

TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: A REFLECTION ON CONCEPT, COST AND THE ECONOMICS OF PLANNING

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Abstract

Terrorism is as developmentally costly as it is conceptually complex in Nigeria. It ravages the nation's political economy and erodes social harmony. Thus, reflecting on the cost and concept of terrorism in Nigeria is a national security imperative. Across the globe, terrorism, regardless of its form and target, disrupts the income generation of States and commercial activities than religious cleansing. In Nigeria, Boko Haram terrorism reflects this truism. It is more of an attack against the Nigerian federation than against Christians. This paper interrogates this phenomenon in the context of the economics of planning. Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria's northeast was brought about by the State's highhandedness and improper planning. Using the historical research methodology and secondary sources are analysed to demonstrate how terrorism in Nigeria is preventable through prospective economic planning. By exploring the origin, causes, and mode of operation of Boko Haram terrorists in Nigeria, the paper situates it within the broader global terrorism portraiture. This enabled the paper to spotlight how futuristic economic planning can be deployed to mitigate the cost of terrorism. It concludes that Nigeria must embrace prospective economic planning based on its population growth projections and the foreseeable challenges.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Terrorism, Nigeria, Perspective Planning, Cost

Introduction

Across different spectrum of society, cost has different connotations. Cost is general economic planning is the alternative forgone. It is the sacrificed item or need in order to satisfy the need for another item. In business accounting, cost is the price of an item or the amount of money paid for services rendered; while in a social context, cost is the calamity suffered by individuals, households, and nations as a result of natural or man-made calamities. Out of all the man-made factors affecting cost, nothing inflicts and inflates cost in all of its ramifications like war and terrorism. It is for this reason that the signing of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 can be considered a milestone in human rights protectionism. It sought to reduce the cost implications of man-made misgivings and state terrorism. The UDHR also

conferred on states in the international system the sacred duty of protecting the fundamental human rights of their citizenry from abuse by non-state terrorist actors. Hence, in 1960, when Nigeria attained sovereign status, it is safe to say that the country inherited this obligation. Thus, Nigerians systematically and constitutionally earned the right to live in peace, and be free from fear of uncontrolled use of violence and terror. This is because, the Nigerian state ceremony, symbolized by the lowering of the British Union Jack and the hosting of the Nigerian flag, conferred on Nigeria as a nation and Nigerians as a people the right to exist and thrive under the security of international law.

In the early years of Nigeria's statehood, domestic terrorism was almost an abstract subject or an illusion that Nigerians read about or watched on international cable network news channels. But this is not to say that, Nigerians, since independence, have suffered under the yoke of state terrorism in one way or the other. Since paradise was lost in the "Garden of Eden" Man's live everywhere had been fraught with pain and misery across the globe. In the thousand years of human history after the *Edenic* rebellion, mankind has mostly dominated his fellow man to his injury. Injustice, oppression, suppression, marginalization and exclusionism were seen to be the hallmarks of human rule. This was also true of politics and governance in the Nigerian state when it came into sovereign existence. The country was characterized by untold sufferings and skyrocketing poverty that were caused by Nigeria's dysfunctional political system and underdeveloped economy. Despite this reality, acts of terrorism such as suicide bombings were at an all-time low; and the thought of Nigerians taking their own was inconceivable. Fela Anikulapo Kuti, verbalized this situation aptly in his one of his songs titled "*Suffering and Smiling*".² He observed that Nigerians love their rights to life so much that they would never think of endangering their lives to change the status quo ante in the country. Therefore, before the rise of the Boko Haram terrorist group, terrorism as a means to an end was officially not an option on the table for Nigerians seeking socio-political change and economic justice. It is against this backdrop that this study would interrogate the political economy dynamics, psychological and attitudinal changes that birthed the Boko Haram phenomenon in 2009. In order to articulately count the cost of terrorism in Nigeria, the paper would examine the concept and historical context of terrorism. It would demonstrate that planning is a development imperative and an effective cost cutting tool for pruning down the social and economic cost of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Conceptual Understanding of Terrorism

The term terrorism was coined from the root word terror, which itself was derived from the Latin word "*Terre*" that means "to frighten". The forerunner of the concept "*Terror Cimbricus*" referred to the state of fright and panic in Rome in 105 B.C during the Cimbrian war, upon the approach of warriors from the Germanic and Celtic tribe of Cimbri.³ But the etymological origin of the concept of terrorism as a calculated use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population in order to achieve political objectives is traceable to the 1790s. During this period, terrorism as a concept was concocted to describe the terror the French revolutionaries unleashed on their opponents.⁴ In this regard, the word terrorism gave verbal expression to the "Reign of Terror" of the Jacobin party of Maximilien Robespierre

during the French Revolution. Their acts of terror included mass execution of King Louis XVI and his wife Maria Antoinette, by guillotine.⁵

