

The Impact of Insecurity and Poverty on Sustainable Economic Development in Nigeria

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Abstract: *The paper examines the impact of insecurity and poverty on sustainable economic development in Nigeria with special emphasis on the Boko Haram insurgency. The paper employed OLS technique in estimating the relationship between economic growth rate, insecurity and poverty level, ADF technique was used in testing the presence of unit root in the data, Granger causality test was used to establish the flow of causation between the variables of the model, ECM techniques were used to test the existence of long run relationship between the variables of the model, after which Ramsey RESET model specification techniques were used. The paper found a negative relationship between economic growth and insecurity and poverty; the result of causation revealed that economic growth causes poverty and poverty causes insecurity in Nigeria but not the other way round. The paper also found that one of the most vicious onslaughts on the Nigerian state is the terror unleashed by Jamaatu Ahlis-Sunna Liddaawati -an Islamic sect popularly known as Boko Haram. This sectarian group has adopted several approaches including bombing strategic places; that were hitherto not vulnerable to security threats, waging murderous campaigns against individuals and institutions leading to wanton destruction of lives and property. Using the Frustration-Aggression theoretical framework, the paper argues rather succinctly that terrorism is caused by frustrated expectations and a state of hopelessness and sustained mainly by bad governance, corruption and a pervasively weak institutional framework. With the upsurge of Boko Haram insurgency and the inability of the security agencies to guarantee security, economic life is ground to a halt with dire consequences for the society. This atmosphere of insecurity impedes the attainment of sustainable development. In order to create an enabling environment for sustainable development, the paper suggests, among others, that the Nigerian state should put in place good governance, viable anti-terrorism measures and build strong legitimate institutions that can adequately curb the menace of corruption and poverty and at the same time respond proactively to the challenge of terrorism in Nigeria.*

Keywords: *Nigeria, Frustration-Aggression, Boko Haram, Insecurity, Corruption, Sustainable Development.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has all it takes to be great in terms of human and natural resources and wants to be one of the developed economies of the world and a leading nation in Africa by the year 2020. In order to actualize its dream, it sets the process, for exploitation of resources and the attraction of indigenous and foreign investors. In spite of this laudable goal and arrangement put in place, Nigeria has nothing substantially to show to that effect. At present, most of its citizenry wallow in poverty and do not have access to modern health care delivery system, pipe-borne water, quality

education and job opportunity and cannot afford three square meals daily. These unpleasant development indicators have led to it being rated as one of the poorest nations in the world.

The poor development status of Nigeria no doubt breeds atmosphere of frustrated expectations and foster widespread indignation on the part of those that are trapped in the vortex circle of abject poverty. The condition of hopelessness is further aggravated by impotent poverty eradication programmes and conspiratorial neglect by the Nigerian state. In the face of this predicament, individuals and groups respond differently depending on situational factor and capacity. These responses are crystallized and find expression in various shades of antisocial behaviours including armed robbery, kidnapping, insurgency among others. In the midst of all these, Nigeria is confronted with daunting security challenges which include armed robbery, ethnic crisis, assassination, militancy, kidnapping and terrorism. The current and most disturbing in security problem in Nigeria is the terror unleashed by Jama'atulAlhulSunnahLidda' Wat, Wal Jihad - a dreaded militant Islamic sect popularly known as Boko Haram. The mass media present to the public a multi-varied image of dramatic acts of bombings with impunity and horrific portrayal of people burnt to ashes, maimed and property wantonly destroyed by Boko Haram. Thus, everybody, especially in the hotbed of terrorism, lives in constant fear.

At this juncture, one begins to wonder how the people who live in these regions go about their socio-economic activities. This no doubt portends grave implications for the economic sector and by extension development, as all activities will inevitably grind to a halt. Against this backdrop, this paper is focused on the Boko Haram debacle and its repercussion on sustainable development in Nigeria.

In order to achieve this, the paper attempts a conceptual clarification of insecurity and sustainable development, a historical overview of Boko Haram violent attacks, a theoretical reflection on Boko Haram and the impact of Boko Haram insurgency on sustainable development in Nigeria.

At this juncture, the crucial questions that will guide this paper are the underlisted:

1. What is insecurity?
2. What are the causes of insecurity?
3. To what extent has the Nigerian government gone in fighting the insecurity of lives and property?
4. What are the implications and challenges of insecurity in Nigeria? And
5. What are the possible ways out?

2. CONCEPTUAL LITERATURE

2.1. Insecurity

Insecurity is the extreme opposite of security. The import of this is that it is pertinent to conceptualize security before insecurity. Buzan (1991) sees security as political, economic, social and environmental threat that affect the individual as well as the state at national and international levels. To other scholars, security is the absence of threat to acquire values or tendencies that would undermine national cohesion and peace as criteria for the determination of the meaning of security. Security is the condition or feeling of safety from harm or danger, the defence, protection and absence of threat to acquire values (Wolfers 1962, Oladeji and Folorunso 2007). Security is aptly conceptualized by Professor Imobighe thus:

Security is the freedom from danger or threat to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest.... And enhance the well-being of its people. Thus, security is the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies which could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of a nation and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values... as well as freedom from danger to life and property (Oche 2001:76).

Security is simply the existence of conditions within which individuals in a society can go about their normal daily activities without any form of threat to lives and property (Igbuzor 2004, Akin 2008). Anything devoid of this constitutes a challenge to security.

Insecurity as an antithesis of security refers to a condition that exists due to lack of effective measures put in place to protect individuals, information and property against hostile persons,

influences and actions. Insecurity is simply a situation in which individuals in a given society cannot go about their daily activities as a result of threat to and harmful disruption of their lives and property. According to Beland (2005) insecurity entails lack of protection from crime (being unsafe) and lack of freedom from psychological harm (unprotected from emotional stress resulting from paucity of assurance that an individual is accepted, has opportunity and choices to fulfill his or her own potentials including freedom from fear.

