

EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

In spite of the fact that terrorism is a global phenomenon, its incursion in Africa and the emergence of terrorist act in Nigeria arising from the proliferation of terrorist groups in the world has been catastrophic as it has resulted to wanton destruction of lives and properties, kidnapping for ransom and hostage taking. This paper examines the acts of terrorism carried out in the North and South of Nigeria and how it has impacted on Nigeria's economic development by adopting documentary method of data collection and depending on qualitative analysis as a framework of contextual analysis of relevant data, and the use of the frustration aggression theory as a theoretical framework of analysis. The paper explored terrorism in Nigeria, mirroring the principal terror actors in the country; economic development in Nigeria; and the impacts of terrorism on Nigeria's economic development. It also by way of recommendation proffered suggestions that government should intensify to diversify the economy, adopt more non kinetic approach to counterterrorism, secure the porous borders and address the root causes of terrorism so as to enhance sustainable economic development.

Keywords: Terrorism, Development, Economy, Nigeria, Insecurity

Introduction

In recent years, terrorism has posed a significant threat to Nigeria's economic development aspirations. The operations of Boko Haram have led in the loss of life and property throughout Nigeria, particularly in the northeast. Bombings, suicide bombings, random shootings of defenseless and innocent people, the burning of police stations and churches, the kidnapping of schoolgirls and ladies, and so on are examples of these acts. Niger Delta rebel attacks on oil infrastructure, as well as Fulani herdsmen attacks on settlements in the north and south, have all contributed to the country's instability (Onuoha, Okafor and Femi-Adedayor, 2021; Ebiede,2017; Asamaowei, 2021). Nigeria has been labeled as one of the world's most dangerous countries (GTI, 2019). Thousands of people have been forced to flee their homes, and many lives and property have been lost. The consequence for this is that it has multiplicity of implications for the prospects of development in the country. Despite the government's frantic attempts to combat and eliminate the threats posed by terrorism and insecurity in the country, the speed with which insurgency and instability are spreading is concerning. While many efforts have been undertaken to advance the country's economic growth, rising levels of insecurity have been judged to be impeding the country's development. In light of this, this article explores terrorism and Nigeria's economic success. This is so that the nature of terrorism and its influence on Nigeria's economic development may be properly examined.

To achieve the aforementioned goals, this study has been divided into six outlines, the first of which is this brief introduction. The second outline included a conceptual discussion of the study's themes. In the third outline, the evolution of terrorism in Nigeria was clearly discussed. In the fourth outline, the nature of Nigeria's economic growth was analyzed, while the fifth outline focused on the effects of terrorism on Nigeria's economic development, and the article closed with actionable ideas to enhance Nigeria's economic development in the sixth outline.

Conceptualization and Review of Related Literature

Despite the fact that the concept of terrorism, its issues, and terror-based rule are all well-known historical practices, the study of terrorism has not been fully examined. Although interest in the study of terrorism arose as a result of the advent of a slew of terrorist movements and attacks by these terror groups over the last half-century. Terrorism has long been linked to acts of political violence or uprising. This is because terrorists' operational methods frequently include the murder of individuals or the destruction of property for political purposes. Terrorism as a euphemism for political violence, on the other hand, contradicts the concept's fundamental meaning. Nolan (1998) defines terrorism as "the premeditated execution and use of fear in order to influence political change." This is because terrorist attacks all across the world have involved the use or threat of violence in some way. Sandler and Enders (2005) defined terrorism as the deliberate use or threat of employing violence by individuals or sub-national groups to achieve a political or social goal by intimidating a large audience beyond the immediate victim. Certain basic characteristics of terrorism, according to Okeke (2005) and Nacos (2006), include the fact that it is motivated by political factors or reasons in the long run, despite the fact that terror actors may be guided by religious beliefs in the early stages; the targets are primarily civilians, non-combatants, or members of certain religious or ethnic groups; and the actors are primarily non-state actors.

