



# Bad governance and terrorism: Propellants to forced migration of Igbo ethnic group of south-eastern Nigeria

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## Abstract

The main thrust of this paper is to examine bad governance which has birthed terrorism in Nigeria. Terrorism has also pushed for the forced migration of the Igbo ethnic tribe of south-eastern from Northern Nigeria, particularly north-east where there had been a widespread and incessant killings by Boko Haram and also the wanton destruction of their properties running into billions of naira. Related literatures were reviewed and data depended on secondary sources to guide the study. The findings show that forced migration is fallout from a calculated attempt to impose an Islamic religious ideology on the Igbo of southern Nigeria. Secondly, the mass departure of people seeking greener pastures in Northern Nigeria, particularly north-east have not only dislocated them from their means of sustenance, but also killed as if they were responsible for the decades of failed governance and elite delinquency that pervade north east Nigeria. This study therefore recommends that the government should protect and safeguard Igbo from the mass onslaught against them to ensure the country is saved from splitting into 'Banana Republics'. Finally, the paper concludes that since Nigeria is a pluralist society, the government should through the mass media emphasize the essence of peaceful co-existence so as to engender national integration.

**Keywords:** Migration; Boko Haram; Igbo Group; Pluralist Society; National Integration

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## **1. Introduction**

The migration of people from one place to another for food, security, reproduction and other desirables of life either temporarily or permanently did not begin with the return of democratic rule in Nigeria, rather a long time ago. No one really knows exactly when relocation began, but the first recorded migration occurred when Cain slew his brother, Abel, and became a sojourner or rather a wanderer. Since then, migrations had taken place throughout human history, including the movement of the first human groups from their origins in East Africa to their current location in the world. Fundamentally, migration is a part of human nature. However, it is important to emphasize that with globalization, the migration rates of migrants seeking better living conditions have increased over time.

Nigerians from all walks of life, since the advent of democratic rule (1999) coupled with the abundant natural and extensive human resources the country is endowed with, have been migrating in their hundreds from one geo-political zone to another region and entering into new indispensable social relationships that are basically co-operative for the purpose of improving themselves economically, socially and technologically (Chukwu, 2016). From this perspective, people either choose to move (voluntary migration) or be forced to move (involuntary migration). In all, it is worthy to note that migration occurs at a variety of scales: intercontinental (between continents), intra-continental (within a continent), and inter-state ((between states) and intra-state (within a state).

Among the Igbo ethnic group of south-eastern Nigeria, migration is essential to achieving perceived improvement of personal living standards or economic and social success. It is a status enhancing event, and thus fashionable to move (Chukwu, 2016). Besides, it is a joyous to migrate because migration meant freedom from the control of elders who are oppressive of the youth. Thus, young men who do not migrate or commute to town are often labelled as idle and may become the object of ridicule (Gugler and Flanagan, 2004). Similarly, the migration of single women is acceptable so long as they continue to contribute to their parental household back in the village (Bah et al., 2006). Statistically, approximately 10 to 20 million Igbo migrants, accompanied by as many dependants, are working in states other than their own. Although many face hardship in their migratory quest for greener pastures and few prosper, most of them are convinced that they have improved their condition. Commenting on this strong attitude of Igbo towards life, Aribisala (2014) said among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Igbo people are without doubt, one of the most remarkable. So remarkable indeed, that he (Aribisala) argued that some have even traced their ancestry to biblical Israel, as Jacob, the Jewish patriarch, Gad, Jacob's seventh son. Even the bitterest adversaries of the Igbo cannot but admit that, as a people, they are very resourceful and ingenious. For Chukwu, Okonkwo, Emenike (2013), Igbo ancestors fought wars because they believed in freedom and democracy; they believed that they could secure justice with the persistent pursuit of the truth even at the cost of their lives. They are ready to endure hardship and suffer losses because of their belief (Chukwu et al., 2013). Furthermore, Chukwu asserts that their ancestors are noted for honesty, industry, integrity and love of freedom. Fundamentally, among the Igbo, individuals give character to life. There is no absolute static bond that binds everyone from exploring and utilizing his potentials for one's self actualization.

