(REVIEW ARTICLE)

Terrorism, insurgency economy, and human security in Borno state, Nigeria

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Abstract

Terrorism is designed is to create sense of public insecurity, showcase State's inability to arrest violence, and it is severally oiled by an insurgency economy that benefits all stakeholders except the masses as seen in Borno State in the northeast of Nigeria. Terrorism could be seen jeopardizing human security extensively and pushing children outside the literacy nets, into vulnerability of recruitment and radicalization and same goes for the farming communities whose produce are extensively endangered by terror cell groups' heinous campaign in Borno State. It was against this background that this study engaged criminal deterrence theory to examine terrorism and its implication for security of Borno State. This study decompose insecurity into food security and education security. This study employs exploratory research design with reliance on publicly available archive documents. The study relies solely on secondary data. The research is conducted by examining literature concerning terrorism and human security. Literature from non-serial publications, official reports, and conferences has been included particularly if they have been cited by other references in connection with terrorism, food security, education security and terror cell groups. Findings from this study showed that activities of terror cell groups negatively affect education security and food security. This study concluded that there is the need for governments across board to identify and dislodge the insurgency economy profiting and prolonging the insurgency. This study therefore recommends that Borno state government in conjunction with intergovernmental bodies should consolidate further the Safe School Initiatives to further ensure safety of "at risk schools". This study also recommends that the government across board should conscientiously stem the farming and market vulnerability of the farming community and prevent looming food insecurity.

Keywords: Criminal Deterrence Theory; Food Security; Education Security; Insurgency Economy

1. Introduction

The name Boko Haram "western education is forbidden" communicates the vulnerability of schools to incessant attacks, students and teachers kidnapping by terror cells. Terror cell activities of Boko Haram (BH) and the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) is not only impacting on State security but could be seen having a tolling and aggravating effect on human security in the North East particularly in Bornu State which is reputed to be the epicentre of terrorism and insurgency in the northeast. The farming communities of arable crop farmers, fishermen and pastoral farmers could be seen greatly endangered by insurgencies of the terror cell groups. The state of insecurity from insurgents, as seen in Bornu State could be measured along food security and education security.

Insurgency has targeted and killed teachers, education workers and students. The brutal insurgency has affected every strata of life in the region, particularly education. Educational activities in the region are exposed to threats and attacks as most schools are remotely located with little or no government presence. The use of schools as campsite by military and other law enforcement agencies also increase the vulnerability of school assets to insurgency attacks (Abiodun et al., 2020), since cache of arms and ammunition could be gotten after every successful attacks conducted by insurgents.

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More than 2,295 teachers while about 19,000 others were displaced between 2009 and 2022. So much so that some 1500 schools have been forced into closure while more than 600,000 children have lost access to education due to the armed conflict (Ajiboye, 2022).

The wanton attacks on education create a ripple effect and set in motion a range of negative impacts; loss of education, early marriage, early pregnancy, and stigma associated with sexual violence and children born from rape, all of which could radically affect female students' potential future outlooks. The Safe Schools Initiative as formulated in 2014 after the Chibok kidnap was meant to counter the growing attacks on the right to education and to build community security groups to promote safe zones for education, consisting of teachers, parents, police and community leaders. Endorsed by the federal government in May 2015, the Safe School Initiative, with the support of national and international organisations, developed a number of measures to rebuild schools and provide improved security for schools, particularly in the northeast.

Interestingly, the more the number of children thrown out of school nets into illiteracy the more the swelling pool of recruitees into terrorism. Empirical studies abound that insurgency have negatively affected students enrollment in most public secondary schools in Maiduguri Borno State. Terrorism could be seen strongly contributing to low school attendance by students in Maiduguri and disclosed that several school facilities and infrastructure are extensively destroyed, thereby increasing the cost and pains of literacy (Abiodun et al., 2020; Khan, 2021; Mahmood, 2021; Ajiboye, 2022). The heinous activities of terrorists is not limited to the educational sector as same could be seen playing out in the agricultural sector.

