The Impact of Social Welfare Policies and the Menace of Insurgence in Nigeria

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1.1 Introduction

The universal consensus on the need for good governance is essentially linked to the growing thirst for an Improved and qualitative living standard and a secured environment. These growing demands on governance bring to fore a mandatory appeal for a participatory and democratic governance to allow for a proper articulation of social needs and problems to guide policy formation. Department of Social Development. (2006) Democratic governance has therefore been accepted and tested to have acquired the requisite ingredients and paraphernalia to serve as an effective platform for not only a people oriented governance but a sure way of ensuring result oriented governance and development. As part of its structural strategies to fulfil its going concern, democratic practice has within its credentials social welfare services orientation, Social services that guarantee a gradual but a steady improvement on the living conditions of its subjects and a general transformation of the society. Social welfare is now a common characteristic of modern democracies to the extent that democratic performances are measured through welfare programs and the wellbeing of the citizenry. Republic of South Africa. (2007).

Therefore Social welfare policy is defined as acts, laws and rules that help to improve the lives of people in the community. Social policy is a term which is applied to various areas of policy, usually within a governmental

or political setting (such as the welfare state and study of social services). It can refer to guidelines, principles, legislation and activities that affect the living conditions conducive to human welfare, such as a person's quality of life. The Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics defines social policy as "an interdisciplinary and applied subject concerned with the analysis of societies' responses to social need", which seeks to foster in its students a capacity to understand theory and evidence drawn from a wide range of social science disciplines, including economics, sociology, psychology, geography, history, law, philosophy and political science. The Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy at Harvard University describes social policy as "public policy and practice in the areas of health care, human services, criminal justice, inequality, education, and labor". Social policy might also be described as actions that affect the well-being of members of a society through shaping the distribution of and access to goods and resources in that society.

The onus of providing social welfare service in any community or state overtly lies on the government. However some complementary efforts are made by the private sector in some regards, as in the case of housing, transport, Medicare and education. However, the bulk of social welfare services which include roads, national defence, health services, water supply, education, postal services, and waste disposal are provided by the public sector (Mitle, 2001). The State renders the aforementioned services through its departments and agencies. In Nigeria, the three tiers of government are involved in the provision and regulation of these services. Their involvements however vary and depend on the constitutional responsibility, financial disposition and the scale of delivery. Adejumobi (1996) noted that the tasks of waste disposal and primary education are responsibilities of the Local Government; major water supply is the responsibility of State Governments. It is worth noting that post-primary education and health care services fall under recurrent functions, which can be performed either by the state or the Federal Government or both.

In Nigeria, Agbola (2002) noted that successive governments in the country have made efforts in the provision of these services. However due to dwindling financial standing of the government, her achievements leaves much to be desired. Beside, current inclination towards economic liberalization, governments' ability in meeting up with this responsibility is undermined. This has forced private agencies to spring up and complement for the deficiencies in publicly supplied social services (Boreham, 2004). Table 1 analyzed the Federal Government of Nigeria budget on public social service spending in billions of naira. As can be seen from the table, health services dropped from 18.26 billion naira to 16.94 billion naira from 1994 to 1995, which is a clear case of withdrawal. In the same vain, transportation dropped from 59.88 billion naira to 57.20 billion naira.

Insurgency has become a threat to global peace, security and the impact of social welfare policies in the 21st century due to the fact that it constitutes the highest contributor to humanitarian crises in the form of rise in human casualties, internally displaced persons, refugee debacles, food insecurity and the spread of various diseases Barga, (2012). The impact of Boko Haram insurgency on humanitarian crises in Northern Nigeria with Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states further establishes how the increase in the activities of Boko Haram, continues to generate dire humanitarian consequences to the North East region, the Nigerian society and neighbouring nations at large.