However, the emergence of Boko Haram (2009) coupled with the political cum religious battles, including sectional vices and interests rather than collective virtues and national unity, fuelled intermittently by certain groups and individuals who benefited at the expense of the state and citizens have bedraggled the positive side of migration to Northern Nigeria. Particularly north-east where Igbo have suffered devastating human and material losses from violence, bombing, assassinations, kidnappings, and other criminal activities and which unfortunately have become common features therein. According to Kalu (2013), they had been occasions when Igbo had been massacred by northern Nigerians Muslims who had been provoked not by any direct misconduct by the Igbo but perhaps because the Prophet Mohammed was insulted in Denmark by some European artists or because Allah's name had been taken in vain in Los Angeles by an American satirist. In buttressing his position, Kalu asserts that there is, therefore, a sense in which by simply being Igbo and entrepreneurial, the Igbo man is adjudged guilty, dehumanized and attempts fiercely made to annihilate him. Disappointedly, this is not unconnected with a perverse group that has always lays claim to leadership in this country. A group known as being without antecedents, without visions and without any proper attitude based on conviction, but always on any available train to any direction. Therefore, so much energy that could have been directed towards reconstruction, rejuvenation and integrating the Nigerian society has been dissipated, believing that no one else has what it takes to restore sanity in such a hopeless situation. As a result, the Igbo, to a great extent, have become the receptacle of anger, hatred, envy and frustration oozing out of their fellow citizens. Commenting earlier on the fate of Igbo, the veteran American diplomat, Henry Kissinger, aptly observed that they ... gifted, aggressive, Westernized; at best envied and resented, but mostly despised by the mass of their neighbours in the Federation (1969). By implication, the widespread and incessant killings of huge numbers of people, particularly Igbo in the northern states finds relevance in Henry Kissinger's assertion that the Igbo are, at best envied and resented, but mostly despised by the mass of their neighbours in the Federation (1969). In spite of resentment, Igbo have refused to compulsively seek the negative and even doubted their abilities to survive the trying times and use the lessons learnt to propel themselves forward.

From this analysis, the Boko Haram uprising, Adesoji (2010) argues, attracted attention not only because the legitimacy of a state was challenged in the course of promoting Islamic revivalism, but because its outbreak was an indictment of the state whose seeming ineptitude was becoming apparent with regular outbreaks of violence of many kinds despite the state's continuous promises to check them. Thus, this extraordinary commitment of bombing of churches and other series of senseless killings and wanton destruction of properties owned by Igbo in Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Gombe has continued to necessitate forced migration of Igbo back to their states of origin. Admittedly, Nigeria had since independence been bedevilled with ethnocentric politics, sectional solidarity and primordial interests and these have not only become prominent features in the nation's political practice, but advanced and exalted. In a nutshell, the widespread and incessant killings of people, majority being Igbo who dominate the commercial landscape of Northern Nigeria especially at crowded squares by Boko Haram has been disturbing (Chukwu, 2013). As a result, forced migration (also called imposed) which is essentially the forceful departure from one point of habitude to another unceremoniously has become the most common type of migration in Nigeria due to the unfavourable situations not unconnected with the activities of Boko

Haram, the ultraviolent Islamic militant group that condemns western education. As noted earlier, forced migration is usually triggered off by a forceful departure from one point of abode to another due to circumstances beyond individuals' control (Chukwu, 2015). Thus, it is in the light of the above, that this paper aims to assess bad governance, and terrorism as catalyst to forced migration of Igbo ethnic group of south-eastern Nigeria.

## **2. Research method**

Qualitative method was used for this study. Qualitative research emphasizes detailed examinations of cases that arise in the natural flow of social life (Neuman, 2003). Essentially, the study depended on collection of data from secondary sources, made up of ethnographies and works of other scholars. It is important to stress that qualitative research transcends rigid formality and objectivity by introducing transparency without compromising the research process, thereby enhancing trustworthiness.

## **3. Theoretical framework**

The Marxian theory constituted the theoretical anchorage for this work. The Marxian theory was propounded by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and his basic assumption is that the ruling class would always oppress the masses. The theory stresses divisions within society. It is in view of this that Marx maintained that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles (Marx and Engels, 1848). Marxists argue that the state serves the dominant classes in society. They see the state as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie. Marxist theories believe that competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Marxist perspectives see power as concentrated in the hands of a minority in society. They maintained that the powerful and the powerless have different interests and that these differences may lead to conflict in society. Marx argued that power is concentrated in the hands of those who have economic control within a society (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004).

The central argument of Marx is that in all class-divided societies, the means of production are owned and controlled by the ruling class. This relationship to means of production according to Marx provides the basis of its dominance. Marx continued that in capitalist society, ruling class power is used to exploit and oppress the subject class and much of the wealth produced by the proletariat's labour is appropriated in the form of profit or surplus value by the bourgeoisie (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). Marxist theories emphasized that ruling class power extends beyond specifically economic relationships. According to Marx, the relationship of domination and subordination in the infrastructure will largely be reproduced in the superstructure. It is in this regard that Marx maintained that decisions and activities of the state will favour the interest of the ruling class rather than those of the population as a whole (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). Kendall, Murray and Linden (2004) stressed that although Marxian theorists acknowledge that the government serves a number of important purposes in society, they assert that it exists for the benefit of wealthy or politically powerful elites who use it to impose their will on the masses. One way in which the

ruling class could ensure that the state continued to act in its interest was through corruption (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). According to the theorists, troublesome officials who threatened to follow policies harmful to the bourgeoisie could be bribed to stop such policies. A second way to determine government policies was through the use of the financial power of capitalists. The state often relied upon borrowing money from the bourgeoisie in order to meet its debts. Loans could be withheld if the state refused to follow policies beneficial to the bourgeoisie (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