Over time and space, terrorism has taken different forms and shades. And this explains why there is currently no one watertight universally acceptable definition of terrorism. Despite the conceptual variations of terrorism, all the different understandings of terrorism still meet at the centre. This has to do with the underlying objectives or motives of the terrorist. The existing conceptual frameworks for understanding terrorism espouse the idea that terrorism is either the use of violence (terror) to frighten people or to achieve certain political goals. However, the problem of having a universal definition of terrorism was captured succinctly by Louise Richardson when he stated that: “A universal definition (of terrorism) will define terrorism irrespective of the aims of the terrorist group.”⁶ Despite the elusiveness of terrorism to conceptual universality, Gregor Bruce maintained that researchers and academic students of terrorism are still very much interested in defining terrorism because it enables better communication and contribution to society’s counter-terrorism measures.⁷

It is along this line that this study finds it pertinent to conceptualise and contextualise terrorism in Nigeria for a better grasp. Some popular views of terrorism in the country conceive it as Islamic fundamentalism, a Fulanisation and Islamisation agenda aimed at the eradication of Christians in Nigeria. These perceptions and misconceptions of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria have far-reaching social and political consequences. It is partly responsible for President Donald Trump threat to go guns-a-blazing in a strong and swift military attack against what he calls radical Islamists killing Christians. Misconceptions of terrorism in Nigeria is also responsible for its view as acts of genocide against Christians, and for the stereotyping and even outlawing of social groups perceived to be affiliated with terrorism.⁸ In Nigeria, this is the apparent reality. Hausa/Fulani people and Islam as a religion are given terrorist profiles in the South. Thus, there is a growing problem of witch-hunting, victimisation (suspicion) and stigmatisation of northerners as Boko Haram members in the south. Therefore, to help reposition perspectives in the country and engender proper understanding of terrorism, this paper finds it apropos to examine terrorism from a global perspective. Walter Languer defined terrorism as the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people.⁹ Tore Bjorgo conceptualised terrorism as a set of methods of combat rather than an identifiable ideology or movement, and involves premeditated use of violence against non-combatants in order to achieve a psychological effect of fear on others than the immediate targets.¹⁰

C.J.M Drake defines terrorism as the recurrent use or threatened use of politically motivated and clandestinely organised violence by a group whose aim is to influence a psychological target in order to make it behave in a way which the group desires.¹¹ And the United States of America’s Federal Bureau of Intelligence conceives terrorism as: “The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property, to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”¹² In 2004, the United Nations Security council Resolution 1566 defines terrorism as,

*Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.*¹³

Furthermore, the United Kingdom's Terrorism Act 2000 defined terrorism as an act designed seriously to interfere with or seriously disrupt an electronic system. This act includes cyber-attacks (cyber terrorism), which is a core aspect of modern terrorism.¹⁴ The United States of America's Patriot Act of 2001 expanded the conceptualisation and contextualisation of terrorism to include:

1. Threatening, conspiring or attempting to hijack aeroplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles;
2. Threatening, conspiring, or attempting to commit acts of violence on any "protected" persons, such as government officials;
3. Any crime committed with the use of any weapon or dangerous device, when the intent of the crime is determined to be the endangerment of public safety or substantial property damage, rather than for mere personal monetary gain.¹⁵

It is against the backdrop of these conceptual frameworks that this study will interrogate terrorism in Nigeria as a rational course of action chosen by aggrieved, marginalised, outnumbered and outgunned minorities out of other alternatives to seek redress and attract political attention. Therefore, this study opines that Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is the rational and calculated use of violence to draw the attention of government and that of the general public to the political and socio-economic plights of displaced elements in northern Nigeria. Some of these terrorist were arguably former political stooges of some members of the Nigerian ruling class; who were used to capture state power. After electoral victory, some of these political thugs who turned terrorists had their unwritten agreement between them and some state actors that recruited them jettisoned. Consequently, resorting to terrorism became the most pragmatic means of expressing their grievances against the state, and perhaps the sharpest weapon for demanding socio-economic justice.

Terrorism in Global Historical Perspective

From the foregoing conceptualisation of terrorism in the Nigerian context, it is deducible that terrorism is not genocide against Christians in the country. Rather, it is an act of terror driven by ideology, targeted against the State and consistent with other terrorisms in a global historical perspective. Terrorism is a timeless phenomenon. This makes modern acts of terrorism direct replica of the past. Thus, although contemporary conceptualisation of terrorism began after the French Revolution of 1789; it is instructive to note that terrorist activities as acts of violence rooted in the past are conceptually tied together. However, what differs over time and space are the actors and theatre of terrorism; but the idea remains the same. To this

end, the United States Institute of Peace observed that violence had been in use throughout human history by those who chose to oppose kings and reject existing status quo.¹⁶ The earliest user of the idea of terrorism in human history can be traced to Cain. In the “Garden of Eden”, he unleashed terror on his brother Abel when he struck him to death with a rod in the field. But the organised use of the idea of terrorism as a rational weapon in the fight against dominion and suppression can be traced to the Jewish zealots in the first century. They tried to overthrow Roman rule over Jerusalem and the whole of Biblical Palestine through the use of murder and assassination. Subsequently, in the 11th to 13th centuries, organised terrorism was also used by Shiite Muslim sect that sought to assassinate Sunni Muslim leaders. They used hashish before committing acts of violence, and it was from their activities that the word assassin originated.¹⁷