2.2. Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is a multidimensional concept that is conceptualized in many ways. However, the widely used one that is consensually stressed by the Brundtland Commission (1987) and the United Nations World Committee on Environment and Development 1992. Both defined sustainable Development as development that meets the needs of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development is a two-way relationship between development and environment. Another conceptualized consideration that has contextual relevance to this paper is the one of Chinsman (1994) which added “human” to sustainable development. According to him, sustainable human development is centred on the variables and elements of human development. Sustainable human development is nothing but a dynamic framework that meaningfully provides people with job options, eliminates poverty and ensures equitable distribution of wealth in a society. It is the relationship between insecurity and sustainable economic development in Nigeria that constitute the main thrust of this paper.

2.3. Boko Haram: Origin and the Spate of Terrorism in Nigeria

Boko Haram is a dreaded Islamic sect known as Jama'atulAlhulSunnahLidda'Wat, Wal Jihad meaning a group committed to the propagation of Prophet Muhammed's teachings and Jihad (Meehan and Spaier, 2011). The origin and founder of Boko Haram is shrouded in uncertainty. Some scholars trace the origin of the sect to 1995 with LawanAbubakar as its founder. It was when Abubakar left for further studies in Saudi Arabia that the sect then known as Sahaba that Muhammed Yusuf who is also regarded as the leader, took over the affairs of the sect.

Others trace the sect founder to ShehuSanni, a civil right activity in Northern Nigeria. Apart from the above, numerous expositions on the origin and founder of Boko Haram abound (Bumah and Abimbola2009, Langmang 2011, Adike 2012, Uzodike and Maingwa 2012).

It was under the leadership of the slainMallamMuhammed Yusuf that Boko Haram became radicalized and enjoyed foreign collaboration especially with the Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (Abimbola and Adosote 2012).

Since 2009, Boko Haram has constituted a serious security threat in the Northern part of Nigeria. Its terror campaign assumed an alarming dimension from 2010 till date. However, until June 16, 2011, the onslaught was restricted to the North East geo-political zone. The first attack outside the zone was the bombing of the Nigeria Police Headquarters in Abuja. That attack was triggered off by the utterances of Hafiz Ringim-the then Inspector General of Police who threatened to smoke Boko Haram out in a press statement on his duty tour to Maiduguri where the sect launched an attack. The attack on the Police Headquarters was followed up with the bombing of the United Nation House also in Abuja on August 26, 2011 (Aloejewu 2012). Find below a list of its catastrophic terror in strategic locations in Northern Nigeria.

2.4. Manifestations of Insecurity in Nigeria

The under listed are the various manifestations of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria:

2.5. Ethno-religious Conflict

Communal and societal conflicts according to Ibrahim and Igbuzor (2002) have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethno-religious identities. In all parts of Nigeria, ethno-religious conflicts have assumed alarming rates. It has occurred in places like Shagamu (Ogun State), Lagos, Abia, Kano, Bauchi, Nassarawa, Jos, Taraba, Ebonyi and Enugu State respectively.

Groups and communities who had over the years lived together in peace and harmony now take up arms against each other in gruesome “war”. The claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government, councils, control of markets, “Osu caste system” and sharia among

other trivial issues have resulted in large scale killings and violence amongst groups in Nigeria. In these conflicts, new logics of social separation and dichotomy have evolved in many communities in Nigeria. There is the classification of the “settler” and “indigene”, “Christian” and “Moslem”, and “osu” (slave) and “Nwadiala” (free born). These ethno-religious identities have become disintegrative and destructive social elements threatening the peace, stability and security in Nigeria.

2.6. Politically Based Violence

Politics in the current civil dispensation like the previous Republics have displayed politics of anxiety which has played down on dialogue, negotiation and consensus. The anxiety is as a result of perceived or real loss of power by an elite stratum. Put different the quest for political power is among those elites that won it before, those that lost it and those who want it back.

Currently, politicians are already strategizing about the control and retention of power come 2011 elections. To this end, inter and intra-political party conflicts have become rife in which politicians are deploying large resources to out-do each other, changing the rules and legislations of the political game, distorting laws and employing violence and political assassination to settle political scores. Party meeting, campaigns and conventions have become war threats where small and light weapons like guns and cutlasses are freely displayed and used to rig elections, harass and intimidate electors. Also, a spate of politically motivated killing is rife. The most shocking of this killing is rife. The most shocking of these killings was the murder of Chief Bola Ige, Funsho Williams, Dikibo, OgbonnaUche, and Marshall, among others Onyemaizu (2006:10) adds:

A resort to violence, including armed militancy, assassination, kidnap, et cetera, have somewhat suddenly become attractive to certain individuals in seeking to resolve issues that could have ordinarily been settled through due process. The end-products of such misadventures have often been catastrophic. They include the decimation of innocent lives, disruption of economic activities, and destruction of properties among others.

The predilection of most of the politicians is not for election but selection. This lack of party internal democracy is already being revealed in the party primaries, and “selection” of national executive officers of the parties. Even politicians themselves are afraid of what the forthcoming general elections between 2010 and 2011 portend. An atmosphere of political insecurity is fast engulfing Nigeria’s nascent Fourth Republic.

2.7. Economic-Based Violence

According to Eme, (2011) argued that in a popular parlance, this thesis is also known as “political economy of violence”. Recent writings in the mass media across the globe and across political divide have laid much emphasis on the role of resources in generating conflict which is a major cornerstone of economic-based violence. Cries of resource control and revenue sharing regularly rent the air between proponents and opponents. Although by no means limited to oil in the Niger Delta, the most prevalent campaign about the link between resources and conflict focuses on oil and the Delta region. Put differently, there is evidence to suggest that oil has given rise to vertical and horizontal conflicts between National, State and society or between dominant and subordinate geopolitical zones, classes and groups across Nigeria, given the pivotal role that oil plays in the restructuring power relations in Nigeria. It is however true that other types of resource driven conflicts have received less attention in the debate. Assets such as grazing and farming and water resource, have tended to give rise to horizontal conflicts that involve communities across the geopolitical zones. The other thesis is that conflict in Nigeria is poverty induced. This explanation is closely related to relative deprivation, rather than absolute poverty. As a result of the above, the inability of the state to provide basic services for the populace, generate new conflict or renew old ones manifested through politicized agents who have used the conditions of the poor to address, the responses or non-responses of the state to the legitimate yearnings of the people.