Armed conflict prior to the cold war era was seen as war between sovereign states, but since the end of the cold war, the phenomenon armed conflict has transformed into the rise of non-state actors against their own government (Laqueur, 2004). Insurgency which has been seen as the most common type of armed conflict has insurgency has degenerated into a global menace (Awake, 2008). This worldwide manifestations of insurgencies include Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, Hezbollah in Lebanon, the Syrian Islamic liberation front in Syria, Hamas in Palestine, the Taliban's in Pakistan etc; Africa which has not been left out from these menace, has

become a breeding ground for various insurgencies such as the Alshabaab in Somalia, the Lord's Resistance Army in Central African Republic, the Rebels in Democratic Republic of Congo, the National Movement of Azawad (MNLA), the Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb(AQIM) in Mali to mention a few. Thus, the most devastating effects of these insurgencies all over the world have been the high toll of humanitarian crisis in the form of rise in internally displaced persons(IDP's), refugee influx, food insecurity, spread of nefarious diseases, gender and sexual based violence (Hughes, 2012). The phenomena of insurgency in Nigeria have been evident since her independence in 1960, ranging from the twelve-day revolution by Adaka Boro (1964), to the civil war (1967-1970), to the various ethnic militias such as the O'odua People's Congress(OPC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta(MEND), the Niger-Delta insurgency and the most recent the "Ahl al sunnali al alDa'wawa al Jihad", popularly known as Boko Haramwhich has been operating in Northern Nigeria since the early 2000, with its origin linked with the wide spread of socio-economic and religious insecurity among certain communities in the North. Whose activities have unleashed terrible humanitarian crises in North East Nigeria (Fwatshak and Larab, 2004; Ikelegbe, 2010). The continued increase in the spread of the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram sect in North East Nigeria since 2009 has created adverse humanitarian consequence to the North East region. Life in the various communities of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states, such as Kawuri, Baga, Konduga, Bama, Shuwa, Ajigin, Gamboru, Giwa, Chibok, Gwoza to mention a few, have been characteristically nasty, brutish and most times short (Salkida, 2012). The region has ceased to know civil normalcy as a result in the dire humanitarian situation as evident in human casualties, human right abuses, population displacement, refugee debacle, loss of means of livelihood, food insecurity, limited medical facilities and other social amenities. The increasing influx of refugees and the spillover of Boko Haram violence to neighbouring countries over the years had resulted to serious regional

security implications, despites the establishment of a Joint Border Patrol Command to address the increasing security challenges attributed to the insurgency Olafioye (2013).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Social welfare policies are programme to improve the living standard of the citizens but because of Lack of accountability, Corruption, Lack of transparency Inconsistency and inappropriate implementation of such policies the people are suffering, thus leading many into insurgencies and other anti-social behavior that is detrimental to the government and its citizens. In Nigeria, Agbola (2002) noted that successive governments in the country have made efforts in the provision of these services. However due to dwindling financial standing of the government, her achievements leaves much to be desired. Beside, current inclination towards economic liberalization, governments' ability in meeting up with this responsibility is undermined. This has forced private agencies to spring up and complement for the deficiencies in publicly supplied social services. The refugee problem in Africa is one of the most acute of this continent and one of the most acute in the world. Most of these problems have become protracted refugee situations. This is because; the armed conflicts which originally forced people to leave their own country have dragged on for many years, making it impossible for them to return to their homeland. In many instances these refugees and displaced persons are being hosted by poor countries such as Ghana which lack adequate resources, infrastructure and facilities to accommodate them. The economies of these countries have deteriorated drastically and are today characterized by rapid declining in agricultural production, serious problems in social services, increased costs of essential goods and risen unemployment.

The high level of terrorism and violence in Nigeria by the fundamentalist group (Boko Haram) has heightened fears among the populace and the international community and has eaten deep into our

economy and as a matter of fact, the hostility has gone beyond religious or political coloration. Several meetings, summit, conferences etc have being held in a bid to curb the menace in the country but all to no avail. Also apart from the fact that meetings have been held, the federal governments have spent millions of naira in making sure that security is brought back to the country but that has never looked worked. The president has told all security agencies to be at alert and to get their arsenals ready and to put more effort in the promotion of effective security in the country. Also the president in one of his speeches prompts all Nigerians to take security seriously because it is everybody's business. But the question is will it ever stop? Can we say that the Boko Haram menace could be understood from the argument that Islam which give hope to the poor Muslims is being threatened out of extinction by Christianity and the Muslim youth who derive hope of a brighter future from the teaching of Islam are fighting to defend the survival of the hope of the hopeless Muslims, or do we see the insurgency from the prism of nationalism?