However, in 18th-century France the historical development of terrorism reached a new height. It metamorphosed into a calculated use of violence to instil fear and achieve political objectives. This dimension of terrorism manifested fully during the French Revolution. In the course of the revolution, violence was not only used by the French revolutionaries to engender political and socio-economic reforms in France, but it was also elevated and incorporated into statecraft. Terrorism thus became an instrument of state policy. It was used by the French Royal family to eliminate and counter revolutionary elements in France and save France from military defeat; and to prevent France from descending into anarchy.¹⁸ Herbert L. Peacock observed that,

*The court nobles and members of the Royal family were not prepared to accept the situation as resignedly as Louis himself. All their efforts were concentrated on the defeat of the National Assembly by force or the threatened use of force.*¹⁹

They assembled a large body of troops under Marshal de Broglie to suppress the revolutionaries at Paris and Versailles. And this heightened the “Reign of Terror” in 18th century France.

In the 19th century, the global portraiture of terrorism was expanded when violence was extensively used to achieve the unification of Germany and Italy. The Otto von Bismarck’s “Blood and Iron” policy was an incitement to terrorism in European interstate relations which meant that, when it came to the realisation of the sovereign independence of Germany all options were on the table. Therefore, in the Franco-Prussia war and the Austro-Prussia war that ensued, terror and violence played a large part in determining the outcomes. In these international conflicts, the capacity of a state to inflict more terror on its adversary and sustain it decided the outcome. This situation was also true of the Franco-Italo and Austro-Italo wars that were fought for the political independence of Italy. Therefore, it can be argued that the emergence of Germany and Italy as independent states in Europe not only increased the number of states; they also engendered the idea of terrorism in the international system.²⁰ This manifested in the later rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Under these ideologies, both states became increasingly committed to terrorism and violence.

However, at the dawn of the 20th century, the ideological base of the idea of terrorism was complemented with new forces such as nationalism, religious fundamentalism and cultural sentimentalism, among others. In this age, terrorism has begotten terrorism more than ever in the history of terrorism. For example, on June 28, 1914 when Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie were killed in a terrorist attack in Sarajevo by a Bosnian Serb nationalist; it paved the way for the outbreak of the biggest act of global terrorism, World War I. The first terrorist strike was carried out by 19 years old Gavrilo Princip; and this led to the second terrorist attack when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914 in retaliation for the murder of the Austrian Archduke. Ever since this incident, terrorism in international relations has become a fancied weapon of the weak in the fight against colonial domination and hegemonic designs.²¹

But in the post-World War I years, that is, in the 1920s and 1930s it was the ideology of Fascism and Nazism under Benito Musolini and Adolf Hitler respectively that breathe life into global terrorism. Terrorism in Fascist Italy and Nazist Germany was incorporated into statecraft beyond the level attained in France during the revolution.²² Furthermore, with the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 and planting of communism in the country; Soviet Russia also emerged as one of the bastions of state terrorism in Europe. It used brute force to suppress the will of the people and to impose the will of the state on the citizenry. Consequently, in Germany and Soviet Russia people who did not fit into the mold of the leadership of the terrorist state such as political opponents, the Jews and Christians, became the primary targets of state terrorism. Hence, the Jewish holocaust, also known as the *Shoah* between 1941 and 1945 and the persecution and detention of Christians between 1937 and 1941 in concentration camps in Siberia speak volume of these developments.

From the mid-20th century global terrorism assumed a new form in colonised spaces of the earth in Africa. And it was the signing of the Atlantic Charter between the United States of America and Britain in 1941 coupled with the rise of radical nationalism at the end of the Second World War in 1945 that fired it all up. This new dimension of terrorism is the use of violence to drive self-determination struggle. In colonial Africa, decolonization and concerted effort against white supremacy was spiced with terrorist tactics. This is the use of terror and violence to create media spectacle and to pursue political objectives. Thus, nationalism and freedom fighting became the mask terrorism wore to conceal its true face. The reign of terror, which is the real face of terrorism, manifested itself in the weaponisation of violence and vandalism by the Black majority in South Africa in their nationalist struggle to resist apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC) under the leadership of Nelson Mandela used terror to fight the terror of the white supremacist regime.²³ Furthermore, in the Angola crisis of 1974-1975, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) were locked a Cold War battle of attrition that gave a fillip to the idea of terrorism. This implies that as the curtain of Portuguese colonialism in the country was closing; the cold war politics enhanced the entrenchment of terrorism in Angola and elsewhere in Africa.

The Origin of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

The origin of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, as can be deduced from the foregoing discussion, is not an isolated event in world history. It only emerged as one of the new frontiers of global terrorism. In Nigeria, the phenomenon of urban terrorism perpetrated by armed groups such as the Odua People's Congress, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), vigilante groups such as the defunct Bakassi Boys in Igboland predated Boko Haram terrorism. More so, the reign of terror occasioned by ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria such as the Ijaw-Itsekiri crisis, Ife-Modakeke crisis, Umuleri-Aguleri crisis, and the Maitatsine crisis were also precursors to the Boko Haram terror and violence. In regional perspective, the Kano crisis of 1953, Kano Riot of 1991 and the Biafra war of 1967-1970 stood tall in pitching Northerners and Southerners in Nigeria against each other in the ring of terror and violence. However, terrorism as at this time in the country was philosophically and structurally configured as terrorism proper. But the events mentioned above underpinned the idea of terrorism in Nigeria.