2.8. Organized Violent Groups

Organized violent groups take varying dimension and forms. These include: ethnic militia, vigilantes, secret cults in tertiary institutions and political thugs. Various reasons and circumstances account for their emergence. The causes of the manifestations include the culture of militarism that has its antecedents in military rule, the failure of the state and its institutions,

economic disempowerment, the structure of the state and Nigeria's federalism, non-separation of state and religion, politics of exclusion, culture of patriarchy and gerontocracy and ignorance and poor political consciousness (Ibrahim and Igbuzor, 2002:7).

2.9. Impact of Insecurity Question in Nigeria

According to Eme (2011), the underlisted are a checklist of the impact of conflicts and insecurity in a polity:

- Social dislocation and population displacement.
- Social tensions and new pattern of settlements which encourages Muslims/Christians or members of an ethnic group moving to Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves.
- Heightens citizenship question and encourages hostility between "indigenes" and "settlers".
- Dislocation and disruption of family and communal life.
- General atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy
- Dishumanization of women, children, and men especially in areas where rape, child abuse and neglect are used as instruments of war.
- Deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity
- Atmosphere of political insecurity and instability including declining confidence in the political leadership and apprehension about the system (Ibrahim and Igbuzor, 2002:13).
- Governance deficit as a result of security agencies inefficiency and corruption.

2.10. Insecurity Challenges

Traditional rulers, vigilance groups and politicians are perpetrating heinous crimes in Nigeria. The Anambra Vigilante Service aka Bakassi Boys, for instance, has been blamed for some of the killings, although there is no evidence against them. But the theory that Bakassians indeed the government in Anambra, may be involved in the killings evolved in the 2000. Ifeanyi, Ibegbu then an All Peoples Party Leader in the State House of Assembly was abducted and tortured. Thus action seemed to open the gate for political assassination in the state. Edward Okeke, was next on the list. He was killed by people bearing a strong resemblance of Bakassi Boys in November 9, 2000. Others that followed include: IkechukwuNwagbo, Rockefeller Okeke, Sunday Uzokwe, Barrister and Mrs. Barnabas Igwe. It was the killing of the Igwes that led to a federal government clampdown on the Bakassi Boys. The operation took place in Onitsha, Awka and Nnewi, and 31 Bakassi operatives were arrested, while 46 detainees of the outfit were set free. An arsenal of fifty-eight assorted weapons was impounded during the raid. (See Akintude, K., 2002:16) GodspowerAgofure adds and believes that the insecurity of the nation is caused by politicians. According to him, life has been insecure in the country for quite some time and the politicians are directly responsible for it. He adds. They bought the weapons and armed the boys to help them secure electoral victory. And when they have used them to get where they are going, they dump. When these no longer have access to them and they no longer measure up to the life they were living when they were getting money from the politicians, they start to threaten innocent people. It is not that one should be grateful to God this time around that a senior citizen of Rimi'scaliber is a victim. But it is ironical in the sense that Rimi was in position to empower the masses (talakawas) in Kano by giving them education and means of livelihood. If he had done that in his time, the supreme price that he paid would have been perhaps averted. This has been the trend for quite some time now (Aliu, et al, 2010:22). What should have been the solution to the insecurity seems not be working: the introduction of vigilance groups in the states to be supervised by security personnel.

The groups can comb their environment effectively. But unfortunately, these groups turn out in most cases to be more hardened criminals. Another major challenge is the urbanization process. This is because there is a strong and huge connection between security, environment and urbanization. General Secretary of friend of Environment, Mr. Choke Chikwendu explains: Our society has witnessed considerable urbanization but without commiserate security strength. We need to improve the security situation through a holistic approach. First, we need to provide jobs because when people are unemployed, they still survive somehow, devising dubious means and involving selves in nefarious activities like armed robbery, pick pocketing, car snatching among

others; Secondly, the need to make our school system functional. Anyone that has spent four years in a school should be able to do something to help himself. Also, you will observe that the policemen are currently not doing much. They set up static checkpoints that even common thieves can elude. They need to be mobile so that they can rapidly respond to distress calls (Aliu, et al, 2010:23). While I join concerned Nigerians to call for an overhaul of the country's security agencies, it is significant to stress that merely overhauling the police and other security agencies or equipping them cannot guarantee the security of lives and property of socioeconomic insecurity is allowed to loom large, forcing many to seek existence even through fraudulent and violent means that endangers the wellbeing of others. Related to the above is the challenge posed by poverty level in Nigeria. Governments at all levels are unable to address this because there is no realistic social security programme in Nigeria to meet the people's basic needs. As a result, the fear for the future and that of their children often provides the basis for the desperation exhibited in the pursuit of ill-gotten wealth.

Furthermore, the military has been under severe pressure from the opposition parties and the Civil Society to overthrow the government of Yar'Adua just like they did unlike former Obasanjo, which they feel is not accommodating the feelings, yearnings and all the interest of the stakeholders. Issues of electoral reforms, insecurity, high cost of living, unemployment, and infrastructural decay are part of the areas they feel the government has not been able to address.

Exactly ten years after the return of Nigeria to Civil rule, most Nigerians, especially the pro-democracy groups are disillusioned over the prospects of democracy, which they have fought and laboured to enthrone.