Definition of Terms

This entails stating the meaning of various concepts used earlier, so as to give a better understanding of the meaning and also give a vivid picture of these concepts in the minds of the readers.

Insulgence: Armed uprising or rebellion against a government. The term has been used variously to describe revolutionary movements, civil wars, anti-colonial struggles and terrorist agitations, it is also seen as the state or attitude of being indulgent or tolerant.

Terrorism: this is an illegitimate means of attempting to effect political change by the indiscriminate use of violence. Also it is the use of violence to achieve political objectives.

Nationalist: A person who advocates that the interests of the nation or country are primary and deserving preference over other individual's interests. A nationalist is concerned mainly with promoting the concept of

the nation in its various forms that may include any or all among the economic, cultural aspect of the country.

Menace: menace means a possible danger, a threat, or an act of threatening. It also means something that threatens to cause evil, harm, injury etc. this also means the show of an intention to inflict evil, indication of a probable evil or catastrophe to come.

Economy: This refers to the wealth and resources of a country or religion, especially in terms of the production and consumption of goods and service. It is also the state of a country or region in terms of the production and consumption of goods and services and the supply of money.

Menace of Insurgency

On Economic Development.

Nigeria is a country endowed with natural resources all competed favorably with one another in security a big chunk of foreign exchange earnings for the country in the early 60s, the discovery of oil and unprecedented wealth accrued from it in the 70s, soon emerged Nigerians a major foreign exchange earner, inspite of the natural and mineral resources with which numerous governmental policies and programmes for foster peaceful co-existence among the multi ethno religious entities which make up Nigeria, the country has virtually become a battle field where incessant ethno-religious and political crisis are staged. The implication of Boko Haram crisis or terrorist activities on economic development is that the instruments which is supposed to be used for sustainable development is conversely being used for destruction and vandalization purposes (Mohammed 2002). In essence, it gulped the Nigerian government missions of naira to put in place numerous amenities which were destroyed during crisis. Resources which could have been used to improve these amenities and embark on other development projects, would have to be used on restricting and replacing what had been damaged

during the crisis. In most cases government compensated victims of these crisis and this gulped millions of naira, which could have been used to develop the economy. Apart from the fact many virile men of the nation are seriously affected in the crisis which consequently led to their death the country's source of revenue is equally affected.

Since no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It therefore implies that Boko Haram menaces are bane to economic development. Looking at it internationally, Boko Haram crisis has added to the fear of foreign investors that are in Nigeria. (Abony, 2009). Cases of kidnapping of expatriation in Nigeria are no more news one wonders how foreign investors could decide to establish in the war zone. Apart from the fact that the image of Nigeria has been dented globally as a country which breeds social miscreants and criminals.

The crisis have also made investor to flee the nations troubled spots particularly Plateau State. Also neighboring states have had their economics disrupted by the reason of the crisis. As a result of these blasts, the citizens, mostly those who come from other parts of the country have relocated from the state, especially those from different ethnic group/religious. This does not mean well for the economic development of the country. (Broad Street Journal 2012).

The greatest of these scenarios is the amount of funds being diverted to security issues and related matters. The aim is to enable the country meet the challenges of the present threat in the country. These funds can be best utilized in providing infrastructure in the country. There are no good roads, electricity and other vital amenities, yet the federal government has to raise funds to take care of the little established institutions. The irony is that while the country is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram menace is crumbling all the effort (leadership Newspaper 2012).