Since Nigeria's independence, the interest of the state as a capitalist society reigns supreme. The most important focus of all programmes embarked upon by government tends to support the capitalist class which Karl Marx says impoverishes the majority. In essence, governance is not based on people-oriented policies, but self-serving despite the fact that the quality of life gets deplorable by the day. Aside the bare fact that the biting economic situation has reduced Nigerians to beggars, insecurity of lives and properties are no more guaranteed. Disappointingly, the unquantifiable measure of terror, lawlessness (culture of impunity), and social injustice has defiled all rational reasoning. Unfortunately, this is against the fact that the provisions on human rights have been incorporated into many international instruments, including the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Iturralde and Rodino, 2010). Unfortunately, in guaranteeing human rights, the quality of security offered by the capitalist government is nothing to be proud, particularly when it is juxtaposed with the widespread and incessant killings of Igbo in North-east Nigeria. Bombs explode regularly, killing huge numbers of people, especially at crowded squares in these states. Igbos who, dominate the Northern commercial landscape, have in their large numbers have been one of the worst hit (Chukwu, 2013). And one of the more notorious groups, the Boko Haram, the ultraviolent Islamic militant group that condemns western education, has always accepted responsibility for the killings. Their unwholesome activities which, have been impacting negatively on the various segments leading to forced migration of Igbo is very worrisome.

Granted that many policies implemented by the state may have several positive impacts on the masses at first thought, but on a second, there is always a twist that tends to disprove this as the main interest of the state especially in the Nigerian situation is to protect the interest of the ruling class. Given the current socio-economic and political conditions of the Nigerian state, particularly in the North-east, bad governance is clearly reflected in the high rate of poverty, unemployment, inefficiency and ineffectiveness, lack of transparency and accountability, poor living standard of citizens, social injustice and most worrisome, organized corruption. It is in this context that the Marxian theory is most suitable in explaining the exploitativeness of the proletariats (masses) resulting in bad governance in North east. For this, Chinua Achebe (1983) once rightly pointed out that the issue at stake is simply and squarely a failure of leadership as there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character, wrong with the land or climate or water or air or anything else but inept leadership. Concurring, Dike (1999) avers that the lack of selfless, non-corrupt and committed leaders has contributed immensely to the sociopolitical and economic predicaments facing Nigeria today.

Marxist theory has been criticized for not being able to explain why the state became stronger rather than withering away in communist countries. Furthermore, Marxists also failed to recognize the possibility that

there are sources of power other than wealth (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008). These limitations notwithstanding, the Marxian perspectives are very useful in explaining the conflicts inherent in capitalist society such as Nigeria.

## 4. Literature Review

### 4.1. The trend and essence of migration

Migration as a social system affects all three social organizations at the area of origin, the area of destination and the immigrants themselves. The most important reason people migrate, according to scholars, is economic; and the desire to improve or better themselves materially (Reveinstein, 1998). This position has been supported by the work on two East African tribes - *Ngoni* and *Ndendeuli* in Tanzania which regularly supplied large numbers of migrant workers to Southern Africa. According to Zachariah and Conde (1981) and Flanagan (1978), the people migrated because their resources are poor, almost too poor to satisfy a decent standard of living. In Sierra lone, migrants were told and were convinced that in an urban centre such as Freetown, there is no extension and unjustified punishment by either the rich or the old. The typical slogan recorded by Gugler (1979) was “make I go Freetown, make I go free” Corroborating, Fadeyomi (1979) strongly supports the view that in most cases, rural-urban migration is associated with widespread unemployment and underdevelopment as well as inadequate social services. In the same vein, the scarcity of arable lands to cultivate food crops to support the population also stimulated the large movement from one geographical location to another. In a related development, those migrants from Sapele (Nigeria) hardly talked about economic factors to their migration, rather “life more abundant” and freedom from external family problems were the major concerns (Imoagene, 1974). Conversely, it is argued that immigrant stated motives are likely to be unreliable unless both the origin and destination structural factors are studied. In other words, there has been this growing reluctance to admit or rather accept the migrant’s stated motives instead of latent motives. Extending this position, Amin (1974) asserts that the “revelation of individual’s motives” in a sociological survey results in nothing but platitude which masks and rationalizes real reasons for the movement. Continuing, he argues that the migrants do not necessarily come from all “poor” rural regions nor are they all poor individuals. Citing ethnographic examples, Amin further states that the Bassari people of Eastern Senegal are among the poorest people of the region, but they do not migrate, whereas the Serere who are much richer do migrate. Based on this, many scholars have contested the role of economic motives in the decision to migrate; they are no longer comfortable with the economic “push-pull” hypothesis.