According to Chief SupoShonibare, an Afenifere Chieftain, rather than peace, stability and unity, the last five years have only bred poverty, joblessness, political strife, insecurity and economic woes. The conclusion he said is that the country has gone back to exactly where it was six years ago (Thomas, 2004:10). And that has necessitated the regrouping of the pro-democracy activists, which are ready to battle this government to a stand-still. Though the associations differ from Arewa Consultative Forum, Citizen Forum, Committee of Nigerian Political Parties and Coalition of Democrats for Electoral Reform (CODER), among others, the time around tends to be the same – convene a sovereign national conference or quit. This is an option which the presidency has vowed not to yield to. Electoral fraud poses a challenge to democracy in Nigeria and by implication threatens the security fabrics of the polity. Sham elections desecrate the sanctity of democracy and weaken its capacity as an instrument for social mobilization of natural and human resources for the development of the polity. In an environment where development of the populace is security and security is development, the consequences of such acts catch up very quickly with the system. Electoral fraud undermines the credibility and integrity of the democratic process and makes governance much more difficult. Concerned citizens, laden with anger and frustration can resort to violence. Thus, Nigeria has eroded her democracy and the mind of the people cannot be considered during elections. The poor management of the national economy cannot be excluded as far as in security of lives and property of Nigerians is concerned. Our avaricious leaders have virtually converted our national coffers into private establishments. Former governors and sacked bank executives are living examples. Nigeria is rich in black gold but suffers scarcity. But the criminals are not the only ones causing havoc to Nigerians. The state of the country's roads, especially the highways, where potholes have remained a common feature, is adding to the ever increasing insecurity across the land. About a month ago, the nation woke up to the horrible incident of road accident that claimed the lives of 42 pupils on excursion.

It was a moment of horror for the Aricent Nursery and Primary School Ore, in Odigbo Local Government Area of Ondo State, as its little souls met their death about 8.15 pm while returning from Idanre Hill tourist site when the crash occurred. As if to confirm the fears of Nigerians on the insecurity on the country's roads, the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) source put a disturbing statistics out recently. It said that auto crashes claimed 128 lives in first three weeks in various highways (Madike, 2010:16). However, the oil-rich Niger Delta, which incubated some militants due to prolonged neglect, is also not helping matters. Though, there is a concerted effort by the authorities to address the issue, not much, according to opinions is expected because of unnecessary politics and government's bureaucratic bottlenecks. With a long unbroken history of underperformance, the law enforcement and criminal justice systems in the polity are gradually

receding from public reckoning as viable mechanism for social control. In helplessness, citizens have watched human lives brutally terminated and laws of the land violated without relevant institutions ever able to initiate the appropriate investigative and prosecutorial processes as to secure a conviction. The fallouts, according to government critics, is the criminal-minded individuals now view the weakness in the said mechanisms as incentives for further anti-social behaviours that rob the society of public order and security significant for socio-economic and political stability and productive living.

The Boko Haram and Jos Crises added to the already ugly dimension of insecurity in Nigeria. The criminal activities of these crises left countless numbers of lives in ruins and destroyed property worth billions of naira and death roll running into hundreds of thousands.

Finally, there is another dimension of insecurity induced by those larged with the responsibility of securing lives. Just recently, happy trigger happy policemen shot and killed harmless traders and youths in Onitsha and Ajegunle. Many of such incidents litter the country's scenery.

2.11. Major Incidents of Boko Haram Attacks since 2009 up till date DATE and CASUALTIES

July 26, 2009 Boko Haram launches mass uprising with attack on a police station in Bauchi, starting a five-day uprising that spread to Maiduguri and elsewhere.

September 7, 2010 Boko Haram attacked a prison in Bauchi, killed about five guards and freed over 700 inmates, including former sect members.

October 11, 2010 Bombing/gun attack on a police station in Maiduguri with destroyed the station and injured three by the group.

December 24, 2010 The group carried out a bomb attack in Jos, killing 8 people.

December 28, 2010 Boko Haram claimed responsibility for the Christmas Eve bombing in Jos that killed 38 people.

December 31, 2010 the group attacked a Mammy market at Army Mogadishu Barracks, Abuja, 11 people died.

April 1, 2011 the group attacked a police station in Bauchi.

April 9, 2011 the group attacked a polling center in Maiduguri and bombed it.

April 20, 2011 A bomb in Maiduguri killed a policeman.

April 22, 2011 the group attacked a prison in Yola and freed 14 prisoners

April 24, 2011 Four bombs exploded in Maiduguri, killing at least three.

May 31, 2011 Gunmen assassinate Abba Anas Ibn Umar Garbai, brother of the Shehu of Borno, in Maiduguri.

June 1, 2011 the group killed Shehu of Borno's brother, Abba El-kanemi

June 7, 2011 A team of gunmen launched parallel attacks with guns and bombs on a church and police stations in Maiduguri, killing 5 people.

June 16, 2011 bombing of police headquarters in Abuja, claimed by Boko Haram. Casualty reports vary.

June 26, 2011 Gunmen shot and bombed a bar in Maiduguri, killing about 25 people

August 16, 2011 The Bombing of United Nations Office in Abuja, killing over 34 people by the Group.

December 25, 2011 Bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla, killing over 46 people

January 6, 2012 The Sect attacked some southerners in Mubi, killing about 13 Igbo

January 21, 2012 Multiple bomb blasts rocked Kano city, claiming over 185 people

January 29, 2012 Bombing of Kano Police Station at Naibawa Area of Yakatabo

February 8, 2012 Bomb blast rocked Army Headquarters in Kaduna

February 15, 2012 KotonKarife Prison, Kogi State, was attacked by the sect and about 119 prisoners were released and a warder was killed.

February 19, 2012 Bomb blast rocked Suleja Niger State near Christ Embassy Church, leaving 5 people seriously injured

February 26, 2012 Bombing of Church of Christ in Nigeria, Jos, leading to the death of about 2 Worshipers & about 38 people sustained serious injuries.

March 8 2012 An Italian, Franco Lamolinara and a Briton, Christopher McManus, who were Expatriate Staff of “StabilimVisoni Construction Firm” were abducted in 2011 by a splinter group of Boko Haram and were later killed.

March 11, 2012 Bombing of St. Finbarr’s Catholic Church, Rayfield, Jos, resulting in the killing of 11 people and several others wounded.

April 26 2012 Bombing of three media houses (This day Newspaper) in Abuja killing 3 & 2 security Officers & injured 13 people; This day, the Sun & The Moments newspapers in Kaduna, killing 3 persons & injuring many Others.

April, 29, 2012 Attack on Bayero University, Kano, killing 13 Christian Worshipers, a senior non-academic staff & two Professors.

April 30, 2012 Bomb explosion in Jalingo, claiming 11 persons and several others wounded.

8 March 2012 During a British hostage rescue attempt to free Italian engineer Franco Lamolinara and Briton Christopher McManus, abducted in 2011 by a splinter group Boko Haram, both hostages were killed.