However, Nigeria's budding terrorism profile took a huge leap in 2002 with the rise of an ideologically organised terrorist group. In terrorism studies in Nigeria, there is a strongly entrenched view that the year 2002 was date of birth of terrorism in the country. But Akinola Olojo, in his attempt to probe beyond 2002, argued that the consensus of opinion that Boko Haram was formed in 2002 did not mean that the group was conceived in that year. He traced the remote origin of Boko Haram terrorism to the year 1995, when it was believed that the group existed as "*Shabaab*" and was led by a Muslim youth known as Lawan Abubakar.²⁴ However, his departure to the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, for further studies led to the emergence of Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf as the substantive leader of the group. The headquarters of Boko Haram as a terrorist organisation is in Maiduguri, Borno state. The name of the group, when translated into English language means "Western Education is a Sin".²⁵

In the early years of Boko Haram, it drew its members and support from thousands of youth who were already disenchanted with the Nigerian state. And these people saw the group as an outlet through which their grievances could be expressed. Therefore, many poor families and unemployed youths in Northern Nigeria, as well as those from neighboring countries such as Niger, Chad, and Cameroon took refuge in Boko Haram.²⁶ Understandably, the group in its immediate post-formative stage functioned as a social movement and economic vanguard of some sorts. It sought to liberate the poor and provide a soft landing spot for oppressed people. Encyclopaedia Britannica noted that Boko Haram's initial proclaimed intent was the eradication of corruption and injustice in Nigeria, which it blamed on Western influences.²⁷ To this end, the group initiated socio-economic programmes aimed at salvaging its indigent and impoverished members. It sought to purge Nigeria of corrupt politicians and create a pure Islamic state ruled by Sharia Law. And this increased the domestic appeal of the group among displaced and disenchanted Muslims in the north.

Under these circumstances, Boko Haram was able to expand its activities and networks in northern Nigeria. It established a branch in Yobe state in the village of its leader Mohammed

Yusuf.²⁸ What this implies is that, when Boko Haram was formed in 2002 it was not committed to terrorism; it emerged as a social vanguard for purging northern politics from the corrupt and false Muslims that dominated it. And by extension, the group sought to fight against injustice, political exclusion and economic marginalisation in Nigeria. To this end, the group chided the northern political elites for their collaboration with southern elites to the detriment of the poor.²⁹ It resented the complicity of the false Muslim elites with their Christian counterparts in the plundering the wealth of Nigeria and in pushing many into poverty.

The road was paved for the philosophical core of Boko Haram to turn radical on October 12, 2001 when al-Qaeda made a call for a universal Jihad against the West. The group portrayed the United States of America's post-September 11, 2001, fight against terrorism in Afghanistan as a fight against the Muslim world. It enjoined Muslims everywhere to see Muslims in the Middle East as oppressed brethren. This caused the socio-economically vulnerable youths in northern Nigeria to become agitated and poised to protest against the counter-terrorism war in Afghanistan.³⁰ Chris Talbot reported that following the USA bombing of Afghanistan, about 2000 Muslim youths from an organization called the Muslim Revolutionaries protested against America's counter-terrorism war in Afghanistan, carrying the poster of Osama bin Laden. They clashed with anti-riot police and attacked Christians, which resulted in the death of over 200 people and the displacement of 18000 people.³¹ Therefore, what this call and the reign of terror it led to presuppose is the fact that even before the official formation of Boko Haram, radicalism was already ingrained in its embryo.

However, the immediate trigger of Boko Haram radicalism in Nigeria was the government's mismanagement of the group and the perceived threat it posed to the state. In 2009, the Nigerian government began a crackdown against Boko Haram in an attempt to root it out. And it would be safe to add that Nigeria's decision was not unconnected with the October 2001 Muslim protest in the country. Yvonne Ndege reported that, after issuing a warning for people to evacuate the surrounding area of Boko Haram headquarters, the Nigerian military invaded it in the night and shelled Boko Haram's mosque and the school that serves as their headquarters.³² This attack resulted in the death of no fewer than 100 Boko Haram members and the capture of its leader, Mohammed Yusuf.³³ The terror unleashed by the Nigerian security forces on the group created deep-seated fear in some of the residents of Maiduguri that left them too afraid to come back to their homes.³⁴ The Nigerian state terrorism against Boko Haram continued with the extra-judicial killing of its leader, Mohammed Yusuf, in police custody.³⁵

Following this killing in 2009, the rise of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria became unstoppable. The United States of America's House of Representatives Subcommittee on Counter-Terrorism and Intelligence Committee on Homeland Security observed that when Boko Haram re-emerged in 2010; it became as a more radical and violent group under the leadership of Imam Abubakar Shekau.³⁶ It sought vengeance against the Nigerian state for executing Mohammed Yusuf.³⁷ Therefore, it can be said that the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria became a Frankenstein Monster of some sort that the Nigerian state partly had a hand in creating. In its quest for revenge, the group became bloodlust and terroristic. It obtained

more pounds of flesh from the Nigerian state than the state took from it in 2009. Boko Haram became responsible for more deaths and miseries in northern Nigeria than any other factor.