Strengthening this argument, Kosinski and Mansel Prothero (1975) assert that migration is a “behavioural result of a complex set of decisions that are rational and irrational, conscious and unconscious, deliberate and impulsive”. In other words, motivation to migrate is increasingly viewed not as a mono-causal but as multi-causal phenomenon. Corroborating, Jansen (1970) is of the view that migration is motivated not only by economic but demographic, political and sociological issues. In the same vein, psychological factors such as life crises like witchcraft accusation, wife stealing, rape, quarrels and escape from tasks or the “inability to

cope with traditional system” which normally crystallized in prevailing norms and values also trigger migration. Among the Frafra, it was the joy of spending their money as they themselves saw it fit and to be on their own, freed from kinship obligations, which motivated them to migrate even though there was a very little difference in living standards of most of them whether at home or in Accra (Hart, 1974).

Beside this, some scholars emphasize socio-psychological factors in motivation to migrate. One could contend that the motivation to migrate could be economic or political and also that the administrative policies of the colonial government in some French African territories caused Africans to flee because of taxation and challenging labour. Concurring, Asiwaju (1977) argues that migration in the French West Africa up to 1945 was a result of dissatisfaction with the French administration. In reality, political uncertainty influences decision to migrate. One could contend that the motivation to migrate could be economic or political and also that the administrative policies of the colonial government in some French African territories caused Africans to flee because of taxation and challenging labour. Concurring, Asiwaju (1977) argues that migration in the French West Africa up to 1945 was a result of dissatisfaction with the French administration. In reality, political uncertainty influences decision to migrate. Environmental hazards are also factors in migration. Such hazards take the form of natural calamity caused by earthquakes and epidemics which ultimately uproot people from their source of livelihood. Campbell and Garkovich (1984) see migration as a collective behaviour that transcends both economic and non-economic variables.

From the foregoing, the decisions to migrate are multi-casual factors and these factors have necessitated some writers to look at the process of migration as a phenomenon. Accordingly, migration is a process which involves not only social systems boundaries but many factors such as the individual’s past history, his repertory of defence and adaptive techniques, his private motivations for the move, the push or pull factors in the donor and host environments including the consonance of their norms and the resistance or reception networks encountered in the host region. Contemporarily, economic factors as being reasons for migration have been de-emphasized and prominence given to psycho-social, ecological and political determinants of migration. The intention was not to discount the importance of economic motive but rather to look beyond it for other explanations, particularly as it affect Igbo of south east Nigeria.

In all these, it is important to acknowledge the fact migrants, particularly Igbo of south east Nigeria, carry a particular kind of social organization, they often become advocates of change in the new community bringing with them “certain needs, competences and resources and of course, their own ideas about the good life”. In other words, migration has far-reaching consequences on both host and home regions of the migrant. Such consequences may be negative or positive, depending on the circumstances. For instance, the migration of the people, especially if they came from key strata of the population, tended to affect the structure of power both in the societies from which they came and in those into which they moved. Put it differently, the experiences gained in home country have always taught migrants different attitude to work, saving and business responsibility. Uchendu added that generally the migrants work harder than the local community, save and invest more and “know how to please and keep customers”. However, in the days of political turmoil, it is easier to dramatize the exploitative, and therefore, the negative role of the trader and immigrant than to give credit or even appreciate his positive economic contributions to rural change.

#### 4.2. Bad governance and corruption in Nigeria

Bad governance has become a norm in Nigeria. Corruption is seen as a culture of the people and it has assumed a sophisticated and dangerous level that people who are into it do not fear any prosecution (Maduegbuna, 2012). In Nigeria, corruption is celebrated. It really saddens one to admit that corruption has unconsciously become a policy thrust of both past and present governments in spite of all the wars against corruption. As a matter of fact, the Nigerian political class has turned the supposed Nigeria's democracy into money making ventures as this is now the dynamics and motivating factor for politics within the Nigerian polity. The governmental structures are poor and so are holders of political offices are not often accountable. Vying candidates could do anything humanly possible (including murder) just to win election and perhaps become rich overnight. Nigeria since independence has made fortunes worth over \$600 Billion, although the Save Nigeria Group claimed that the money made so far is \$1 trillion and that \$600 billion has been stolen by the Nigeria leaders. But a greater part of this money had been siphoned into the private accounts of those in power. As it stands, it is crystal clear that the absence of the right leadership with the right characters, and the right backbone has facilitated the spread of corrupt practices in Nigeria. From genuflecting to perpetual adoration of fraudulent wealth, corruption has eaten deep into all segments of the Nigerian society. Resulting from this menace is the fact that the Nigerian society has consistently been producing a large population of *nouveau riches* whose sources of wealth are never questioned or scrutinized. Even if sources are known to be corrupt and rotten more than the slim at the bottom of garbage dump, they are still being showcased arrogantly to attract some ovations. The economic wealth is heavily concentrated in the hands of the few rich people making up the 10% of the whole population of Nigeria. In the light of this, so much hope of ethical reorientation, of the value system are said to have been washed ashore in the sands of irrelevance to the extent that greater part of Nigerians can no longer put their footprints on the sands of history such that, in departing, the living may entertain beautiful reminiscences of their sublime achievements (Chukwu, 2016). Corroborating, a renowned Kenyan legal scholar, Professor Patrick Loch Otieno Lumumba, believes that President Muhammadu Buhari is not getting the much needed support in his fight against corruption, as many high-profile public office holders and officials in his government are corrupt and also bent on derailing the process of transparency and accountability. According to Kenyan legal scholar, in an interview with Sahara Reporters (2017), the Nigerian president's lack of support in anti-corruption campaign and this explains why the much intended results are not being felt evenly. Extending his position, he avers that President Buhari is surrounded by corrupt individuals who have normalized corruption in Nigerian society and have prevented his fight against corruption from taking off. Substantiating, Professor Lumumba said *many of these individuals who are in the position of power don't want to leave because they are thieves and they are scared that if they leave office, they will be prosecuted, and my view is that they should be prosecuted. What lacks in Africa is punishment, impunity is alive and well in Africa and we, the electorate, are in the business of celebrating thieves.* Concluding, Professor Lumumba remarks thus:

*I wish President Buhari institutionalizes and ensures that his agenda is bought by others. No matter how good your idea is, it must be sold to others and they must buy into it. That is how you institutionalize the idea. You cannot be a lone warrior in this matter because*



*the children of darkness hunt like a pack of wolves and they will devour you if you are alone,”*

This scandalous practice, according to Iwe (1987) of diverting public funds into private coffers and of inflating government contracts in the hope of eventual kickbacks brings to the conclusion the fallen standard of morality. Iwe further argues that, “materialism, and hedonism (or the senseless quest for pleasure), conspicuous consumption and “consciencelessness” and breaches of confidence and betrayal of trust for money, have become the order of the day. In other words, nothing is so valuable, or so precious or so sacred that it cannot be sacrifice for money in our society. Many have even betrayed the same people who voted them into offices for mere financial gains. In a nutshell, materialism, money and hedonism have poisoned the Nigerian society almost beyond redemption. Under this type of situation, democracy cannot be sustained. Insurgency, social cleavages, corruption, maladministration and other vices are features of bad governance. Conclusively, democracy will continue to crumble like packs of cards in the face of bad governance because the orientation and mentality of Nigerian towards democracy and good governance is poor. This simply explains why the ongoing nihilistic slaughter of Igbo people by an extremist militant group known as Boko Haram is continuing unabated. But there can be no question that a disproportionate percentage of the thousands of victims, dead or maimed or permanently impoverished, are Igbo.

From this perspective, Nigeria has over the years been bedeviled by mal-administration and bad governance and coupled with the level of decadence in governance, the warning signs of terrorism have always been there. But no one admitted that things would fall apart so soon because Nigerians are said to love themselves too much to take all the risk associated with terrorism. It is this false assertion that the Igbo immigrants have assimilated and the consequence has been the heavy downpour that have drenching them over the years. This ever-ending heavy downpour has invoked an ancient African idiom which has its roots in Igbo wisdom: *Onye na amaghi ebe mmiri bidoro mawa ya, agahi ama ebe o kwusiri* (He who does not recognize the point at which the rain began drenching him would never recognize when the rain ceases to drench him). Having realized that bad governance is at the root of the incessant religious conflicts by one Islamic religious group or the other against them they seem helpless. Following the primordial outlook and the sub-national mentality under which the Northern part of the country has been favoured brazenly since independence, the incessant religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria epitomize the rain which began drenching them since January 1914 when Lord Fredrick Lugard amalgamated the Northern and Southern Nigeria without consultation. Even with all safety assurances, they are still getting drenched the more as the notion of Nigeria as a mere geographic expression (Awolowo, 1990) has begun to make more sense today than ever before.

Scholars have agreed that the forceful packaging of unwilling communities of diverse origin and culture under the same polity by British colonial authoritarian fiat is one of the worst atrocities ever visited upon a people anywhere in the world. As a matter of fact, relations and political behaviour in what we now call Nigeria has been characterized by mutual suspicion and invidious hatred. As strange bed-fellows, who were only coerced into the Nation-State via amalgamation, the growing fear and animosities resulting to the widespread and incessant killings of Igbo including the wanton destruction of their properties running into

billions of naira at the least provocation is not only worrisome, but clearly portraying Islam as a religion of violence.