Speaking on the economy of Nigeria, it has come to a halt in area where the fight were tense. This traumatic episode has affected mostly the petty traders who earn their meal on daily routine. Banking sector equally suffered setback. At a time, all the commercial banks were closed for more

than a week (Abdullahi 2009:215). Maiduguri Monday Market was also shut down for almost a week. As a result of these incidents, salaries of workers civil servants in Borno and Yobe sate were not paid on time. The government on its own part seemed helpless in the situation as many action to ameliorate the situation may aggravate it. Hence, the government stopped all forms of preaching in the state especially Islamic preaching.

The government become so cautions on the rise of sect and sanctioned the conduct of religious activities permission must be obtained before preaching is allowed. In Niger state, immediately after the Boko Haram sway was on the increase, a community called "Danes Salani" was displaced following the report of security threat by the government. This community is isolationist in nature and sees the government and country as adulterated institution and policy.

The highest stage of this is the recent four (4) paragraph statement issued by the Borno state government banning any form of motorcycle either commercial or private in Maiduguri and its envision. (Mokeme, 2011:6). The Boko Haram crisis has really posed a threat to the country. Bearing in mind the level of development in Nigeria and emphasis placed by the Nigeria government to attract foreign investment to boost our economy more from the level it is now to a greater height, like level of insecurity have made this illusionary. It is in line with this that Adetola (2002:161) affirmed that:

"The study of linkage politics expressly enunciates the interrelatedness of domestic and external policies in inter-state interactions. This brings into focus the analysis of system analysis in the understanding of international relations in general and foreign policy in particular. These two paradigmatic explications are relevant in their manner of explaining the relationship between the settings with the domestic environment partly determines the type of benefits that can be derived from efforts intended to protect, promote and protect the interest of the country in the international arena." Deducing from the above, we begin to understand the role internal dynamic plays in not only attracting foreign investments, but also in the

international relations of country to another. The importance of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) towards the development of the Nigerian economy can never be over emphasized. This is why Omenma (2009:46) opined:
"This is no gainsaying the fact that no man and by extension no state is an Island".
This means that states need the relationship and partnership of one another to pursue development goals but the quest for foreign direct investment in Nigeria has been compromised by the level of insecurity in the country. The Nigerian government long before now understands the importance to woo foreign investors. And Governments being aware of the limitation and incapability of the local investors wasted no time to vigorously and financially make provision for the injection of foreign capital in form of investments in the country. This it did through the use of shuttle diplomacy. This was protected and facilitated by the country's confidence in its new found democracy which most foreign firms have pointed out as the basis for investigation.
This is also to support the view of Walter Carrington, a former American Ambassador on the past of investors have been pre-determined by the level of security. This was due to the unpredictable ethnic clashes; North, South, East and West. Lagos Nigeria commercial nerve centre had used than its fair share, likewise the ancient cities of Ile Ife, Sagama, Umuleri and Aguleri, metropolitan cities of Kano, Jos and so many other parts. The Boko Haram uprising under investigation can be best described as the last straw that broke the nation's heart towards wooing foreign direct investment (FDI).

In the Nigeria Stock Market

Insecurity triggered by the wave of Boko Haram bombing in parts of Nigeria is having a negative impact on the country's capital market, the Director General of Securities and Exchange Commission, Arumna Oteh has said. Oteh was speaking in Abuja on Tuesday, at start of public parliamentary hearings on the operations of the capital market organized

by the Nigerian House of Representatives Committee on capital market and other institutions. As a result, some 10 million Nigerians have lost their investments in the country's capital market and investors‟ interest and confidence were being ended, officials say. Hundreds of people have been killed and hundreds of others wounded as well as millions of dollars' worth of properties destroyed, sparking a wave of terror around Nigeria since the Islamist militant group language its attacks in 2009.

Though the attack has been predominantly concentrated in the north, not even the capital, Abuja has been spared in the groups deadly attacks. Investors‟ interest and confidence were being eroded as a result, Oteh noted. However, she said that the commission was putting in place strategic interventions to strengthen the operations of the market in order to restore investors‟ confidence.