In 2019, Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria took another dimension when the group splintered into two. Internal unrest within the group resulted to a faction breaking away to partner with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). This new terrorist group that this union formed in Nigeria became known as the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP). The new terrorist group unleashed more ferocious attacks and terror on the Nigerian state that it compounded the country's national security dilemma. Boko Haram and ISWAP operating in Nigeria's ungoverned spaces in Northern Nigeria took terrorism to a new height and guaranteed Nigeria a top-spot on the list of terrorist states in the international system. They gained control of part of Nigeria's territories and established terrorist martial law (rule by force) over them. These groups went as far as hoisting their flags and collecting taxation from local farmers and business operators in their spheres of influence.

Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria

It is a truism that the causation of Boko Haram terrorism can be effectively deduced from the foregoing discussion. But just as there is no universal definition of terrorism, so also is, there no universal causation of terrorism. This presupposes that there is a need for this study to explore other causal factors of terrorism in Nigeria in order to deepen the narrative. Generally speaking, the causes of terrorism in one society differ from the causes in another. But what is certain is the fact that, the causations of terrorism are usually environmentally determined. This implies that, it is wrong to search for the cause of terrorism in one society in another society; the cause must be sought within that society. The truthfulness of this contention resides in the fact that despite the external factors that might have propelled terrorism in a country, it is usually its' prevailing political and socio-economic milieu that triggers recourse to terrorism.

It is instructive to note that, as the types of terrorism vary, so also do their causes. There is the civil disorder terrorism, political terrorism, non-political terrorism, quasi terrorism, state terrorism, limited political terrorism, and revolutionary terrorism. In the case of Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorism can be described as civil disorder and revolutionary terrorism. This type of terrorism results when a group unhappy with and in opposition to political and economic policies and actions intend to send a message constituted authority they hold a grudge against; and later tries to overhaul the status quo. Insight drawn from the activities of Boko Haram since 2002 lends credence to this view. Without doubt, political dysfunctionism and bad governance that are responsible for the oppression, suppression, highhandedness and economic injustices are the triggers of Boko Haram terrorism. Economic alienation, marginalisation and exclusionism in resource distribution, responsible for the growing phenomenon of poverty and hunger in Nigeria, are strong causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

The fact that Nigeria's political economy had succeeded in leaving many Nigerians behind explains its causal linkage to the resort to terrorism as a means to an end. The country's failed political economy is causing unemployment, injustice, frustration and inequality; and these are the incubators of terrorism. These causal triggers of Boko Haram terrorism are

worsened by state terrorism in Nigeria. The predatory nature of the Nigerian state makes it aloof and unperturbed by the socio-economic travails of its citizenry. Instead of responding to and catering for the welfare needs of the people, leadership in Nigeria is observably the modern day equivalent of King Rehoboam of ancient Jerusalem. When the northern tribe of Israel led by Jeroboam pleaded with him to make their burden light; he promised them that his rule would be more fierce and burdensome than that of his father, King Solomon.³⁸ In a similar fashion, successive government in Nigeria has over time succeeded in increasing the pangs of distress of Nigerians. Consequently, some aggrieved Nigerians, like Jeroboam and his followers of old, have decided to take their destiny into their own hands.

By reconstituting themselves as Boko Haram terrorists, they have turned themselves into the foe of Nigeria. However, through military show of force state terrorism has been further deployed to quash them. But the excessive use of brute force and military violations of human rights have only proven to be new factors fuelling Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria. And this means that terrorism in Nigeria was begot and engendered by terrorism. To this end, Sheikh Gumi argued that the bandits and terrorists unleashing terror on Nigerians are victims of circumstances, who were forced to embrace terrorism as a means of last resort. They see it as the only way to avenge the harm done to their relatives and family members.³⁹ But the United States Institute of Peace survey showed that, the desire for revenge is the least causal factor of youth extremism and violence in Nigeria.⁴⁰ Be that as it may, it is instructive to note that understanding the cause of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is impossible through the lens of monocausality. It was caused by a wide range of problems rooted in Nigeria's failed political economy.

Theatre of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

Since the start of the radical stage of Boko Haram activities in 2010 under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau, Nigeria's Northeast had been the main theatre of its reign of terror.⁴¹ But Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state has so far been what can be called the epicentre of both Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorism in Nigeria. Other flashpoints of Boko Haram terror include Kano, Kaduna, Kogi, Plateau, Bauchi and Taraba states. Overtime, the success of Boko Haram terrorist campaigns had bolstered its confidence to expand its sphere of terror to Nigeria's Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. It attacked the United Nations building, which demonstrated its readiness to attack both soft and hard targets. The US Department of State revealed that some of the acts of terror perpetrated by Boko Hara and its sister terrorist organisation, the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP) include the following: the Kuje prison attack in Abuja on July 5, 2022, the attack on a bar in Kabba, Kogi with Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) on May 29, 2022, the attack of Maiduguri city, Borno with long range rockets on December 23, 2021, the firing of four rockets into Maiduguri city on December 4, 2021.⁴²