Since the end of World War II, the concept of development appears to have been in flux. The meaning and understanding of the word appear to have been affected by ideological disagreements between the socialist east and the capitalist west in the early 1940s. The basic drivers of development and expansion are widely understood: an increase in the number and quality of all resources. Thirlwall (1999) defines development as "change," and it is used to describe the process of economic and social transformation within countries in this context. This approach has a well-defined sequence and uniform properties across countries. Goulet (1971) differentiates three fundamental components or basic values in this broader sense of progress, which he names life-sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom, in one of the better

attempts at conceptualizing development. Self-esteem is concerned with a sense of self-respect and independence, as no country can be considered fully developed if it is exploited by others and lacks the power and influence to conduct relations on equal terms, and freedom is concerned with freedom from the three evils of want, ignorance, and squalor, so that people can better determine their own fate. Economic development refers to governments and communities working together throughout time to improve a region's standard of life and economic health. Human capital development, key infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, safety, literacy, and other programs are examples of quantitative and qualitative improvements in the economy.

The terms "economic development" and "economic growth" are not interchangeable. Economic development is a policy intervention aimed at improving people's economic and social well-being, whereas economic growth is a phenomenon marked by increased market productivity and GDP.

While there has been an increase in terrorist activities around the world, there is hardly any country that has not been affected by terrorism, either directly or indirectly. In this vein, Madunagu (2005) argued that there is no country in the world where terrorism is new or absent. As a result, terrorism is widespread throughout the world. Terrorist operations have had an impact on almost every country in Africa, including Nigeria, which has faced a variety of security challenges since its restoration to civil government in 1999, spanning nearly all of the country's six geopolitical zones.

Terrorism has been an insidious crime committed on a daily basis for decades, and it is responsible for the physical and structural violence that many Nigerians have experienced (Udama, 2013). In recent years, Nigeria has experienced a new wave of violence in the form of terrorism, which has assumed a variety of forms, techniques, and sites across the country. Terrorists in Nigeria, for example, enjoy kidnapping, blowing up international oil pipelines, and destroying property at impunity. The most lethal of the above are kidnapping and bombings (Abimbola and Adesote 2012:15). According to a report released by the United

States Bureau of Consular Affairs, five improvised explosive devices (IEDs) were thought to have been detonated in the Niger Delta region in March 2010, posing a serious threat to Nigeria.

The emergence of terror strategies such as outright confrontation, violence, pipeline vandalism, bombing of oil installations, armed resistance against state security forces and transnational oil companies operating in the region, kidnapping and hostage taking marked the agitations in the Niger Delta from 1998 to the present (Ogbogbo 2004). Before President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua adopted the Amnesty Programme in 2010 as a constructive move to eradicate these terror acts in the region, the Niger Delta insurgency's operations against the Nigerian state, on the one hand, and transnational oil companies operating in the region, on the other, posed a serious threat to national security.

Armed bandits have been attacking the northern Nigerian states of Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Niger, and Sokoto for more than four years. Cattle rustling, the spread of small arms and light weapons, illicit artisanal mining, youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality are all exacerbated by these circumstances. Bello and Jamilu (2017) attribute banditry's prevalence to irresponsive governance and social marginalization, while Dami (2020) believes that the North West's weak security apparatus fosters continuous attacks on farming communities, while cultural and ethnic underpinnings are identified as a factor that necessitated banditry (ENACT Observer, 2021).

Another terrorism concern that the country is currently facing is the growth of the violent Islamic group known as Boko Haram in the northern part of the country. The Islamic group's actions in the area, notably since 2009, have not only put the country's security at risk, but have also made it the most dangerous place to live in the country. Boko Haram is calling for political and religious transformation, including the implementation of Sharia law and the practice of Orthodox Islam (Bagaji et al, 2012). As a result of political and religious turmoil in Nigeria, the organization began an insurgency in 2009. (Adesoji, 2011; Onuoha, 2012). This extremist sect has continuously threatened Nigeria's security, sovereignty, and stability,

particularly in northern Nigeria, since its inception in 2002. Its confrontation with state security forces began in 2009 with a series of high-profile attacks on the military, police, schools, political figures, and other critical infrastructure (Nicoll, 2011).