She explained that the commission had also taken steps to strengthen Collective Investment Schemes (CIS) through regular on site inspections of the schemes as well as transfer of fund asset.

As WADR‟s correspondent Martins, Martins reports, the head of Nigeria's Securities and Exchange Commission said because of the losses suffered by shareholders from the market crisis in 2008, many local investors were hesitant to invest.

On Nigeria's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

A recent World Investment Report (WIP) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimated that the domestic economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), owing to the activities of the Nigerian terrorists, these losses are unquantifiable taking a cursory look at the direct and indirect losses associated with acts of terrorism. The WIR report with its scary figures reveals that last year alone, Boko Haram struck 115 times and killed 550 people. According to the UNCTAD report, FDI flows to Nigeria fell to $6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, a decline of about 29 percent from the $68.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) realized in 2009 fiscal year. The report obtained by

US further revealed that the sharp decline of FDI to the country was compounded in the aftermath of the global financial crisis.

Also, statistics obtained from the 2010 annual report by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) showed that the total foreign capital inflow into the Nigerian economy in 2010 was $5.99 billion. The record showed that FDI represented about 78.1 percent drop from $3.31 billion in 2009 (World investment Report 2009).

Foreign Investors are gradually divesting from Nigeria due to the worsening security crisis. The renewed interest of China in investing hugely in Nigeria is being dampened to guarantee these investments. Local investors are also hardly hit as a large chunk of operational cost is diverted to Nigeria's investment climate as "risky" due to the advent in Nigeria. The banking sub sector has not been exempted as the profitability of the branches in the North has nosedived deeply, banking are closing down their business outfits as a result of decreased activities in the North. Employees of these institutions are opting to be posted out of these regions due to fear and air of uncertainty that saturates these zones. Banks are spending very huge amount of their resources towards the provision of security as we have seen several occurrences of high-tech bank robbery with the use of dangerous explosives and sophisticated bombs.

The cost and risk of during business in the North is at its high height. Most markets in these regions are operating at a decreased capacity as most of them who hail from the` South East have gradually fled from these „troubled coaters

Theoretical Framework

The frustration-aggression theory was developed by John Dollard, James Cavies, Feierabend L. K., Betty A. Nesvold and other associates (Oluwatusin, 2007). The premise of the theory is that aggression is always the result of frustration. Frustration is the feeling of annoyance and impatient because one cannot do or achieve what he wants while

aggression is the feeling of anger and hatred that may result in threatening or violent behaviour (Hornby, 2005). Frustration is the feeling while aggression results in violence. It should be noted that an individual whose basic desire is thwarted and who consequently experiences a profound sense of dissatisfaction and anger is likely to react to his condition by directing aggressive behaviour at what is perceived as being responsible for thwarting the desire or at a substitute (Anifowose, 1982). This also applies to a group of people like the Boko Haram. The Boko Haram insurgent activities are dissatisfaction against the Nigerian State; their aggressive behaviours directed towards the State are in form of bombing and killing as well as all manners of insurgent activities employed by the group. These insurgent activities are proofs to the sense of dissatisfaction towards Nigeria and anger directed at its institutions.

A second variant of this theory is the notion of relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is discrepancy between what men seek and what it seems attainable (Oluwatusin, 2007). It is argued that the greater this discrepancy, the greater their anger, and their propensity towards violence. Frustration-aggression theory can be used to analyse the genesis of Boko Haram and their reasons for engaging in anti-Nigerian State activities. The insurgent activities of the group can be premised on the frustration the members of the group are experiencing or have experienced in Nigeria based on their inability to be catered for by the country. Feel neglected by the Nigerian State and its political system, the leaders and the members became aggressive which led to the establishment of Boko Haram insurgent group. In addition, as argued by frustration-aggression theorists, the relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is discrepancy between what men seek and what it seems attainable is responsible for Boko Haram insurgency. The members are deprived by the Nigerian political system in which there is high level of poverty among its citizens. The rate of poverty in the north is exceptional high.