On November 28, 2020, Jere Local Government Area of Borno state was a major flashpoint of terrorism. There were several attacks on soft and hard targets in the region. And in July 22, 2020 ISWAP terrorists attacked and killed five (5) aid workers and staff of the Action

against Hunger, the International Rescue Committee, ACTED and the REACH initiative and the Borno State Emergency Management Agency. On July 2, 2020, in Damasak, Borno state terrorist opened fire at the United Nations Humanitarian Air Service (UNHAS) flight. Furthermore, in Monguno town, terrorists attacked a humanitarian hub and killed at least 40 civilians on June 13, 2020; and they also killed 81 civilians in another theatre of terrorism in Felo village in Gubio Local Government Area, Borno state.⁴³ In the areas ravaged by terrorist groups in Nigeria, they successfully instill fear into the hearts of the locals and foreign residents because of the varied and deadly modes of operations the terrorists adopted.

Modes of Operation of Terrorist Groups in Nigeria

While the objectives of terrorist groups in Nigeria at all times were in common, it was their method of operation that varied from one attack to another. At this juncture, this study will be exploring some of the popular modes of operation of both Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorist groups in Nigeria. Terrorists usually carry out coordinated armed assaults, rocket attack, assassinations, kidnapping and hostage taking (this include the abduction of the Chibok Girls in 2014 and the Dapchi Girls in 2018 among others), and suicide bombings. Most of these suicide bombing are carried out using Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), while the terrorists are disguised and camouflaged as military personnel. They wear military uniforms and move about in captured military vehicles. This strategy has so far proven effective in assaulting military installations and police stations in northern Nigeria.

The operational methodology of terrorists in Nigeria also includes the mounting of illegal checkpoints on major supply and commercial routes in northern Nigeria, while disguised as military personnel. They also attack soft targets such as internally displaced persons camp, markets, religious institutions such as churches and mosques, government buildings and schools. Terrorists in Nigeria also use propaganda to instill fear and to terrorise people. This is evident in the practice of Boko Haram releasing gruesome videos showing the brutal killing and beheading of captured victims. They usually do this to make loud terrorist statements to the Nigerian populace. Other forms of terrorist statements are made through the sales of and marrying away of abducted girls and women as slaves; and through the forceful conversion of captured (abducted) Christian girls to Muslims. Boko Haram also adopts the use threat to achieve its objectives. In recent times, this includes the threat of invading Nigeria's capital, Abuja, Islamising Nigeria and the order for all Christians to flee the north or face the brutal consequences if they defied the order.

Cost of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria

The cost of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria can be counted as a humanitarian cost or social cost, economic and political cost. But the economic cost of terrorism is arguably its running cost. It is implicated in all the other costs of terrorism. At the humanitarian or social level, the cost of terrorism in the north is the human right violations it induces. Boko Haram terrorism is largely responsible for depriving people of their right to life, right to human dignity, right to own properties, freedom of speech, movement, association and freedom to make conscientious decisions.⁴⁴ In Nigeria's northeast, the cost of terrorism is growing by the day.

In this area, the activities of Boko Haram had ensured that right to life is no longer certain. There are growing cases of forceful conversion of abducted people (Christians) into Muslims violates their religious freedom, and incidents of rape and torture violate human dignity. And there is also the commodification of humans as articles of trade in modern slave trade markets, which is an inglorious attack on human dignity and person. These actions of terrorists in Nigeria contravene international law and are an unbearable assault on the collective psychology of humanity.

Furthermore, the humanitarian and social cost of terrorism in Northern Nigeria includes the breakdown of marriages and family life, internal displacement of about two million people and social disharmony caused by community dislocation and ethno-religious suspicion and intolerance. In the theatre of Boko Haram terrorism, terrorists have been known to invade families and cart away women and girls and spoils of war. In some cases, they have been reported to add salt to injury by demanding that husbands always make their wives available to them for sexual satisfaction whenever they need them. And some husbands, out of fear, have been known to have sent their wives to the bush at night to satisfy the sexual needs of terrorists and return home in the morning. This development erodes the social foundation of the people and puts culture and tradition at risk. It also breeds a generation of illegitimate children as terrorists have been known to impregnate a number of women and girls in Nigeria's northeast. The International Crisis Group reported Boko Haram began abducting women and girls for both political and pragmatic ends... By awarding wives to its fighters, it attracted new male recruits and incentivised combatants.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Council on Foreign Relations observed that Boko Haram claimed that the wives and daughters of infidels or pagans are legitimate booty that can be sold into slavery.⁴⁶