31 May 2012 During a Joint Task Force raid on a Boko Haram den, it was reported that 5 sect members and a German hostage were killed.

3 June 2012 15 church-goers were killed and several injured in a church bombing in Bauchi state. Boko Haram claimed responsibility through spokesperson Abu Qaqa.

17 June 2012 Suicide bombers struck three churches in Kaduna State. At least 50 people were killed.

17 June 2012 130 bodies were found in Plateau State. It is presumed they were killed by Boko Haram members.

3 October 2012 Around 25–46 people were massacred in the town of Mubi in Nigeria during a nighttime raid.

January 20, 2013 A group of gunmen attacked the convoy of Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano, killing 4 and injuring 14 others, including two of his sons. In addition, militants from the Boko Haram breakaway group Ansaru ambushed a Nigerian Army convoy in Kogi State, killing 2 officers and injuring 8 others. The troops were heading to Mali to assist in the ECOWAS mission as part of the conflict against Jihadist groups.

January 21, 2013 Suspected Boko Haram militants murdered 31 people over the course of 3 days, including 18 hunters selling bush meat, who were shot at market in Damboa on January 21. Five people were shot in Kano on the next day as they were playing board games. At least 8 civilians were killed in Maiduguri on January 23, as gunfire was reported from parts of the city.

February 18, 2013 A suicide bomber attacked a bus station in a predominantly Christian area of Kano, killing 41 passengers and injuring dozens more.

March 5, 2013 unidentified gunmen attacked at least 13 locations in Ganye, a city in Nigeria's Northeastern Adamawa State, including the local police HQ, a bank and several local bars. At least 25 people were killed in the two-hour assault, including the deputy chief of the local prison, where 127 inmates were freed.

March 18, 2013 A suicide bomber attacked a bus station in a predominantly Christian area of Kano, killing 41 passengers and injuring dozens more.

April 18, 2013 Militants ambushed a police patrol boat in Nigeria's southern delta region, killing all 12 occupants. The MEND group claimed responsibility, saying it was in response to jail sentence given to their leader Henry Okah.

May 7, 2013 At least 55 killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks on army barracks, a prison and police post in Bama town.

June 16, 2013 A team of suspected Islamist militants attacked a school in Damaturu, killing 13 people, including students and teachers. Three days later a similar attack in the city of Maiduguri left nine students dead.

2014 Boko Haram sect attacked many villages and town such as Madagali, Michika, Mubi, Maiha, Hong and Gombi in Adamawa state allowing dozens of people dead and dozens fled their houses to neighbouring towns and some outside the country. (Source: Compiled from Nigerian Newspapers and adopted from Ogege, 2013)

2.12. The Spate of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Theoretical Discourse

The Boko Haram insurgency is ravaging the north in quite alarming and unprecedented manner. A plethora of theories could be used to explain the violent attacks of Boko Haram. Some of the theories are the relational vengeance theory, the Islamic theory and the frustration aggression theory (Alojewu 2012). Each of these theories provides a persuasive explanation on the Boko Haram insurgency, from different view-points. Out of all these, the paper adopts the aggression frustration theory as the most appropriate theoretical framework to explain the actions of Boko Haram.

The frustration-aggression model is a theoretical framework developed by John Dollard and his associates in 1939 but was expanded and modified by Yate 1962 and Berkowitz (1963), drawing mainly from the psychological basis of motivation and behavior. The theoretical framework provides explanation for violent behavioral disposition resulting from the inability of a people to fulfill their human needs. It is based on the general premise that all humans have basic needs which they seek to fulfill and that any blockade to the fulfillment of these needs by individuals or groups elicit violent responses. Frustration-aggression theory emphasizes the difference between what people feel they want and the discrepancy however, marginal, between what is sought and what they get, the greater the violent reaction. In the face of these frustrated expectations, a group is most vulnerable to embark on violent destructive behavior or be a ready army to be used to cause crisis. Central to this explanation is that aggression is the natural outcome of frustration.

In a situation where the legitimate desires of an individual or group is denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way a society is structured, the feeling of frustration can compel such persons or group to express their anger through violence that is directed at those perceived to be responsible for their misfortune or others who are indirectly related to those frustrating their expectations.

The relevance of the frustration-aggression theoretical framework to the insurgency of Boko Haram is better appreciated when viewed against the backdrop of widespread poverty in Northern Nigeria. Poverty though endemic throughout Nigeria, the rate is highest in the north. The three northern regions have the highest incidence of poverty having an average poverty incidence of 70.1% compared to 34.9% of the three geo-political regions of the South. Ten states in Nigeria with the highest incidence of poverty are all in the north, while ten states with the lowest incidence of poverty are in the south (Lukeman 2012). This means that about 70% of people in the north live below poverty line with an income of less than one dollar per day.

The poverty profile is exacerbated by the problem of unemployment and hopelessness. A negative condition caused not by the unwillingness of the people to work but by bad governance that creates capability gap. The capability gap portrays the inability of governance to effectively utilize the resources of the state to better the lots of its citizenry through the provision of job opportunities, infrastructural development and initiation of potent or viable poverty alleviation and eradication programmes. This failure of governance breeds frustrated expectations.

Under this pathetic condition, members of this sect and other frustrated persons are readily available to be recruited under the auspice of Boko Haram as a destructive political agent for indiscriminate and sporadic suicide bombings in northern Nigeria.

2.13. The Boko Haram Debacle and the Problem of Sustainable Insecurity and Human Development in Nigeria

The incessant bombing by Boko Haram insurgents no doubt impact negatively on lives and property. Though, there is the dearth of quantitative evaluation of the catastrophic attacks, available statistics has it that between July 25 and February 2011, Human Rights Watch (2012) reported a total death toll of 935 persons in 164 attacks. It is also reported that an estimate of 550 people were killed through bombing and other means; 550 persons were killed in 135 attacks in 2011 alone. While in 2011, at least 500 people were killed in Boko Haram attacks (Amnesty International 2012). Apart from the loss of lives, there is also the wanton destruction of property worth several billions of naira through bombing. (Oluwaseun 2012).

