnage cannot be quantified, the social costs are enormous. The church, school, market, clinic and mosque are potential targets of Boko Haram (Awojobi, 2014). Aside the socioeconomic implications, the human cost is more worrisome, more than 10.000 have been murdered, a lot of people have been maimed and women have been kidnapped and raped. These have left the family of the dead, the injured, the raped and the kidnapped in agony and chronic Psychological breakdown. In a nutshell, most of the family members of Boko Haram victims are going through a traumatized period creating a serious psychological challenge (Awojobi, 2014).

The effects of Boko Haram insurgency have been summed up by Babajide, 2012, IRIN news 2012, Eme and Ibietan 2012 cited in Chukwurah, Eme and Ogbeje, (2015: 376) they argued that:

In the core service sector, schools, hospitals, hotels, parks and recreational outfits are going down. Foreign students are relocating down to the south; many doctors have transferred to other peaceful states, hotels and parks now records low turn-out of visitors. All these portend losses to the economy. The infrastructural sub-sector in Yobe State has been devastated. This is because a good number of foreign and local contractors across the state engaged in the construction of roads, bridges, housing estate development, the dams, National Integrated Power projects and rail way track rehabilitation have either abandoned their sites or relocated to other states. This represents real setback to the economy of the region and pushes unemployment higher as thousands of youth who would have been engaged by them now sit idle, the commercial sector which was once

booming now witnesses a dwindling fortune. The commercial subsector which covers the small and medium scale enterprises, local markets, road side shops and stores within the state have been closed down because most of these businesses are owned by southerners most of whom are Igbos, Yorubas and other tribes from other parts of Nigeria. The market is stifled. The economy has crashed, Business is fizzling and income generation has dwindled. People find it difficult to make ends meet. Most times people come to market without selling anything and many times they don't even come at all for fear of attack.

How to mitigate the effects of Boko Haram Insurgency in Yobe State

Government response to the Boko Haram threat has been uncoordinated and bereft of focus; indeed, it has fluctuated between the use of extreme force, appeasement, amnesty and negotiation. Obviously, for close to a decade, government has not been able to militarily defeat the Boko Haram insurgency even with the logistical support coming from the neighbouring countries and a joint multinational task force (Akubo and Okolo, 2019).

Insurgencies, according to Kwanashie, 2013 citing Eizenstat et al grew out of "gaps". To be feasible, a state must be able to close three "gaps", of which the first is most important: a. **security**: protection "against internal and external threats, and preserving sovereignty over territory. If a government cannot guarantee security, rebellious armed groups or criminal non state actors may use violence to exploit this security gap" b. **capacity**: The most basic are the survival needs of water, electrical power, food and public health, closely followed by education, communications and a working economic system."A failure to do so produces a capacity gap, which can lead to a loss of public confidence and then perhaps political turmoil. In most environments, a capacity gap coexists with—or even grows out of—a security gap. c. **legitimacy**: closing the legitimacy gap is more than an incantation of "democracy" and "elections", but a government that is alleged to exist by the consent of the governed, has minimal corruption, and has a working law enforcement and judicial system that enforce human rights.

Arguing further, from the need ensure a viable counterinsurgency, Eizenstat's (cited in Kwanashie, 2013) expanded his security gap thesis. For him to develop a successful counterinsurgency strategy you need an insurgency model that fit the particular situation under consideration Eizenstat's security gap: i. Military security (securing the population from attack or intimidation by guerrillas, bandits, terrorists or other armed groups) ii. Police security (community policing, police intelligence or "Special Branch" activities, and paramilitary police field forces). iii. Human security, building a framework of human rights, civil institutions and individual protections, public safety (fire, ambulance, sanitation, civil defense) and population security. This pillar must engage military commanders' attention, but of course military means are deployed across the model, not just in the security sphere, while civilian activity is gravely important in the security pillar also ... all three pillars must develop in parallel and stay in balance, while being decisively based in an effective information campaign. To effectively combat insurgencies, governments must proactively shape, control, and roll back insurgencies before they are able to increase in size and influence (Nicholson, 2016). Since poverty and unemployment are among the root cause of Boko Haram insurgency there is an urgent need for a robust social protection scheme with special preference for the north. Food, shelter, health care and employment creation should be the bedrock of this scheme. Women, children and youths should be the target they should be empowered through vocational training. While mosque, churches, and NGOs should be utilized

Conclusion

Insurgency symbolises diverse types of collective political violence, particularly terrorism, guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare. Insurgency has been an age long phenomenon in Nigeria of which Boko Haram is the latest monster responsible for the precarious living condition of the northern region of which the North East is the most devastated particularly Yobe state. Maiming of tens of thousands of lives of many Nigerians and destruction of properties worth billions of Naira are the major reminder of the activities

of Boko Haram in Yobe State and most of the northern parts where activities of Boko Haram insurgency is rife. Public buildings, private properties, markets, churches and mosques, as well as the public were not spared. Economic activities have been extremely disrupted; the insurgents damaged base stations in Potiskum, Damaturu and the neighbouring northern states serving part of Yobe State. Boko Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria has led to people abandoning their businesses, closure of banks and government parastatals. Almost all the trade routes both local and international within Yobe State have all been abandoned affecting negatively the economy of the state and by extension the nation. Farm lands, grazing fields and fishing ponds and rivers have been neglected or deserted. It has resulted in cattle rustling where cattle have been stolen by the insurgents to enable them buy arms, a lot of persons have been pushed from their farm location and a whole lot of them are in the IDP camps. To remedy the menace of the Insurgency there is need for coordinated Government response to the Boko Haram threat and with focus, for this to be feasible, state must be able to close three "gaps": security, capacity and legitimacy. Poverty and unemployment are among the major root causes of Boko Haram insurgence hence there is an urgent need for a robust social protection scheme with special preference for the north. Food, shelter, health care and employment creation should be the basis of this scheme. Women, children and youths should be the target they should be empowered through vocational training.

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