Implications

White Paper for Social Welfare has been effective as far as reshaping social welfare policy is concerned. There is now a much clearer understanding of developmental social services in relation to traditional social welfare and social work than there was ten years ago. The implementation of the White Paper for Social Welfare is well established in a rights-based approach, which acknowledges the right of the poor and vulnerable to social security as well as their right to socio-economic development. There is evidence in research and practice that social workers are purposefully seeking to adapt traditional practice and render social services within a developmental approach. In doing so, they are bridging the divide between micro and macro practice; involving the poor and vulnerable in participation; and developing partnerships.

Although developmental social welfare can celebrate many achievements, the challenges to effectively implementing the White Paper for Social Welfare are ongoing. Areas of tardy progress in implementing the White Paper include delivery on its international, regional and national mandate to address the structural causes of poverty and inequality and the lack of a unified human resource strategy for social welfare. Specific challenges for implementation of the White Paper for the immediate and longer term are outlined on the following page.

Social workers and other social service professionals should consciously seek to understand the socio-economic political context in which they operate if they wish to make an impact on poverty and inequality. Intervention programmes and funding proposals should reflect the social development commitments of the Copenhagen Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals. Insight into the socio-economic and political context and thus the professional mandate for developmental social welfare will inevitably prepare and activate social workers for engagement in policy issues, challenging the micro and macro divide in both theory and practice, influencing and lobbying of government, as well as in challenging the allocation of resources and the distribution of social

benefits (Calitz, 2005). Social workers should challenge the structural sources of poverty, inequality, oppression, discrimination and exclusion, irrespective of the intervention level (i.e. individuals, groups, communities or organisations). Gray (2006:S63) maintains that the causes of poverty are structural and that social workers should practise with an 'eye to the structural (social, political, economic and cultural) determinants of inequalities', which, she argues, were the focus of the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). As much as developmental social welfare challenges the inclusion of social development as a strategy to address poverty and income inequality, it challenges traditional social work practice to promote social integration and to integrate strength and asset-based, anti-oppressive and reflective approaches to facilitate the empowerment of individuals, families, groups, communities and organisations. The social welfare sector should take positive action in claiming its position to deliver on socio-economic goals. The exclusion of the social welfare sector from anti-poverty programmes caused its marginalisation, and that of social work in particular, as a role player in socio-economic development. This has certainly contributed to the sector's slow delivery on socio-economic goals, affecting its impact on poverty and inequality. This underlines the fact that "[a]n understanding of economic issues and how to infuse an economic development strategy into social work and social service intervention processes is critical" (Patel, 2005:110). There is a crucial need for a human resource strategy in the social welfare sector, as there is little in the way of role demarcation and coordination of professionals working in the social welfare field (cf. Patel and Wilson, 2003). This was reiterated at the Gauteng Welfare Summit (2006:13), when the NGO sector requested that the roles of professionals, community members, and government appointees engaged in linking communities to access social services should be clearly distinguished. As indicated above, progress has been made with regard to roles for government and civil society (Department of Social Development, 2008). The challenge is to apply these roles in practice in a coordinated manner.

Social work educators and practitioners should provide evidence of awareness and integration of the relevant policies and legislation applicable in the respective fields of teaching and/or field practice. Social workers are challenged in particular to produce a group of social workers who could influence social justice and redistribution policies and thus impact on poverty and inequality. This also applies to social work practitioners and service providers to ensure continuous professional development (CPD). It means that social workers should have a sound understanding of the embedded value of social justice and human rights. In conclusion, the White Paper for Social Welfare marked a turning point in the history of social welfare service provision in Nigeria. Not only has it redressed decades of historical imbalances, but it has also repositioned social welfare as a role player in social development in the new democracy (Lombard, 2008c). This review of the implementation of the White Paper for Social Welfare and the identification of some challenges ahead for developmental social services coincides with the vast social crisis *facing the country in terms of poverty and inequality, of which xenophobia is but one manifestation. These challenges are in line with government's priorities, in collaboration with its social partners, to align social security with socioeconomic programmes to make a sustainable impact on poverty and inequality in Nigeria. To this end, the challenge for the social welfare sector remains to make a significant contribution in the next ten years of the implementation of the White Paper for Social Welfare.