The above scenario has dire consequences for sustainable development in the regions of attack in particular and Nigeria in general. In the regions where the bombings are pervasive and the property destroyed potentially and in real terms drag their economic fortune back by several steps. Besides the property destroyed, economic life in those regions is automatically grounded to a halt.

People are no longer free to go about their economic activities for fear of being killed. This is made worse as several thousands of people have migrated swiftly to the southern part of Nigeria. The overall implication for sustainable development is that the economy is fast deteriorating. The murderous campaigns and vicious onslaughts on individuals and institutions provide an highly unfavourable business environment for internal and foreign investors. Foreign investment is a major factor in the achievement of sustainable development.

It contributes significantly in boosting the Gross Domestic Product of any country and Nigeria is not an exception. Apart from the significant contributions to the economy at the national level, foreign investors create livelihood opportunities through the creation of job opportunities and the provision of large scale products and services in the host country. Nigeria can no longer avail itself of this opportunity due to unfavorable business environment of insecurity created by the violent activities of Boko Haram.

Apart from the unfavourable investment climate and stagnated external resources inflow into Nigeria, the BokoHaram's insecurity problems has caused a greater percentage of the internal resources and attention to be devoted only to the security sector. With the enormous resources at its disposal, leadership in Nigeria is confronted with the problem of focusing its expenditure priorities on security in disfavour of viable human capital development and other growth and productivity promoting sectors. This no doubt, poses a serious challenge to a dynamic framework for the provision of job options and the elimination of poverty, which of course constitutes the hallmark of sustainable development. This is made worse as leadership is preoccupied by waging and bent on winning the war against terrorism through huge budgetary allocations to the security sector.

Disproportionate attention to the security sector by the Nigerian leadership is another challenge to sustainable development. There is also the problem of micro economic instability distortions and leakages in the Nigerian economy with the attendant problem of infrastructural constraints and hyper-inflation. The implication of this scenario for sustainable development is that more people are trapped into the vortex of interlocking vicious circle of poverty. This constitutes a dismal performance of the economy with devastating implication for sustainable development in Nigeria. Another way in which insecurity negatively affects sustainable development is in the sphere of tourism. Tourism is a viable sector with sufficient economic, socio-cultural benefits. However, for a country to reap these benefits, a country must be free of security threats. Security constitutes a sensitive aspect of tourism. Nigeria has abundant tourist centres. However, they have made negligible contribution to sustainable development due to the security challenges perpetuated by the incessant bombing by Boko Haram.

3. METHODOLOGY

MODEL I

The study first applies OLS regression of the form

$$GDP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 INS + \beta_2 POV + \epsilon$$

Where GDP represents the economic growth rate

INS insecurity which is assumed as a dummy variable represented by 0 during military and 1 during democracy, POV denotes poverty rate.

ϵ is random walk or error term to test the relationship between insecurity, poverty and economic growth rate and the strength of their explanatory power. The sign above the equations indicate a priori expectation of the parameters, therefore, it is expected that $\beta_0 > 0, \beta_1, \beta_2 < 0$.

MODEL II Frustration insecurity model

$$INS = \beta_0 + \beta_1 POV + \epsilon$$

It is expected that $\beta_1 < 0$.

MODEL III: CAUSALITY MODEL

The model of causality test is thus specified as follows:

$$GDP_t = \sum \phi_i GDP_{t-1} + \sum \phi_j INS_{t-1} + \sum \phi_k POV_{t-1} + \mu t1 \tag{1}$$

$$INS_t = \sum \alpha_i GDP_{t-1} + \sum \alpha_j INS_{t-1} + \sum \alpha_k POV_{t-1} + \mu t2 \tag{2}$$

$$POV_t = \sum \beta_i GDP_{t-1} + \sum \beta_j INS_{t-1} + \sum \beta_k POV_{t-1} + \mu t3 \tag{3}$$

Decision rules

The decision rule for equation (1), (2) and (3) under causality models is test of null hypothesis that the estimated coefficients are equal to zero at an appropriate level of significance or using the rule of thumb that if t-statistic is at least 2 the null hypothesis is rejected otherwise accepted. Therefore,

Equation (1) INS, POV, causes GDP if $H_0: \phi_j, \phi_k = 0$ is rejected.

Equation (2) GDP, POV, causes INS if $H_0: \alpha_i, \alpha_k = 0$ is rejected.

Equation (3) GDP, INS, causes POV if $H_0: \beta_i, \beta_k = 0$ is rejected.

Before the development of this method, many empirical researches utilized the OLS alone but this was found to give spurious results. In addition ADF Technique is adopted to test the unit root property of the time series data used. This method was adopted because most time series data exhibit a random walk and often non stationary. The traditional Granger causality tests was be applied in this study as an alternative way of detecting a causal link between economic growth rate, insecurity and poverty. By definition (Granger 1969), an economic series X_1 is said to “Granger cause” Y if changes X_1 precede changes in Y since the future cannot predict the past. Basically, Granger causality measures precedence and information content.

Annual, national level data from period ranging from 1986 -2012 are used in this study.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Table4.1. OLS result

Dependent Variable: GDP				
Method: Least Squares				
Date: 01/03/15 Time: 16:08				
Sample: 1981 2013				
Included observations: 33				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	-3.844560	4.125274	-0.931953	0.3588
INS	-2.816795	0.441980	-6.373121	0.0000
POV	-3.347685	1.007014	-3.324370	0.0023
R-squared	0.785724	Mean dependent var		7.854129
Adjusted R-squared	0.771439	S.D. dependent var		2.189663
S.E. of regression	1.046834	Akaike info criterion		3.015926
Sum squared resid	32.87586	Schwarz criterion		3.151973
Log likelihood	-46.76279	Hannan-Quinn criter.		3.061702
F-statistic	55.00330	Durbin-Watson stat		0.479386
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000			

Table 4.1 contains multiple regression results for economic growth rate proxy by GDP, insecurity and poverty in Nigeria. The results indicate that the constant was insignificant. The coefficients of insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) were found to be statistically significant. Precisely, the coefficient of insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) were found to be statistically significant at 1 percent level as indicated by their probability values of 0.0000 and 0.0023 respectively. The coefficients of insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) were rightly signed (negative) and consistent with the theoretical expectations of this study. The regression results imply that 1 unit change in insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) will reduce economic growth rate (GDP) by 2.8168 and 3.3477 units respectively as indicated by their coefficients of -2.8168 and -3.3477 respectively. The F-statistics value of 55.0033, which measured the joint effects of the explanatory variables, found to be significant at 1 per cent as indicated by the corresponding probability value of 0.000000. This implies that the insecurity and poverty are jointly and significantly affect economic growth rate (GDP) in Nigeria.