Boko Haram has increased attacks on government officials including state security forces and buildings, and authority figures in Nigeria's north eastern region, including bombing and killing individuals, as well as targeting specific people and locations such as worshiping centers, living residences, economic hubs, communications masts, government installations and infrastructure, kidnapping, and depriving people of their rightful entitlements. Asamaowei (2021) captured that the Nigerian government through its counterterrorism operations in the north east of Nigeria which involves the execution of decapitation operations on Boko Haram leadership using special operations forces, targeted airstrike and outright offensive gun-battle has been able to reduce the potency of the group. As a result, the kidnapping of government officials and other Nigerians, the bombing of oil companies and vandalism of property by militants in the Niger-Delta region, the increased incidents of banditry, which includes kidnappings and cattle rustling, and the Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria's north are all considered acts of terrorism.

Nigeria is Africa's largest economy, ranked 27th in nominal GDP and 24th in purchasing power parity in the world (World Bank, 2020). When Nigeria attained independence in 1960, Simpson (1987:205) claims, it was one of the few countries in the world capable of achieving stable and sustainable development. Because of Nigeria's oil boom, the country's multiple administrations were motivated to make large investments, as evidenced by the various national development plans which were geared towards enhancing economic growth and development of the country.

Crude oil exports to the rest of the world are now the primary source of Nigeria's economic growth, but this was not always the case. As one of the world's most agriculturally productive countries, Nigeria's total land area in the 1990s totaled 82 million hectares with approximately 61 million hectares of arable land. At the time, only 34 million hectares (or 42

percent) of the world's arable land was farmed (Metz, 1991). No wonder Nigeria's economy was built on agriculture before to the oil boom, and the country was well known for cash crops such as cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil. At the time, these cash crops were the primary source of export revenue for the government. Since the 1956 discovery of crude oil in Oloibiri, Bayelsa state, Nigeria's agricultural economy has deteriorated. In the past, the economy of the country depended heavily on the production of cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, cotton, and oil palm. Nigeria imports food as a result of its agricultural sector's neglect.

According to Ajakaiye (2004:54), most African governments between the late 1950s and the early 1980s developed comprehensive development plans, sometimes in partnership with local and foreign specialists, to structure their decision-making. Governments used these national development plans to make concerted efforts to boost Nigeria's social and economic development (Tomori and Fajana 1987:131). The pre-independence plans from 1945 to 1954 and 1955 to 1960 were little more than lists of federal and regional projects to be implemented, as can be seen by comparing the goals and outcomes of successive national development plans from 1945 to 1995. Nigerians' social and cultural backgrounds were not taken into consideration because of a lack of national coordination and common interests. As a result, the plans could not be implemented because they did not take into account the people's aspirations.

The Second Development Plan (1962–1968) was Nigeria's first step toward constructing a plan that reflected the interests of the entire country. In exchange for public support for the newly independent country, the approach aimed to help Nigerians improve their standard of living and wealth creation as rapidly as feasible. Following the end of the Nigerian Civil War, the Third Development Plan, 1970-1974, was drafted by the government of Nigeria. Post-independence growth and reconstruction following the civil war were the primary goals of this document. Success was achieved in the manufacturing, transportation, health, education, and information and social welfare sectors, as well as in the mining sector,

thanks to the implementation of this strategy. Crude oil exports have enhanced foreign exchange inflows, which have resulted in these notable accomplishments.