Economically, the cost of terrorism is the forgone economic activities, business and income-earning opportunities in northeast Nigeria. It is the recurrent and most enduring cost of Boko Haram terrorism. They are the alternative forgone commercial activities, such as large scale farming, animal husbandry, trading and indigenous industrial activities like leather works, Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), taxation, and other artisanal services that terrorism is discouraging in the northeast. By clipping businesses, Boko Haram terrorism had significantly impeded the economic development of the northeast and in Nigeria at large. This is because meaningful economic activities cannot take place in an unstable atmosphere of terror and insecurity. In another dimension, the Nigeria state is also incurring huge financial losses running the affairs of the state because of Boko Haram terrorism. Terrorism has occasioned the increase of security votes to the governors of the 36 states of the Nigerian federation and how these monies are spent are never accounted for. It has also forced the Nigerian government to incur huge economic burden conducting and financing elections. Elections now are very expensive because the electoral umpire continues to demand for huge money for logistics that is never accounted for. More so, the government incurs additional cost creating new polling units in IDP camps and conducting voter re-registration for IDPs who have lost their voters' cards. Terrorism has also led to government increased spending on the military when they deployed as frontline workers in the fight against terrorism and for electoral duties.

Politically, the cost of terrorism in Nigeria is very heavy. It is contributory to the political instability and loss of public confidence on the political leadership of the country. Terrorism has also heightened the breakdown of law and order in the Northeast of Nigeria; and it is providing a cover for undesirable elements across the country to foment trouble. Furthermore, political disruptions such as curfews and state of emergencies that terrorism necessitated in Borno state and other parts of the northeast are also some of its political cost. When these happen, they have far-reaching political effects on politics and governance. Curfews and state of emergencies are undemocratic solutions to problems in a democracy. They give leeway for military rule of some sorts under a democracy. Consequently, terrorism in a democracy somehow manages to find a way to beget itself. This implies that the observable first political response to terrorism in Nigeria is the reversion to state terrorism. State agencies are deployed to contain the freedom of the citizenry and they experience more brutality from the enforcers of curfews and state of emergencies than the Boko Haram terrorist that they were targeted against. In the long run, the use of military to solution to combat democratic problem is another permanent dent on the international image and personality of the Nigerian state.

In another dimension, the political cost of terrorism in the context of human right violations is felt in the disenfranchisement of Nigerian citizens in the northeast displaced by it. This means that terrorism directly hampers political participation in Nigeria. Terrorist activities create uncertainties around the conduct of elections due to fear of a potential terrorist attack on voters at their polling stations. Without doubt, this fear to some extent affects voters' turnout on election days and the mobilization of electoral personnel and material by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The commission has the worry and fear of the security of its staff and material to contend with. INEC usually faces a shortage of personnel to conduct election in the theatres of Boko Haram terrorism. And the situation was created by the fact that members of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) that INEC traditionally recruits as ad-hoc staff for electoral duties in the habit of rejecting their posting to the northeast due to insecurity.

Terrorism also leads to the problem of human displacement. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), who have been forced by terrorist attacks on their homes and communities to flee and live in make-shift tents in places called IDP camps, at times lose more than their homes and properties. Some of them also lose vital documents such as certificated and Permanent Voters Card (PVC) in the process of fleeing from the theatres of Boko Haram terrorism. They also faced the challenge of disenfranchisement due to the fact that some of them find themselves resettling in areas that are outside their voter registration areas and polling units. Hence, they become victims of circumstances who are hindered from rendering their civic responsibility because of terrorism. The loss of these votes is a significant political loss for Nigeria's democracy. This loss is compounded by the fact that terrorism and insecurity are the cover under the Nigerian state have continued to justify and sustain the undemocratic militarisation of elections in the country. Elections in Nigeria's fourth Republic now increasingly involve heavy military deployment because of fear of terrorist attack. And the development is paradoxically hampering the conduct of free, fair and credible elections in

Nigeria. On the one hand, over-militarisation of elections is causing voters' apathy and disillusionment. Instead of feeling safe and secure, some voters in terrorist flashpoints fear for their safety arising from military accidental discharge of bullets. Consequently, in one electoral circle after the other in Nigeria's fourth Republic, the number of registered voters has continued to be higher than the actual voters. This political loss is unsustainable in a fledgling democracy like Nigeria.

Development of Economic Planning in Nigeria

Planning is an age long economic exercise. It is an economic development tool that resonates in the idea that: "failure to plan is planning to fail". Since the rise of development economics as a field of knowledge in the age of enlightenment in Europe, economic thinkers such as Adam Smith, Alfred Marshall, and John Stout Mill, and David Hume, and David Ricardo among others had been loud and clear on the centrality of planning to the growth and development of national economies. Their varied perception of planning gave birth to different economic development principles and practices on which modern economies are now structured. These include the principle of division of labour, balance of trade, comparative cost advantage, and opportunity cost that paved the way for the emergence of economic laws such as the laws of diminishing marginal return and demand and supply that, for many years served as the cornerstone of mercantilism. In their seminal work "*History of Economic Thought*", M.L. Jhingan, M. Girija, and L. Sasikala asserted that mercantilism was the dominant economic thought in Europe from the 16th century to the 18th century.⁴⁷ The reverberating idea and development plan of mercantilist society was anchored on commerce and free trade. In the years followed, in both capitalist and communist economies, planning as the main driver of economic development had taken different dimensions.