The R^2 value of 0.7857 implies that 78.57 per cent total variation in economic growth rate (GDP) in Nigeria was explained by insecurity and poverty. Coincidentally, the goodness of fit of the regression remained very high after adjusting for the degree of freedom as indicated by the adjusted R^2 ($R^2 = 0.7714$ or 77.14%). The R-Square suggested that not only the included variables of the model affects economic growth rate in Nigeria, but there are other variables, although their influence is lower than those variables captured in the model. The Durbin-Watson statistics of (0.4794) in table 4.1 is lower than R^2 (0.7857) indicating that the model is spurious, hence, the need conduct ECM test. The Durbin-Watson statistics 0.4794 is very low and less than 2 indicating the presence of/or positive autocorrelation. This provides the basis for conducting unit root test.

Table 4.2. Frustration and insecurity model results

Dependent Variable: INS				
Method: Least Squares				
Date: 01/04/15 Time: 13:50				
Sample: 1981 2013				
Included observations: 33				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	4.586598	1.047043	4.380524	0.0001
POV	0.996917	0.264435	3.769990	0.0007
R-squared	0.314354	Mean dependent var		0.645273
Adjusted R-squared	0.292236	S.D. dependent var		0.394609
S.E. of regression	0.331980	Akaike info criterion		0.691205
Sum squared resid	3.416523	Schwarz criterion		0.781903
Log likelihood	-9.404884	Hannan-Quinn criter.		0.721722
F-statistic	14.21282	Durbin-Watson stat		0.350912
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000689			

Table 4.2 contains simple regression results for frustration proxy by poverty level (POV) insecurity (INS) in Nigeria. The results indicate that the constant was insignificant. The constant and the coefficient poverty (POV) were found to be statistically significant. Precisely, the constant and the coefficient poverty (POV) were found to be statistically significant at 1 percent level as indicated by their probability values of 0.0001 and 0.0007 respectively. The coefficient of poverty (POV) was rightly signed (positive) and consistent with the theoretical expectations of this study. The regression results imply that 1 unit increase in poverty (POV) will increase insecurity (INS) by 0.9969 units as indicated by its coefficient of 0.9969. The constant shows that there are factors other than poverty that significantly affects insecurity in Nigeria. The F-statistics value of 14.2128, which measured the joint effects of the parameters of the model, is found to be significant at 1 per cent as indicated by the corresponding probability value of 0.0007. This further implies that poverty significantly affecting insecurity (INS) in Nigeria.

The R^2 value of 0.3144 implies that 31.44 per cent total variation in insecurity (INS) in Nigeria was explained by poverty. Coincidentally, the goodness of fit of the regression remained very LOW after adjusting for the degree of freedom as indicated by the adjusted R^2 ($R^2 = 0.2922$ or 29.22%). The R-Square suggested that not only the included variable (Poverty) of the model affects insecurity (INS) in Nigeria, but there are other variables that have higher influence than

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the one captured in the model. The Durbin-Watson statistics of (0.3509) in table 4.2 is higher than R^2 (0.3144) indicating that the model is non-spurious; hence, it can be used for policy purpose. The Durbin-Watson statistics 0.3509 is very low and less than 2 indicating the presence of/ or positive autocorrelation. This provides the basis for conducting unit root test.

The results of unit root test in Appendix 1, 2, and 3 revealed that economic growth rate (GDP) is stationary at level (d(1) and at 1 per cent level. While INS and POV are stationary at first difference (d(1)) at 1 per cent level as indicated in Appendix 1, 2, and 3. GDP is stationary at first difference and at 1 per cent which is indicated by ADF results in appendix 1 at 1 per cent less than the critical values in negative direction. The ADF value for ECGR is -5.3043 and the critical value is -3.6617 at 1 per cent; the probability value also confirmed that GDP is stationary at 1 per cent as indicated by its value of 0.0001. Appendix 2 and 3 shows that INS and POV are also stationary at first difference and at 1 per cent level as indicated by their critical values greater than the ADF value in negative direction. This is also confirming by their probability values of 0.0009 and 0.0000 respectively in Appendix 2 and 3.

Table4.3. Granger causality test result

Pairwise Granger Causality Tests			
Date: 01/03/15 Time: 16:49			
Sample: 1981 2013			
Lags: 2			
Null Hypothesis:	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.
INS does not Granger Cause GDP	31	0.37076	0.6938
GDP does not Granger Cause INS		4.18115	0.0266
POV does not Granger Cause GDP	31	0.06063	0.9413
GDP does not Granger Cause POV		0.36376	0.6985
POV does not Granger Cause INS	31	2.86785	0.0749
INS does not Granger Cause POV		0.97041	0.3922

The results of causality are contained in table 4.3. The results revealed that there is one-way causation between insecurity and economic growth rate (GDP). The causation runs from GDP to insecurity (INS), this implies that GDP can cause insecurity but not the other way round. There existed no causation between poverty and economic growth rate (GDP) in Nigeria.