There were four development plans between 1981 and 1985. Improve living standards and broaden the economy away from dependence on oil to include more agricultural, industry, and scientific and technological industries in order to achieve this goal (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2000:1). SAP was launched in 1986. As a result, the economy's productive base was restructured and diversified in order to become less dependent on foreign oil and imports. This also helped the country achieve fiscal and balance-of-payments viability and set the stage for long-term, inflation-free growth. It also reduced the amount of money spent on wasteful public sector projects and increased private sector productivity (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2000:1). The perspective plan, which was supposed to start in 1990 with rolling plans, didn't start until 1996, when Abacha established the Vision 2010 Committee. The Vision 2010 report, which was submitted to the Abacha dictatorship in September 1997, suggested that the vision be the focal point of all plans, including long-term, medium-term, and annual budget plans (Adubi, 2002). Despite Abacha's death in 1998, the Vision was adopted as the country's first strategic plan.

Following the failure of previous economic stabilization efforts, Obasanjo's re-elected government in 2003 recognized the need for significant sociopolitical and economic reform in Nigeria. The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was introduced within this framework. NEEDS supported self-sufficiency, income generation, job creation, poverty reduction, and a shift in values. The bulk of NEEDS goals have yet to be met, which is an issue. Despite the fact that Nigeria's annual budget grew from billions to trillions of naira during NEEDS, from 2003 to 2007, Nigeria's per capita income remained lower than that of the poorest countries, at \$1 per person (Ikeanyibe, 2009). NEEDS aimed to create almost seven million jobs by 2007, yet the majority of the government's efforts to achieve this goal were harmful to employment creation. As a result of her efforts to restructure government agencies, many jobs were lost. Due to obligatory retirement, the Central Bank of

Nigeria lay off 804 staff in 2005. NEEDS, like earlier Nigerian development projects, failed to build infrastructure and produce the expected benefits, according to CBN (2005). The four basic goals of employment creation, poverty reduction, wealth expansion, and value reorientation are just that on paper. Also, Vision 20:2020, for example, aimed to place Nigeria among the top 20 economies by 2020. Although for real economic development to occur, Nigeria's rural areas must be transformed into world-class metropolitan hubs in order to achieve this goal. Nigeria's education, health, power, agriculture, and industry must all be on level with high-income OECD countries within the next ten years. Amongst all theoretical approaches readily available for the analysis of this study, the frustration aggression theory is chosen as the best suited.

Frustration aggression ranks among the most seminal and prolific theories in research on aggression. The theory was proposed by John Dollard, Orval Mowrer and Robert Sears in 1939. The theory states that aggressive tendencies are as a result of the blocking or frustrating of a person's effort to attain a goal (Friedman and Schustack, 2014). The theory attempts to explain how and why some people, or group of people, become violent or aggressive during certain scenarios. Berkowitz (1989) expanded on the theory by suggesting that negative effect and personal attributes play a major role in determining whether frustration instigates aggressive behavior.

The idea is that frustration, when it cannot be displaced or relieved turns into aggression. This aggression may then turn into violence, resulting in the frustrated person or group lashing out. This lashing out may be directed at another person. According to Dollard et al (1934), frustration is the "condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference", while aggression is defined as an "act whose goal response is injury to an organism (or an organism surrogate). The theory postulates that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. This theory is also used to explain riots and revolutions, which both are

believed to be caused by poorer and more deprived sections of society who may express their bottled-up frustration and anger through violence.

The application of the Frustration- Aggression theory in research requires the availability of basic qualitative data. In applying this theory to this research work, it can be deduced that the outbreak of terrorism in the North and South of Nigeria which has brought so much devastation in human and natural resources, thereby degrading economic developmental strides is as a result of frustration encountered by the divergent group, which later, manifests into aggression.

Within the context of the frustration-aggression theory, since it has been identified that frustration results to aggression, frustration therefore, can be likened to the inability of most members of violent extremist groups in Nigeria to actualize set socio-economic goals or objectives due to underdevelopment of the Nigerian state which is characterized by poverty, corruption and poor governance among others. Hence the need to join a group such as Boko Haram, bandits and the various militant factions in the Niger Delta. Also, in the midst of the 2009 crackdown on Book Haram group which resulted to the death of Mohammed Yusuf, the high handedness of state security forces engaged in counterinsurgency operations before the Presidential Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta could be seen as an increase in the drive of frustration while the aggression is seen as the attack on the Nigerian government in the form of destruction of critical national infrastructures, kidnappings and killing of both civilians and military personnel.