However, in the Nigerian experience, modern development planning dates back to the colonial period. Christiana Okojie traced it to the rise of the British Labour Party in Nigeria's former colonial power. She noted that the Labour Party led British parliament for the first succeed in appropriating the sum of £200 million for the economic and social advancement of British colonies. It was in this regard that the Colonial Office in Nigeria requested the development of a "Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Nigeria" through the issuance of Government Sessional Paper No.24, 1945.⁴⁸ In post-independence Nigeria, the first national development plan was launched in 1962; it was followed by the second national development plan in 1970. These plans were replaced by the third and fourth plans in 1975 and 1981 respectively before the rise of perspective planning in the country. Development economics scholars in Nigeria such as C.E. Okojie (2003), E.J. Ayo (1988), A.A. Anyegbe (2014), and E.N. Iheanacho (2014) who have studies Nigeria's post-colonial development plans have basically tried to demonstrate the centrality of planning be it strategic, operational, tactical and contingency planning to Nigeria's economic development; and to explain why they have failed.⁴⁹ But beyond examining planning as a means of national economic development, this study established that economic planning in Nigeria can also be a veritable counter-terrorism instrument.

Perspective Planning as Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Perspective planning is a development economics strategy for managing population projections. It is essentially a long range and futuristic disaster pre-emption strategy in a nation. Perspective planning is planning for the future in such a way that likely futuristic causes of national troubles such as population growth, resource scarcity, natural and man-made disasters, are imagined and resolved before they occur on actionable policy papers (or plans). Hence, Michael P. Todaro and Stephen C. Smith observed that economic planning is a deliberate government attempt to coordinate economic decision making over the long run to influence, direct, and even control the level of growth in a nation's income, consumption, employment, investment, savings, and export and import among others in order to achieve a predetermined set of development objectives.⁵⁰ When planning in Nigeria is effective, it would go a long way in enhancing resource mobilization and allocation and this in turn would cause positive attitudinal and psychological impacts⁵¹ that will help to abate criminalities and social deviance in the country.

As far back as 1959, A. Rudra had made arguments for perspective or long term planning as a national development imperative. He conceived perspective planning as a way of setting perspective for the short term plans of a nation. Rudra asserts that giving perspective to short term plans leads to long run results. This implies that when perspective planning is tied to and made a continuation of short term plans it prevents perspective plans from becoming mere theoretical projections.⁵² Therefore, it can be safely said that perspective planning is planning to achieve or replicate short term development success also in the future. It is a strategy for operationalising the "Rolling Plan". According to Christiana Okojie, when plans are rolled over in perspective planning it enables the government to keep track of major development in the economy and respond in a timely fashion.⁵³ Perspective planning as an instrument of social change in Nigeria is evident some policies locally initiated and others the country keyed into. They include the Vision 2020, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2015, Vision 20:2020, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030. However, it is true that planning in Nigeria since independence had been plagued by poor implementation and by the fact that Nigeria has a mono-economy; nonetheless this study insists that the more the economic managers of Nigeria learn to roll over plan into perspective planning, the more the country's efficiency in resources mobilisation and distribution will improve. It will also make the Nigerian economy very flexible and easily responsive to future national security threats such as population growth. When extant plans are in place to deal with national emergencies before they arise, it puts Nigeria in a good stead to pre-empt the attendant grievances and dissatisfaction they usually create that leads to terrorism. Therefore, instead of over relying on military solutions that engender state terrorism for curbing future internal strife, this study argued that perspective planning is the ideal contingency plan Nigeria needs to perfect in her fight against Boko Haram terrorism.

Conclusion

Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria is consistent with its global historical antecedents. Hence, it is not genocide against Christians. While the Nigerian State is the primary enemy of the group, both Christians and Muslims are the ones bearing the brunt of Boko Haram terrorism in northern Nigeria. Boko Haram's rise as an organised criminal group in 2010 and its targeting of Nigeria are problems the country brought on itself. Nigeria's use of terror to fight terror which caused the extra-judicial killing of Muhammed Yusuf, the first leader of the Boko Haram group in 2009, was the provocation that accelerated the gestation stage of terrorism in Nigeria. It midwifed Boko Haram's rebirth as a radical terrorist group under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau. Since then, the group has remained committed to inflicting serious damage on the Nigerian state as revenge. These are the cost of terrorism in the country. But the economy of the northeast is what this study finds to be the biggest burden bearer of Boko Haram terrorism. Therefore, this study maintained that perspective planning of the Nigerian economic development trajectory is critical to countering terrorism and pre-empting its ravaging effect on the Nigerian economy, among others. It is useful for effective prospective maximisation of scarce resources and resource allocation to respond to projected population growth and its challenges. The study also finds that the human lives Boko Haram terrorism claims are fundamental to the economic growth and prosperity of Nigeria. It is the labour needed to bring together all other factors of production and produce goods and services. Hence, through perspective planning, human needs as the population grows are matched with resources and opportunities. This ensures that nobody is left behind and aggrieved against the State. Therefore, planning guarantees social security, which in turn translates into national security. It deals with insecurity before it arises and planning eliminates the disorientations that usually lead disgruntled citizens into taking up arms against the state by forming or joining radical groups like Boko Haram.

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