It has been argued that going by the democratic principles since the inception of the 5<sup>th</sup> republic, no administration has gone down in history as so Machiavellian with its concomitant principles of conduct characterized by cunning and duplicity as Nigerians are witnessing. The biting economic situation has reduced Nigerians to either beggars, or destitute. How else do Nigerian electorates explain the revolutionary changes taking place today, the many crucial courses of actions, policies and programmes embarked upon, yet never in history have they been more affected by frustrating hunger and poverty as at now. For how long shall Nigeria continue to evolve policies that would guarantee good governance? Does a government really possess superior wisdom to those outside it? There may be some debates here but one cannot be persuaded to accept that an individual or government as a group of individuals possesses superior wisdom. A thousand flowers, as the Chinese are wont to say, should blossom and a thousand thought should contend and so, one therefore believes that even a madman has an antidote to usher in a new beginning for Nigerians. A society that is not in a hurry to collapse on itself should not disallow him to make his prescriptions because there may be some untested and unknown wisdom in him. Really, general insanity could be diagnosed for a government that abhors criticisms and claims to have superior wisdom to those outside it and it is only a mad man who will pray to preside over such an insane government.

The failure of democracy, according to Maduegbuna (2012), stems from unpopular and defective constitution. One of the problems of democracy is short-termism, the inclination of elected officials to disregard the bigger picture in favour of the next election date. In a typical example of Nigerian experience, people who are called to draft or affect adjustment in constitution, always place their interests above those of national interests. For Maduegbuna (2012), it is very difficult to explain the rationale behind people drafting a constitution, making a sitting Governor or President to vie for a position in an election without first resigning his position in government. It is in this perspective that Maduegbuna argues that orientation of political parties in Nigeria is very poor, and some of the parties do not even know that they are meant to serve the people if they win election. So far, the interest is not about people's welfare, populist policies or programmes that draw people to them, but intimidation to the other parties and their members; counting on their members at both lower and upper chambers at National Assembly.

This notwithstanding good governance as a lofty idea is possible in Nigeria. Its loftiness is not about the ethnic tribe of the leaders or about whether the leaders were appointed, selected or elected, but possessing a deep sense of decorum to maintain a level of sanity in the practice of democracy and re-orientating Nigerians to fight the perversion called corruption in order to achieve good governance (Maduegbuna, 2012). Good governance drawn from democracy brings about unity, peace, development, and high standard of living.

### 4.3. Boko Haram and terrorism

While contending with the most recurring issues in Nigeria's body politic- religious intolerance which has permeated the landscape since the colonial period and up till the present time, a new vocabulary has been introduced into the country's lexicon: terrorism.

Terrorism has become our everyday vocabulary; unfortunately, there seems to be no “precise, concrete, and truly explanatory definition of the word. In other words, while the problems posed by terrorism have received serious global attention, the international community has not yet formulated a uniform definition of terrorism (Tecott, 2011). Thus, there are various definitions of terrorism that none seems to be all embracing. For example, the Vice President Task Force of the United States of America (1986) defines terrorism as the unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. By this definition, terrorism is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individual or groups, to modify their behaviour or politics. In another, terrorism is seen as “a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims become targets of violence. Through the repeated use of violence or the credible threat of violence, members of another group are put in state of chronic fear (terror). The victimization of the target is considered extra normal by most observers...which in turn creates an audience beyond the target of terror...The purpose of terrorism is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary targets of demand or targets of attention (Schmid, 1983).

In her assessment, Hoffman (2006) sees terrorism “as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in pursuit of political change. But the question that begs for an answer remains: what obstructions are only the Igbos causing in north-east Nigeria that other ethnic groups are not causing that the group has over time, at the slightest provocation, been singled out for extermination? Admittedly, the face and origins of terrorism have changed over time, the essential aims and techniques have changed little, that is: “Kill one-frighten a thousand.” This technique of “Kill one-frighten a thousand has contributed negatively to national security and occasioned forced migration. These violent agitations which have contributed to national security threats are capable of disintegrating the country. Nevertheless, the saying, “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter,” raises a fundamental question as to what kind of freedom are members of Boko Haram agitating for that has over time culminated in the senseless killings of particular segment of the population. In a related development, Davison-Echidike (2014) sees terrorism as activities of terrorists within a country’s borders including the use of force, violence, bombing, assassinations, hijacking, kidnappings, hostage taking, and other criminal activities in order to force or compel the country to change their domestic or foreign policies or their leaders or other agenda. One of the implications of Boko Haram’s operations has been the incessant killings of Igbos which have continued to breed inexplicable fear into the psyche of the people despite the country’s fifth attempt at democratization (Chukwu, 2013). As a consequence, Igbo traders, who dominate the Kano, Borno and commercial landscapes in the northern states, have in their large numbers been forced to migrate in their large numbers, never to return to these states. The ongoing nihilistic slaughter by Boko Haram is most horrifying.