The frustration aggression theory further explains the need for the government in its counter-terrorism efforts in Nigeria to adopt measures such as investing in the people through the provision of food, security, employment opportunities, security and education to mitigate the local grievances that has led to a violent insurgency and terrorism.

The Impact of Terrorism on Economic Development in Nigeria

It is a widely held belief that if people and property are not adequately protected, investment and economic progress would suffer in any society. There has been a mix of insecurity in

recent years due to terrorist acts, which have generally threatened socio-economic growth. A new level of violence is being perpetrated against civilians and military personnel alike in Nigeria, including acts of terrorism that threaten life and property, as well as arson attacks on residential buildings, farms and religious organizations. For example, terrorists' operations have disrupted social and economic activity, resulting in an increase in crime and a decrease in public trust in the government's ability to deliver public goods such as security, resulting in the loss of life and property.

As far as most experts are concerned, terrorism is bad for the economy, and it has never been good for anything in the world. As a result of the activity of several insurgent groups in the 1990s, the Niger Delta conflicts have had a substantial influence on Nigeria's economic prosperity (Nwogwugwu, et. al. 2012). MEND, the Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF), MOSOP, the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Niger Delta Emancipation Movement (MEND), the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPF), and others are militant groups in the Niger Delta. A number of attacks on oil and gas facilities, as well as attacks on Nigerian Naval officers and oil industry employees resulted in the deaths of several people and the serious injury of many more have been carried out by these groups.

Despite the fact that the Presidential Amnesty Programme conducted to ease the tensions in the Niger Delta has lasted longer than expected, new armed organizations began to pose fresh dangers in the Niger Delta in the start of 2016. New attacks have been taken out by armed organizations such as the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). The Niger Delta Alliance, like other armed groups in the area, claimed to speak for oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta region and to have heard their grievances (Ebiede, 2017). The NDA has regularly targeted oil industry infrastructure. The Niger Delta's oil production has suffered as a result of this. The Post Amnesty Programme (PAP) of the Nigerian government aims to bring peace to the Niger Delta region. The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and their damaging attacks on oil industry infrastructure, on the other hand, raise concerns about how well it is working.

Ebiede (2017) had noted that militancy in the Niger Delta continues to reduce oil production, putting the country's economy in even more jeopardy at a time when oil prices are at an all-time low. Militancy also makes it easier to commit oil theft, which is a widespread crime in the Niger Delta. The unrest in the Niger Delta provides an opportunity for criminal networks in the Gulf of Guinea to prosper. Pirates in the Gulf of Guinea are a major source of concern. Armed organizations from the Niger Delta have a lot of ties to pirate networks in the Gulf of Guinea. These threats concern both the Nigerian government and the rest of the world.

In the North West and North Central, where cattle rustling and kidnapping have become more widespread, so have gunmen attacks, which usually occur at night and results in the slaughter entire villages. Cattle theft has been a major issue in Nigeria in recent years, particularly in the north. Rustling has resulted in the theft of a large number of cows, the deaths of individuals, and the destruction of property in recent years. Cattle rustling is a significant reason why Nigeria's security problems are getting worse, and it's become a big business involving herders, big-time gangs, and heavily armed criminals, according to news from the northern region every day. According to Ahmadu Suleiman, chairman of the Miyetti Allah Animal Breeders Association of Nigeria's Kaduna State branch, between October 2013 and March 2014, over 7,000 animals were snatched from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria. Normale et al (2019) in their research observed that as robberies involving armed robbers and cattle rustling become increasingly common in Nigeria, herder attacks in farming areas become more frequent. Nigeria's Zamfara state is still a hotbed for livestock rustling despite the governor's amnesty program for cattle rustlers to surrender their guns, according to the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding in Nigeria. Currently, Nigeria is one of the world's fastest-growing terrorism hotspots (Farouk, 2012, GTI, 2019).