Table4.4. Error Correction (ECM) Parsimonious Results

Dependent Variable: GDP				
Method: Least Squares				
Date: 01/03/15 Time: 16:38				
Sample (adjusted): 1983 2013				
Included observations: 31 after adjustments				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
LOG(GDP(-1))	5.535792	1.312271	4.218484	0.0003
LOG(INS(-1))	-0.905595	0.409573	-2.211072	0.0364
LOG(INS(-2))	0.144524	0.156425	0.923919	0.3644
LOG(POV(-1))	0.636842	2.099270	0.303363	0.7641
LOG(POV(-2))	-3.298770	1.143546	-2.884684	0.0080
ECM(-1)	-0.310275	0.185752	-1.670371	0.1073
R-squared	0.991489	Mean dependent var		8.065298
Adjusted R-squared	0.989787	S.D. dependent var		2.086597
S.E. of regression	0.210874	Akaike info criterion		-0.103122
Sum squared resid	1.111701	Schwarz criterion		0.174423
Log likelihood	7.598398	Hannan-Quinn criter.		-0.012649
Durbin-Watson stat	2.043643			

The results of ECM were contained in Table 4.4. The coefficient of ECM shows the speed of adjustment to the long run equilibrium. The negative value of the coefficient of ECM implies that there is a long run relationship between economic growth (GDP), insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV). The coefficient of ECM (-0.3103) shows that the data will adjust by 31.03 percent to go back to equilibrium in the long run. Precisely, -0.3103 implied that when there is a state of disequilibrium between economic growth (GDP), insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) will be

brought back to equilibrium in at least three years' time. The coefficient of LOGINS(-1) of (-0.9056) shows that 1 unit change in insecurity will result to 0.9056 units reduction in economic growth (GDP) in Nigeria and the coefficient of LOGPOV(-2) of (-3.2988) shows that 1 unit change in poverty (POV) result to 3.2988 units reduction in economic growth (GDP) in Nigeria. The R^2 value of 0.9915 shows that 99.15 per cent variation in economic growth (GDP) in Nigeria was explained by the included variables of model; this further implies that the model is fit to explain the relationship between economic growth (GDP), insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV). The Durbin Watson statistics value of (2.0436) shows the absence of autocorrelation; hence the model is non-spurious and can be used for policy purpose.

Table 4.5. Ramsey RESET test result

Ramsey RESET Test			
Equation: UNTITLED			
Specification: GDP LOG(GDP(-1)) LOG(INS(-1)) LOG(INS(-2)) LOG(POV(-1)) LOG(POV(-2)) ECM(-1)			
Omitted Variables: Squares of fitted values			
	Value	df	Probability
t-statistic	3.113389	24	0.0047
F-statistic	9.693194	(1, 24)	0.0047
Likelihood ratio	10.51650	1	0.0012
F-test summary:			
	Sum of Sq.	df	Mean Squares
Test SSR	0.319825	1	0.319825
Restricted SSR	1.111701	25	0.044468
Unrestricted SSR	0.791876	24	0.032995
Unrestricted SSR	0.791876	24	0.032995
LR test summary:			
	Value	df	
Restricted LogL	7.598398	25	
Unrestricted LogL	12.85665	24	

The Ramsey RESET Test result is contained in table 4.5. The result revealed that the model is well and properly specified. The null hypothesis that the model is mis-specified is rejected at 1 per cent level as indicated by the probability value of 0.0047. This implies that the model relating economic growth (GDP), insecurity (INS) and poverty (POV) in Nigeria as presented in this paper is not mis-specified.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The discourse shows that Nigeria is confronted with the problem of insecurity. This is made manifest in the Boko Haram's murderous campaign against individuals and institutions in the Northern East region of Nigeria. The upsurge of terror unleashed by this Islamic religious sect is rather unprecedented with monumental loss of lives and property. Base on the findings of this study one may conclude that insecurity and poverty had negative impact on economic growth in Nigeria. The result revealed that poverty is the root cause of insecurity because it can lead to frustration which in turn may translate into violence. The problem of insecurity as identified in this paper as the outcome of frustrated expectations which breed aggression. The way the Nigerian society is structured paved way for frustration and that people are inevitably compelled to express their frustration through various shades of anti-social behavior including violent responses that are directed at those perceived to be responsible for their predicaments or are readily available to be used political agents for destructive purposes.

The prevailing vicious onslaught of Boko Haram and the inability of the security sector to guarantee security have dire consequences for sustainable development. The economic life of people in those regions is grounded to a halt. The Boko Haram debacle creates an unfavourable investment climate for both indigenous and foreign investors that would have propelled the economic fortune of Nigeria. In order to surmount the insurgency, government in Nigeria should devoted all resources and attention on the security sector at the expense of other sectors that impact directly on the welfare and living standard of its citizenry. This further moves Nigeria away from the path of sustainable development.

From the foregoing, it is evident that with her enormous resources, sustainable development remains elusive due to the menace of Boko Haram and general insecurity. Against this backdrop, the paper puts forward the following recommendations:

- The Nigerian state should desist from addressing the symptom instead of the cause. Consistent deployment of security personnel is only a first aid measure. The long term solution is good governance with a robust institutional framework that ensures a prudent and effective management of resources to better the lives of its citizenry.
- There should be reprioritization of government expenditure in favour of poverty alleviation measures including the creation of job opportunities and other welfare packages.
- The anti-corruption war should be intensified by enacting a law that will make it possible for any person caught in corrupt transaction to go to jail and forfeit all that he or she has worked for in life.
- The Nigerian state should build strong viable institutions that can proactively respond to the challenges of security.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Null Hypothesis: D(GDP) has a unit root				
Exogenous: Constant				
Lag Length: 0 (Automatic - based on SIC, maxlag=1)				
			t-Statistic	Prob.*
Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic			-5.304311	0.0001
Test critical values:	1% level		-3.661661	
	5% level		-2.960411	
	10% level		-2.619160	

Appendix 2

Null Hypothesis: D(INS) has a unit root				
Exogenous: Constant				
Lag Length: 0 (Automatic - based on SIC, maxlag=2)				
			t-Statistic	Prob.*
Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic			-4.795832	0.0009
Test critical values:	1% level		-3.752946	
	5% level		-2.998064	
	10% level		-2.638752	
*MacKinnon (1996) one-sided p-values.				

Appendix 3

Null Hypothesis: D(POV) has a unit root				
Exogenous: Constant				
Lag Length: 0 (Automatic - based on SIC, maxlag=2)				
			t-Statistic	Prob.*
Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic			-10.14023	0.0000
Test critical values:	1% level		-3.752946	
	5% level		-2.998064	
	10% level		-2.638752	
*MacKinnon (1996) one-sided p-values.				

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