The Boko Haram as a terrorist group started as an insignificant agitation of an Islamic sect with a strange commitment to non-conformist standards of social organization in Muslim-dominated Bauchi and Borno states. It began in Bauchi State (2009) and since that time; the group has extended its activities to other Northern states as well as to other parts of Nigeria. Unlike the militants in the Niger Delta that were driven by purely economic goals, Boko Haram is driven by proclivity in religious conviction, political aspirations and social practice. Having failed to bring about genuine development and also come up with an appropriate

integrative outlook for Nigeria, the political class has resorted to divide and rule by impoverishing the people. In other words, the socio-economic conditions in Nigeria has clearly shown that there is a relationship between poverty state of the people and terrorism, although this is a sensitive matter there are indications that when a number of factors such as poverty, unemployment and the gap between the elite and majority exist, ordinary people may feel that they have nothing to lose (Botha n.d), if found in combination with political factors, it could lead to alienation and radicalization (Botha n.d). In Morocco for example, the backgrounds of individuals involved in the acts of suicide attacks pointed to a condition of unemployment, poverty and social tensions, with the disillusionment and poverty in turn fuelling feelings of bitterness.

Consequent upon this, the emergence of Boko Haram uprising was not surprising. It is therefore important to note that terrorism spear-headed by mostly Amajaris who grew up in the slums because they were denied basic education due to the desire of their masters to utilize their ignorance to the ruin are today, unfortunately, terrorizing a particular ethnic group, Igbo in the north-east part of Nigeria. North-east Nigeria is one geo-political zone characterized by high rate of illiteracy where basic education was denied the people due to the desire of their masters to utilize their ignorance to the ruin. Apart from poverty and bad socio-economic conditions, lack of education which limits prospect for the future as well as limits access to information create fertile grounds for recruiting the disenchanting to the terrorist cause (Botha n.d).

Explicitly, the attempt to rebrand a multi-ethnic and multi-religious complexity like Nigeria into an Islamic state as set out in the Koran is unfathomable. Admittedly, the elites have sacrificed opportunities for initiating national integration on the altar of short-term interest, thus compounding the problem. However, having failed to bring about genuine development and having also failed to come up with an appropriate integrative outlook for Nigeria, a group, Boko Haram, has emerged to denounce western education to our detriment. More importantly, its strong links to other transnational extremist groups, including Al-Shabab and Al-Qaeda seems to send cold shivers down the spine for what these terrorists groups represents (Ogbonnaya, and Ehigiamusoe, 2013).

But there can be no question that a disproportionate percentage of the thousands of victims, dead or maimed or permanently impoverished are Igbo people. Aside the collateral damage observed, it is important to note that the outburst of Boko Haram in Bauchi (2009) and which later spread to almost the entire Northern eastern states was not, according to Adesoji (2010), the first forceful attempt to impose a religious ideology on a secular Nigerian society, but like the first major attempt and subsequent small-scale attempts, it widened the scope of the efforts at Islamic revivalism. Be that as it may, the widespread and incessant killings of people, majority being Igbo who dominate the commercial landscape of Northern Nigeria especially at crowded squares by Boko Haram is most disturbing (Chukwu, 2014). Under these circumstances, the first groups of individuals on forced migration are Igbo investors whose capital would have made any GDP growth possible.

#### 4.4. The concept of forced migration

Forced migration, as the term implies, is the abrupt departure from one point of habitude to another due to circumstances beyond individuals' control (Chukwu, 2016). Examples include the persecution and

consequent migration of the Jews as recorded in the Bible; the forced conscription of Black Africans into slavery and the migration of thousands of Nigerians (1967- 1970) from north to south, north to east and from west to east, and in these, multitude of Igbos were not only internally displaced, maimed, but killed as they are fowls and rams. In this important historical example, the reason behind the mass exodus of Igbos from Northern Nigeria, particularly North-east is not difficult to see. Forty seven years after the civil war, all the areas that constitute South-East Zone, the area inhabited by the Igbo, still manifests the physical characteristics of neglect, deprivation and poverty. With unequal voice in the federal executive council in the national Assembly, on the federal judicial benches and a vast array of others for which the Igbo suffer sub-parity representation, the strength of the advocacy of their challenges and priorities is thus diminished (Kalu, 2013).

Thus, forced migration has become the most common type of migration in Nigeria as a result of the bombing of churches, markets, and other series of senseless killings of huge numbers of people at crowded squares. One can without any iota of doubt contend that the emergence of Boko Haram and the senseless killings of huge numbers of Igbo people at crowded squares is a symptom of decades of failed government and elite delinquency finally ripening into social chaos. It basically connotes the maturation of long decaying extremist impulses that run deep in the social reality of Northern Nigeria, particularly north-east. It is sad that while Nigeria generally scores very poorly on every index of human development, Northern Nigeria sinks below the abysmal national average to the extent that a child born in the northwest or in the northeast is likely to have a lower quality of life than a compatriot born in the southwest or southeast. Coupled with this ugly fact is that the tenacity of events between 2011 and 2016 has clearly shown that Nigeria's personnel lacks the requisite training for the much needed competence to defend the country from internal insurrections and external threats as a result of corruption.