This is demonstrated by the large number of people who have relocated away from Nigeria's northern territories. Because of the circumstances, residents in that part of Nigeria have been unable to engage in legal commerce. Economic activity has stalled and growth plans have been put on hold as it becomes clear that terrorists can strike anywhere. As a result,

international investors, such as those who had previously invested \$200 billion a year in Nigeria's economy, no longer regarded it a safe haven (Akpan, 2010). Boko Haram's operations in Nigeria have had a significant economic impact, which cannot be overstated. Almost every aspect of the country's economy has ceased to function as a result of what they did. Boko Haram had launched strikes, the majority of which targeted communication centers. In 2012, roughly 530 base stations in Nigeria were destroyed. While floods destroyed 380 homes in several towns across the country, Boko Haram in northern Nigeria wrecked 150 residences (Okonji, 2013). Boko Haram's major purpose in attacking telecom infrastructure is to cut off one of Nigeria's intelligence and security systems' main sources of information. Another issue is that network operators will have to rebuild damaged facilities with money that was previously set aside for network growth and making the most use of the infrastructure they presently have. Damage from BH and flooding cost Nigerian telecom providers almost N75 billion in 2012. According to analysts of Nigeria's telecoms infrastructure, a base station costs on average \$250,000 (N 39.47 million), and replacing the damaged ones will cost over N15.9 billion.

FDI flows to Nigeria fell from \$8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) in 2009 to \$6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, according to the UNCTAD study. This is a drop of around 29%, according to the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) annual report which indicated that for 2020, \$5.99 billion in foreign capital entered Nigeria's economy in that year.

Conclusion

Nigeria, like every other country in the Commonwealth, has worked hard to build its economy since independence. Because the major indicators for assessing growth and development of nations were then the growth of per capita income, which was necessary for the GDP, the country's early economic development policies were based on expansion. Nigeria's government concentrated on strengthening development in the early 1970s. As a result of the finding of petroleum, the nation's process was completely intensified. The expectation was that the oil sector would benefit the economy by encouraging growth. Because Nigeria's oil

exports are expected to account for more than 80% of the country's GDP, this is the case. Between 1965 and 2000, Nigeria earned about \$350 billion in oil and gas revenue as a result of this.

However, with the surge in terrorist attacks in the country's north and south, the chances for economic development have been dramatically decreased due to the increasing level of insecurity, which has hampered any development initiatives, whether private or public. According to all reports, the terrorist assaults have resulted in the closure of schools, companies, and the loss of jobs for the majority of the country's residents. According to the findings, terrorist attacks on both private and public enterprises have closed many businesses, including access to entrepreneurship, due to rising security threats, and have also resulted in job losses and unemployment, reducing people's capacity to pursue economic growth and development in Nigeria.

RECCOMENDATION

Arising from the foregoing, this paper therefore recommends that:

- i. The porous borders in Nigeria, where individuals' movements are mostly untracked, are one important source that has exacerbated terrorism in the country. the nature of the borders which is influenced by the by the weak security system has major security consequences and as such, the government must ensure that it is closely monitored. Using the Immigration, Nigerian Custom Service and the Nigerian Police to ensure that illegal weapons are not smuggled into the country and also checkmate the influx of migrants from neighboring nations, who are among the perpetrators of terrorist attacks in the country.
- ii. Most terrorist organizations recruit new members from areas with perceived grievances against the state, with these groups taking advantage of the need to provide financial incentives and enhanced family assistance to recruits. As a result, government policies should prioritize social and economic development in order to

- reduce the pool of potential recruits. This can be accomplished by adopting and implementing appropriate poverty-reduction methods.
- iii. Efforts should be made to diversify the economy so that foreign and domestic investments will proliferate so as to enhance employability and boost productivity since it has been identified that economic marginalization has been one of the drivers of conflict particularly conflict that tends to take a violent extremist posture.
 - iv. Government should intensify efforts in the adoption of non-kinetic measures in their counterterrorism operations in the country.

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