The agricultural sector which is fundamental for food security could be seen threatened once it triggers food insecurity, especially when caused by a rise in food prices, which becomes a threat and an impact multiplier for violent conflict. It might not be a direct cause and rarely the only cause, but combined with other factors, for example in the political or economic spheres, it could be the factor that determines whether and when violent conflicts will erupt (Brinkman & Hendrix, 2011). Food insecurity could be a potent signal of health insecurity which could be seen dragging productivity down and the tension that come with food insecurity could lead to youth pledging allegiance to terror cell groups.

Furthermore, insurgency in Bornu could be seen impacting dangerously of the farming communities, from the sedentary farmers to the fishermen at lakes and rivers onto the pastoral herdsmen. Barns are burns, farmers are adopted and ransomed, taxes are levied and collected by terrorist and their proxies, cattle are rustled endlessly to no avail. The terror cell members could be seen superintending areas once occupied by the government but now declared as ungoverned space due to absence of government or weak presence of government (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2014).

Borno State is the chosen site for this study, The State is located within the Lake Chad, it shares national boundaries with Yobe, Gombe and Adamawa States and maintains an international boundaries with Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. Borno State is fertile for agricultural activities which serves as the main pre-occupation of its people as over 80% of the population is engaged in crop cultivation, animal husbandry and fishing is the major activities of the residents (Lawal, 2018). The closeness of Borno State to the Sahelian countries and war torn effects in Mali has also been fingered as the spilling effects of terrorism into the Northeastern region particularly, Borno State.

This study is guided by two specific objectives in efforts to achieve the main objective of investigating terrorism and its implications on Borno State economy:

- Examine how terrorism affect education security in Borno State
- Interrogate how terrorism influence food security in Borno State

1.1. Literature Review

1.1.1. Conceptual Review

Terrorism

The Organization for African Unity, now the African Union, 1999 Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism defines terrorism as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state and which may endanger the life, physical integrity, freedom, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any member of or group of persons, or cause or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage, and is calculated or intended to intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to

act according to certain principles or; disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency or; create general insurrection in a state.

This study situate that there exist a blur line between ideological driven terrorism in Nigeria and terrorism as driven by pecuniary gains, external donor influence and criminally pursued-economic benefits. Members of the BH and ISWAPS sects have been severally arrested in drug trafficking, kidnapping and ransom pickings, gun running, illicit gold mining in Zamfara. In the context of law enforcement and policing, terrorism presents itself in deliberate incidents and acts of sabotage, criminal bombings, arsons, vandalism; assassination; kidnapping; armed robbery, militancy, trafficking in illegal small arms and light weapons, transnational organised crimes, subversion and propaganda, espionage, cyber-terror, echo-terror, bio terror and the attendant criminal acts and consequences.

Insurgency Economy

The insurgency economy could be seen as economies aggravated by activities of both state and Non-State Armed Actors (NSAA) in efforts to make economic gains from insurgency and such procured gains are known to extend the periods and duration of the insurgency. Insurgency economy could be seen in Borno State as most hotels and hospitality are reserved for years with or without occupants, procurement of substandard military assets, arranged ambushment of Military, Intelligence and Law Enforcement (MILE) convoy in a bid to dispossess armed men and transfer such at high price to the waiting hands of bandits, armed robbers or terror cells groups, incessant overrunning of vulnerable MILE's armoury automatically transferred Official Arms into the dark underworld market, and unaccountable arms seizure by MILE are seen recycled into the hand on Non State Armed actors. The public wielding of Pump action guns by MILE officers further reinforces this position, knowing well government official procurement does not include such assets

Education Security

Access to education is the driving force in the struggle to emancipate people from misery, insecurity, and poverty. Education ensures adequate platform to access human security whereas illiteracy is a form of insecurity as it limits an individual's potential to compete and correspond in a social setup. An illiterate individual naturally feels insecure when he or she encounters a literate and educated counterpart who has the basic knowledge and skill to compete and ensure his survival and security. Therefore, the first and foremost task of the State is to ensure literacy to mitigate the basic sense of incompetence, and lessen the vulnerability of being radicalized. Education is the most crucial factor is pursuit of human security (Khan, 2021).