#### 4.5. Conclusion and recommendations

##### *4.5.1. Conclusion*

Terrorism, particularly against Igbo has become the biggest headache of the corporate existence of the Nigeria, as far as security issues are concerned. Therefore, all efforts should be directed at encouraging the role of the civil society in engendering good governance in Nigeria. From all available literature, it is proven that the civil society reinforces mechanism for effective governance in the overall interest of the majority of the people as they possess the capability to co-operate with, engage, antagonize, contend and influence the state on behalf of the citizenry in a bid to social justice and equitable distributions of resources to Nigerians. That is to say, the civil society can be seen as an arena where the populace resists unpopular decisions and policies of government.

Terrorism is said not to have religion or community; it is single minded in its pursuit of goals through violent means that harm others. Terrorists have made the task of governance more burdensome in the north-eastern parts of the country with their incessant and precise bomb attacks which often leave hundreds of Igbo immigrants dead and property running into several billions of naira destroyed in their

wake. Fundamentally, the persistent problem of terrorism as a threat to Nigeria's existence appears to be more deep-rooted than the approaches adopted by the Nigerian government to address it. Put differently, the military option being employed to checkmate terrorism is a wrong option because Nigeria's security challenges were incubated and hatched by bad governance resulting to poverty, hunger, injustice, corruption, unemployment, general government insensitivity and leadership failure thereby creating opportunities for insecurity to blossom. Therefore, the best army in the world with the best artillery cannot solve Nigeria's security problems, but only a shift in paradigm that guarantees the security of the human person to ensure freedom from 'want' and freedom from 'fear' can solve this puzzle. Human security is synonymous with development and good governance. It means food on people's table, quality education and safe drinking water for the people, employment, justice, environmental protection and economic progress. This paradigm shift is imperative if Nigeria must achieve sustainable peace and national development.

Given the danger terrorism poses and wishing the problem away, pretending it is not there, or that it is not as serious as it is, is akin to sitting on a time bomb. From this perspective, comprehensive and drastic measures that aim to address the incessant and senseless killings of Igbo immigrants are hereby recommended.

#### *4.5.2. Recommendations*

- 1- The government should assure the citizens, particularly Igbo immigrants that perpetrators of terrorism would no longer operate with impunity. For whatever reasons, Government must desist from sponsoring violent religious fanaticism through any means.
- 2- Secondly, people can be killed, ideologies cannot. The government should acknowledge the fact that while a person can be killed, an ideology can only be combated through education. Since education is usually understood as a transfer of information and knowledge from one individual to the other in such a way that desirable changes in the behaviour of the learner following some course of action are produced to usher in a safer society. Therefore, all hands must on deck to enlighten the Nigerian society to build a safer world. Like Socrates, "Knowledge is virtue", "to know good, is to do good". By implication, people get involved in evil not because they want to, but because they do not possess the knowledge that their action is evil. Thus, all youths, who are usually the prime recruits, particularly the girl child being used in suicide attacks, need education to cleanse them of the evil of terrorism and enhance development of the minds to appreciate good.
- 3- Government should create jobs fix the economy and halt the spread of corrupt practices. It has been established that suicide bombers are often motivated by welfare benefits for family members. The promise of monetary incentives to family members serves as a powerful motivator for new recruits. Having known that Nigerians are hungry and the biting economic situation has reduced Nigerians to either beggars or destitute, government should ensure that all the revolutionary changes taking place today, the many crucial courses of actions, policies and

programmes embarked upon, are such that would improve the living standards of Nigerians today than ever before.

- 4- A breakdown in the constitutional and law enforcement machinery of the State also serves to promote anarchy and convince people to join terror groups. Therefore, all hands must be on deck to effect positive changes to curtail terrorism and terrorist attacks against Igbo immigrants.
- 5- The Muslims leaders should inculcate in their members high ethical standards, respect for human life and dignity. Educating and enlightening their children and adherents to be more loving and tolerant of other people and other religions is a duty they owe Nigerians and Igbo immigrants.
- 6- Nigerian leaders should encourage democratic constitution so that the government will carry people along. Nigerian leaders should differentiate between 'true and false' participation as the instrument of governance. True participation relates to openness on the part of government in prosecuting programmes meant to better the welfare of the people. When there is openness in government programmes, masses will support government but when there is false participation, governments in the circumstances hide and embark on selective approach to issues, contrary to the wishes of the people.
- 7- Leaders should avoid utterances that help to sharpen the religious sensitivities of Nigerians and sow seeds of discord, particularly between Muslims and Igbo immigrants. It is well known that some utterances are capable of inflaming passions which, of course, can develop into intolerance and eventually end up in riots.
- 8- Igbo immigrants, on the other hand, should respect all Muslim religious practices Governments in Nigerian should address the issue of unemployment which is critical to the welfare of the people and essentially a policy thrust of government. Democracy means that the masses have voice in the management of resources of the state. The government should be sincere in fighting corruption of elections so that true democracy can take off on sustainable basis.

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