Recommendations

The Boko Haram crisis has turned out to become a thorn in the flesh of the Nigeria government. Over the years, it has become a cog in the wheels of the operational existence of the political, economic, educational, social and total structure of the economy. In order to curb this unending crisis, we therefore advocate for the following measures to be adopted.

1. The Idea of Amnesty Should Not Be Encouraged.

Firstly, the government should understand that the Boko Haram insurgency is not the same as the Niger Delta uprising. This two cases are different things and therefore do not require the same solution. The idea of amnesty might have worked on solving the problem of Niger Delta, but on the Boko Haram sect, many concerned rational mends have always feared that due to the nature of ethnic diversity in Nigeria and ethnic militants loyal to these ethnic groups, it is possible that this extension of olive branch by the government may be abused, as some other groups may take up amnesty and expect the government to treat them with glove fingers.

If Boko Haram is granted amnesty, then it means the government has just succeeded in creating another problem by solving another one. This can better be understood by the declaration by the leaders of the sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB) Chief Ralph Uwazurike that MASSOB will adopt Islamic sect strategy. As the Daily Sun, Monday June 20, 2011 tags it in its front page" Double Trouble MASSOB to join Boko Haram.

Secondly, granting amnesty to the Boko Haram has no logical basis. As the Guardian Editorial (Wednesday, July 8, 2009) put it "the militants rode on the crest of what began as peaceful agitation for resources control when the federal authorities turned deaf ear, militancy became the inculpable option". Then in the case of Boko Haram insurgents, what are they clamoring for? From where did their agitation steer? Who inspired them to take up arms against the state? What legitimate demand can they lay claim to, is not the same demand every Nigeria youths lay claim to, lack of employment and access to basic things of life. The Boko Haram movement is ideological, asking for a separate law for certain states in the country is simply questioning the sovereignty of the federal government of Nigeria. The government should view it from this direction and understand that amnesty is not ideal for a possible treasonable felony.

2. Military Expedition Should Be Launched at These Northern States Especially Maiduguri.

According to John F. Kennedy "those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable" what this means is that those who have refused to allow for revolution to occur peacefully will have no choice but to allow revolution to occur violently.

If the Boko Haram has decided not to stop bombing and killing innocent lives thereby threatening the security and economy of the country, I think a repeat of what happened in Obasanjo"s administration should take place, military expedition should be launched in Maiduguri. This approach is radical in nature and needs someone with a military blood to make it happen just like Obasanjo in the case of Odi in Bayelsa to quell the menace of the militants.

This is different from the declaration of the state of emergency in these northern states, this means going down to the local government where all those evil deeds are plotted and kill every soul that is seen there, whether man, woman, boy, girl or child and even animals too.

3. Government should Improve or Rather upgrade its intelligence Gadgets and Surveillance Equipments.

We strongly recommend in this study that the government should provide funds, instead for amnesty but to upgrade and switch in its intelligence gathering gadgets. It was easy for Osama bin laden to invade America intelligence for so long because Osama decided to deny himself the luxury of technology. He rejected phones and the use of internet. Infact, he lived an asture life of a hermit. But from what we know so far, these Boko Haram sect enjoy all these technological packs with impunity knowing that our intelligence gathering techniques is so archaic that our security agencies only believe in totting guns around government officials. If only the government have the needed facility to intercept mails and many other electronic means of communication.

4. Backing Down of Boko Haram Funding.

Again to overcome the menace of Boko Haram in the country, the government should do whatever it takes to find out how this movement is funded. Who are their funders? The United States cut off all the sources of Al-Qaeda funding through the banking system. If the governments are able to do this, the government will have gone an extra mile in solving the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria long time ago because the sect does not maintain the level of sophistication it does without funds.