Education is widely adjudged as the most potent weapon to secure livelihood and employment in today's world. The correlation between literacy and employment is critically important in rapidly globalizing world. Hence, education lies at the heart of discourse on human security. Education security secures political consciousness of a society in general and that of individual in particular. In this regard, education may prove an instrumental force as it creates political awareness among the masses. On contrary, an illiterate remains at the mercy of the political system whether it is responsive or not.

It is around this same education security that the Boko Haram insurgencies coined their name which translates to "Western Education forbidden". The more children outside the education net the more the pool of recruitees for terror cell groups. Insurgencies in Borno State has targeted and killed teachers, education workers and students. Government law enforcement usage of schools as campsites also further made schools vulnerable to attack. Insurgency has strongly contributed to low school attendance by students in Maiduguri thereby taking many children out of the education nets. Insurgencies has led to forced closure of some 1500 schools while more than 600,000 children have lost access to education due to the armed conflict (Ajiboye, 2022).

Food Security

Food security refers to the availability of food and one's access to it. A household is considered food secure when its occupants do not live in hunger or fear of starvation (FAO, 2001). Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Idachaba, 2006). In the World Bank Policy Study (2006) food security is defined as access by all people at all times to enough food for an active healthy life. To the Economic Commission for Africa (2009) food security involves not only food availability through storage, and trade but also more importantly food access through domestic or home production. It is of contentions that for a country to have sustainable food security, food supplies must keep pace with increase population, urbanization and insecurity (FAO, 2010).

The activities of insurgencies in Borno has negatively aggravated all agriculture stakeholders; crop farmers, fish farmers and herders, through harvest confiscations, market raiding, cattle rustling, fish catch impounding, farm taxes, barn burning, abduction of farmers, abduction and rape of women who are central to the farming communities. These heinous activities against the farming communities trigger food insecurity has it constricted the very physical, social and economic access to sufficient food to meet their dietary needs, produce and stay healthy. In fact, food security is when there is food sufficiency with no hunger or fear of starvation. Several indicators are associated with food security. These include availability, access, adequate utilization and stability of food supply at all times.

Table 1 Typology of Human Security Threats

Security Threat	Examples of Threats
Economic security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food security	Extinction of aquatic lives, Hunger, low yield of agro outputs, high cost of feeding, poor nutrient of farm field famine
Community security	Inter ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions
Education Security	Disruption of school calendars, incessant suspension of school due to cult clashes, military sack of communities in reprisal attack,
Health security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental security	Oil spillage Environmental degradation, resource depletion, air pollution, vandalism
Political security	Political repression, human rights abuses
Personal security	Militancy, cult clashes, Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labor

Source: Authors' Compilation (2023)

1.1.2. Empirical Review

Terrorism and Education Security

Abiodun et al. (2020) interrogated the threats to educational development in the Northeast Nigeria by the Boko haram insurgents. The study engaged content analysis on secondary data elicited from existing literature of books, internet, journals, newspapers, magazines, conference papers, UN and ECOWAS publications, periodicals and other related document. Results from the study showed that government security forces' use of schools for military purposes further places schools at risk of attack and also that the apparent failure on the part of government to adequately protect schools endanger the learning environment for students, insecurity. Study was a regional study which focused mainly on education security while this study is a State specific study that captures other construct; food security to investigate terrorism and its security implications on Borno State.

Mahmood (2021) engaged descriptive statistics to investigate impact of Boko Haram insurgency on educational activities in Borno State. Study engaged mixed method research design, administered questionnaire amongst study's targeted population using purposive sampling technique on the entire staff and students of public secondary schools in Maiduguri. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation to analyse data elicited from the field. Results from the study revealed that Boko Haram insurgency have negatively affected students' enrollment in most public secondary schools in Maiduguri Borno State, aggravating low school attendance by students in Maiduguri. Study only harped on education security while this study captures other construct of food security to analyse insecurity in Borno State.

Afzal (2020) engaged interdisciplinary approach to assess the linkage between education and Boko Haram. The study adopted triangulation research approach with reliance on public opinion survey data, interviews conducted with students, education officials, journalists and practitioners in the field of countering extremism, study of textbooks and curricula and a review of the broader historical narratives in the country. Findings from the study showed insurgents terrorist, insurgents and bandits are mostly education aversed and sees nothing wrong in the disruption of western education of which they do not believe in and seen already as imposed cultures on their belief. Analysis showed that support for Boko Haram in the north does not fall linearly with education. The results are compatible with some Boko Haram supporters being uneducated, others being al-majiri and others being university graduates who "tore up their certificates." In fact, the results show that for northerners with some years of Western education — peaking in most

cases for those who had attended junior secondary school — support for Boko Haram is higher than it is for those with less education, indicating that experience with the system furthered their grievances against it. Study submitted that Nigeria's government must go beyond taking kinetic action against Boko Haram to addressing the north's grievances against its federal system of education. Nigeria's northern citizenry requires a more representative education system that can both accommodate its religiosity and that can boost its educational as well as employment prospects. Study was a country wide study while this study focuses on Niger State and impact of banditry on human security.

Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2020) employed mixed method research design to investigate the impact of attacks on education for Nigerian women and girls on schools and universities, as well as teachers, administrators, and students, wreaking havoc on an already fragile education system. The study was based on over 175 interviews, including with 119 victims and/or eyewitnesses of attacks on schools while female students interviewed ranged in age from 12 to 31, with the majority between the ages of 15 and 24. Interviews were conducted in person and few interviews, as well as follow-up clarification, were conducted by phone, Skype, and email. Findings from the study showed that Boko Haram frequently target female students such that the impact of attacks on education on women and girls is often different from that on boys and men setting in motion a range of negative impacts such as loss of education, early marriage, early pregnancy, and stigma associated with sexual violence and children born from rape, all of which can dramatically affect female students' futures. All these lead to suspension of education after school attack or permanently dropped out of school because of the attacks. Study was region specific and limited to effects on education of girl child and women while this study is a State study using other constructs to examine the security implication of terrorism on Borno State.

Terrorism and Food Security

Sambe et al. (2013) examined the impact of communal violence on food security in Africa. The study established that communal violence affects food security through limiting people's access to food, destruction of infrastructure for food production, cutting access to food supplies, physical destruction and plundering of crops, livestock and food reserves. Other impacts include displacement of labour. The study concluded that communal violence directly and indirectly leads to food insecurity in Africa countries. The study is a cross-country study and results emanated from it cannot be used for State specific study like Borno State in Nigeria, because the operational environment differs in terms of regulation, supervision and operation.

Tari et al. (2016) deployed purposive and simple random sampling techniques to analyse the impact of the Boko Haram sect activities on food security status of households in selected localities in Northern Adamawa state. The study used Logit Regression Model on 200 target populations with simple random technique was used to determine the sample size for this study. Findings from the study revealed that there exists a strong relationship between insurgency and food security status in the study areas. Study focused on nexus between insecurity and food security while this study went further to use education security as constructs for human security in Borno State to assess the security implications of terrorism on Borno State

Ladan and Matawalli (2020) engaged focus group discussion to examine the nexus between food security and banditry in affected local government areas of Katsina State. The study adopted qualitative study approach. Results from study revealed that banditry has negatively affected food security in has been negatively impacted by banditry which entailed kidnapping and killing of farmers, seizing of farmlands, theft of cattle, chasing of farmers out of their farmlands, blocking of local trade routes, burning and raiding of grain silos. The study done in Katsina captures only effect of banditry on food security of which this study captures into education security to assess implications of terrorism on security in Borno State.

1.1.3. Theoretical Review

Criminal Deterrence Theory

Deterrence in relation to criminal offending is the theory that the danger and severity of punishment will deter people from committing crime and decrease the likelihood and level of wrongs in society. It is one of five objectives that punishment is thought to achieve; the other four objectives are retribution, incapacitation (for the protection of society), denunciation, and rehabilitation. This theory as postulated by two 18th century utilitarian philosophers; Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham, has two possible applications: the first is that punishments imposed on individual offenders will deter or prevent that particular offender from committing further crimes; the second is that, public knowledge that certain offences will be punished has a generalised deterrent effect which prevents others from committing crimes (Wright, 2010).