5. Carrot and Stick.

This implies negotiation and coercion. It is no more a doubt that the Boko Haram sect is not ready for any form of diplomacy or compromise. If the government continues to meet with them on a round table, then the government should be ready to sit on the receiving end of the crisis.

Since these people are out to over throw the government, the government should spend more money to acquire more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction as a form of deterrent to the Boko Haram attacks. If the government does this without any fear, then the group will be subdued because no matter how strong they are, they cannot defeat the government of the nation due to the fact that the sovereign power of any independent state rests on the government.

6. Creation of Ministry of Religion by the Federal Government.

We also recommend that the government should create the ministry of religion where religious issues would always be sorted out. The ministry will comprise both Muslims and Christians alike. And above all, representatives should hold the trust given to them by people in good faith by governing well and providing the people with good things of life.

7. An Overhaul of the Security Agencies.

We also recommend in this study, considering the way the Boko Haram operates, that it is possible that the security operations in Nigeria especially

the police has been compromised. As a result, we also recommend the complete overhaul and redeployment of officers. This is because if the police is compromised, it is not possible to checkmate the activities of the Boko Haram sect when the security operations are also members of the same group they want to get rid of.

8. Creation of State Police.

The study strongly believe this is the right time for all those agencies state police creation to have a change of mind. The other issue is the helplessness of the police that is not badly equipped but centrally controlled. The country is too large to be policed from Abuja. Instead of allowing ethnic based militias; the government should instead make provision for state to own and control their own police as this will help in community policing which is the basic aspect of policing that will help unearth the dreaded Boko Haram sect which held the country under siege.

Collaboration with Security Agencies.

There is no gain saying the fact that security personnel alone can hardly uproot the terrorist menace in parts of the world and Nigeria in particular. Essentially the security agencies need the co-operation of all citizens to solve the present security challenges through giving of prompt and reliable information, exposing the identity of the perpetrators of crimes in their communities and funding or provision of logistics. An eminent philosopher once posit that "the price of liberty is external vigilance" security therefore is everybody's business. Let all hands be on deck to secure ourselves and societies

In summary:

i. Nigeria should address the major root cause of insurgency in this country, which is socio-economic deprivation, as it manifests in high level of poverty among Nigerians. All efforts should be made to provide basic needs for the people. This could be done by

reducing the high level of unemployment in Nigeria, especially among the youths.

ii. National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) should be taken more seriously.

Alleviating poverty is a serious national business. More funds should be provided to NAPEP but how the funds are being utilized should be monitored to prevent corruption and is management of funds.

iii. There should be high level of national orientation in the country. This would reduce ethnicity and promote nationhood among Nigerians. Government should make the National Orientation Agency (NOA) more proactive by funding its activities so that the agency would help to educate Nigerians on things that unite us and relegate ethnicity to the background.

iv. Since security of life and property is one of the fundamental objective and directive

principle of the Nigeria State, Nigerian Government should do all her best to secure the lives of Nigerians and their property. Funds and equipment that will help security agencies do their job should be made available to them.

v. Since the current counterinsurgency has not put an end to Boko Haram insurgency, Nigeria should move beyond the blunt use of lethal force by improving intelligence-gathering. This would improve counterinsurgency in Nigeria and help build healthier civil-military relations. Declaring a state of emergency has not solved the problem of insurgency in the north, effective counterinsurgency policy which involves ordinary citizens as sources of intelligence gathering would help.

vi. Nigeria should identify and collaborate with neighbouring countries, especially countries that share borders with us, to form strategic security networks of intelligence forces to check illegality across borders and help fight insurgency. Cameroon, Chad, Benin Republic and Niger Republic could help fight insurgency in Nigeria. The collaboration between Nigeria and the United States is a point in a good direction.

vii. Nigeria should evolve and adapt global best practices to fighting insurgency. While Boko Haram insurgency is local in nature, lessons could be learnt from international community to bring this menace to an end. Training of different security agencies abroad by the Government on counterinsurgency

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Submitted to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal on the Project 'Africa Perspectives on the Structural Adjustment Programme.