In relation to terrorism and counterterrorism, research on deterring terrorism usually accepts and incorporates a broadened understanding of deterrence. A would-be challenger (usually defined as the actor being deterred) and his unwanted action remain the principal focus, but the manner in which a defender (the actor doing the deterring) manipulates a specific behavior is expanded to include arguments that rest well beyond the scope of traditional deterrence theory. Scholars suggest that a range of militant activity— from proselytizing violent ideologies to indoctrinating and recruiting individuals, and from sponsoring militancy to coordinating specific attacks—can be deterred by a variety of tailored threats (Jenkins, 2008; Levi, 2008; Auerswald, 2006).

Accordingly, though a vast majority of terrorist groups lacks traditional territorially based assets against which classical threats of punishment and retaliation might be issued which is a dilemma known as the return address problem (Gearson, 2012; Brown & Arnold, 2010; Betts, 2002), yet terrorist and militants do hold onto and seek to protect other things that States can threaten to harm, restrict, or destroy (territorial footholds and safe houses, weapons caches, smuggling routes, effective and charismatic leaders, or State based facilitators (Wenger & Wilner, 2012), because some militant assets rest beyond the realm punishable by military or kinetic destruction alone, the coercive process involved in deterring terrorism often relies on non-kinetic instruments that target non-physical resources and assets.

Interestingly, on the non-kinetic fronts, States might join, strengthen, compel, or convince local, regional, foreign, and virtual (online) communities; elites and religious or tribal elders; youth and university-based social movements; and NGOs or civil society actors to manipulate (and hopefully augment) social disenfranchisement with, and resentment of, a particular militant movement or group. This is a function of deterrence by delegitimisation, in which terrorists' political, ideological, or religious rationales and intentions which rest beyond kinetic destruction are used against them to influence public sentiment, stem recruitment, alter behavior, and deter support for political violence (Lantis, 2009). It is this on this front that more is expected on the war against terrorism by all involving countries with emphasis on the no kinetic, which contradict the very narrative upon which terrorism stands.

2. Methodology

This study adopts thematic research design to analyse terrorism and its implications for security of Bornu State, Nigeria with reliance on publicly available archive documents. The study relies solely on secondary data. The research is conducted by examining literature concerning the national security, international security and economic foundation factors. The literature was obtained through searches in publicly available material. Literature from non-serial publications, official reports, and conferences has been included particularly if they have been cited by other references on terrorism, food security and education security.

3. Discussion of Findings

The review of literature showed that incessant attacks on school facilities, teachers, students and educational workers adversely influences education security in Borno State. The rational for this finding could be that more students so excluded from the safety net of education, thus aggravating illiteracy and increasing the susceptibility of those excluded into being recruited into radicalism, foreign terror fighters and other violent crimes. The finding is in tandem with the findings in the previous works of Mahmood (2021); Abiodun et al. (2020); Afzal (2020); Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2020)

The result gotten from empirical literature is that terrorism as traced to ISWAPS, BH and other violent non State actors of bandits negatively affect food security in Borno State. The logic behind this findings could be seen as stakeholders of the farming communities are grossly endangered in the course of crop farming, fishing and herding. The hazards that comes with farming has seen most of the stakeholders abandoning farming and take refuge in the internally Displaced Person Camps this affecting food security of Borno State. This finding is consistent with the findings in the previous work of Sambe et al. (2023); Ladan and Matawalli, (2020); Tari et al. (2016)

4. Conclusion

This study concluded that at the heart of the insurgency in Nigeria North East is the Insurgency economy, which can only be dislodge through good governance. Identified insurgency economy driven by illicit profiteering will keep the terror war in circles and will keep affirming the narrative of misgovernance against the government by the insurgents. Based on the conclusion of this study, the following recommendations are made;

- That Borno State government in conjunction with intergovernmental bodies should consolidate further the Safe School Initiatives to further ensure safety of schools. To the extent that the protection of the child and the promotion of their well-being are closely linked to development and well-being of the society
- That the federal government should further encourage the military and other Law enforcement agencies prosecuting the counterterrorism warfare so that the farming community can stem the tide of food insecurity. This is because farming can only be done at peace time and not amidst violence.

Compliance with ethical standards

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